00031077

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 16 June, 2016

P. Zylis Pinxit.
R. White Sculpsit.
Sr. Paul Rycaut late Consul
of Smyrna & Fellow of
the Royall Societie

297. 64

THE

TURKISH HISTORY.

The Second Volume,

Beginning from

MAHOMET III.

And Continued to this

Present Year 1687.

THE SIXTH EDITION.

LONDON,

Printed for *Tho. Baſſet*, at the *George* near St. *Dunſtan's* Church in *Fleetſtreet*. MDCLXXXVII.

V
956.1
RYC | TU22
31077

00031077

Si quid in humanis, magnum te reddere posſit:
Quid prohibet magnis nomen ineſſe tuum?
Qui subjecta vides, tot diſsona regna, tot urbes:
Et nulli cedens, sceptra superba geris.
Cum tamen ignores, quid sit Sapientia Christi,
Omnia quæ jactas sunt, Mahomete, nihil

If any thing on earth can make man great,
Great as the greatest art thou Mahomet,
Who overlookst the World from thy bright Throne,
And seest the largest part of it thine owne.
But since the Christian Law thou dost disdeigne,
Thy labours to be truely Great, are all but vaine.

THE LIFE OF MAHOMET,

The Third of that Name, Seventh Emperour of the *Turks*.

1595 THE Death of the late great Sultan *Amurath* was not forthwith made known in the Court, but with wonderful ſecreſie concealed, not onely for fear of the *Janizaries*, (who in the time of the vacancy of the Empire always do whatſoever pleaſes themſelves) but alſo for that the People, having in diſtruſt the fierce Nature of *Mahomet*, *Amurath's* eldeſt Son, were generally better affected to *Amurath*, the younger Brother, a Prince of a more mild ſpirit and courteous diſpoſition, unto whom they in heart wiſhed thoſe ſtately honours, which could by no means, without the great wrong and prejudice of his elder Brother, and danger of the whole State, be given unto him. Ten days after came *Mahomet* in poſt from *Amaſia* to *Conſtantinople*, and was there by the great Baſſa's, and other his mighty Favorites, ſaluted Emperour: which done, he preſently after cauſed all his Brethren to be invited to a ſolemn Feaſt in the Court; whereunto they (yet ignorant of the death of their Father) came cheerfully, as men fearing no harm; but being come, were there all by his commandment moſt miſerably ſtrangled: and at once to rid himſelf of the fear of all Competitors, (the greateſt torment of the Mighty) he the ſame day (as is reported) cauſed ten of his Fathers Wives and Concubines, ſuch as by whom any Iſſue was to be feared, to be all drowned in the Sea.

Mahomet ſaluted Emperour of the *Turks*.

He murthereth his Brethren.

The *Janizaries* and other Souldiers of the Court, not before acquainted with the Death of *Amurath*, neither with the choice that the great Baſſa's had without their privity made of *Mahomet*, and not a little offended to ſee themſelves ſo diſappointed of ſuch Spoils as they reckon due unto them in the time of their Vacancy, as men diſcontented, riſe up in a rage, and made ſuch havock and ſpoil in the Imperial City, as greater they could not well have made had there been as yet no Emperour choſen at all; and not ſo contented, were now even upon the point to have rifled their new Emperour's Court, and to have laid violent hands upon the Perſon of himſelf, in revenge of the tyranny by him executed upon his Brethren and Fathers Wives (which inhumane cruelty the Turkiſh Emperours eaſily excuſe by the name of the Policy of their State.) For the appeaſing of which ſo dangerous a Tumult, *Mahomet* called unto him certain of the chief men among the Seditious, ſuch as were thought to be able to do moſt with them, whom he ſought by fair perſuaſions and large promiſes to win unto him, and by them to pacifie the reſt. Which ſerved him to little or no purpoſe, until ſuch time as the great Baſſa's themſelves came out with their followers; who, with many fair perſwaſions, mixt with moſt grievous threats, and firm promiſe of a general pardon, with much ado appeaſed the Tumult; yet for the more ſafety, kept all the chief Streets of the City with ſtrong Watch and Ward. This Broil thus overblown, a new Tent was by the Commandment of the new Emperour ſet up before the Temple of *Sophia*; wherein, on the right hand was placed the dead Body of the late Sultan *Amurath*, his Father, and on the left-hand the Bodies of his nineteen ſtrangled Brethren, layd forth of purpoſe, as an heavy Spectacle for the People to behold; who all, not long after were, together with their Father, with great Solemnity, after the *Turkiſh* manner buried; and *Mahomet* himſelf (being about nine and twenty yeats old) now openly proclaimed great Emperour of the *Turks*, and Lord of all, from the riſing of the Sun, to the going down of the ſame. After that, returning to his Palace, he made unto his Baſſaes, and other great men, a ſumptuous and Royal Feaſt, as the manner was; but whilſt they were in the midſt of their Mirth, upon the ſudden all the City was again in an uproar, and the People in Arms, in ſuch ſort, as that it was thought ſcarce one man would have eſcaped alive from that Banquet, had not the chief Baſſa with his Gravity and Wiſdom, and wonderful Labour, in good time appeaſed their Fury; and withal, to their greater Terrour, cauſed all the great Ordnance in the City to be brought forth into the Streets ready charged, to be ſhot off amongſt them.

1595 The Tumult appeaſed.

The *Janizaries* in a Tumult.

The *Janizaries* again in an uproar.

Whilſt theſe Troubles thus paſſed at *Conſtantinople*, upon the late Confederation made between the Emperour, the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, the *Valachians*, and *Moldavians*, divers fortunate Inroads and Skirmiſhes were by them made in the Frontiers of the *Turks* Dominions, many ſtrong Places were ſurpriſed, many rich Booties taken, and notable Exploits done, which we will briefly paſs over, as the Precedents of a greater War. The City of *Weitze*, before taken by the *Turks*, was now again in the beginning of this year recovered; and the *Chriſtians* about *Scuthin*, in number about four thouſand, breaking into the *Turks* Frontiers, carried away an exceeding rich Prey, with divers notable Captives. The like did alſo the *Chriſtians* of *Vivaria*; at which time alſo the Garriſon Souldiers of *Altenburg*, making a Road into the Country about *Rab*, encountered with four thouſand *Turks*, of whom they ſlew two hundred, took certain Priſoners, whom they ſent, ſome to *Presburg*, ſome to *Altenburg*; and *Sinan Baſſa*, the late General, returning towards *Conſtantinople* with much Treaſure, which he had greedily ſcraped together in the late Wars in *Hungary*, was by the *Valachians* ſet upon by the way not far from *Belgrade*, and ſtript of all that he had, having much ado to eſcape himſelf

Divers fortunate Roads made by the *Chriſtians* upon the *Turks*.

1595 with ſome few of his Followers. The ſame *Valachians*, together with the *Tranſilvanians*, under the conduct of their valiant Captain, *Geſtius Ferens*, entring further upon the *Turks*, took from them divers of their Towns and Caſtles, as *Pondeſie*, *Nicopliſe*, *Killa*, and *Rebnicht*; and meeting with twelve thouſand *Tartars*, ſlew a great number of them, and put the reſt to flight. With this Inſolency of the *Valachians*, his late Tributaries, but now his Enemies, the *Turkiſh* Emperour was highly offended; and therefore ſent one *Bogdanus*, a *Valachian* born, deſcended of the *Palatines* Houſe, with a great Power, to expulſe the old Vayvod, and to poſſeſs himſelf of that Honour, as his Tributary; promiſing unto him all favour and kindneſs. *Bogdanus*, thus ſupported and furniſhed, came with his power into *Valachia*, yet thought it beſt before he attempted any great matter, to expect the coming of the *Tartars*, left the laſt year in *Hungary* by *Sinan*; of whoſe coming the *Valachians* and *Tranſilvanians* having underſtanding, met them by the way; and joyning Battel with them, ſlew eight thouſand of them, put the reſt to flight, and ſo returned: unto whom, preſently after this Victory, the *Tranſilvanian* Prince ſent fourteen thouſand Souldiers more to aid them againſt the *Turks*. But *Bogdanus* underſtanding both of the Overthrow of the *Tartars*, and the coming of this new Supply, durſt not proceed any farther in his Enterprize, but kept himſelf ſtill in his Trenches. Not long after, by the Commandment of the *Turkiſh* Emperour, *Han* the Crim *Tartar*, with a great power of his *Tartarian* Horſemen, entred into *Moldavia*, with purpoſe to have by Fire and Sword reduced that Country again unto the *Turks* Obeiſance: of whoſe coming, *Aaron* Vayvod of *Moldavia* having knowledge, and aided by his Neighbour *Michael* Vayvod of *Valachia*, ſo belayed the *Tartars*, that he in three divers Battels overthrew them; and having ſlain twelve thouſand of them, enforced the reſt to retire again out of his Country: and following the courſe of this Victory, preſently after took *Bendar*, *Schinitz*, *Tigna*, *Mechris*, with ſome other Caſtles and Fortreſſes of the *Turks*, near unto the River of *Danubius*; all which he furniſhed with his own Garriſons; and withal, took in the rich Country of *Bobraga*, the Inhabitants thereof willingly ſubmitting themſelves unto him, as men weary of the *Turkiſh* Thraldom. With like good fortune, aided by the *Polonian* Coſſacks, he overthrew *Juniculа*, the Son of *Bogdanus*, ſometime Vayvod of *Moldavia*, now ſent by *Mahomet* with a great Power, as a moſt fit Inſtrument to trouble the Vayvod, and to recover again that Country: with whom *Aaron* courageouſly encountring at *Scarpetra*, a mile from *Danubius*, overthrew him in plain Battel; and having ſlain eight thouſand of his *Turks*, put him to flight, and took the ſpoil of his whole Camp. Neither yet ſo contented, marched preſently to *Neſter Alba*, where he put the *Turks* in a great fear, and afterwards burnt the Suburbs of the City, and ſo retired.

How *Amurath*, the late Sultan, in the beginning of theſe Troubles, had at *Conſtantinople* ſhut up in Priſon *Frederick Krecowitz*, the Emperour's Ambaſſador, is before declared. This Ambaſſador *Sinan Baſſa* brought with him the laſt year, when he came into *Hungary*; who, after many Indignities by him ſuffered, both upon the way and at *Belgrade*, there died; five of whoſe Servants the falſe Baſſa cauſed to be kept in ſtraight Priſon, as guilty of their Maſter's Death; ſo to avert the Infamy thereof from himſelf. But now lying himſelf at *Belgrade* for the better managing of this years Wars, upon the coming of a new Treaſurer from the Court, he cauſed the five poor Priſoners to be brought before him, and moſt impudently charged them with the Death of their Maſter; ſaying, that they ſhould anſwer for the ſame unto God and their Emperour; and that his purpoſe in bringing of him from *Conſtantinople*, was to no other end, but to have uſed his help in concluding a Peace between the Great Sultan and the Emperour, and ſo to have ſet him, with all his, at liberty: but now that he was dead, he would ſend them his treacherous Servants to the Emperour, to be by him examined; and withal to tell him, That he was ſent from the Great Sultan (whoſe Power was not by any but God only to be withſtood) to beſiege *Vienna*, which he could (as he ſaid) the laſt year have taken with leſs labour than he had done *Rab*; and that therefore it were beſt for him betime to ſeek for Peace, before ſo great a Power had taken the Field: and that for farther Inſtructions, he would refer them to his Son, the Baſſa of *Buda*, to whom he ſent them from *Belgrade*, together with the new-come Treaſurer. Being come to *Buda*, they were forthwith brought before the Baſſa, and amongſt them the late Ambaſſador's Secretary, unto whom, after he had ſaid ſomewhat of the hard dealing with the Ambaſſador and his Followers, he declared, That he had always diſliked of that manner of proceeding, and oftentimes intreated his Father for their Liberty, and now at laſt to have obtained, That the Ambaſſador being dead, his Servants might be ſet free; and ſo put them in good hope, that they ſhould in ſhort time be reſtored to their wonted Liberty: in the mean time, that one of them ſhould go unto the Emperour's Court, and there ſpeak with one of his Secretaries, whom he had before adviſed to bethink himſelf of Peace; unto whom alſo he afterwards writ, upon what Conditions he thought Peace might be at the Sultan's hand obtained. Which were, If all the Caſtles and Strong-holds, taken by the Emperour's Forces in theſe Wars, as *Filek*, *Setchine*, and *Novigrade*, with their Territories, ſhould be reſtored, *Siſeg* in *Croatia* ſurrendred; if the Emperour ſhould from thenceforth refuſe to aid or protect the *Tranſilvanians*, *Moldavians*, and *Valachians*, and leave them to the Great Sultan to be chaſtiſed as Rebels; if finally, the Emperour would at once ſend unto the *Turks* Court his wonted Tribute for the years paſt, and ſo yearly afterwards: ſo he could be content, by the mediation of his Father, to attempt to appeaſe the fierce and inveterate Diſpleaſure of the Sultan, and to further the Treaty of Peace. This he commanded the Secretary to write, and to ſend it by the young Lord *Perling*, and to require Anſwer thereof: yet that he ſhould go with this Condition, That if the ſaid *Perling* within the ſpace of five and twenty days returned not with Anſwer, all the reſt ſhould, for his default, loſe their Heads. A ſubtil Device, and full of deceit, wherein the crafty Baſſaes, both the Father and the Son, ſought for nothing elſe but to ſee what confidence the Chriſtians had in themſelves, and to break the Confederation made between the Emperour, the *Tranſilvanians*, *Moldavians*, and *Valachians*; and that other Princes, whom God had ſtirred up in defence of ſo juſt a cauſe, hearing of a rumour of Peace, might grow cold, and defer to ſend their promiſed Aid. For now the *Turks* had found by experience, how hurtful and dangerous the Revolt of the three Countries of *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Valachia* was unto them, as they which brought ten hundred thouſand Duckats yearly into the Great Sultan's Treaſury: beſides that, thoſe People, now become their Enemies, were of all other fitteſt to intercept all manner of Proviſion to be brought by Land either to or from *Conſtantinople*, were it Victual, or other warlike Proviſion. Notwithſtanding this motion of Peace made by the two Baſſaes, *Sinan*, the old Baſſa in the mean time, with

1595

The Emperor's Ambaſſador dieth in Priſon at *Belgrade*.

1595 with great Diligence at *Belgrade*, prepared all things neceſſary for War, and cauſed three Bridges to be made, whereby he might in divers Places, as he thought beſt, tranſport his Army over *Danubius*; and at the ſame time ſent for the Garriſons round about, and other Souldiers before billeted in the Country, and put in readineſs all things neceſſary for a moſt mortal War.

The Baſſaes ſubtil demands anſwered with like

Within the appointed time came *Perling* from the Emperours Court, with anſwer to the Letters written by the Ambaſſadors Secretary, at the Commandment of the Baſſa; the effect whereof was, that he had received his Letters by *Perling*, and did thereby underſtand what had paſſed between the captive Servants of the late Ambaſſadour, and *Sinan Baſſa* at *Belgrade*, and alſo between them and *Sinan Baſſa*'s Son at *Buda*; and that the Emperours Mind was never other, but that a firm Peace might have been made between him and the Sultan; and that the Emperour had done nothing elſe by his Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, or by others in other Places, but that ſuch reaſonable Conditions might have been found out, as might have ended thoſe Wars, and have on both ſides delivered their innocent Subjects from their great and daily Calamities; which might eaſily have been done, if *Sinan*, the Author and Fautor of this War, had with like deſire furthered the Peace. But that it was manifeſt unto the whole World, that all Complaints of infinite Grievances, being by the Ambaſſador, yea, and by the Emperour himſelf, by his Letters laid open unto the Sultan and his chief Baſſaes, had not only nothing prevailed, but alſo to have been with great Contempt rejected, and the Treaty of Peace once begun, to have by the Inſolency of the Baſſa of *Boſna*, been interrupted; That the Emperour, becauſe the matter ſhould not break out into open War, had ſent his double Tribute into the Confines of *Hungary*, which was a great while laid up at *Comara*, until the Sultans Mind was known. But when all his Deſigns tended to War, and the *Chriſtian* Provinces were by his Robbers on every ſide ſpoiled, the Inhabitants led away into moſt miſerable Captivity, the Towns and Villages burnt, yea, whole Countries laid deſolate, and all manner of Outrages were upon a mere Pride and Contempt, as it were of the whole World, exerciſed; then the Emperour to have taken his Refuge unto the defence of his juſt cauſe, and to have uſed ſuch Remedies as are both before God and the World to be allowed, and ſo by lawful War to have repulſed War. And that altho' all had not the laſt year proſpered in his hand, but that he had received ſome loſs; yet that *Sinan Baſſa* himſelf, and the Baſſa of *Buda*, his Son, with other of the wiſer ſort of the *Turks*, muſt needs confeſs that to have chanced, not by their Wiſdom, Policy, or Power, but by the Sufferance of God, by a rare Misfortune, through the inexcuſable Negligence and Treaſon of ſuch as he had put in truſt with the Confines of his Empire, worthy moſt ſevere Chaſtiſement. And that no man could deny, but that great Powers of the *Turks*, had not once, but oftentimes been overthrown and diſcomfited, by ſmall handfuls of the *Chriſtians*; therefore their Power not to be ſo invincible, as they vainly vaunted of. But whereas it is written, that the great Viſier *Sinan*, and the Baſſa his Son, are of Opinion, that the Emperour is brought to ſo low an ebb, that he muſt be glad to accept of moſt hard and diſhonourable Conditions of Peace propounded by them; therein they err much, and deceive themſelves far; for by the Power of God they ſhould ſhortly by Experience know, that his Imperial Majeſty wanteth neither Power nor Wealth, to repair the loſs received through the Treaſon of them he truſted, yea, and to recover whatſoever elſe he had loſt; and that it ſhould in ſhort time be witneſſed unto the whole World, by the help of God, and the defence of a moſt juſt Cauſe, that the Emperour was not ſo poor and weak as they ſuppoſed him to be. Yet, as he of his own natural Goodneſs and Clemency, with his own incomparable loſs and harm, had always ſought for the Quiet and Profit of his Subjects, and to the uttermoſt of his Power, ſtaied the effuſion of innocent Blood; ſo now alſo forgetting all Injuries, he could happily be content to think of an honourable Peace; whereunto he was more inclined than to protract the War with the unſpeakable harms of the Subjects on both ſides. Yet above all things, it behoved *Sinan* to know, that he was to reſtore all ſuch Caſtles and Towns as have in this War been taken by the *Turks*, beginning at *Wihitz* in *Croatia*, even to the laſt innocent Subject by them carried away into Captivity: And that the *Tranſilvanians*, *Moldavians*, and *Valachians*, (People many Ages joyned and united as inſeparable Members to the Kingdom of *Hungary*, as unto the true Body, and now of late by the Practiſe and Treachery of certain rebellious Perſons ſeparated from the ſame) were from henceforth to be left under the Protection and Government of his Imperial Majeſty, and never more to be impugned by the *Turks*: If theſe things were done, and order taken that the Injury and Diſgrace done unto the Emperours late Ambaſſador (a Fact that all the Princes of the World cried ſhame of) might not remain unpuniſhed; and that his Servants in durance at *Buda* and *Conſtantinople*, might be reſtored unto their wonted Liberty, then ſome good form of Peace, and bounding of their Territories, might happily be agreed upon; without which Conditions, all talk of Peace was but vain; for that God, the juſt and mighty Protector of ſuch as put their Truſt in him, would not fail to help his Imperial Majeſty, with the reſt of the Confederate Princes, in their ſo juſt a quarrel, and abate the Pride of ſuch as truſt in their own Strength and Power.

This anſwer the Captives at *Buda* were commanded to give unto the Baſſa, either by Writing or by word of Mouth; and withal, earneſtly to requeſt him, both for their own Liberty and their Fellows, wrongfully detained at *Conſtantinople*. Which if it could not be obtained, yet to comfort themſelves with that, that they ſhould in bounteous manner receive from the Emperour ſuch allowance, as ſhould ſuffice to provide them things neceſſary; as he had granted to *Perling*, whom he might have juſtly detained, and not ſent him back again, but for his Oaths ſake, being no lawful Priſoner. Thus were the unreaſonable Conditions of Peace, craftily by the Baſſa propounded, by others anſwered; but by whom he knew not, no Mans Name being ſet thereunto.

The Emperour, not ignorant with what an Enemy he had to do, and of nothing more careful than of the Kingdom (or more truly to ſay, of the Reliques of the Kingdom) of *Hungary*, lying now as it were in the Lions Mouth, ceaſed not to pray Aid, not of the Princes Electors only, but of others alſo farther off; yea, even as far as *Italy* and *Spain*, but eſpecially of the King of *Polonia*; as his near Alliance and Neighbour. Unto whom both he and the States of *Hungary* ſent their Ambaſſadors at ſuch time as he, moved with the daily Incurſions of the *Turks* and *Tartars* into the Countries adjoyning upon his, had for the ſafety of his own Kingdom, called a Parliament of all his States in *February* laſt at *Cracovia*: Whereof *Mahomet*, the great *Turk*, hearing, ſent alſo two of his chief *Chiaus*, his uſual Ambaſſadors, unto the King and his States ſo aſſembled, to crave his Aid in his Wars in *Hungary*; which if the King ſhould not refuſe, then to

1595

promiſe

1595 promiſe him to want no Coin to pay his Souldiers; and that *Mahomet*, mindful of ſo great a courteſie, would at all times be ready to requite him with like, when his Occaſions ſhould require. Theſe Ambaſſadors, having obtained ſafe conduct from *Michael* the Vayvod of *Valachia*, for their Paſſage through his Country, coming thither, were by the Vayvod himſelf honourably entertained and welcomed, and ſo brought into a fair Lodging, where they diſcourſed with him of many matters. But the Vayvod's Followers, grieved to ſee ſo great Honour done to theſe their ſworn and mortal Enemies, with Weapons in their hands brake into the Room where the Ambaſſadors were, and without more ado ſlew them both; and in the ſame Fury ſetting upon the reſt of the *Turks* their Followers, cut them all in pieces, ſo that of them none came into *Polonia* to do their great Maſter's Meſſage, neither yet returned to *Conſtantinople* to carry news of the reſt, but there altogether periſhed. Of which Outrage *Mahomet* yet underſtanding, was therewith wonderfully enraged, threatning all Evils both to the *Moldavians* and *Valachians*, and forthwith ſent out other Ambaſſadors to the ſame purpoſe, who with better Fortune afterwards in ſafety arrived in *Polonia*.

The Turks Ambaſſadors ſent unto the Polonian King ſlain in Valachia.

The *Tartars* in many places (as is before declared) overthrown, and many ſtrong Caſtles and Forts taken from the *Turks* by the *Tranſilvanians*, *Valachians*, and *Moldavians*, the *Turkiſh* Affairs going to wrack in thoſe Quarters, and ſore ſhaken on that ſide of *Hungary*; *Mahomet*, the *Turkiſh* Emperour, called home to the Court *Sinan Baſſa*, his General in *Hungary*, to confer with him (as it was thought) of ſome great matters. In whoſe place he ſent *Ferat Baſſa*, he who ſometime had the leading of *Amurath's* great Armies againſt the *Perſians*; who now departing from *Conſtantinople*, came to *Belgrade* in *April*, and there took the charge upon him. Where, at his firſt coming, in the night time all the Ropes and Cords of the Tents were ſuddenly cut in ſunder, and ſo the Tent let fall about his Ears: which ſome ſuppoſed to have been done to his Diſgrace, by the procurement of *Cicala Baſſa*, before by him wronged; or, as others thought, by the inſolent Janizaries, who diſliking of him, did it in deſpight, wiſhing rather to have been led by *Mahomet* himſelf. Now at his coming, the Famine which the laſt year began amongſt the *Turks* was grown exceeding great, not at *Buda* and *Belgrade* only, but even generally in moſt places of *Hungary* poſſeſſed by the *Turks*; inſomuch, that the *Tartar* Women that followed the Camp were fain to roaſt their own Children, and eat them. This Famine was alſo accompanied with a moſt terrible Plague, whereof great numbers of the *Turks* and *Tartars* died daily: ſo that of fourſcore five thouſand *Tartars*, which came the laſt year into *Hungary*, now remained ſcarce eight thouſand, the reſt being all devoured with the Sword, Famine, and Peſtilence.

The Plague and Famine among the Turks.

Great were the harms the *Turks* ſtill daily received from the late revolted Countries of *Tranſilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, the Chriſtians of thoſe Places ſeeking by all means to annoy them. *Michael* Vayvod of *Valachia*, not contented with that he had already done, but entring into the *Turks* Frontiers, ſurpriſed *Scihmele*, together with the Caſtle; wherein he found fourteen field pieces, amongſt which were two which had upon them the Arms of the Emperour *Ferdinand*, and other two having upon them the Arms of *Huniades*; which Pieces he afterwards ſent as a Preſent to the *Tranſilvanian* Prince. After that, he took *Oroſige*, a famous Port-Town, the dwelling place of the *Turks* great Purveyor for Butter, Cheeſe, and Honey, and ſuch other Proviſion for the Court, wherein he found ſuch ſtore of the aforeſaid Proviſion, as might well have ſufficed eight thouſand men for a whole year; and ſtill proſecuting his good Fortune, took from the *Turks* *Kilec* and *Galempe*, with the ſtrong Caſtle of *S. George*, commonly called *Grigio*, and at length beſieged *Laganoc*.

Michael Vayvod of Valachia doth the Turks great harm.

1595

With the beginning of the Spring came *Matthias*, the Arch-duke, and General of the Chriſtian Army, from the Aſſembly of the Nobility of *Hungary* at *Presburg*, to *Vienna*, and ſo from thence to the Emperour his Brother at *Prague*, who appointed him General of the lower *Hungary*, and *Maximilian* his Brother General of the upper Country; giving them for their Lieutenants, unto *Maximilian* the Lord *Teuffenbach*, and to *Matthias* the County *Charles Mansfelt*, by him ſent for out of *Flanders*, and after created one of the Princes of the Empire. *John de Medices*, who was yet in *Hungary*, he made Maſter of the great Ordnance, with charge to fortifie *Komara*; which he ſo well performed, as that it was thought nothing in ſtrength inferiour to *Rab*. All this while the Emperour ceaſed not, by his Ambaſſadors and Letters, to ſollicite the Chriſtian Princes, for the repreſſing of the common Enemy to put to their helping hands; and ſo much prevailed with them, that out of his own hereditary Provinces, and from other Princes his Friends, he had this Spring raiſed a right puiſſant and ſtrong Army for the defence of *Hungary*; which how it was raiſed, and from whom, it ſhall not be much from our purpoſe briefly to remember, as the chief ſtrength, under God, whereby the Chriſtian Commonweal was this year moſt notably defended. Out of the higher *Saxony* came a thouſand two hundred Horſe-men, and out of the lower *Saxony* ſix hundred; from *Franconia* a thouſand Horſe-men; from *Suevia* four thouſand Foot-men; out of the County of *Tirol*, as many; from *Bavaria* three thouſand; out of *Bohemia* two thouſand men at Arms, ſix hundred light Horſe-men, and ſix thouſand Foot-men; from *Sileſia* a thouſand five hundred Horſe-men; from *Luſatia* five hundred Horſe and a thouſand Foot; from *Moravia* a thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand Foot; out of *Auſtria* two thouſand Horſe and ſix thouſand Foot; from *Hungary* five hundred Horſe-men and a thouſand Foot: from the Nobility of *Suevia* and *Franconia* four thouſand Foot; from the King of *Spain* out of the Low-Countries, under the Conduct of *Charles* County *Mansfelt*, two thouſand Horſe-men and ſix thouſand Foot; unto theſe the Biſhop of *Rome* added two thouſand Horſe-men and eight thouſand Foot; the great Duke of *Florence* ſent five hundred Horſe and three thouſand Foot; the Duke of *Ferrara* a thouſand five hundred Foot-men; the Duke of *Mantua* a thouſand Foot; and the Duke *Veniuree* five hundred Horſe. All which being put together, fill up the number of fifteen thouſand nine hundred Horſe-men, and fifty thouſand five hundred Foot. Which notable Army, raiſed from the power of divers Chriſtian Princes, and conducted by worthy Chieftains, had, by the goodneſs of God, much better Succeſs this Summer againſt the ancient Enemies of Chriſtendome, than had the like Army the Year before, as in the proceſs of this Hiſtory ſhall appear.

The notable Army of the Chriſtians, and from whence it was raiſed.

Among the worthy Commanders that were in this puiſſant Army, *Charles* County *Mansfelt*, the Son of *Peter Erneſtus* the old County, from his Youth brought up in Arms, was by the King of *Spain*, at the requeſt of the Emperour, ſent with the aforeſaid Forces of two thouſand Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot out of the Low-Countries, as a Man for his approved Valour and Direction, fit to manage theſe dangerous Wars againſt the *Turk* under *Matthias* the Arch-duke, as his Lieutenant-General; who having raiſed the appointed Forces, for

1595 for moſt part *Walloons*, departed from *Bruxels*, about the midſt of *February*; and by the way taking his leave of his aged Father at *Luxenburg*, and travelling through *Germany*, came in *March* to *Prague*, where he was by the Emperour, and the Arch-duke his Brother, moſt honourably entertained, and ſhortly after, with great Solemnity, created one of the Princes of the Empire. His Forces following after him, were by the way ſtayed, partly by the Inundation of Waters (the Rivers they were to paſs over at that time riſing to an unwonted height) partly by the Jealouſie of ſome of the *German* Princes, who denied them Paſſage through their Territories, untill ſuch time as that the Emperour, by his Letters, had opened unto him the way; which Princes, for all that, ſtood upon their guard, and ſo gave him Paſſage.

Now ran great Rumours of the wonderful Preparations of the *Turks*, as alſo of the Chriſtians; Fame, after her wonted manner, increaſing the report of all things above meaſure: which cauſed the *Turks*, with exceeding care, to look to the Fortification of their frontier Towns, eſpecially of *Rab* and *Strigonium*; as did the Chriſtians to the Fortification of *Komara* and *Altenburg*. In the mean time, many hot Skirmiſhes paſſed between the Chriſtians and the *Turks*, eſpecially in the late revolted Countries of *Tranſilvania* and *Valachia*, wherein the *Turks* were ſtill put to the worſe, to the great diſcontentment of their Emperour. Near unto *Temeſwar* the Baſſa of *Buda* was overthrown by the valiant Captain *Geſtius Ferentz*, and the *Tranſilvanians*. And in *Valachia*, the *Turks* General entring with a great Army, was there alſo, by the Lord *Nadaſti* and the *Valachians*, aided with the *Tranſilvanians*, in a great Battel diſcomfited and overthrown. Eight thouſand of the *Turks* heads, in token of this Victory, the Lord *Nadaſti* ſent to *Alba-Julia* to the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, and certain Enſigns, amongſt which, one was moſt richly garniſhed with precious Stones and Pearl, thought to be worth thirty thouſand Dollars; which the Prince afterward reſtored again to *Nadaſti*, offering him great Poſſeſſions in *Tranſilvania*, if he could have been content there to have ſeated himſelf.

Ferat Baſſa overthrown in Valachia.

All this Spring the *Turks* countenanced their Wars with greater Boaſts and Threats than true force, giving it out, That they would in ſhort time work Wonders both by Sea and Land. For the more credit whereof, *Murat Rays*, a notable Pirate, was ſent out with twelve Gallies, who landing here and there upon the Coaſts of *Italy*, did much harm; cauſing it to be reported in every place where he landed, That this was but the beginning of a greater War, and that a wonderful Fleet was to follow him: which raiſed a great fear, as well in other places as in *Italy*. Howbeit, no ſuch Fleet afterwards appeared; for why, the Turkiſh Emperour, much troubled with the Revolt of *Tranſilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, and the great Mortality then raging both among his Souldiers and their Horſes, was not at leiſure to look into the Sea, having his hands full enough with the Troubles of *Hungary*, where his men of War enjoyed little reſt in the Frontiers of his Territories.

Sigiſmund, the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, had, upon ſome juſt cauſes, of late ſuſpected *Aaron* the Vayvod of *Moldavia*, to have Intelligence not only with the *Polonians*, but alſo with the Cardinal *Bator*, and other his mortal Enemies, and ſecretly to have been about to make his Peace with *Mahomet*, and ſo again to fall off from him unto the *Turk*: which vehement Suſpicion growing daily more and more, was about this time manifeſtly confirmed by certain Letters intercepted concerning that matter. For the preventing whereof, the Prince cauſed *Aaron* to be apprehended, and with his Wife and Son to be ſent as Priſoners to *Prague*; in whoſe Room, he, by the conſent of the Nobility of the Country, placed one *Stephen Rozwan*, a wiſe and diſcreet man amongſt them, and ſuch an one as had been always faithful unto him: ſo, as much as in him was, providing that that Country ſhould not be rent from him, and the Union of the other. But againſt the ſecret Practices of the *Polonians*, he proteſted openly, by Letters unto the Emperour, by the Power of God, and Aid of his faithful Subjects, to redreſs thoſe ſo great Injuries himſelf by the Sword. 1595

Mahomet ſendeth Ambaſſadours to the Prince of Tranſilvania.

In the midſt of theſe Troubles came three Chiaus, Ambaſſadors from the Turkiſh Sultan, unto the Prince, to perſuade him again to put himſelf into his Protection, and to give him Paſſage through his Country, as in former time, into *Hungary*; promiſing him, that all the Injuries done by him or his People, ſhould be for ever forgotten and forgiven; and that he ſhould have thoſe three Countries of *Tranſilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, as his own free Inheritance, without paying any Tribute; and ſo to be accounted as the *Turk's* moſt loving Friend and Vaſſal. What the Prince anſwered thereunto was not known; but by his doings afterwards it was eaſily to be gathered, that he hearkened not unto the deceitful Charms of the faithleſs Tyrant, truſting more unto the League he had with the Chriſtian Emperour. Theſe Ambaſſadors were ſcarce gone, but that a ſecret Meſſenger came with Letters from the chief of the Chriſtians in *Bulgaria* to the Prince, declaring unto him, That if he did with any good Succeſs proſecute his Wars, they would be ready to follow his Fortune, and to joyn hands with him againſt the cruel Tyrant, and to ſhut up all the Paſſages that way into *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, and *Hungary*.

Whilſt theſe troubleſome times thus paſſed in *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*, one of the old Janizaries, called *Waſvode Giezi*, an old Souldier, but a confident bold ſpoken Fellow, moved, as ſhould ſeem with the Diſcontentments of the time, came unto *Mahomet* the Great Sultan, at *Conſtantinople*, and there openly ſet upon him with this rough and abrupt Speech:

The preſumptuous Speech of one Waſvode, an old Janizary, to Mahomet the Great Sultan.

HOW long at laſt, moſt mighty Emperour, wilt thou endure thy ſelf to be ſeduced and blinded by the great Baſſaes of thy Court, and Commanders of thine Armies? How long wilt thou ſuffer thy ſelf to be deceived, to the great danger of thy ſelf, and hurt of thy Subjects? Seeſt thou not how overthwartly, fraudulently, and cunningly, they, moved only with their own covetous and ambitious Humour, have hitherto dealt with thee and thy Father? eſpecially in that, that perſuaded by them, thou haſt diſhonourably broken thy League, and taken up Arms againſt the Chriſtian Emperour. At length open thine eyes and ſee their deceit, and how much they abuſe thy Power. Sinan Baſſa, who muſt have himſelf honoured and exalted above all others, hath not by ſtrong hand honourably won Rab, *as hath been the manner of thine Anceſtors, but hath craftily bought it with thy money, and thereby caſt thee into a moſt dangerous War and infinite Troubles. O* Rab, Rab! *now the cauſe of great triumph and rejoycing, as if thereby all Chriſtendome ſhould in ſhort time be ſubdued to thy Scepter. But thou art therein much deceived; thy Barns, thy Store-houſes, as are* Tranſilvania, Valachia, Moldavia, Bulgaria, *and other Provinces adjoyning, from whence, this thy Imperial City of* Conſtantinople, *with the Country about it, thy Court, yea thy Self are to be relieved, are by this War ſhut up; ſo that down the River of* Danubius *out of the Weſt, or by the* Euxine *out of the Eaſt, thou art not able to look for any Proviſion. From whence then, O moſt mighty Emperour, wilt thou maintain thy ſelf, thy Court, this populous City, and*

1595 *and the Country hereabout? Not to ſpeak in the mean time of thy mighty Army now in* Hungary, *Fleſh, Fiſh, Corn, all manner of Victual, are now at ſuch a price, that the common Souldier cannot buy them. In this extream dearth of all things, not men only, but even the very Beaſts and Cattel, ſtarve for Hunger. Thy Horſes go fat perhaps into* Hungary, *but neither thou, nor thy ſelect Souldiers, can live by Graſs and Weeds, all that is left in that Country. This Miſery and Calamity of thy People thou feeſt daily, and yet thou wilt not with ſound Judgment lift up thine eyes, to ſee from whence theſe harms come, and how that they by thee put in greateſt truſt, ſtudy not for thy Profit, or the profit of the Commonweal, but only how by all means to enrich themſelves.*

Mahomet, much moved with the confident Speech of the old Janizary, commanded him to be forthwith committed to Ward, and by fair means to be examined, by whoſe ſetting on, and for what Cauſe, he had ſo boldly uttered this rude Speech unto his Sovereign, and what further thing he had intended: but the reſt of the Janizaries hearing thereof, riſe preſently in a Tumult, and by ſtrong hand took him out of Priſon, and by ſolemn Oath combined themſelves to defend him, even to the ſpending of their own Blood: whereat *Mahomet* was glad to wink.

The greateſt part of the Aid promiſed by the Chriſtian Princes for the maintenance of this years Wars againſt the *Turks* being now come to *Vienna* in *Auſtria*, County *Mansfelt*, Lieutenant-General under the Arch-duke, forthwith called a Council of the Colonels, Captains, and other great Commanders of the Army, to conſult with them what courſe to take for the beginning of this great War, as, whether they ſhould preſently lay Siege to ſome Town of the Enemies, or elſe to expect him in the plain Field, and to give him Battel. All things well conſidered, and that reſolved upon which was thought moſt expedient, he removed from *Vienna* to *Altenburg*, where he muſtered his whole Army; and departing thence, with ſome few of his Followers came to *Walkenburg*, a Village upon the ſide of *Danubius*, where he made choice of a place to incamp his Army in; which after he had marked out, he returned again with ſpeed to *Altenburg*, and by open Proclamation thorow the Camp, gave ſtraight Commandment, That againſt a certain hour every man ſhould be in readineſs to remove and ſet forward toward the Enemy: but divers of the Souldiers, and eſpecially the *Germans*, began forthwith, after their wonted manner, to cry out for their Pay, before they would ſtir any farther: ſo that the County was glad, by a ſecond Proclamation to command them to riſe, promiſing them their Pay within eight days. But they ſtill ſtanding upon their former Reſolution for their Pay, refuſed any farther to follow their Captains, and ſent ſix of the beſt ſort among thoſe mutinous Souldiers to the County, in the Name of all the reſt, to demand their Pay; whom he forthwith commanded to be all hanged: but three of them having reaſonably excuſed themſelves, he let them go, and cauſing the other three to caſt lots for their Lives, hanged up two of them. Which ſevere Execution ſo terrified the reſt, that upon the Sign given they all riſe, and with the reſt of the Army followed the County. The whole Army being come to *Walkenburg*, unto the place where they were to encamp, the County himſelf, with others of the Nobility, began with Spades and Shovels to dig and caſt up the Trenches, and ſo wrought until they ſweat again; with whoſe Example, all the reſt of the Army, of what degree ſoever, being moved to labour, had in a ſhort time caſt up a very great Trench from *Danubius* unto the Mariſhes, large enough for eighty thouſand men to encamp in, the great Work, with reſtleſs labour, going forward both night and day until it was fully finiſhed. The County lying thus intrenched with his Army, was ſtill careful, by his Eſpials, to underſtand where the Enemy lay, and what he did. He was ready ſtill to hear all, but to believe that which ſeemed moſt like to be true: what he purpoſed, he kept moſt ſecret, ſo that the Enemy could never diſcover any of his Deſigns, (wherein the Generals of late years before him had much erred;) and commonly his moſt certain Reſolutions were ſhadowed under the open ſhew of ſome other matter nothing meant: Security he much abhorred, as never free from danger: and although it was by divers Meſſengers brought unto him, That the Enemy was but of ſmall Strength, unable to meet him, diſorderly encamped, and in great diſtreſs for want of Victuals; yet would he give little credit thereunto, as knowing ſuch Reports to have oftentimes been given out by the *Turks*, of purpoſe to lull the Chriſtians in Security, the more eaſily to oppreſs them. The Chriſtian Army thus ſtrongly entrenched, and the Trenches planted with great Ordnance, the County himſelf, with certain Troops of Horſe-men, would oftentimes ſhew himſelf before *Rab*, and ſometime before *Dotis*, viewing ſometime the one place, and ſometime the other, as if he had verily purpoſed to have beſieged one of them: and to give the greater ſhew that he had ſo determined, he cauſed the Ground to be marked out for his Army moſt conveniently to encamp in, and for the caſting up of his Mounts. Which cauſed the *Turks* of *Strigonium*, *Veſprinium*, *Palotta*, and other Places farther off, to ſend part as well of their warlike Proviſion, as of their Gariſon Souldiers, ſome to *Rab*, ſome to *Dotis*, for the defence of thoſe Places, neareſt as they thought unto danger. The County in the mean time having now put all things in readineſs, came with his Army, and ſat down before *Dotis*, demanding to have it yielded unto him. And the more to confirm the *Turks* that he would aſſuredly beſiege that place, he began to caſt up his Trenches, and to raiſe his Mounts as ſeemed moſt convenient; ſtraitly commanding every man, of what condition ſoever, to put his hand in ſome meaſure to the furtherance of thoſe Works; and the more by his own Example to encourage others, would oftentimes himſelf carry a Faggot, or ſome other thing, before him upon his Horſe, for the raiſing of the Mount. For all that, certain *Hungarian* Gentlemen diſdaining ſuch baſe labour (as they deemed it) refuſed to do any thing therein; which the County perceiving, ſtraitly charged one of them, by his Example, to carry a Faggot to the Mount: which the *Hungarian* Gentleman refuſing, the County therewith much moved, laid the Faggot he was carrying himſelf, before the *Hungarian* upon his Horſe, charging him to ſee that he carried it to the appointed place: the *Hungarian* diſdainfully taking it, carried it until he thought he was out of the County's ſight, and then in ſcorn threw it down; which the County (having ſtill an eye after him), perceiving, commanded him to be taken, and all armed as he rid, to be preſently hanged upon the next Tree for his Obſtinacy. Which wholſome ſeverity, both then and afterwards, cauſed others more diligently to do what they were commanded by their Superiours.

It happened about this time, that three *Turks* being taken Priſoners, were brought into the Camp; whom the County ſtraitly examined of many matters. But the firſt of the three could neither by fair or foul means be induced to anſwer to any thing that he was asked; and was therefore, by the Commandment of the County, in the ſight of the other two, cut into ſmall pieces. Who terrified with

The Army of the Chriſtians muſtered at *Altenburg*.

The vigilant carefulneſs of County *Mansfield*.

Dotis beſieged by the Chriſtians.

An obſtinate *Turk*.

1595

1595 with his diſmembring, confeſſed many things whereof they were asked; and among others, That the *Turkiſh* Sultan had determined to turn his greateſt Forces into *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia*, and the upper part of *Hungary*; and therefore would this Summer ſend ſmall Forces, or elſe none at all into thoſe quarters.

Now was *Dotis* ſo belay'd by the County, as that no man doubted but that he had thereon purpoſed to have engaged his whole Forces, when ſuddenly, the laſt of *June*, commandment was given thro' the Camp, That every man upon ſign given, ſhould be in readineſs to follow his Leaders, for that the County had determined forthwith to remove; yet whither the Army was to be removed, few or none knew, more than certain of the chief Commanders. As for to go to *Strigonium*, few there were that ſo much as dreamed thereof, all was kept ſo ſecret; yet was it the Counties purpoſe, even from the beginning, to attempt the winning of that City, which the Arch-duke had in vain the laſt year beſieged. The next Night, being both dark and foul, the County riſe with all his Army, and the next day, being the firſt of *July*, came to *Strigonium*, they of the City not hearing of his coming, before they ſaw him under their Walls. Wherefore the *Turks* in the Suburbs, called the *Raſcian* City, and they in the Fort under St. *Thomas* Hill, deſpairing of the keeping of thoſe Places, ſetting fire on the Houſes, and defacing the Fort, ſo much as in that ſudden fear they poſſibly could, fled into the lower Town. The next day the County without reſiſtance took the foreſaid Places forſaken by the *Turks*, which he manned with certain Companies of *Wallons*, and made a Bridg of Boats over *Danubius*, caſt up certain Mounts, and did many other things for the furtherance of the Siege. In three days he had again repaired the Fort under St. *Thomas* Hill, abandoned by the *Turks*, and therein placed four great pieces of Artillery, wherewith he began to batter the lower Town, and in other Places to ſtraiten the beſieged more than they had been the year before. The Baſſa of *Buda*, not ignorant of the want both of Men and Munition in the beſieged City, (and the rather, for that they had but a little before ſent part of their Garriſon with Shot and Powder to *Rab* and *Dotis*) attempted thrice (as he did many times after during the time of the ſiege) to have by the River put new Supplies both of Men and Munition into the City; but was ſtill, by the Diligence of the *Chriſtians* excluded, and inforced with loſs to return. In ſhort time, the lower Town, which they call *Waſſerſtat*, or the Water-town, was with continual battery ſore beaten, ſo that ſcarcely any Houſe or Building was left whole; and a Counterſcarf, made the laſt year, beaten down. Whereunto certain *Wallons* were ſent, only to have viewed the bredth and manner of the Ditches; after whom certain Companies of the *Hungarian Heidons* preſently followed, without any Command of their Captains; who with great Courage got to the top of another high Counterſcarf, and there ſet up ſome of their *Enſigns*. Which the *Turks* beholding, and coming on cloſe together, by plain force inforced them with loſs to retire. Among theſe *Hungarians* were divers alſo of the *Wallons* ſlain, with ſome others of good Name and Place, to the great Grief of the County, being not a little offended with that diſordered Service; yet Day and Night the Battery ceaſed not, and the *Chriſtians* out of their Trenches with their Muſquet-ſhot ſlew many of the *Turks* upon the Walls, receiving little or no hurt again, the *Turks* ſtill ſhooting ſparingly, for fear of wanting Shot and Powder at their greater need; yet that they ſpent they beſtowed ſo well, that amongſt others they had ſlain four of the *Chriſtian* Canoneers, and one *Wallon* Captain. About the midſt of *July*, the County with continual battery had made the Water-town (as he thought) aſſaultable; and therefore ſent certain Companies to begin the aſſault; who having paſſed the Counterſcarf, found the Ditch full of deep Mud, and but newly cut broader certain paces by the *Turks*, ſo that it was thought ſcarce poſſible to be paſſed without a Bridg; behind which Ditch was an high Wall with ſtrong Bulwarks, and within all this was another new caſt Ditch, and upon the very brink thereof a thick and high Parapet; all which, for all that, certain Companies of *Wallons*, with great Labour and Danger adventured to paſs; but ſuch was the Valour of the Defendants, and the ſmall number of them that came on to the aſſault, with the Diſadvantage of the Place wherein they ſtood, that at length they were glad to retire with the loſs of many of their Fellows. The *Chriſtians* in the beginning of this Siege had taken a little Iſland in the River before the City, which was kept with ſome few Companies of the Lord *Palfi's Heidons*; whereof the *Turks* having Intelligence at *Buda*, with three Gallies and certain other Veſſels, landed in the Iſland 3000 Souldiers, which ſlew the *Heidons*, unto whom no Succour could be ſuddenly ſent, and ſo recovered again the Iſland; wherein they left a ſufficient Garriſon for the keeping thereof, furniſhed with all things neceſſary, and ſo departed.

About three days after the former aſſault, the *Chriſtians*, in hope of better Succeſs, the ſecond time aſſaulted the Water-town, in which aſſault the chief Leaders were the Lord *Greis* and *Anthony Zinne*, a famous Captain, had he not ſtained his Honour with County *Hardeck* at *Rab*; but being pardoned by the Emperour, did now, together with the reſt appointed to that Service, moſt courageouſly aſſault the Breach, but were again by the *Turks* notably repulſed, and inforced at laſt to give over the aſſault, and ſo to retire with the loſs of 150 men; among whom *Zinne* himſelf was ſlain, with one Captain *Ruger*, and ſome of the Counties own Guard; the Lord *Greis* was wounded in the Head, and the younger Lord *Schuendi*, with divers other Captains, grievouſly hurt. The next day after, 600 of the Mountain People came into the Camp unto the County, with Supplications, to requeſt him, Not to give over the ſiege until he had won the City; promiſing him in the Name of thoſe Towns and Villages from whence they were ſent, of their own Charges to repair for him what harm ſoever he ſhould do in the City for the taking thereof, yea, though he ſhould lay it even with the Ground: for why, the Harms they daily received from the Garriſon of that City were wonderful.

At the ſame time alſo he was advertiſed by his Eſpials (of whom he maintained many for the Diſcovery of the Enemies doings) that *Mahomet* the *Turkiſh* Sultan had writ unto the Baſſa of *Buda*, carefully to provide that his beloved City of *Strigonium* took no harm, and not to ſpare either for Men or Money in time to relieve it; and therein to do nothing without the Advice and good liking of his old and faithful Servant *Alis Beg*, who of long time had governed, and alſo defended that City; and to the intent that nothing ſhould be wanting for the performance hereof, that he had ſent *Alexander* Aga of the *Janizaries* from the Court, (whoſe Service he might ill have ſpared) whoſe approved Counſel and Help he might alſo uſe in all things; for that he had rather loſe ſome other whole Kingdom, than that one City; And that therefore he ſhould beware that it were not won by the Enemy, or by any Compoſition yielded; wherein if he failed, he threatned unto him his

County *Mansfeld* removed with the Army from *Dotis* to *Strigonium*.

The *Chriſtians* repulſed.

Mahomet careful of Strigonium.

1595 heavy diſpleaſure, not to be appeaſed without the price of his Head. Which ſo ſevere a Commandment of the great Sultan's, the Baſſa ſent to them of *Strigonium*; with moſt grievous threats from himſelf, if they, terrified with any Battery, undermining, or aſſault, ſhould yield the City, and not hold it out as became valiant Souldiers, unto the laſt man; ſwearing to impale them all upon Stakes that ſhould conſent to the yielding up thereof. The old Governour *Alis Beg* having received this ſo ſtrait a Command from him that was both able and like enough to perform what he had threatned; utterly to deterr the Souldiers from once thinking of yielding, cauſed diligent Enquiry to be made throughout the Garriſon, if any of them had at any time made any motion of yielding up the City, or otherwiſe murmured againſt their Captains or Commanders appointing them to any Service; and ſuch as he found to have ſo done, he, to the terror of others, cauſed to be preſently executed; and after that, went down himſelf into the lower Town, to ſee that nothing were there wanting or amiſs, where moſt danger was. But when he would have again returned into the upper Town, he was ſtayed by the Janizaries, who told him, That ſeeing he was of ſo valiant and couragious a mind, and their Governour, he ſhould there ſtay with them, and take ſuch part as they did, were it better or worſe; and ſo would he, or would he not, there needs ſtay he muſt.

Now the Baſſaes of *Buda* and *Temeſware*, with divers *Sanzackes*, as well of thoſe parts of *Hungary* which the *Turks* poſſeſſed, as other places, were aſſembling their forces for the relief of the beſieged in *Strigonium*: whereof the *Tranſilvanian* Prince hearing, made ſhew as if he would forthwith have beſieged *Temeſware*; ſo that the Baſſa thereof leaving the intended Expedition for *Strigonium*, was glad to return for the defence of his own Charge. They alſo of *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and *Croatia*, with the Troops of County *Serinus*, had ſo ſtopped all the Paſſages, that twelve thouſand *Turks*, which were coming from *Zigeth*, and the places thereabout, could by no means come to joyn themſelves with their Fellows for the relief of the diſtreſſed City.

The higher City of *Strigonium* battered by the Chriſtians.

The County leaving nothing unattempted or undone that might help for the gaining of *Strigonium*, had made a notable Fort upon S. *Thomas* Hill, and therein placed five great Culverins; wherewith he furiouſly battered the higher City, and did therein great harm; and thereby alſo brought to paſs, that no man could go up or down the Hill betwixt the upper Town and the lower, but he was in danger to be fetch'd off with thoſe Pieces, or the Muſquetiers; who, defended by thoſe great Pieces, lay upon the ſide of the Hill in Caves and Buſhes, awaiting for ſuch as ſhould go up or down betwixt the two Towns. Thus the Chriſtians at one time battered the upper Town, the lower Town, and the ſtrong Town and Fort of *Gokara*, ſtanding on the farther ſide of *Danubius* over againſt *Strigonium*, beſieged by the Lord *Palfi*. But of all theſe Places, *Gokara* was with the fury of the great Ordnance moſt ſhaken; which the County perceiving, cauſed the Battery to be increaſed, and ſo continued until he had beaten down the Counterſcarf, and made certain fair breaches in the Wall. Whereunto the *Moravians* (unto whoſe Lot it fell) the one and twentieth of *July* gave an Aſſault in five divers places, whom the Lord *Palfi* ſeconded with his *Hungarians*, of whom certain were of purpoſe appointed, beſides their Arms, to bring things with them for the firing of the Town; which they in the time of the Aſſault found means ſo well to beſtow, that in a while the Town was all on a light Fire. The *Turks* at firſt made notable Reſiſtance, but finding themſelves over-preſſed, and ſeeing the

Gokara taken by the Chriſtians.

Town now on a fire about their ears, which with the Wind ſo increaſed, that it caught hold of the lower Town on the other ſide of the River; they retired to the River-ſide, where ſome of them by Boats got over to *Strigonium*, other ſome periſhed in the River, the reſt, falling into the hands of the Chriſtians, were by them all put to the Sword. *Gokara* thus taken, and the fire quenched, the Chriſtians repairing the Breaches, and ſtoring it with all warlike Proviſion, left in it a ſtrong Garriſon. Within a night or two after, were two hundred of the *Turks* Horſe-men deſcried in a Field faſt by, which cauſed an Alarm to be raiſed in the Camp, as if the whole Army of the *Turks* had been at hand; howbeit, thoſe Horſe-men retiring, and no other appearing, it was afterwards known, that they were only Scouts ſent out by the *Turks* to take view of the Army of the Chriſtians, in what ſort they lay encamped. 1595

The latter end of this Month it fortuned, that a young country fellow, ſecretly ſent out of the City by the Governour, and falling into the hands of *Palfi*, was by him ſent to the County; by whom he was in friendly manner demanded, from whence he came, whither he was going, and whereabouts? Whereunto the Youth frankly anſwered, That he was ſent from the Governour with Letters to the Baſſa of *Buda*; which he preſently drew out of his Boſom, and delivered them unto the County; who after he had read them, cauſed them to be cloſed up again, and ſo delivered to the Young-man, with ſome few Crowns, commanding him to carry them to the Baſſa, as he was about, and in his Return to bring him the Baſſa's Anſwer, promiſing for his ſo doing to reward him bountifully: which the Young-man undertook to do, and ſo departed. Now the purport of the Governours Letters was, That if the Baſſa did not within ſix or ſeven days ſend him aid, and relieve him, he ſhould for want of Victuals, and other things neceſſary for the holding out of the Siege, be inforced either to abandon the City, or to yield it up into the Enemies hands. Whereunto the Baſſa returned Anſwer by the aforeſaid Meſſenger, That he would within the appointed time be with him, willing him in the mean time to be mindful of his wonted Valour, and not to be with any thing diſcouraged; appointing him the day, the hour, the way, the means, with all the other Circumſtances how he would relieve him. Which Letters, the Young-man, according to his Promiſe, delivered unto the County; who thereupon provided accordingly for the welcoming of the Baſſa. Within a day after alſo, one of the *Turks* Canoneers, conſidering the danger the City lay in, and fearing that it would be loſt, fled out of it into the Camp; who, beſides that he aptly declared the ſtate of the City, and the wants the Beſieged were in, did alſo afterwards good Service during the time of the Siege. The *Turks* had in this while many times ſallied out to their great loſs; yet now, upon hope of better Succeſs, they adventured, the twenty ninth of this Month, to ſally out again, but with like fortune as before, leaving fourſcore of their men behind them, having ſlain but five of the Chriſtians.

Now had the *Turks*, in great wants, by the ſpace of a Month, right worthily defended *Strigonium*, expecting ſtill for relief. At length News was brought into the Camp, That the Baſſa of *Buda*, with 20000 men, was coming to raiſe the Siege; who the ſecond of *Auguſt* came accordingly, and with his Army encamped within four miles of the Chriſtians; lying ſo nigh, that certain of the *Turks* Horſe-men ſeeking after Booty, came very near unto the Camp of the Chriſtians, and out of the Paſtures, even under their Noſes, carried away ſome few Horſes: Againſt theſe deſperate Adventurers, certain Troops of the *Hungarian* and *German* Horſe-men iſſued

1595 A Skirmiſh between the Turks and the Chriſtians.

ſuing out, had with them an hot Skirmiſh: but the *Turks* of purpoſe retiring, as men over-charged, and the Chriſtians ſtill following on, had at length drawn them unto the place whete divers other Troops of the *Turks* lay in Ambuſh for them; who now ſtarting forth, on every ſide hardly charged them. The *Hungarian* light Horſe-men well acquainted with ſuch Skirmiſhes, ſeeing the danger, preſently fled, and left the *Germans* to themſelves; who for a while valiantly encountred their Enemies; but oppreſſed with multitude, were glad at laſt to fly alſo. In this Skirmiſh of the Chriſtians were loſt and grievouſly wounded about an hundred. The *Turks*, encouraged with this ſo proſperous a beginning, came on the next day with all their Army, being before reſolved, by plain force to open themſelves a way into the City, and ſo to relieve the beſieged. Of all theſe things the County was not ignorant, as thereof forewarned by the Baſſa's Letters before delivered unto him; and had therefore with his Army ſtrongly belayed all the ways unto the City. Nevertheleſs, the Enemy came ſtill on between the Hills S. *Thomas* and S. *George*, and near unto the Suburbs called the *Raſcian* City, put themſelves in order of Battel, as did alſo the Chriſtians, giving the Enemy leave to come even to their Trenches. In the mean time, the Lord *Palfi*, with his *Hungarian* Horſe-men, fetching a compaſs about the Hill on the one ſide, and the Lord *Swartzenburg* with his Horſe-men on the other, had ſo incloſed the *Turks* behind, as that they could not without great danger retire. Both Armies orderly ranged, and the ſignal of Battel given, the *Turks* having before, without any great harm done, diſcharged ſeventeen Field-pieces, came on after their wonted manner with a moſt hideous cry, and at the firſt Onſet, with their Turkiſh Arrows, as with a thick ſhower, darkned the Sky; when on the other ſide, the *German* and *Wallon* Horſe-men, with their Petronels, ſent their deadly ſhot as thick as Hail amongſt them again; and the Men at Arms after them, taught the *Turks*, to their coſt, how unfit their light and half-naked Horſe-men were in a ſet Battel to meet with them ſo well appointed: in a trice, but not without great ſlaughter, the Battel was brought to the Sword, and to be tried by true Valour: There was to be heard a cry Heavens high, the thundering of Artillery both great and ſmall, the clattering Armor, the gliſtering Weapons, the neighing of the Horſes, the crying of the Wounded, the heavy groanings of the Dying, with the noiſe of the Trumpets, Drums, and other warlike Inſtruments, made deaf the ears of the Hearers, preſenting unto them nothing but horror and even preſent death. It was a moſt miſerable ſight to ſee ſo many men in ſo ſhort time ſlain; for the Battel had ſcarce endured half an hour, when many thouſands of the *Turks* lay dead upon the ground, and the reſt ſeeing the Victory incline to the Chriſtians, betook themſelves to flight, leaving behind them their great Ordnance, and whatſoever elſe they brought for the relief of the beſieged: whom ſo flying, the Lords *Palfi* and *Swartzenburg* (who had before taken the ſtraights whereby they were to paſs between the Mountains) ſo received with their freſh Horſe-men, that of them that came that way few eſcaped. The Baſſa himſelf, who ſtood upon the Hill, ſeeing the diſcomfiture of his Men, fled alſo himſelf. The Baſſa of *Natolia*, with about 100 of the *Turks* more, by good fortune got into *Strigonium*. The number of the *Turks* ſlain in this Battel was great, and is of divers diverſly reported, ſome ſaying that there were ſlain 14000, and ſome fewer. Beſides them that were ſlain, many were alſo taken, and ſome of them men of great Name and Place. There was alſo taken 27 Enſigns, with a multitude of Camels, Aſſes, and Mules, laden with Mony, Shot, Powder, and other neceſſary Proviſion; all which, brought thither for the relief of the beſieged, became a prey unto the Chriſtians. In the heat of this Battel they of the City ſallying out, had entred a Fort of the Chriſtians upon the River-ſide, but were again preſently driven out, and with loſs enforced to retire. After this Victory, the County ſent certain Companies of the *Hungarian* and *German* Horſe-men, with 500 Waggons, to the Enemies Camp, not far off in the Mountains; who coming thither, found it utterly forſaken by the Enemy, but well ſtored with all manner of neceſſary Proviſion, which they carried all away, together with 600 Tents, many whereof were lined with Damask, Satin, and other Silk, richly embroidered, or layed with gold-lace, or gold-twiſt. The Baſſa's rich Tent, taken by the Collonel of the Horſe-men, was afterwards by him given unto the County, as was alſo the Plate and Money there found; all which he divided among the Souldiers according to their Deſerts. In the *Turks* Camp were alſo found certain Heads of the Chriſtians, with the dead Body of the Lord *Brandenſteine*, ſlain in the conflict but the day before, which the Chriſtians carried away with them into the Camp, and there honourably buried them. Thoſe that remained of the *Turks* Army hid themſelves in the Mountains and Woods, and ſo holpen by the darkneſs of the night, made beſt ſhift for themſelves that they could. The Baſſa himſelf, accompanied but with twenty Horſe, came to *Buda* about midnight, and by his coming filled the City with great heavineſs, every man lamenting his loſt friends. The *Hungarian* Heidons, beſt acquainted with the Country, pricking up and down the Mountains and by-ways, for certain days after the Battel, brought in daily into the Camp ſuch Priſoners as they took, or elſe the Heads of ſuch *Turks* as they ſlew. Of this ſo notable a Victory, the County by a ſpeedy Meſſenger certified the Arch-duke at *Vienna*; who rewarded him for his good News with a chain worth five hundred Duckats; and preſently cauſed the Song of Thankſgiving to be ſung in the Church of the *Auguſtine* Friers, and afterward in all the Churches of the City. The County alſo, to gratifie the Emperour, ſent him by the Lord *Chalon*, his Nephew, unto *Prague*, two of the chief Priſoners taken in the late Battel, with four Horſemen's Guidons cunningly made of Horſe-hairs, ſuch as are commonly carried before the greateſt Commanders of the *Turks* Armies; and fourteen other Enſigns of the *Turks*, with fourteen moſt goodly Horſes of the *Turks*, for a Preſent.

A cruel Battel betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks before *Strigonium*.

The Turks overthrown.

The next day after this Battel, the County ſent the Lord *Palfi*, with an Interpreter, unto the City, to demand it to be yielded; who having Audience, declared unto the *Turks* in what danger they were, that the help they looked for was now quite overthrown, new relief could not, but in long time, be ſent unto them; and that therefore it ſhould be good for them, whilſt yet they might, to be well adviſed, and betime to bethink themſelves of yielding up the City, leſt haply when they would, it then would not be accepted; promiſing to intreat with the General, that they might in ſafety depart, and with ſure Convoy be brought unto ſuch place of ſafety as were convenient. Whereunto the beſieged *Turks* anſwered, That the Chriſtians had now five Weeks layn at the Siege, and muſt yet lye three Weeks longer: and that whereas of late ſome few of their Friends came to have relieved them, and had failed therein; there was yet an hundred thouſand more to come after them, who if they ſhould not be able to perform that they came for, yet that they would not for that deliver or forſake the City, before they were ready to be drawn out of it by the heels, and that yet they would then take three days to reſolve thereupon.

1595

1595 Now had the Chriſtians with long and continual Battery ſore beaten both the upper and the lower Town, which Battery they now maintained with greater fury than at any time from the beginning of the Siege, and within the City their wants increaſed daily, having nothing left to live upon but a little Wheat and Barley, with ſome Horſeflesh; unto whom thus diſtreſſed, the Lord *Palfi*, by the commandment of the County (to try what confidence they yet had in themſelves) the Ninth of *Auguſt*, ſent two Gentlemen to the City, to do a Meſſage from him to the Governour: who adverтiſed thereof, being a very aged and courteous man, accompanied with the Aga of the Janizaries, came to the Walls to hear what they had to ſay; where one of the ſaid Gentlemen in few words delivered him this ſhort Meſſage:

The Meſſage ſent by the Lord *Palfi*, to the Governour of *Strigonium*.

MY moſt gracious Lord, the Lord Palfi, *moſt worthy Governour, greeteth thee well; and knowing thee to be a Captain both valiant and wiſe, and one that hath always courteouſly uſed ſuch as have fallen into thine hands, hath Compaſſion of thy deſperate Obſtinacy: and therefore, whereas thou art to look or hope for nothing elſe but preſent Death and Deſtruction, he, as thy Neighbour, and a Lover of thy Vertues, adviſeth and exhorteth thee, if thou wilt ſave thy ſelf and thine from moſt undoubted and imminent Death, and utter Confuſion, without delay to deliver up this City, which thou canſt not longer hold.*

Unto whom the old Governour thus, without ſtay, courteouſly anſwered:

The reſolute Anſwer of the old Governour, to the Meſſage ſent him by *Palfi*.

THY Speech, my Friend, and thy Maſters Advice, are unto me both vain. Tell the Lord Palfi, *in my Name, that I cannot pleaſure him with the leaſt ſtone in this City. One foot I have already in the grave, and will with Honour carry theſe my gray Hairs into the ſame; and am yet comforted with a moſt certain and undoubted Hope, that my moſt dread and mighty Sovereign, and my Lord* Sinan Baſſa, *will not forſake me: yea, and that if they ſhould write unto me, that they could find no means or way to relieve me (which I am ſure they can) yet would I well, and at leiſure, conſider whether it were fit for me to deliver up this City or not; ſeeing that of the defence thereof dependeth all mine Honour and Credit. Beſides that, what Reward they have on both ſides that ſo eaſily deliver over the Cities they have in charge, all the World doth ſee.*

With this Anſwer he ſent them away. All this while the Aga of the Janizaries ſtanding by, ſpoke not one word, but ſighing in ſilence and grinding his Teeth, declared by his Countenance his Indignation and inward Grief.

In the mid-way between *Buda* and *Strigonium*, in the midſt of the River of *Danubius*, lieth a little Iſland called *Vizze*, wherein many rich Clothiers dwelt: this Iſland the *Hungarian* Heidons ſpoiled, and in returning thence, met with twenty four Wagons laden with Corn, going to *Buda*, which they took, with eight and twenty Priſoners which they brought into the Camp. The lower Town being with long and continual Battery made aſſaultable, was by the Chriſtians, the Thirteenth of *Auguſt*, in three divers places at once aſſaulted. The *Bavarians* were by lot to give the firſt Charge, who in the performing thereof beginning to faint (for that they were notably repulſed by the *Turks*) but ſeconded by them of *Reitnaw* and *Suevia*, pluck'd down a great Paliſado, filled the Ditches, removed whatſoever ſtood in their way, and ſo long fought with the *Turks* in the breaches, that by the coming in of the Marqueſs of *Burgawe* with ſix Enſigns of freſh men, they prevailed upon the Enemy, and ſo all together brake into the Town. In the midſt of this dangerous Fight was the Marqueſs himſelf, who both with his Preſence and chearful Speech ſo encouraged his Souldiers, that they, as men fearing no peril, ran headlong into all danger, until they had entred the Town: there might a man have heard a moſt miſerable Cry, eſpecially of Women and Children throughout the City; whenas the Chriſtians breaking in on every ſide, ſlew whoſoever came in their way, without reſpect of Age or Sex, ſparing neither Woman great with Child, neither the little Children hanging at their Mothers Breaſts. Yet did not all that were entred ſo much attend the preſent Execution, as ſome of them did the Spoil and Prey; and eſpecially the *Hungarians*, unto whom all was good Booty, even the very Hinges of the Doors and Windows; whereby many eſcaped into the Caſtle and upper Town, with the Baſſa and *Alis-Beg* the old Governour. The Chriſtians had not many hours poſſeſs'd the Town, but that divers fires began to break out in divers places, but by what means was not at the firſt known: at laſt it was found out, that the *Turks*, doubting the loſs of the Town, had before, where they thought beſt, left Gun-powder, which taking fire by Matches left burning for that purpoſe, ſhould at a certain time ſet all on fire; by which means many moſt horrible Fires were raiſed in the Town, which conſumed many goodly Buildings, and other things which might have ſtood the Chriſtians in great ſtead, and could hardly in a day or two be quenched.

1595

The lower Town taken by the Chriſtians.

This ſo joyful a Victory ſaw not he, by whoſe good direction, next under God, it was gained, the worthy County; for he a few days before being fallen ſick of a Fever, taken by drinking too much cold drink in his Heat, with immoderate pains taking in the late Battel, and ſo afterwards falling into a great flux with a Fever, was, by the counſel of his Phyſicians (for the better recovering of his Health) removed to *Komara*, as a place of more quietneſs; having before his Departure ſent for the Arch-duke to come into the Camp, and for *Blankemier* into *Bavaria*, to ſupply his own room. But his Diſeaſe ſtill increaſing, became at laſt deſperate, ſo that the Phyſicians themſelves now deſpaired of his Health. Yet lying thus drawing towards his end, he almoſt every hour enquired how the Army did, and whether the City were yet taken, or what hope there was of the taking thereof. But when it was told him a little before his Death that the lower Town was won, he thereat greatly rejoyced; and the next day, being the Fourteenth of *Auguſt*, towards night, quietly departed this World, to the great loſs of the Chriſtian Commonweal, and the exceeding grief of the whole Army. A Man even from his Child-hood brought up in Arms, of Stature great, but of Courage greater, and painful above meaſure, nor the leaſt cauſe of his untimely Death. All the time of this Siege he took little Reſt either by day or night, ſcarce ſo much as to lie down upon his Bed in two or three nights together. The little Meat he did eat, he moſt part eat it ſtanding or walking, yea, and ſometimes on Horſe-back. He was a moſt ſevere Obſerver of Martial Diſcipline, which cauſed him to be of his Souldiers both beloved and feared. His Bowels were with due Solemnity buried at *Komara*, where he died; but his Body was brought back again to *Luxenburg*, there to be honourably interred with his Anceſtors.

County *Mansfield* died at *Komara*.

About which time, *Theodore*, the great Duke of *Muſcovia*, hearing of the Wars betwixt the Emperour and the *Turk*, ſent two Ambaſſadours with Letters and Preſents to the Emperour; which Ambaſſadors coming to *Prague* the ſixteenth of *Auguſt*, accompanied with two hundred and fifty Horſe, were,

1595 were, by the Emperours appointment, honourably received and entertained. And afterward having Audience, firſt delivered the Letters of Credence from the great Duke, reported to have been of this purport.

The Copy of the great Dukes Letters unto the Emperour.

YOur Majeſty hath ſent unto us your Ambaſſador Nicholas Warkotſie, *requeſting our brotherly Aid againſt the hereditary Enemy of all Chriſtianity, the* Turkiſh *Sultan. Wherefore, we alſo deſiring to live with you our dear and well beloved Brother in all perpetual Amity and Friendſhip, ſend unto you by our faithful Counſellor and Servant* Michael Iwanowitze, *and* John Sohnie, *Aid out of our Treaſury againſt the ſaid Enemy; unto whom we have alſo given other things in charge to be propounded to your Majeſty, requeſting you to give unto them full credit in all things. Given in the great Court of our Power at* Muſco, *in the year of the World* 7103, *and from the Nativity of Chriſt* 1595, *in the Month of* April.

What things in particular theſe Ambaſſadors were ſent for, was not commonly known, but among others it is ſaid, That the *Muſcovite* requeſted the Emperour to ſend an Ambaſſador unto the *Perſian* King, to draw him alſo into the League with them againſt the *Turk*; which Ambaſſadour ſhould firſt come into *Muſcovia*, and that way to paſs into *Perſia*. The Preſents which the great Duke ſent unto the Emperour, were, an hundred and fifty thouſand Florens of Gold, great ſtore of moſt rich Furs, and precious Perfumes deemed to be of exceeding value, two white Faulcons, and three Leopards alive. And *Iwanowitze*, the Ambaſſador himſelf, preſented unto the Emperour of himſelf, certain rich *Turky*, *Perſian*, and *Babylonian* Hangings and Carpets, certain Timbers of Sables, with other rich Furs no leſs precious than Sables, ſo many as eight Porters could hardly carry. Theſe Ambaſſadors tarried at *Prague* until the ſeven and twentieth day of *December*, and then taking their leave, returned with the Emperours anſwer to the Duke.

Alis-Beg the old Governour of *Strigonium* ſlain with a great Shot.

But to return again unto *Strigonium*. The *Chriſtians* now poſſeſſed of the lower Town, bent their whole battery upon the higher Town, where it fortuned the fourteenth of *Auguſt*, that the old Governour *Alis-Beg*, whilſt he was carefully walking from Place to Place to ſee where moſt danger was, had his Arm ſtruck off with a great ſhot, of which hurt he preſently died. He was as man of great Gravity, about the Age of fourſcore years, and had of long time notably both governed and defended that famous City, the loſs whereof was like enough to have been unto him greater Grief than was the loſs of his Life there. Much about the ſame time alſo died the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, being before mortally wounded. Both the chief Commanders thus ſlain, the *Janizaries* with the other Souldiers and Citizens made choice of the Baſſa of *Natolia* (who as is aforeſaid eſcaped out of the late Battel into the City) for their Governour; who with heavy chear took upon him that forlorn charge. The *Chriſtians*, not ignorant of the death of theſe two worthy Men, in whoſe great and approved Valour they ſuppoſed the chief Defence of the City to have reſted, were in good hope that now the reſt would the more readily hearken to ſome good Compoſition; and therefore ſent a Meſſenger to demand if they would yet, whilſt there were ſome Mercy left, yield the City. Who, though they had loſt their chief Commanders, with the greateſt part of the Garriſon, and were in great wants both of Victuals and all Things elſe neceſſary for their Defence; yet their Anſwer was in few Words, That they would hold it out even to the laſt man. The greateſt cauſe of which their obſtinate Reſolution, was the ſtrait charge the Baſſa of *Buda* had given them for the defence thereof; beſides that, they accounted their City holy, as won by their magnificent Emperour *Solyman*, whom the *Turks* generally yet have in a devout remembrance, and therefore thought it a great Impiety to deliver it up unto the *Chriſtians*. The next day after came *Matthias* the Arch-duke into the Camp; who, after he had well viewed the whole Army, and the manner of the ſiege, he called together into his Tent the chief Commanders, namely, the Marqueſs of *Burgaw*, his Couſin, *John de Medices* the *Florentine*, and the Lord *Paſſi* the *Hungarian*; to conſult with them what was further to be done for the winning of the City. Shortly after, he commanded the City to be aſſaulted in two Places at once, which was by the *Walloons* and *Germans* couragiouſly performed; but ſuch was the Valour of the Defendants, that when the *Chriſtians* had done what they could, they were glad at laſt to give over the aſſault, and with loſs to retire. About this time came the Duke of *Mantua*, with the three Counties his Brethren to the ſiege, and now the *Turks* began again to draw together near unto *Buda*, there to make head for the relief of *Strigonium*, and to be revenged of the loſs they had there before received. Whereof the Arch-duke having Intelligence, ſent out againſt them eight thouſand choſen Souldiers out of the Camp, who ſuddenly ſetting upon the *Turks* in their Camp, before the riſing of the Sun made a great ſlaughter amongſt them, and took certain Priſoners, of whom the Sanzack of *Copan* was one; and ſo with Victory returned to the ſiege. 1595

The beſieged *Turks* in *Strigonium* underſtanding of this overthrow of their Friends, from whom they expected moſt ſpeedy relief; and beſide the Terror of the continual Battery and ſtill feared Aſſaults, pinched alſo with extream wants of all things; began now to faint. Wherefore the Baſſa with the other Captains, overcome with the aforeſaid Difficulties, and the general out-cry of the fearful People, reſolved with one conſent to come now to parley, and upon reaſonable Conditions to yield up the City; whereupon a flag of Truce was ſet up, and Parley craved. Which granted, the Arch-duke after the going down of the Sun came into the lower Town, where nine of the *Turks* attended his coming; who entring into Parley, required that they might under ſafe Convoy, with Bag and Baggage depart, and ſo leave him the City; which the Arch-duke would not by any means agree unto. At length, with much Intreaty, they obtained that they might upon the ſame Conditions depart that the *Chriſtians* did at *Rab*; with their Scimitars by their ſides, and ſo much of their Goods as they could carry upon their Backs, unto ſuch Ships as were to be appointed for the carriage of them to *Buda*. For the performance whereof, Hoſtages were on both ſides given; and ſo the next day (being the ſecond of *September*) they began to come out of the City, more in number than either the Priſoners taken in the time of the ſiege had confeſſed, or the *Chriſtians* had thought. Thirty Ships were appointed for the conveying of them down the River to *Buda*, which not ſufficing, many of them tarried in the City until the next day, at which time the Baſſa, with the ſick and wounded, ſailed to *Buda*, the Priſoners and Pledges on both ſides being before faithfully delivered. Thus by the Goodneſs of God, and the good Conduct of a few valiant *Chriſtians*, was *Strigonium*, the Metropolitical City of *Hungary*, after it had fifty two years groaned under the miſerable Yoke of the *Turkiſh* Servitude, again reſtored unto the *Chriſtian* Common-weal; which the *Chriſtians* forthwith repaired and new fortified, as was thought beſt

Strigonium yielded unto the *Chriſtians*.

1595 beſt for the defence thereof againſt the Enemy. All which being done, about the midſt of this Month the Arch-duke ſent eighteen thouſand to beſiege *Vicegrade*, otherwiſe called *Plindenburg*, a ſtrong Caſtle of the *Turks* upon the River between *Strigonium* and *Buda*; which Caſtle they took. Which, when they of *Buda* underſtood, they were ſtrucken with ſuch a fear, that many of the better ſort were ready to forſake the City; inſomuch, that the Baſſa to ſtay their flight, was glad to command the Gates of the City to be ſhut upon them, and no man ſuffered to paſs out. This good Succeſs of the *Chriſtians* in theſe Wars, cauſed great rejoycing to be made in moſt parts of *Chriſtendom*.

The Caſtle of Vicegrade taken by the Chriſtians.

All this while the *Chriſtians* were thus buſied at the ſiege of *Strigonium*, the *Tranſilvanian* Prince was not idle, but in divers places did the *Turks* exceeding much harm; ſo that now his Name began to be dreadful unto them. It fortuned that the ſame day that the County *Mansfelt* departed at *Komara*, that the Prince at *Alba-Julia* with great Solemnity married *Maria Chriſtina*, the Daughter of the late Arch Duke *Charles* the Son of the Emperour *Ferdinand*; her other Siſter *Anna* being before married unto *Sigiſmond*, now King of *Polonia*; for ſo it was agreed for the more aſſurance of the League between the Emperour and him, that he ſhould take his Wife out of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which he now did. Of this Solemnity the *Turks* (*his evil* Neighbours) having Intelligence, aſſembling to the number of 30000, or more, thought, as unwelcome Gueſts, to have come unbidden or unlooked for thereunto; But the vigilant Prince underſtanding of their coming, provided for their Entertainment accordingly, and ſetting his Pleaſures for a while apart, and coming upon them when they leaſt looked for him, in a great Battel overthrew them, and ſlew moſt part of them, carrying away with him as a triumphant Victor, the whole ſpoil of his Enemies.

About the ſame time, the *Tranſilvanians* alſo beſieged *Fagiat*, a Town holden by the *Turks* not far from *Temeſwar*, where, after they had lain 12 days, they of the Town, diſpairing to be able long to hold out, came to Parley, and covenanting to depart with Bag and Baggage, began to go out of the Town. But in their departure, underſtanding that the Baſſa of *Temeſwar*, with the Sanzacks of *Lippa* and *Jenne*, were coming to their relief, they that were yet in the Town began to find delays, and they that were already gone out, began to return. Wherewith the *Tranſilvanians* much moved, by plain force entered the Town, and put them all to the Sword; and afterward turning upon the Baſſa, who with ten thouſand *Turks* and certain Field-pieces was coming to have relieved the Town, had with them a cruel Battel; wherein moſt part of the *Turks* fell with ſmall loſs of the *Tranſilvanians*; who ſo eagerly purſued the Victory, that the Baſſa himſelf had much ado with five hundred others, to eſcape. The two Sanzacks, with divers others of good Place, were taken and ſent Priſoners to the Prince. Not long after, about the latter end of *Auguſt*, the *Tranſilvanians* alſo beſieged *Lippa*, a famous City of *Hungary*, ſtanding upon the River *Maracz*, not far from *Temeſwar*, which the *Turks* being not able longer to hold, fled into the Caſtle; where finding themſelves in no great ſafety, after three days ſiege they came to Parly, and ſo yielded, upon Condition that they might in ſafety depart with ſo much of their Goods as they could themſelves carry. About which time alſo the Baſſa of *Boſna*, with ten thouſand *Turks* and *Tartars*, went forth to have again recovered *Babotſca*, a frontier Town, before taken by the *Chriſtians*; which the *Stirians* and the reſt of the *Chriſtians* dwelling thereabouts, between the two

Lippa taken by the Tranſilvanians.

Rivers of *Sauus* and *Drauus*, underſtanding, conducted by the Lords *Herbenſtein*, *Leucowitz*, and *Eckenberg*, that had the charge of thoſe Frontiers, overtook the ſaid *Turks* and *Tartars* near unto *Babotſca*, fought with them, and in the plain Field overthrew them. 1595

Mahomet, not a little grieved with the good Succeſs of the *Chriſtians* in every part of *Hungary*, and above meaſure offended with *Ferat Baſſa*, his General, through whoſe Negligence all, or at leaſtwiſe moſt part of this had hapned (as he was by the Envy of *Sinan Baſſa* perſwaded) ſent for *Ferat* home, and in his Place ſent out *Sinan*. Of which the great *Sultans* Diſpleaſure *Ferat* was not ignorant, as forewarned thereof by her that beſt knew, even the Sultans Mother, and adviſed not to come in ſight until his Peace were made. Who, nevertheleſs truſting to his own Innocency (the comfortable, but moſt dangerous and weak ſtay of the great) and doubting not to anſwer whatſoever *Sinan* ſhould be able to charge him with, came to the Court; where he was by the Commandment of *Mahomet* ſhortly after ſtrangled, and his Goods, to the value of five hundred thouſand Duckats, confiſcated.

Ferat Baſſa ſent for to Conſtantinople, and there ſtrangled.

Sinan Baſſa ſent in Ferats ſtead.

Among all the dangerous Enemies of the *Chriſtian* Common-weal, was none at this time more cruel than was *Sinan*, an *Epyrot* born, a Fiſhers Son, of a rough and uncivil Diſpoſition, now about fourſcore and three years old, even from his Youth brought up in the Wars; and yet (as his Motto was) breathing nothing but Blood and War. He had many times fortunately led the huge Armies of the *Turkiſh* Emperours, *Solyman*, *Selymus*, and *Amurath*, and is now ſent by the great Sultan *Mahomet*, as the fitteſt man to reduce the late revolted Countries of *Tranſilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, to their former Thraldom; which to do, he before promiſed unto *Mahomet*, upon peril of his Head. He having raiſed a right puiſſant Army, by a Bridg made of Boats (after a Months Labour ſpent therein) paſſed over the great River of *Danubius*, into *Valachia*; of whoſe coming the *Tranſilvanians*, with the *Valachians* and *Moldavians* having Knowledge, had before ſo ſhut up the Paſſages of the Country, as that he could not without much danger have entred far; and were alſo ready with their united Forces, even at his firſt entrance, to give him Battel. Which he not refuſing, there began a moſt mortal and cruel fight, with much bloodſhed on both ſides. Thrice were the *Tranſilvanians* inforced to retire, but ſtill relieved with new Supplies, and knowing that they then carried in thier Arms the welfare of their whole Country, came on freſh again, and as hardly charged the *Turks*, as they had been by them charged. Thus with doubtful fortune and great ſlaughter was the Battel maintained from the Morning until Night, Victory with doubtful Wings hovering now over the one ſide, now over the other; until that at length, the *Turks*, overcome by true Valour, their Battels being quite diſordered and broken, were now glad to ſeek to ſave themſelves by flight. In this Battel, being fought the eleventh of *September*, beſides many thouſands of the common Soul-diers, were ſlain alſo divers of great account amongſt the *Turks*; and amongſt the reſt, *Haider Baſſa*, a man of them much regarded, was found dead even in the ſame Place where the Battel was fought. *Sinan* himſelf, in making too much haſte to get over the Bridge, fell into the deep Mud, and in that general Confuſion of his Army, was like enough there to have periſhed; but as the common Proverb goeth, *Seldome lyeth the Devil dead in a Dike*, the old *Veiliard* was with much ado drawn out by them of his Guard, and ſo ſaved to further Miſchief. Nevertheleſs, the danger was ſo great,

A mortal Battel betwixt Sinan and the Tranſilvanian Prince.

The Turks overthrown.

Sinan in flying like to be drowned.

1595 great, that for certain days it was commonly reported, that he was there drowned, moſt of his own people not as yet certainly knowing what was become of him. All the ſpoil of the *Turks* became a Prey unto the Chriſtians, as did alſo their great Ordnance, and many of their Enſigns; amongſt which, was one green one, which they accounted religious, as ſacred to their Prophet *Mahomet*, whereunto they in time of their greateſt Diſtreſs fly, as unto their laſt Refuge: there was taken alſo all their Tents, with great abundance of Victuals, and other warlike Proviſion.

The old Baſſa thus overthrown, full of Grief, and even mad for deſpight, poſted himſelf in all haſte to the Court, thinking it better himſelf to make the beſt of that which was indeed nought, than to have it made worſe than nought by the envious Report of others; and withal to fill the mind of the great Sultan with deſire of Revenge, which no man ſo much longed after as himſelf: wherein he ſo diſcreetly uſed the matter, as that the late loſs was eaſily paſſed over, as received by the common chance of War, or any other occaſion elſe whatſoever, rather than by any default of his; and new Commiſſion given him for the raiſing of another Army for the ſubduing of the late revolted Countries. In the mean time, to ſhew his Hatred unto the Chriſtians, and to pleaſe the eyes of them of the Court with the novelty of the Sight, he cauſed an hundred and twelve Chriſtian Captives, whom he had in Priſon at *Belgrade*, to be brought in chains like Beaſts to *Conſtantinople*; and ſo being led thro' the principal Streets of the City, to the vain contentment of the Citizens, to be brought to the Court-gate, for the Sultan to look upon, and the Courtiers to deride; from whence they were, after many unſpeakable Indignities, conveyed to moſt miſerable and loathſome Priſons, there to be fed with the bread of Tribulation.

The *Turks* overthrown in *Croatia*.

About this time, the *Turks*, under the Command of the Baſſa of *Boſna*, to the number of almoſt twenty thouſand, made a Road into *Croatia*, where they were by the Chriſtians, under the leading of the Lord *Eckenberg* and *Leucowitz*, overthrown, and almoſt all ſlain: the Chriſtians following the Chaſe even into the *Turks* Frontiers, burnt fifteen of their Villages, and took the Caſtle of *Varvivar*: immediately after, their Forces increaſing by the coming in of the Lord *Herbenſtein*, Governour of *Valeria* and *Windiſmarche*, and certain other Troops of Horſe-men out of *Carinthia* and the Countries thereabouts, they returned, the thirteenth of *September*, to beſiege *Petrinia*, otherwiſe called *Petrowina*; which, becauſe they were in hope to take by aſſault, they even at their firſt coming courageouſly aſſailed. But after two hours hard Fight, finding both greater reſiſtance, and more difficulty than they had before ſuppoſed to have found, and that without great Ordnance (which could not in ſhort time be got over the Mountains) there was no good to be done, they were glad to give over the Aſſault, and with ſuch loſs as they had received, to return to *Siſeg*, there to conſult farther of the matter. But the ſame night, a fugitive Horſe-man fled from the Enemy, came to the Camp, and told the Chriſtians, That *Ruſtan Beg*, Governour of *Petrinia*, was in the late Aſſault wounded in the Breaſt with a ſmall Shot, and dead; and that the *Turks* in the Town, diſcouraged with his Death, and the late Overthrow of their Friends in *Croatia*, would upon the firſt ſight of them abandon the Town, if they would but again return to beſiege it. Upon which good hope the Chriſtians preſently riſe, and ſet forward again towards *Petrinia*: which the *Turks* (hearing of their coming) had before, as the Souldier reported, for fear abandoned. So the Chriſtians, without Reſiſtance, entering the Town, found therein ſome Pillage, but better ſtore of Shot and Powder; and preſently ſending for certain Troops of Horſe-men to purſue the flying *Turks*, took divers of them, and among the reſt the late Governours Lieutenant, whom they brought back again into the Town. Thus was *Petrinia* again recovered from the *Turks*, to the great quiet and ſafety of all that ſide of the Country.

Petrinia taken by the Chriſtians.

Sigiſmund, the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, not ignorant with what an Enemy he had to do, either of the malice of old *Sinan*, who he knew would not be long before he returned, or yet of the ſecret Practice of the *Polonians*, for the withdrawing of the Country of *Moldavia* from him, ſought now, by all means (as it ſtood him upon) to make himſelf ſo ſtrong as he could againſt ſo many Storms ariſing. It fortuned, that even at the ſame time the *Zaculians*, (better known by the name of *Siculi*) in former time a free People, but as then tributary unto the *Turks*, bordering upon the North-eaſt part of *Tranſilvania*; now weary of the Turkiſh Thraldom, and ſeeing the good Succeſs of the Prince, and the late revolted Countries, their Neighbours, offered unto the Prince their Service; promiſing of their own charge to maintain forty thouſand men in the Field during his Wars with the Turk, and yearly to pay him of every houſe a Dollar, with a certain meaſure of Wheat, Oats, and Barley, after the manner of their own Country: and further, That if God ſhould bleſs him with a Son to ſucceed him in his Government, every Houſholder ſhould give unto him a good fat Oxe. For all which Service, they craved no more, but that they might as his Subjects live under his Protection; yet ſo, as to be governed by their own ancient Laws and Cuſtoms. Of which their Offer the Prince accepting, it was forthwith by them proclaimed in their Camp, and all the People ſworn to the performance of the aforeſaid agreement. And having at that preſent but five and twenty thouſand in the Field, they, without delay, ſent out their Officers to preſs out fifteen thouſand more, for the filling up of the promiſed number of forty thouſand; wherewith they came unto the Prince, who, taking a view of his Army, found himſelf to be now fourſcore thouſand men ſtrong, to welcome the Baſſa withal when he ſhould come again into his Country.

The Prince taketh a view of his Army.

Now had *Sinan*, with great ſpeed, raiſed an Army of 70000 choice Souldiers, amongſt whom were many whole Bands of Janizaries, the ſtrength of the Turkiſh Empire. With which Power, joyned unto the Reliques of his other broken Forces, he thought himſelf ſtrong enough for the ſubduing of the Prince: unto whom came alſo afterward *Haſſan Baſſa*, the Son of the great Baſſa *Muhamet*, one of the Turks moſt renowned men of War, and *Bogdanus*, the late expulſed Vayvod of *Valachia*, with many others of great name. With this Army, the old Baſſa, by a Bridge, which he with exceeding charge had made of Boats, paſſed over the great River *Danubius*, at a Town called *Zorza* or *Giorgo* (with us *S. George*) in *Valachia*, a great way beneath that place where ſometime the Emperour *Trajan* built his famous Bridge of Stone, worthily accounted amongſt the rare and wonderful Buildings of the World. From *Zorza* he marched with his Army to *Tergoviſta*, (ſometime the Vayvod's chief City, but then in the Power of the Turks) where is a notable Monaſtery, which he converted into a Caſtle, fortifying it with deep Trenches and ſtrong Bulwarks, and good ſtore of great Ordnance, purpoſing to make that the Seat of his War, until he had again reſtored thoſe late revolted Countries unto the Turkiſh Empire, which he, upon pain of his Head, had undertaken to perform. The Prince, both by Meſſengers and Letters, underſtanding of the

Sinan Baſſa by a Bridge made of Boats, paſſeth over *Danubius* into *Valachia*.

1595 the Baſſaes arrival there, and having his Army in good readineſs, ſet forward to meet him, and to give him Battel. But being come into *Valachia*, and there incamped, it is reported, That a great Eagle, deſcending from an high Rock thereby, called the Kings Rock, and hovering over the *Chriſtian* Army, flew about the Princes Tent; and there lighting, was taken and preſented to the Prince, who commanded her to be kept as the preſage of his good Fortune, holding ſtill on his way; and the fifteenth of *October*, being come within half a days match of *Tergoviſta*, he underſtood by two *Chriſtians* lately eſcaped from the *Turks*, That two days before, the *Turks* hearing of his coming were ſtrucken with ſuch a general and ſudden fear, that *Sinan* had much ado, either by fair means or by foul, to ſtay the *Janizaries* from flight; and that when he had done what he could, yet that certain Companies of them were quite fled and gon. But the Truth was, That *Sinan*, ſeeing the general fear of his Army, and he himſelf no leſs fearful than the reſt; upon the Princes approach fled with all his Army, leaving his Tents behind him for haſte, his great Ordnance, with much Victuals and other warlike Proviſion, carrying with him only ſuch things as were of moſt value. As for the City of *Tergoviſta*, with the Caſtle which he had made of the Monaſtery, he committed to the keeping of *Haſſan Baſſa* and *Bogdanus* the late Vayvod, now become a Renegade *Turk*, with a Garriſon of 4000 choſen Souldiers, promiſing within a few days, if need ſhould be, to relieve them, but fled himſelf in all haſte with his Army to *Bucareſta*, a days Journey from *Tergoviſta*. From whence he preſently writ back again to *Haſſan Baſſa*, willing him if he could to defend the Caſtle; but if he ſhould think it not poſſible to be kept againſt the Power of the Prince, then betime to forſake it and to ſhift for himſelf. But theſe Letters being intercepted by the *Chriſtians*, never came to the Baſſaes Hands. Not long after the departing of *Sinan*, the Prince coming to *Tergoviſta*, entred the forſaken Camp, where he found many Tents, with ſome Ordnance, and great ſtore of Victuals, and without further delay ſummoned both the City and the Caſtle, which for all that were both denied him. But the next day after, *Haſſan*, conſidering the flight of *Sinan*, the Power of the Prince, and withal, doubting, if need ſhould be, to be relieved by *Sinan*, whom, he not without cauſe ſuſpected not to love him, was about ſome reaſonable Compoſition to have yielded up both the City and the Caſtle; whereunto the Garriſon Souldiers (being moſt part of them *Janizaries*) would not in any caſe give their Conſent, but ſtood upon the defence of the Place. Whereupon the Prince began furiouſly to batter both the City and the Caſtle, and after ſome few hours battery, by aſſault took both, and put to the Sword the whole Garriſon; only *Haſſan Baſſa*, as taken with his own hand, he ſpared, and two other Sanzacks. *Bogdanus* the Renegade was there ſlain among the reſt. The *Chriſtians* had there a rich Prey, beſides forty two great pieces of Ordnance, and good ſtore of all manner of warlike Proviſion.

Haſſan Baſſa taken.

Haſſan thus taken, grievouſly complained, That *Sinan* had of a malicious purpoſe expoſed him to ſo manifeſt Peril, for the grudge he bare unto his dead Father, the Viſier *Muhamet*, upon whom, becauſe he could never be revenged, he now by ſiniſter means had cunningly performed it upon his Son; yet he craved of the Prince to be well uſed, offering for his ranſome 100000 *Hungarian* Ducats. Yet whilſt the Prince thus lay at *Tergoviſta*, came thither 4000 *Turks*, whom *Sinan* had before his departure thence, ſent forth to ſpoil the Country, and to ſeek after Prey, thinking to have there found him ſtill; who now falling into the Hands of the *Chriſtians*, were there all ſlain, and 60000 head of Cattel recovered, which theſe *Turks* had taken out of *Valachia* and *Moldavia*, and ſhould by *Sinans* appointment have been ſent to *Conſtantinople*. For *Valachia* and *Moldavia* do ſo abound with Corn and Cattel, that they plentifully ſerve the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, not only with Corn and Fleſh, but alſo yearly ſend at the leaſt 150 Ships thither by the black Sea, laden with other kind of Victuals. Of which ſo great Commodities the *Turks* were now deprived, by the revolt of the aforeſaid Countries. 1595

The fruitfulneſs of Valachia and Moldavia.

The Prince, leaving a ſtrong Garriſon in *Tergoviſta*, ſet forward with his Army towards *Bucareſta*, hoping there to have found *Sinan*. But he hearing of the loſs of *Tergoviſta*; and thinking himſelf in no good ſafety at *Bucareſta*, fled thence alſo to *Zorza*. The Prince coming to *Bucareſta*, found it abandoned by the *Turks*, and ſo took it without reſiſtance, yet had therein certain Field-pieces, with good ſtore of Shot and Powder, left there by *Sinan*. Having there ſtayed a while for the manning of the Place, he ſet forwards again towards *Zorza*; and that with ſuch ſpeed, that he overtook great numbers of the *Turks*, all whom he put to the Sword; ſo that the Fields betwixt *Bucareſta* and *Zorza*, were in many Places covered with the dead Bodies of the *Turks*. Nevertheleſs, he could not make ſo great haſte, marching ſtill in good order, but that the fearful Baſſa, diſorderly haſting, was about ſome ſix hours or more before come to the Bridge he had with great charge made over the River of *Danubius*.

Bucareſta taken by the Prince.

Over the hithermoſt part of which Bridge (being in length about a mile) was *Sinan* with the greateſt part of his Army (before the coming of the Prince) got over into an Iſland in the midſt of the River, wherein he had at his coming over incamped; but doubting now there to ſtay, with all the ſpeed he could, got him over the other part of the Bridge alſo unto the farther ſide of the River, with ſo many of his Men as in ſo ſhort time poſſibly could. Where to ſtay the farther purſuit of the Prince, he brake the Bridge on that ſide, and ſet it on fire; and thereby cut off alſo many of his own men that were not as yet come over. Whom the Prince incloſing, forced many of them into the River, where they periſhed; the reſt flying into the Iſland, were by the *Chriſtians* fiercely purſuing them, either there ſlain, or ſeeking by the other part of the Bridge to have got over, (whereof the farther end was before broken down by *Sinan*, and the hither end toward the Iſland now cut off by the *Chriſtians*) were, together with the Bridge, carried away by the violence of the River, and ſo altogether periſhed. Other ſome of the *Chriſtians* in the mean time took the Bridge that leadeth unto the Caſtle of *Zorza*, which ſtandeth compaſſed about with an Arm of *Danubius*, and being not very great, was kept by a Garriſon of ſeven hundred ſelect Souldiers. Unto which Caſtle the Prince preſently laid ſiege, (the reſolute Souldiers being not by any means to be perſwaded to yield it up, but to hold it out even unto the laſt man) and after he had ſore battered it, by plain force took it, and put to the Sword all the Garriſon Souldiers he could lay hands upon. About an hundred of theſe *Turks*, ſeeing they muſt needs fall into the Power of their Enemies, deſperately leapt from the top of the Caſtle into the River, where not one of them eſcaped, being all either drowned or ſlain with ſmall ſhot. In the winning of this Caſtle, two hundred and fifty of the *Chriſtians* were loſt, and many wounded; but of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, betwixt the eighteenth and the laſt of *October*, periſhed above ſix and twenty thouſand. In this Caſtle were taken thirty nine great Pieces, with ſuch ſtore

Sinan flyeth over Danubius.

1595

The Prince returneth with Victory to *Alba-Julia*.

ſtore of Armour and other warlike Proviſion, as might have ſerved for an whole Kingdom, and four thouſand Chriſtians, beſide Women and Children, whom *Sinan* had taken out of *Valachia*, reſtored to their former Liberty. With whom, the Prince, after he had ſet all things in order, returned in great Triumph to *Tergoviſta*, and ſo afterwards to his Palace at *Alba-Julia*, where, as alſo at *Claudiopolis*, and other Cities through his Dominions, he cauſed publick Prayers, with Thankſgiving to Almighty God, to be devoutly made for ſo great a Victory: as did alſo *Michael* the Vayvod in *Valachia*; who in all theſe great Wars againſt the *Turks* was nothing inferiour unto the *Tranſilvanian* himſelf. A greater loſs than this, the Turkiſh Emperour received not at Land in many Years before, being by this ſo happy and victorious a Prince, and the Revolt of theſe three Countries, deprived of ſo much Territory as they had not from the Chriſtians of long time gained. It was by ſome of them of the better ſort of the *Turks* that were taken, reported, That *Sinan Baſſa* ſhould oftentimes ſay, That this young *Tranſilvanian* Prince had bereft him of all the Honour and Renown he had with great travel got in the courſe of his long Life; and that although he had eſcaped his hands, yet that he feared he would be the cauſe for him in theſe his great years, even in the winding up of all, to loſe his Life together with his Goods and Honour. Now was the *Tranſilvanian* Prince's Name (after the Overthrow of this great Baſſa) become dreadful unto the *Turks*, and alſo famous through all *Chriſtendome*.

The Opinion *Sinan Baſſa* had of the *Tranſilvanian*.

Jenna yielded to the *Tranſilvanians*.

Whilſt this worthy Prince was thus buſied in this Expedition againſt *Sinan*, he cauſed the Caſtle of *Jenna* (ſtanding upon the High-way between *Temeſwar* and *Giula*) to be beſieged by certain of his Captains appointed to that Service; in which Caſtle lay one of the Turks Sanzackes, with a Garriſon of ſeven hundred Turks, who much troubled ſuch as paſſed that way. They, now brought to ſome Extremity, and terrified with the Succeſs of the Prince, offered to give up the Caſtle, ſo that as Souldiers, with their Scimiters by their ſides, they might in ſafety be brought to *Panoda*. Which their Offer being accepted of, and they now upon their way, the *Hungarian* light Horſe-men that ſhould have conducted them, informed that theſe Turks now under their charge had ſecret Intelligence with the Turks in Garriſon at *Giula* and *Temeſware*, That they ſhould lie in Ambuſh for them near *Panoda*, and ſo cut them off by the way; ſet upon theſe Turks whom they ſhould have conducted, and cut the Throats of four hundred of them: and yet ſtill holding on their way, met with theſe Turks that lay in Ambuſh for them, whom they, after a ſharp Skirmiſh, overthrew; and having ſlain a great many of them, put the reſt to flight. By the taking of *Jenna* the ways thereabout were quieted, eſpecially for them of *Waraden*. The Sanzack of *Jenna* reported, That *Mahomet* had a little before ſent word unto his Baſſaes and Sanzanckes in *Hungary*, That ſuch Caſtles and Towns as they thought were not to be defended againſt the Chriſtians, they ſhould betimes, as occaſion ſerved, yield them up, or forſake them, ſo to ſpare the needleſs loſs of his good Souldiers; of whom he had, with ſo many Towns and ſtrong-holds, loſt no ſmall number this Year in *Hungary*. *Jenna* thus taken, divers of the richer ſort in *Temeſware*, fearing to be even preſently beſieged, ſent their Wives and Children, with their Treaſure and ſuch other things as they made moſt reckoning of, out of the City, in Waggons, to be conveyed unto Places of more Safety; of which Waggons, ſeventy were by the Chriſtians (lying thereabout in Garriſon) intercepted, and in them an exceeding rich Booty.

Mahomet having this year fully purpoſed the utter Ruine of the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, and the reducing of the Countries of *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Valachia*, unto his Obeiſance, by the great Baſſa *Sinan*; had, for the better effecting thereof, before provided, that the Crim Tartar (ready ſtill at his call) ſhould with his own People (whereof he hath great ſtore) and certain Bands of the *Turks*, at the ſame time invade *Moldavia*; and poſſeſſing himſelf of this Country, to place one *Sidriake* Vayvod, inſtead of *Stephen*, placed by the Prince, and to people the Country with his *Tartars*, in reward of his good Service, as he ſaid; but indeed to have them always near at hand to do his Commandments in *Hungary*, *Polonia*, *Tranſilvania*, or the other Countries of the Chriſtians thereunto adjoyning. The *Tartar*, according to his Appointment, came with ſeventy thouſand *Tartars*, accompanied with their Wives and Children, to have planted themſelves in the Country, at the very ſame time that *Sinan* came to *Tergoviſta*. But being come upon the Frontiers of *Moldavia*, to have put in Execution what he was by *Mahomet* commanded, he found there *Zamoſchie*, the great Chancellor of *Polonia*, ready with a ſtrong Army to oppoſe himſelf againſt him, and to ſtay his farther Paſſage. Whereupon, ſome light Skirmiſhes paſſed between the *Tartars* and the *Polonians*; where the *Tartars* were ſtill put to the worſe, with the loſs of three thouſand of their men. The Tartar *Cham*, with *Sidriake* the Vayvod, appointed by the Turk, finding themſelves, though in number more, yet in ſtrength inferiour unto the *Polonian*, and that without his good leave he could not paſs; ſent unto the Chancellor to excuſe that was already paſt, as done without their conſent, by the Inſolency of their Souldiers; and to tell him, That their coming was not to fight with him, as having expreſs Commandment from the great Sultan *Mahomet*, in no caſe to diſturb the League betwixt him and the *Polonians*, but quietly to paſs by their Frontiers into *Moldavia*, and there to place *Sidriake* Vayvod, his Tributary, inſtead of *Stephen*, that now uſurped the place by the appointment of the *Tranſilvanian*; which, that they might do, they craved his leave, as Friends, to paſs. Whereunto the Chancellor anſwered, That he was come thither, by the commandment of the King, to defend thoſe Countries from the Invaſion of ſuch as had in them no right; and that there had of long time been an ancient League betwixt the *Polonian* Kings and *Turkiſh* Emperours, upon certain Conditions, which he would for his part keep inviolate, with the favour of the *Turkiſh* Emperour, yet ſo, as that the Kingdom of *Polonia* took no harm thereby, and that they might quietly live by him as their good Neighbour; which League he proteſted not to have been by him, but by them, infringed: as for to give them Paſſage, he ſaid he could not. Meſſengers paſſing thus to and fro, and ſome Parle had, at laſt certain Articles were agreed upon, to the reaſonable contentment both of the Tartar and of the Chancellor, (though not of *Sidriake*, diſappointed thereby of his Vayvodſhip) as alſo of the Turkiſh Sultan, whoſe Pleaſure they both ſeemed to have in ſpecial regard. Hereupon, the Tartar, with his Multitude, preſently returned, leaving the Chancellor to his own deſigns. Now was it commonly thought, that the Chancellor had done the *Tranſilvanian* Prince great Service, by keeping out of the *Tartars*, and much Honour was, by many that ſaw leaſt, ſpoken of him therefore. But far was it from his thought to do the *Tranſilvanian* therein any ſuch good, at whoſe Glory he envied, and had with the Cardinal and his Brother, the Princes Uncles (but moſt deadly Enemies) ſecretly conſpired, ſo much as in them was, his utter Ruine and Overthrow; wiſhing thoſe

1595

Mahomet calleth in the *Tartars* to invade *Moldavia*.

1595 Countries rather in the Subjection of the *Turk* than to ſee them ſo honourably at liberty, governed by the Prince; ſuch is the force of malicious Envy, the inſeparable Companion of worthy Vertue. Which the Chancellor (otherwiſe a man of great Fame and Honour) began now openly to pour forth; for preſently after the departure of the *Tartars*, he with all his Power paſſing over the River *Nijeſter*, or *Tyros*, into *Moldavia*, even at ſuch time as the Prince was going againſt *Sinan* at *Tergoviſta*, firſt ſeiſed upon the Caſtle of *Chotüm*, which he furniſhed with his own Souldiers: and from thence marching to *Zorona*, the metropolitical City of that Province, and Seat of the Vayvod, had it yielded unto him; and ſo proceeding on, had in ſhort time almoſt the whole Country delivered unto him; *Stephen* the Vayvod, placed by the Prince, flying from place to place before him, from whom he left feared any ſuch thing, having made account of no other Enemies but of the *Turks* and *Tartars*. *Stephen* the Vayvod thus driven out, and the Chancellor poſſeſſed of the Country, he preſently placed one *Hieremias* Vayvod inſtead of *Stephen*, to hold that Honour of the *Polonian* King as his Sovereign. Yet nevertheleſs, to ſatisfie the *Turk*, he ſent a Meſſenger to *Sinan Baſſa*, then but newly come to *Tergoviſta*, requeſting him not to take it in evil part that he had entred into *Moldavia*, and there placed a new Vayvod, but in the name of the great Sultan *Mahomet* to confirm this his doing, and the Vayvod by him placed; promiſing the Country of *Moldavia* to remain tributary ſtill unto the Sultan, and that this new Vayvod ſhould forthwith pay unto him what Tribute was behind, and from thenceforth a far greater Tribute yearly than had the Country of *Moldavia* before. Whereunto the haughty Baſſa (then fearing nothing leſs than that which immediately after hapned, to be driven out of thoſe Countries by the Prince) proudly anſwered, That it was not the great Sultan's mind that the *Polonians* ſhould at all invade *Moldavia*, for that beſide he could, without their help, reduce thoſe Countries to his Obedience, he had given that Country unto the *Tartar*, in reward of his good Service already done in *Huggary* and other places; whoſe Subjects, the *Tartars*, would e're long be ready, with their Wives and Children, to take Poſſeſſion of. Nevertheleſs the Chancellor proceeded to defend the new Vayvod by him placed; which was no great matter for him to do, *Sinan*, the Turks Champion (as is before declared) being preſently after overthrown, and driven quite out of thoſe Countries by the Prince: who, if he had not then gained the Victory, the Chancellor had not now holden *Moldavia*, but the Turk, whoſe Quarrel he ſeemed rather to favour than the Princes. The Chancellor, to colour this his Invaſion, pretended that the Country of *Moldavia* did of ancient Right belong unto the Kingdom of *Polonia*; which the *Tranſilvanians* took to be no other but mere and open wrong. This ſuppoſed Title, ſuch as it was, the Chancellor had ſo faſhioned out unto the King and the States of that Kingdom, that they referred it to his Diſcretion to invade the Country, and removing the Vayvod placed by the Prince, to place another in his ſtead; and the rather to perſwade them, laboured by many forced Reaſons to ſhew the Power of the *Tranſilvanian* Prince to be ſo far inferiour unto the *Turks*, that it was to be feared he ſhould at length be thruſt out of all his Dominions, and ſo they, together with *Moldavia*, become ſubject to the *Turks*; which if it ſhould ſo come to paſs, then ſhould the *Polonians* have an untruſty and troubleſome Neighbour: and that therefore it were better that *Moldavia* were poſſeſſed by them that were better able to defend it than was he, that ſo the *Turk* might be kept farther off from *Polonia*. Which occaſion he ſaid was not longer to be delay'd, but now betime to be laid hold upon; perſwading himſelf to find ſuch Grace and Favour with the *Turkiſh* Emperour, as that he ſhould be therewith right well contented; which was like enough for a time to be, for that the *Tranſilvanian* ſhould thereby be much weakened. By theſe and ſuch like Reaſons, framed to ſerve his own turn, the Chancellor ſo prevailed with the King and the States of the Kingdom, that he received (as I ſaid) full Authority to proceed in the matter as he did, and as is before declared, to the great trouble of the Prince, and benefit of the Turk: the late choſen Vayvod not long after opening a way in three places for the *Tartars* into *Tranſilvania*, one by the Country of *Siculi*, another by the way that leadeth to *Alba-Julia*, and the third by *Valachia*.

1595

The Reaſons pretended by the Chancellor for the Invaſion of *Moldavia*.

The late choſen Vayvod opens three ways unto the *Turks* and *Tartars* into *Tranſilvania*.

The *Tranſilvanian* Prince, ſeeing the Country of *Moldavia* by the practice of the Chancellor, thus taken from him, and diſſevered from the other united Provinces, to the great weakning of his Eſtate, after the flight of *Sinan* ſent certain Companies both of Horſe and Foot, to *Stephen* the late Vayvod, but now driven out by the *Polonians*, to prove if haply he could by that means drive out the *Polonians* again, and recover his former Dignity. With this aid ſent from the Prince, and others that favoured his Quarrel, he joyned a bloody Battel with the *Polonians*; but being therein by them overcome and taken, and for a ſpace kept (as the Prince feared, to have been delivered unto the *Turk*, he was by them (as is reported) cruelly afterwards put to death.

This foul dealing of the *Polonian* in *Moldavia* much grieved many good Chriſtians, as tending to the general hurt of the Chriſtian Commonweal. For which cauſe, the Emperour, by his Ambaſſadors ſent for that purpoſe unto the *Polonian* King, ſought to perſwade him to deſiſt from ſuch Invaſion of the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, by his Chancellor, as nothing ſtanding with his Honour; and that ſome good Reconciliation might be made between the Prince and the Cardinal *Bator* and his Brother, the Princes Uncles, Authors of all theſe Troubles. To which purpoſe alſo the Pope ſent a Meſſenger with like Inſtructions and Letters unto the King, perſwading him, not ſo to proſecute his Wars againſt the Prince, but to turn his Thoughts unto a more peaceable and Chriſtian-like courſe, eſpecially with him with whom he was ſo near linked in Marriage. To the like effect he writ alſo unto the Cardinal *Bator*, and after many grave Admonitions peremptorily cited him to *Rome*. But forasmuch as the Proceedings of the *Polonian* againſt the Prince are more plainly to be gathered by the Pope's Letters unto the King, it ſhall not, I hope, be miſtaken, if here ſet them down thus as I find them by others reported.

The Pope's Letters unto the King of *Polonia* to diſſuade him from invading the Prince.

'POpe *Clement* the Eighth, to our beſt beloved
'Son in Chriſt, *Sigiſmund*, by the Grace of God
'King of *Polonia*, with the Benediction Apoſtolical
'ſendeth greeting. By how much greater affection
'of fatherly Love we embrace your Majeſty in the
'Lord, ſo much the more fervently we wiſh all
'your Actions to be adorned with the greateſt com-
'mendation of true Godlineſs and Wiſdom, both
'before God and Men; whereof it proceedeth, that
'we are ſo much the more vehemently and grie-
'vouſly moved, if we hear any ſuch thing of you,
'as may ſeem not agreeable to your Vertue and ap-
'proved Zeal toward the Catholick Religion, or
'tending to the obſcuring of the Glory of your
'Name, as is now brought unto us concerning the
'Affairs of *Moldavia*; whereof, not without great
'grief, we write unto you. And to rehearſe things
'a little before paſt: with what earneſtneſs and fer-
'vency dealt I with you, that for God's Cauſe, and

the

1595 'the defence of the health and liberty of the Chri-
'ſtian Commonweal againſt the Tyranny of the
'*Turks*, you would combine your ſelf with our moſt
'dearly beloved Son *Rodolph* the Emperor, and di-
'vers other Chriſtian Princes; and that you ſhould
'not let ſlip ſo notable an occaſion, ſo worthily to
'deſerve of God, of the Catholick Faith, and of the
'Chriſtian Commonweal in general? And albeit
'we then thought, as well for many your own pri-
'vate reſpects, as alſo of your Kingdoms, That you
'were to be borne withal and excuſed if you did not
'now openly deſcend into this Confederation of the
'Chriſtian Princes againſt the moſt mortal and
'common Enemy, neither apertly joyn your Forces
'or give aid for the repreſſing of his Inſolency; yet
'we always aſſured our ſelves, that no let ſhould in
'any caſe proceed from you, whereby either the Em-
'perour or the other Chriſtian Princes ſhould be the
'rather hindered, juſtly to proſecute their Injuries,
'or to caſt off from their Necks the heavy yoke of
'the moſt cruel Tyrant; whoſe deſire of Sovereign-
'ty is not compriſed within the compaſs of any
'bounds. But that you ſhould in favour of the *Turks*
'impugn the Catholick Princes and Defenders of the
'Chriſtian Faith, and ſo joyn hands with the Ene-
'mies of the Croſs of Chriſt, as that by your help
'their force and fury ſhould be encreaſed, and ours
'not only weakened, but in the very courſe of Vi-
'ctory hindered, and caſt into moſt grievous perils;
'this we have not only not thought of you, but not
'ſo much as once ſuſpected; yea and can now ſcarce
'be perſuaded to believe thoſe things to be done by
'you, which are reported unto us as moſt true and
'undoubted. For the report goeth, That you having
'Intelligence with the *Turks* and *Tartars*, have with
'them conſpired, and namely againſt our well-be-
'loved Son *Sigiſmund*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, who
'with invincible Courage fighteth the Battels of the
'Lord; and leſt he ſhould be able to abate the force
'and attempts of the moſt proud Enemy (which by
'the ſingular mercy of God he hath hitherto above
'his own power performed) but rather be enforced
'much to fear his own Eſtate, a new Vayvod and
'Prince, as it were by a triumvirate Authority, and
'compact, to be placed in *Moldavia*, and him by the
'*Turks*, You, and the *Tartars* together, to be made
'Governour of that Country. Which unto us ſeem-
'ed ſo new and ſo ſtrange, and contrary to the good
'Opinion we had always conceived of you, yea and
'ſo unbeſeeming your Zeal and Wiſdom, that for
'grief and admiration I had almoſt cried out with
'the Prophet, *You Heavens be amazed at this, and you*
'*Gates thereof be you exceedingly heavy.* For what
'could be ſuſpected or imagined farther from the
'Expectation of us and all good men, or more in-
'credible, than that *Sigiſmund*, the moſt religious
'King of *Polonia* and *Sweden*, who had always pro-
'feſſed himſelf a moſt earneſt Defender of the Ca-
'tholick Religion, who was ready, even with his
'own Blood to redeem the Victory of the Chriſti-
'ans, and Glory of the Croſs, againſt the moſt wick-
'ed Enemies of the ſame, to be upon the ſudden
'become ſo unlike unto himſelf? and (ſo much as
'in him was) to cut off the hope and happy ſucceſs
'of that religious War; and to do harm to a Chri-
'ſtian and Catholick Prince, not to refuſe to joyn
'in league and friendſhip, even with the moſt bar-
'barous Nations and the *Tartars*, the perpetual ene-
'mies of himſelf, and of the Kingdom of *Polonia*.
'For which Cauſes, our mind is tormented with
'ſuch bitterneſs of grief, that we could not but by
'ſpeedy Meſſengers write unto you concerning this
'matter, that hereby you might the ſooner ſee the
'greatneſs of our grief; and we alſo without delay
'might ſignifie unto you, what our fatherly Love
'towards you requeſteth in ſo important a matter.
'For happily we will ſend one even of purpoſe to
'you concerning this cauſe, the care whereof grieveth
'us more than can well be expreſſed. Wherefore, 1595
'moſt dearly beloved Son, we exhort you, and in
'the moſt effectual manner we can, adviſe you and
'beſeech you in the Lord, more attentively to con-
'ſider what great diſpleaſure both of God and Man
'this your Action and Reſolution may incur, what
'a ſtain it may bring into your Crown and Di-
'nity. For believe us, that are to you inſtead of a
'Father in Chriſt, who love you not feignedly, but
'faithfully, and indeed; who wiſh for your glory in
'this World, and your eternal Felicity in the
'World to come: believe us (I ſay) this doth much
'blemiſh your Fame with all Chriſtian Kings and
'Princes; all men take it in evil part, and deteſt it
'as a thing monſtrous, that it ſhould by your means
'be wrought, that the Chriſtian Affairs ſhould not
'proſper, that an heroical Prince, who had vowed
'himſelf for Chriſt and his Country, ſhould not
'have proſperous ſucceſs in this ſo religious and ne-
'ceſſary a War againſt the *Infidels*, *Turks*, and *Tar-*
'*tars*, no leſs yours, or peradventure alſo more
'yours, and other Chriſtian Princes Enemies, than
'his. But what do we ſay? You to hinder the pro-
'ceedings of the *Tranſilvanian* Prince? this were
'happily but a ſmall matter; nay verily, by this
'means not only a Chriſtian and Catholick Prince,
'and valiant Champion of the Chriſtian Faith (a
'Vertue both admirable and amiable in the very
'Enemy) but your own Brother-in-law, bound unto
'you with ſo many bonds of Affinity, whoſe Chil-
'dren ſhall be as it were your Childrens Brethren, is
'by this means brought into great danger, and ex-
'poſed unto the fury of the moſt mercileſs Turks.
'What do you then my moſt dearly beloved Son?
'Beware that all men, both now living, and hereafter
'to come, condemn you not of the greateſt Inhu-
'manity; but beware yet more, that you ſeem not
'ingrateful, not only to your own nigh Kinſman, but
'to God himſelf, who hath bountifully bleſſed you
'with two great Kingdoms, and ſo many good things;
'and that you provoke not him to Wrath againſt
'your ſelf, that rejecteth and confoundeth all evil
'and wicked Devices; and that this miſchief that
'you have brought upon your Brother, by the juſt
'judgment of God redound not to the greateſt de-
'ſtruction of you and your Kingdom, which he in
'mercy forbid. Do you think, that the *Tranſilva-*
'*nian* being overcome, you ſhall in ſafety live from
'the treachery of the Turk? Do you not know him
'to be a faithleſs man, which meaſureth all things by
'his own profit, which keepeth faith with none but
'as ſtandeth with his own Commodity, who with
'an unſatiable deſire gapeth after every Kingdom,
'nay thirſteth after the Deſtruction of all Chriſten-
'dom? Think alſo my Son, what wrong you ſhall
'do unto the Emperour your Couſin, out of whoſe
'Imperial Blood you have begotten Sons and Heirs,
'and by the Grace of God ſhall more; but alſo our
'Dignity, and the Dignity of this Apoſtolical Seat
'(which you have always ſo devoutly honoured)
'is thereby hurt, and your moſt dear Mother
'(which we know you of all other leaſt would) the
'*Roman* Church is offended, which for the main-
'tenance of this ſacred War is at great and wonder-
'ful Charges; and our Forces, which by you ought
'to have been relieved and encreaſed, being in ſo
'unfit a time by theſe Stirs in *Moldavia* diſſevered
'and diminiſhed, and the Enemies on the contra-
'ry part encreaſed and ſtrengthened, into what
'danger and diſtreſs may both our Army of the
'Church and the Emperours fall? And withal, how
'greatly all the manner and managing of this
'whole War is thereby confounded, there is no man
'that ſeeth not. Yea and this moreover, which no
'litle concerneth the Dignity of us and this Holy
'See, we have undertaken and certainly promi-
'ſed to our moſt dearly beloved Sons *Rodolph*
'and *Sigiſmund*, That your Royal Majeſty ſhould

1595 ‘not in any thing hinder or hurt their Affairs; neither did we hereof aſſure them upon a light occaſion, but, moved with great reaſon, not only for that ‘we deſervedly ought ſo to promiſe of you in ſo ‘juſt a cauſe, but alſo for that it was ſo unto us ‘plainly and expreſly written by the Reverend Father the Biſhop of *S. Severus*, our Apoſtolical Nuntio with you, whom we know to be both unto us ‘faithful, and to you dutiful: neither can we by ‘any means doubt thereof, becauſe he hath writ ‘unto us concerning ſo weighty a matter, that he ‘received it even from your own Mouth. Which ‘things ſo ſtanding, ſeeing you of your ſelf ſee the ‘manifold Abſurdities of this Fact on every ſide, ‘not to ſpeak of the heinouſneſs thereof; we requeſt you again, yea and oftentimes, forthwith ‘to apply the neceſſary Remedies to theſe Hurts. ‘The *Tranſilvanian* Prince, your Brother-in-law, ‘devoted to your ſelf, and deſirous of your favour, ‘either protect with your defence, or at leaſtwiſe ‘hurt him not; yea, hurt not the whole State of the ‘Chriſtian Commonweal, and relieve not by any ‘means the Quarrel of the Enemies of Chriſt. If ‘you have any controverſie with the Prince *Sigiſmund*, or deſire of him any thing, referr it unto ‘us; that is to ſay, unto your moſt loving Father: ‘you know your Affairs to be of us favoured, and ‘we hope, by the Power of God, that it may eaſily come to paſs, that ſome convenient means ‘may be found whereby Peace and Quietneſs may ‘be confirmed betwixt you, and good Unity grow ‘betwixt you two Brethren our Sons, and ſo all ‘the root of Bitterneſs and Diſpleaſure to be utterly pluck'd out of your Minds. This have I writ ‘unto you my Son, frankly, and from a ſincere ‘Heart, though truly much grieved, becauſe we ‘love you, and are much careful of your Honour ‘and Good: Shew you again in Deed that you take ‘it ſo, as written from your Father; and that you ‘altogether prefer our fatherly and wholeſome Exhortations before the ſiniſter Perſwaſions of others. ‘Farther concerning theſe matters, you ſhall underſtand by the ſame Biſhop our Nuntio, now ‘with you, to whom you may (as you have done) ‘give credit in all things, as to our ſelf.

Theſe Letters dated from *Rome* the eighth day of *November*, were delivered to the King in *December*, with others to the Cardinal and Chancellor, whom the Pope ſharply reproved, as the Authors and Contrivers of all theſe Miſchiefs.

The Tartar Cham, before ſtirred up by the *Turkiſh* Emperour *Mahomet* for the Invaſion of *Moldavia*, (as is already before declared) about this time ſent his Ambaſſador alſo unto the *Polonian* King, for the Confirmation of ſuch Articles as he had before agreed upon with the Chancellor: which, becauſe they manifeſtly declare the ground and purpoſe of his intended Expedition into *Moldavia*, with the foul colluſion of the Chancellor with the *Turks* and *Tartars* againſt the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, I thought it not amiſs, or from our purpoſe (for the more manifeſtation of that which is already ſaid) here to ſet them down, as they are tranſlated out of the *Tartar* Language.

The Copy of the Letters of the *Tartar* unto the King of *Polonia*.

CHam Kazikiery *unto the King of* Polonia *and* Sweden, *our Brother, one of the great Lords among the Chriſtians, humbly boweth his Head. Firſt, we ſignifie unto you, that* Aaron *Palatine of* Moldavia *was a forſworn Traitor; who, having gathered a Power of the* Valachians, *and joyning unto him the* Polonian *Coſſacks, ſpuled the Territories of the great Sultan. But afterward, Diſſention ariſing among them, the* Hungarian *Coſſacks living in* Valachia *ſent* Aaron *in bonds unto the King of* Vienna: *after him followed another Traitor called* Rozwan, *who alſo having raiſed certain Companies of Souldiers, began in like manner to forrage the Countries of the* Turkiſh *Emperour thereabout; which, as ſoon as he had knowledge of, he writ unto me his Brother, That I ſhould, with all poſſible ſpeed, go into* Valachia, *to chaſtiſe theſe Rebels, to burn their Houſes and Towns; and having with the edge of the Sword ſlain their men, to carry away with me their Wives and Children into Captivity. Having this in Charge, I, the great Cham of the great Territory of the great Lord* Karyktery, *with my Brother* Letikerry Galga, *and other my Brethren and Counſellors, warlike and valiant Captains and Murzis; mounting my Horſe, came with mine Army into* Valachia *unto the River* Prut, *where it meeteth in another River called* Cocoza: *here we chanced upon a faithful Servitor of yours, our Brother the Chancellor, who was alſo come a little before us into* Valachia; *with whom, after ſome light contention, when we began to be more tractable, he declared unto us, that he was of purpoſe come into* Valachia *to place there a new Vayvod, which (as he ſaid) of ancient Right belonged unto the* Polonians, *without any wrong or prejudice therein to be done to the Covenants and League they had with the Emperour of the* Turks; *and farther, that his deſire was, that one* Jeremias, *whom he had appointed Vayvod, might have the Command of that Province; and that the ancient Amity, ſuch as was in the time of Sultan* Solyman *and Cham* Dawlethgerd, *might be faithfully kept. Which, when I had for my part faithfully ſworn to do, and he likewiſe had cauſed the ſame to be done by ſuch of his as he had therefore ſent unto me, we decreed together, that the* Coſſacks *on the farther ſide of* Nijeſter *(diſordered and rebellious men) ſhould be utterly rooted out, that they ſhould not hereafter do any harm in the Territories of the great Sultan, and that the Preſents uſually ſent unto us of long, even ſince the time of Sultan* Solyman, *ſhould no more be detained, nor any harms be hereafter done in any part of our Dominions. And therefore, when the Chancellor had promiſed unto us, that he would take order that theſe* Coſſacks *ſhould be utterly deſtroyed, I alſo conſented, that according to the Pleaſure of the Royal Majeſty of you my Brother,* Hieremias *ſhould hold the Vayvodſhip of* Valachia; *which I forthwith by Letters ſignified unto the* Turkiſh *Emperour. Now if it be ſo, that your Majeſty ſhall give your Conſent unto thoſe things which we have here agreed upon with your Chancellor, you ſhall then for ever find brotherly Friendſhip with me, my Brother, and all other our Captains and Murzis: but if you ſhall not deſtroy theſe* Coſſacks, *you ſhall not then perform the Oath and Covenants made. Theſe things we have commanded to be declared unto you by our Ambaſſador, our Brother* Gianach Metagra, *whom we requeſt your Majeſty courteouſly to entertain, and by him to ſend the Preſents unto us; for we will not now this Year ſend any other. Given at the River* Prut *in the Year of* Mahomet 1004.

1595

The Preſents offered by the *Tartar* Ambaſſador to the King of *Polonia*.

After the *Tartar* Ambaſſador had delivered thoſe Letters unto the King, with a Speech in effect to the ſame purpoſe, he in the Name of the Cham gave unto him an Horſe and an Arrow for a Preſent: and afterward being brought to a Lodging appointed for him, was commanded there to expect his Anſwer. At length his Diſpatch was given him in Letters ſealed up, which he took much againſt his Will, requeſting the King to ſend an Ambaſſador unto the Cham; and farther, by word of mouth to tell him what to anſwer unto his Lord. But other Anſwer could he get none than was already delivered him in writing; and ſo, rewarded with a Gown furred with Sables, was diſmiſſed without the Preſent requeſted by the Cham, or any Ambaſſador to accompany him.

Thus the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, on the one ſide mightily impugned by the Turk, and on the other,

by

1595 by the ſetting on of the *Turk*, ready to have been no leſs endangered by the Invaſion of the *Tartar*, received greater harm from the *Polonians* being *Chriſtians*, than from both thoſe great *Mahometan* Princes; the *Polonian* in ſome ſort performing for the *Turk*, what he had plotted to have been done by the *Tartar*; and ſo by the taking away of *Moldavia* from the Prince, not only weakened his ſtrength, but alſo opened a way for the barbarous Enemies into his Country. Howbeit, much it is that the *Polonians* alledge for the excuſe of themſelves, and the defence of that which was by the great Chancellor then done in *Moldavia*; which, for that it cannot be better told than by the great Chancellor himſelf, let us hear how he by his Letters anſwereth the matter, even unto *Clement* the Pope himſelf.

John Zamoſchie unto *Clement* the Eighth, the Great Biſhop.

Zamoſchie the great Chancellor his Letters unto *Clement* the Pope.

MOST holy and bleſſed Father in Chriſt, and moſt gracious Lord; after the kiſſing of your moſt bleſſed Feet, and my moſt humble Commendations, I have by your Holineſs's Letters, directed both unto the Kings Majeſty and my ſelf, underſtood, as well his Royal Majeſty, and my moſt gracious Lord and Maſter, as alſo my ſelf as his Servant, to be both accuſed unto your Holineſs; as if by thoſe things by us done in *Moldavia*, the Endeavours of the *Chriſtians* had been hindered, and the Power of the Enemy confirmed. Whereof I am not with many Words to purge my ſelf unto your Holineſs, foraſmuch as I aſſure my ſelf your Holineſs to have already fully underſtood both what the things were that were done in *Moldavia*, and how they were done; partly by the Kings Majeſties Letters, and partly by his principal Secretary, for that cauſe eſpecially ſent unto your Holineſs. Yet doubt I not to requeſt this one thing of your Holineſs, that if it hath known me for a man, I will not ſay of any Capacity or Wit, but even of the leaſt Experience in the World, or of any Religion at all; ſo to perſwade it ſelf of me, nothing to have been done, eſpecially in this matter, either raſhly, or to the hinderance of the *Chriſtian* Common-weal. I will not now repeat what mine Opinion was concerning the League and Confederation to be made with the reſt of the *Chriſtian* Princes, for the combining of their Forces againſt the common Enemy, eſpecially his Sacred Majeſties; as alſo what mine own Labour and Endeavour was in the laſt aſſembly of the States in the high Court of Parliament. Which thing, after it was even by them whom it moſt concerned, either delayed or neglected, or utterly caſt aſide, and yet his Majeſty had ſtill a great deſire to do the *Chriſtian* Common-weal ſome great good, I alſo to the uttermoſt of my Power laboured to that end; that by the common decree of the Kingdom, an Expedition might be made into *Tartaria*, not ſo much in revenge of the Injuries done by that Enemy in theſe late years paſt, as ſo in the mean time to turn him from the Necks of the *Chriſtians*, as that he ſhould not joyn his Forces with the *Turks*; or if it ſo pleaſed God to bleſs thoſe our Endeavours utterly at length to root out that ſo great a Miſchief. But how it came to paſs that this Expedition, ſo much by the King deſired (yet ſcarcely begun or taken in hand) took not effect; it is not needful for me to declare, for that I ſuppoſe your Holineſs hath by others, eſpecially your Nuntio, underſtood the ſame. In the mean time, by others and often Meſſengers News was brought, That *Sinan Baſſa* with a great Army was already come over *Danubius*; and I, by Letters from the Vayvod of the farther *Valachia* was advertiſed, how that he, not able to encounter him, had forſaken that Province, which at the firſt Impreſſion taken and almoſt utterly waſted by *Sinan*, he was now come faſt upon *Tranſilvania*, and in *Moldavia* the *Tartar* was ſtill expected, inſomuch that *Roſwan* (who having taken Priſoner *Aaron* the Palatine, whom he ſecured in his Houſe, and ſo himſelf invaded the Palatine) began now alſo to quake for fear, and to crave help of me, or rather to ſeek how he might fly away, (as not long after he did) neither having any great ſtrength about him, or expecting any greater from the People of that Country, for why, that Province was brought ſo low by the Miſeries of the former years, but eſpecially by ſuch as had evil governed the ſame, that at ſuch time as I entred into *Moldavia*, I aſſure your Holineſs there were not in it of Houſholders, above 15000, and thoſe alſo for the moſt part poor Country People of the baſeſt ſort, in whom there could neither be any great help, neither if they had been able to, have done any thing, durſt *Roſwan* have truſted himſelf with them upon whom he had with all kind of Cruelty tyrannized. *Chotiim*, a Caſtle in the very Confines of this Kingdom, was kept with no greater Garriſon than 200 *Hungarians*, who, perceiving themſelves neither of ſufficient ſtrength to hold the Place, nor to withſtand the Enemy, they alſo by and by followed after *Roſwan*. All the reſt of the Province was not only unarmed, but altogether poor and naked, without any certain Government, without Counſel, without Strength, and without any Defence at all, two Caſtles only excepted; which, ſtanding upon the Confines of *Polonia*, might have ſerved better for the Enemy out of them to have infeſted us, than for the defence of *Moldavia* againſt them; ſo that had the Enemy once ſet foot into that Province, neither could it without a great Power have been recovered, neither being recovered, could eaſily have been defended againſt ſo puiſſant an Enemy; and that which worſe was, was not it ſelf alone to have been conſumed with that Fire, but like enough to have carried away with it *Podolia* alſo bordering upon it, with a great part of *Ruſcia*. Wherefore, in this ſtate of things, when as both that Province was in greateſt danger to have been loſt, and ſo many Enemies hovered, not more over the Heads of all *Chriſtendom* than over this Kingdom, what was of us to be done? I know to whom I ſpeak theſe things, even unto him, not only whoſe divine Wiſdom, but ſingular Love alſo towards my native Country is to me moſt known. Verily I entred into *Moldavia* with no great Army, yet ſuch an one as haply (as in like caſe it often chanceth) Fame had made amongſt the Enemies a very great one; ſo that *Sinan*, fearing if he ſhould thruſt himſelf with his Army into the Streights whereby he was to break into *Tranſilvania*, to be ſhut in by our Army, ſtayed his Journey; and the *Tartar*, the more earneſtly he was called upon by *Sinan*, (by reaſon of the Fame of this our Army) reſolved to make himſelf ſo much the ſtronger. So that whilſt he aſſembled the *Nogaian Tartars* and others farther off, and ſo from all parts raiſed the greateſt Power he could, the matter was delaied almoſt unto the end of *November*; at which time he, with a moſt huge Army, accompanied with *Sendziak Jehivenſe*, and a great power of the *Turks* raiſed out of their Provinces thereby, came directly upon me in the Fields of *Coroce*. *Sendziack*, the *Tartar Cham's* Siſters Son, now called himſelf the Baſſa of *Moldavia*, as did the *Tartars* eldeſt Son name himſelf Prince of another

1595

1595 ‘ther part of that Province alſo; for ſo that Coun-
‘try was to have been divided betwixt them, that
‘that part which was next unto the *Tartars* Domi-
‘nions ſhould be allotted unto the *Tartar*, and the
‘other part confining upon this Kingdom, to be go-
‘verned by *Sendziak*, as Baſſa thereof, and ſo to make
‘it the ſeat of a perpetual War; from whence *Podo-*
‘*lia*, *Ruſcia*, and the leſſer *Polonia*, might be with
‘continual Incurſions waſted even before our faces:
‘concerning which matter they now diſperſed their
‘Letters, wherein they publiſhed the Power and
‘Authority given them from the grand Seignior,
‘exhorting the People of that Country to receive
‘the ſame. A whole day we fought with this mul-
‘titude, our men always, by the goodneſs of God,
‘having not only the upper hand, but without any
‘notable loſs alſo, yet not without great ſlaughter of
‘theirs: and would to God I had had ſuch ſtrength,
‘as that not only the conditions of Peace, but even
‘the Enemies themſelves might have been in my
‘power. But when we were oftentimes come to parle
‘(they ſtill requiring the ſame) and ſo at length un-
‘to Conditions of Peace; if ſuch were given them,
‘as whereby this only Kingdom had without the
‘wrong of any other been delivered from ſo great
‘and ſudden a danger, what reaſonable man could
‘find fault therewith, if we ſhould have preferred
‘the health and welfare of our Country (whereunto
‘all good men owe all they have) before other mens
‘Profits? But now theſe things were ſo done, as that
‘it was no leſs provided for the good of the neigh-
‘bour Chriſtians, yea and happily not the leaſt for
‘theirs, who for the ſame ſlander this Kingdom un-
‘to your Holineſs: the fury of *Sinan Baſſa* was by
‘this means repreſſed, who whilſt he feared to be
‘ſhut up in the Straits by our Army now come into
‘*Moldavia*, and expected the *Tartars* coming, ſpent
‘almoſt all the reſt of the Summer idly, and with-
‘out any thing doing. The *Tartar* himſelf was not
‘only turned from the Bowels of Chriſtendom,
‘whereinto he had purpoſed (as the year before) to
‘have entred, we having with our own Breaſts re-
‘ceived his force and fury; but being brought unto
‘Conditions, was expreſly enjoyned in a moſt ſhort
‘prefined time, and without any more harm doing
‘to return again into his Country by the ſelf ſame
‘way he came, and by no other: whereby it is come
‘to paſs, that until this day Chriſtendom hath not
‘this year yet felt the *Tartars* Weapons. But unto
‘*Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*, what a ſpace and pow-
‘er was given for them to gather their Strength and
‘Forces together, and out of the ſame places to op-
‘poſe them againſt the Enemy, whenas our Army
‘kept them ſafe at their Backs, and eaſed not only
‘*Moldavia*, but *Valachia* and *Tranſilvania* alſo of
‘that care? Whereas if this cauſe of delay had not
‘been objected unto the Turks firſt, and after unto
‘the *Tartars*, not to ſay any thing of the Turks,
‘the *Tartars* at the very ſelf-ſame time that the
‘*Tranſilvanian* Army was gone into *Valachia* a-
‘gainſt *Sinan*, might have broken into *Tranſilva-*
‘*nia* before it could have returned home, or elſe
‘marching directly towards that Army, might
‘have met with it out of *Tranſilvania*. As for *Mol-*
‘*davia*, which together with the Memory of the
‘Chriſtian name, yet left in it, had utterly periſh-
‘ed, it was moſt manifeſtly preſerved by the co-
‘ming of our Army. Which what end it would
‘have had, if the Enemy might at his Pleaſure
‘have raged as he did in the farther *Valachia*, thoſe
‘moſt bitter remembrances in it yet at this day
‘ſmoking, do well declare; out of which it is well
‘known more thouſands of Chriſtian Captives to
‘have been carried away into moſt woful Capti-
‘vity, than almoſt out of any other Province in all
‘the time of theſe miſerable Wars. Which altho
‘it be thus, yet boaſt we not thereof, neither ſend
‘we any triumphant Letters unto your Holineſs, 1595
‘nor brag we of our good Service done for the
‘Chriſtian Common-weal; contenting our ſelves
‘with the Conſcience of the thing it ſelf. In the
‘mean time we are accuſed unto your Holineſs;
‘but for what cauſe? If any man complain for the
‘taking of *Moldavia*, I will not ſay it was by them
‘before willingly forſaken, whilſt I was yet in the
‘Frontiers thereof; but that this Kingdom hath a
‘moſt antient Right unto it, and ſuch a Right, as
‘that when our Kings being buſied in their Wars
‘againſt the Muſcovite, the *Cruciat Teutony* Bre-
‘thren, or others; ſome others alſo troubling the
‘ſtate thereof, it for a time became a Prey unto the
‘Turkiſh Tyrants; yet in all the Leagues made or
‘renewed betwixt this Kingdom and them, was ſtill
‘excepted, That all ſuch things as the Palatine of
‘*Moldavia* was of duty to perform unto the King,
‘ſhould by him ſtill be performed. Which Kings
‘of *Polonia*, and namely *Auguſtus* himſelf, the laſt
‘of the *Jagellonian* Race, appointed divers of thoſe
‘Palatines themſelves. Which altho they be things
‘moſt manifeſt, yet having more regard unto the
‘welfare of that Province, as a Chriſtian Country,
‘than of our Right, we reſtored the ſame into the
‘ſame ſtate wherein it hath been for many Years
‘before theſe * Wars. Wherefore, if any man
‘think any thing done whereby the Enemies of the
‘Croſs of Chriſt might be eaſed or ſtrengthened,
‘or the Defenders of the Faith hindred, it is ſo far
‘from any ſuch thing to be done, that rather (as is
‘before declared) the Enemies force is repreſſed and
‘averted, and greater means given unto the Chri-
‘ſtians afront to impugne them, the Enemy being
‘at their Backs by us ſhut from them. But I fear
‘that they have not fully informed your Holineſs,
‘how theſe things were done, who have reported
‘unto your ſaid Holineſs not only the Name of the
‘Turks to have been proclaimed together with the
‘*Polonians* in *Moldavia*, but alſo the Name of the
‘*Tartars*, the proper Enemies of the *Polonians*, and
‘by the Power and Decrees of them three, as it were
‘confederate together, things to have been order-
‘ed in *Moldavia*. Which their Complaint if it tend
‘to that end, as if a confederation were made with
‘them, I frankly confeſs certain Conditions to have
‘been given them, but ſuch as whereby is provi-
‘ded not only for the quiet and ſecurity of this
‘Kingdom, but no leſs alſo for the whole Chriſti-
‘an Commonweal, as is before declared. All which
‘things for all that, altho they were done for the
‘good of this Kingdom, and all Chriſtendom in ge-
‘neral, yet were they ſo done, that they were all
‘by me referred unto the King's Majeſty and the
‘States of the Kingdom; ſo that at this preſent the
‘Kingdom is at free liberty either to joyn in Con-
‘federation with the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes;
‘or if that cannot upon certain and indifferent con-
‘ditions be agreed upon, yet with no mans injury
‘or hurt to ratifie this, joyned with the health and
‘good of a great part of the Chriſtian Commonweal:
‘only God grant that the Chriſtian Princes may ſe-
‘rioufly think both of this ſo Chriſtian a Confedera-
‘tion againſt the common Enemy, and ſtrive alſo all
‘together againſt the enemy with their weapons, and
‘not with Miſreports and Slanders one againſt ano-
‘ther. They are not to aſſail the enemies feet, but his
‘throat: neither is the ſeat of the war to be placed in
‘the borders of *Polonia*, where it concerneth them-
‘ſelves much to have all things rather peaceable be-
‘hind them: but let the War be undertaken with no
‘leſs charge & preparation, than if the enemies royal
‘ſeat were to be aſſailed; which ſtanding in an open
‘and plain Country, ſhall always, without much ado,
‘be his that being ſtrongeſt can take it. This have I
‘written at large, as my purpoſe was, all which I moſt
‘humbly beſeech your Holineſs, with your divine
Wiſ-

* Viz. *to become tributary unto the* Turks.

1595 ‹ Wiſdom to conſider of, and with your wonted ‹ Clemency to accept the ſame. And ſo proſtrate ‹ at your Holineſs's Feet, I moſt humbly commend ‹ me to your Clemency. From *Zamoſchie* the tenth ‹ of *January*, 1596.

Thus much the great Chancellor, in defence of himſelf, and of that he had done in *Moldavia*; which, howſoever it contented the Pope, well I wot it nothing pleaſed the Emperour, and much leſs the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, now not a little weakened by the taking away of the Country of *Moldavia* from him.

To end this troubleſome yeat withal, many ſharp and bloody Skirmiſhes daily paſſed in divers Places of thoſe frontier Countries, the *Turks* almoſt in every Place ſtill going to the worſe. In the beginning of *November*, *Leucowitz*, Governour of *Caroſtat*, the ſecond time ſurpriſed *Wihitz* in the Frontiers of *Croatia*, where theſe Wars firſt begun; but being not able to take the Caſtle, contented himſelf as before with the ſpoil of the City, and afterward ſetting it on fire, departed. *Maximilian* alſo attempted *Zolnoc*, and the *Chriſtians* in Garriſon at *Strigonium* and *Plindenburg*, now become near Neighbours unto the *Turks* at *Buda*, did with continual Inrodes not a little moleſt them both all the latter end of this year, and the beginning of the next. And the *Turks* in *Braila*, in *Valachia*, upon the ſide of *Danubius*, fearing after the flight of *Sinan* to be beſieged by the Vayvod, forſook the City, and in ſuch haſte paſſed the River, that in that tumultuous paſſage three hundred of them periſhed. *Sinan Baſſa*, by the *Tranſilvanian* Prince of late driven out of *Valachia*, was not long after ſent for to *Conſtantinople*; but the crafty old Fox, not ignorant of the fierce Nature of the great Sultan, and warned by the late miſery of *Ferat*, found occaſions to delay the time ſo long, until that he was ſent for again, and after that, the third time alſo. In the mean while, he had ſo wrought by his mighty Friends in Court, and by rich Rewards, mightier than they, that at his coming to the Court he was there honourably received, as the chiefeſt of the Baſſaes, and being afterwards offered to be diſcharged of the Wars, as men of above fourſcore years old; he refuſed ſo to be; ſaying, That he was born and brought up amongſt Souldiers and martial men, and ſo wiſhed among them to dye, as not long after he did; dying as was thought of conceit of the evil Succeſs he had in his Wars againſt the *Tranſilvanian*.

Sinan Baſſa ſent for to *Conſtantinople*.

His Death.

Mahomet, the *Turkiſh* Emperour, exceedingly grieved with the loſs of ſo many his Cities and ſtrong Places this year loſt, as namely *Strigonium*, *Vicegrade*, *Siſeg*, *Petrinia*, *Lippa*, *Jenna*, *Tergoviſta*, *Buchareſta*, *Zorza*, and many others of leſs Name; and both by Letters and Meſſengers underſtanding daily of the ſlaughter of his People, and waſting of his Frontiers, commanded great Preparation to be made againſt the next Spring, giving it out, that he would then in Perſon himſelf, come down into *Hungary* with ſuch a Power as never had any his Predeceſſors the *Othoman* Kings and Emperors, and there take moſt ſharp revenge of all his former Wrongs. Nevertheleſs theſe his ſo haſty deſigns were by the Plague and Famine (which then both raged extreamly in moſt part of his Empire) and by other great occurrents of the ſame time, ſo croſſed, that by that time the Spring came, he ſcarcely well knew which way to turn himſelf firſt. For beſide theſe Troubles of the *Weſt*, of themſelves enough to have filled his hands, the *Georgians* in the *Eaſt*, a warlike People, moved with the good Succeſs of the *Chriſtians* in *Valachia* and *Hungary*, had taken up Arms againſt him; and the old *Perſian* King, but a little before dead, had left that great Kingdom to his Son, a man of greater Spirit than was like to endure the manifold Injuries before done unto his Father by the *Turks*, to the great diſhonour of that Kingdom, and prejudice of himſelf. Of which things the Baſſa of *Tauris* gave him ample Intelligence, wiſhing him betimes to provide for ſuch Storms; which, joyned to the reſt, filled his Head with many troubled Thoughts, whereunto we leave him until the next Spring.

Mahomet perplexed.

1595

The *Tranſilvanian* Prince, careful of his Eſtate, and not a little troubled with the diſſevering of *Moldavia*, thought it not unfit for his Affairs, now after the flight of *Sinan*, and diſcomfiture of the *Turks*, to go in Perſon himſelf unto the Emperour, and to declare unto him the wrong done him by the *Polonian*; and further to confer with him concerning the managing of the Wars againſt the common Enemy. So having put all things in readineſs for his Journey, he ſet forward in *January*, 1596, and by the way of *Caſſovia*, the fourth of *February*, arrived at *Prague* in *Bohemia*, where he was by the Emperours appointment moſt honourably entertained. But immediately after his coming thither he fell ſick of an Ague, which grievouſly vexed him by the ſpace of three Weeks. In the latter end of *February*, having ſomewhat recovered his Health, he went to the Church; where after his Devotions done, he was by the Dean of the Cathedral Church welcomed with a moſt eloquent Oration, ſetting forth his worthy Praiſes, and further animating him unto the like Exploits againſt the common Enemy of all Chriſtianity. Whereunto he forthwith anſwered in Latine ſo eloquently and ſo readily, that all men marvelled that heard him; proteſting in his ſpeech, That as he and his Subjects had not hitherto ſpared their Lives or Goods in defence of the common Cauſe; ſo would they not afterwards ſpare the ſame, but adventure all for the benefit of the *Chriſtian* Common-weal; well hoping, that the Emperour and the other Chriſtian Princes would not, as occaſion ſhould require, be wanting unto him with their Forces, or the Clergy with their Prayers; which done, he doubted not (as he ſaid) by the Power of God, but to obtain more notable Victories than he had yet againſt the *Turks*, the Enemies of God.

1595

1596

Whilſt he yet thus lay at the Emperours Court, it fortuned that the People called *Siculi*, offended to have their Liberties in ſome part infringed in the late Aſſembly of the States holden in *Tranſilvania* in *December* laſt, riſe up now in Arms in divers Places, refuſing to yield their former Obedience to the Prince. A matter like enough to have wrought him much trouble, and ſuppoſed not to have been done without the privity of the Cardinal his Uncle; but by the Wiſdom and Courage of ſuch as he had in his abſence put in truſt with the Government of his Country, divers of the Ringleaders of this Rebellion were apprehended, and in divers ſorts executed; and three hundred of their Complices, to the Terror of their Fellows, had their Noſes and Ears cut off. By which wholeſome Severity all thoſe Troubles were appeaſed, and the Country again quieted.

The *Siculi* rebell againſt the Prince.

At the ſame time alſo the *Tranſilvanians* obtained of the *Turks* a notable Victory, with an exceeding rich booty. *Mahomet* the *Turkiſh* Sultan had about this time ſent a new Faſſa for the Government of *Temeſwar*; againſt whoſe coming the old Baſſa, before Governour, had in ſeventy five Waggons truſſed up a wonderful deal of Wealth, which he had there gotten in the time of his former Government, to have been, together with himſelf, with a ſtrong Convoy conducted to *Belgrade*. Of this his purpoſe the *Hungarian Heidons*, lying at *Lippa* and *Jenna*, having Intelligence, lay in wait for

1596 for him upon the way, and in his paſſing by ſet upon him; where in a ſharp conflict they overthrew the Convoy, and ſlew the Baſſa, whoſe Head they ſent for a Preſent to the Princeſs at *Alba-Julia*, and took the Spoil of the Baſſa's Carriages, wherein was taken a wonderful Wealth; for in one of thoſe Waggons is reported to have been found twenty thouſand of *Hungarian* Duckats.

The Baſſa of *Temeſwar* ſlain, and a great booty taken.

In this abſence alſo of the Prince, 10000 of the *Raſcians* revolting from the *Turk*, came and offered their Service unto the Princeſs; whereof, ſhe by Letters, with great ſpeed, certified the Prince her Husband; who thereupon haſted to diſpatch with the Emperour, and having procured both from him and the Pope the Promiſe of ſome Aid to be afterwards ſent him, took of him his leave; and being honourably accompanied, departed from *Prague* to *Vienna*, where he arrived the eleventh of *March*, ſitting in a princely Chariot drawn with ſix moſt beautiful Horſes, the gift of the Emperour. At his coming thither he was met by the Nobility of the Country, and by *Aldobrandinus* the Pope's Nephew, who preſented him with three goodly Horſes for Service, richly furniſhed. Him the Prince took into his Chariot, and ſo accompanied, entred the City, where he was with all due Honour received and joyfully entertained, and ſo brought unto the Emperour's Palace, where, by the learned Students of that Univerſity, was for his Pleaſure acted before him the notable Hiſtory of *Joſhua*. Having ſtayed there three days, and purpoſing to have in his Return viſited his Mother-in-law at *Greies* in *Croatia*; News was brought him, That the *Turks* and *Tartars*, by the ſetting on of *Stephen Bathor*, his Uncle, were about to break into *Tranſilvania*. Wherefore changing his purpoſe, he departed thence to *Presburg*, and ſo with all ſpeed kept on his way towards *Tranſilvania*; where he, to the great joy and comfort of his Subjects in general, arrived in ſafety in the beginning of *April*.

In this while many hot Skirmiſhes paſſed betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks in the Frontiers of their Territories; and now the Plague and Famine which had of long raged in *Conſtantinople* and other places of the Turks Dominions, began to aſſwage. Of which ſo great Calamities as had devoured many thouſands of his People, the Turkiſh Emperour finding himſelf ſomewhat eaſed, forthwith cauſed the continuation of his Wars againſt the Emperour and the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, to be three days together proclaimed in *Conſtantinople*, and a great Army to be raiſed to be ſent into *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*; giving it out, that he would, with that ſo puiſſant an Army, in Perſon himſelf come into *Hungary*. At which time it was alſo reported, That he had already ſent his Tents and other his neceſſary Proviſion before to *Hadrianople*: for now was nothing more odious in the *Turk*'s Court than the Name of the *Tranſilvanian* Prince.

Wars proclaimed in *Conſtantinople* againſt the Emperour and the *Tranſilvanian* Prince.

Of all theſe things was not the Emperour ignorant, as fully thereof certified both by Letters and Eſpials, as alſo by the uniform Confeſſion of ſuch Turks as were daily taken Priſoners. For which cauſe, he alſo, with as much ſpeed and care as he could, provided for the raiſing of his Army, as he had the Year before; as alſo for the levying of Money, and proviſion of all things neceſſary, that the Enemy at his coming might not find him unprovided. Neither ſpared he to pray Aid of the other Chriſtian Princes his Neighbours, eſpecially of the *Polonian*, whom he had divers times ſought after to have drawn him into the Confederation with the other Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turk. To which purpoſe he now alſo ſent unto him the Biſhop of *Preſlaw*, and the Lord *Poppelius*, his Ambaſſadors; as did the Pope alſo ſend unto him the Cardinal *Cajetane* his Legate; and the Princes Electors alſo their Ambaſſadors: unto whom the *Polonian* gave good hearing and good words, but would not by any means be perſwaded to break his League with the Turk, or to afford any Aid unto the Chriſtians; altho the Cardinal, with many pregnant Reaſons, ſhewed him what ſmall aſſurance there was in the Turk's Leagues, and how dangerous it might be to his State, if the Turk, making Peace with the Emperour, ſhould turn his force upon him, which it was like enough he would, as knowing no man longer for Friend than ſtood with his Profit; beſide the immortal Blemiſh of his Honour, by diſſevering himſelf from the Union of the Chriſtian Princes, to hold Friendſhip with the Turks and Infidels. But all this and much more to no purpoſe, ſo reſolutely was the *Polonian* ſet down for the keeping of the Turks Favour. So that of all the Chriſtian Princes ſo near unto the devouring Enemy, none ſtood the Chriſtian Commonweal in leſs ſtead than he. Which for all that, moſt men imputed not ſo much unto the King, as to others about him, eſpecially to *Zamoſchy* the great Chancellor, by whom that State was moſt ſwayed, who was not only ſuppoſed, but openly reported to have ſecret Intelligence both with the *Turk* and the *Tartar*.

1596

All this while the Lord *Palfi*, Governour of *Strigonium*, ceaſed not with continual Inroads to vex the Turks, even to the Gates of *Buda*, as did alſo the other Chriſtian Captains in other places of the Turks Frontiers in *Hungary*. Near unto *Buda* were two great Country Villages, for moſt part inhabited by Chriſtians, who having given their Oath of Obedience unto the Turk, lived a miſerable life for the payment of an exceſſive Tribute yearly. Theſe poor Chriſtians, weary of the *Turkiſh* Thraldom, and the continual ſpoil of their Labours by them of *Strigonium*; by ſecret Meſſengers requeſted the Lord *Palfi*, of Mercy, to carry them with their Goods and Cattel away into ſome other place of the Chriſtian Territory, that ſo they might yet live amongſt Chriſtians, as he had but a little before done for them of old *Buda*. Unto which their ſo reaſonable a Requeſt, the Chriſtian Governour charitably hearkened; willing them againſt a certain appointed time to put themſelves, with all their things in readineſs. There was of theſe Chriſtians about 755 Families, who with their Wives and Children, and ſuch traſh as they had pack'd up into eighty Waggons, drawn with fourteen or ſixteen Oxen a-piece, at the appointed time, about mid-night, committed themſelves, with all that they had, unto the conduct of them of *Strigonium*, ſent out of purpoſe for them; by whom they were in ſafety brought to *Strigonium*. Amongſt them were many rich men, who brought with them good ſtore of Coyn, with an exceeding great number of Cattel. Unto theſe new-come Gueſts *Palfi* aſſigned certain Fields betwixt *Strigonium* and *Vivaria*, on the North-ſide of *Danubius*; where they ſo commodiouſly lived as was poſſible in ſo troubled an Eſtate of a Country.

Shortly after, 600 Garriſon Souldiers of *Lippa*, ſeeking after Booty, and adventuring too far into the Enemies Territory, were diſcovered by the *Turks* Scouts, and ſo beſet by the *Turks* and *Tartars* billeted in the Country about *Temeſware*, that there was no way left for them to eſcape. Which they well perceiving, reſolved among themſelves (as became valiant men) to fight it out even unto the laſt man; and with no leſs Reſolution performed what they had before determined; for being on every ſide beſet, and hardly charged by their Enemies, they, as men before reſolved to die, altho ſcarce one to twenty, fought moſt deſperately, ſeeking for nothing elſe but to ſell their Lives as dear as they could unto their Enemies; and ſo fighting were all ſlain; except

Six hundred of the Garriſon Souldiers of *Lippa* ſlain by the Turks.

1596 except ſome few which by great fortune eſcaped, leaving unto the Enemy a right bloody Victory. Yet by this loſs of ſo great a Party was the Gatriſon of *Lippa* greatly weakned, which the Enemy knew right well, and thereupon began forthwith to prepare to beſiege the Town. Which *Barbelus* the Governour (a moſt valiant man) wiſely foreſeeing, ſent in Poſt unto the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, to requeſt him with all ſpeed to ſend him four or five thouſand good Souldiers, with which Power he doubted not, by the Help of God, to be able to defend the Town againſt all the Forces the Enemy was at that time able to bring againſt it. Unto whom the Prince without delay ſent 8000, who all in ſafety, in good time arrived at *Lippa*; for ſhortly after their arrival, 40000 of the *Turks* and *Tartars* came and ſat down before the Town, incloſing it on every ſide, and ſo lay for certain days without any thing doing worth the ſpeaking of; they of the Town in the mean time doing them all the harm they could with their great ſhot, which they ſent amongſt them not ſparingly. But they had not ſo long lain, but that News was brought into the Camp, That the *Tranſilvanian* Prince was with a great Power coming thither to relieve the Town; whereupon they preſently riſe, and retired to the place where they had before encamped, about two miles from *Lippa*; where certainly underſtanding that the Prince neither was, neither could in ſhort time be in ſuch readineſs as was before reported, they forthwith returned, and more ſtraightly beſieged the Town than before. They had now brought with them ſeventeen pieces of battery, eight Waggons laded with Shot and Powder, and forty ſix others laded with ſcaling Ladders, and other warlike Proviſion; thus appointed they began to batter the Town, and afterwards gave thereunto divers deſperate aſſaults; which the *Chriſtians* valiantly received, and ſtill with great ſlaughter repulſed their Enemies. For that ſtrong Town was with Towers and Bulwarks flanking one another, ſo fortified, that out of them the *Chriſtians* with their murthering pieces made great ſpoil of their Enemies, and ſtill enforced them with loſs to retire, no bullet almoſt flying in vain. In the heat of one of theſe aſſaults the Governour cauſed one of the Gates of the Town to be ſet open, having before within the Town placed ſixteen great pieces at the very entrance of the ſame gate, charged with all kind of murthering Shot. Unto which Gate, as of mere Deſperation ſet open by the Defendants, the *Turks* and *Tartars* deſirous of revenge, came thronging as thick as might be, thinking to have thereby entred; when ſuddenly, and as it were in the turning of an hand, they were with the aforeſaid murthering pieces cut down as with a Sithe, and ſo again, and the third and fourth time, before they could clear themſelves of the danger thereof, their Heads, Arms, and Legs, and other rent Limbs, flying in the Air moſt miſerably to behold. Nevertheleſs the ſiege was by them continued, and the often aſſaults ſo reſolutely maintained, as if they had thereupon purpoſed to have engaged all their Lives. But this ſo obſtinate a Reſolution was by an unexpected accident, when they leaſt thought, converted into ſuch a deſperate fear and aſtoniſhment, that they upon the ſudden (no man forcing them) forſook their Trenches wherein they lay encamped; and leaving behind them their Tents, their great Ordnance, and whatſoever elſe they had, they betook themſelves to a moſt diſordered flight. The *Tranſilvanian*, who by chance were even then coming thither, purſuing them, ſlew divers of them, and took ſome others of them Priſoners. At this Siege the Baſſa of *Temeſwar* himſelf was mortally wounded, and *Hamat*, Sanzack of *Giula*, with divers others of good place ſlain, and 4000 of the common Souldiers. 1596

Lippa beſieged by the *Turks* and *Tartars*.

The cauſe of the Turks ſo great and ſudden fear was this; Whilſt the Baſſa of *Temeſwar* lay at the Siege of *Lippa*, as is aforeſaid, they that were left in the City fearing no harm, lived in great Security; in the mean time the Governour of *Lugaz* ſent out ſix thouſand Souldiers towards *Temeſwar*, now in the abſence of the Baſſa to ſeek after Booty: who coming to *Temeſwar* with great ſpeed, rifled the Suburbs of the City, ſlew all the Turks they could light upon, and ſet at Liberty a thouſand Captives: and ſo having truſſed up their Booty, ſet on fire all the Suburbs, and departed. Which fire grew ſo great and ſo terrible, that it was plainly ſeen into the Camp at *Lippa*, making a ſhew as if the whole City had been on a light Fire: which ſo daunted the Hearts of the Turks at the Siege, that they preſently fled (as is before ſaid) leaving all that they had behind them.

Plenia, a Town of the *Turks* ſacked by the *Chriſtians*.

The *Tranſilvanian* all this while buſied in raiſing of his Army, and providing of things neceſſary for the maintenance of his Wars, was come into the Confines of *Hungary*, towards *Temeſwar*, even as the *Turks* fled from *Lippa*. At which time certain *Hungarian Heidons* that ſerved him, getting over *Danubius*, not far from *Nicopolis*, took *Plenia*, a little Town of the *Turks*, which they ranſacked and burnt, and having ſlain in the Country thereabout above three thouſand of the *Turks*, returned with a rich Prey unto the Prince.

Cliſſa lately ſurpriſed by the *Chriſtians*, loſt again to the *Turks*.

Not long before, the *Chriſtians* had ſurpriſed *Cliſſa*, a ſtrong frontier Town of the *Turks* in *Dalmatia*, not far from *Spalato*; which Town the Baſſa of *Boſna* ſought now again to recover, and thereto layd hard ſiege. For the relief whereof, *Leucowitz*, Governour of *Stiria*, and the other Provinces thereabouts belonging to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Governour of *Zeng*, with a Fleet of two and forty Ships, wherein they had embarked 4000 Souldiers well appointed with all things neceſſary, ſet forward toward *Cliſſa*; and by the way lighting upon a Galley of the *Venetians*, bound with certain warlike Proviſion towards the *Turks* Camp, took her as good Prize, and rifled her. This Fleet with a fair Wind arrived at *Siret*, near unto *Trau*, where the Governour landing his men, marched that Night part of his way toward *Cliſſa*, and all the next day lay cloſe. The Night following they ſet forward again, and having marched fifteen miles, came unto the Enemies Camp before day; where, ſetting upon the *Turks* in their Trenches, fearing no ſuch Peril, they brought ſuch a general fear upon the *Turks* whole Camp, that the *Turks*, as men amazed, fled ſome one way, ſome another, every man (as in ſuch ſudden fear it commonly happeneth) making ſhift for himſelf, leaving whatſoever they had in their Trenches behind them. The *Chriſtians*, contented ſo to have put their Enemies to flight, fell preſently to the ſpoil, as more deſirous thereof, than by the haſty purſuit of their Enemies to put themſelves in poſſeſſion of an aſſured Victory. Which the *Turks* quickly perceiving, and from the Hills with the dawning of the day diſcovering the ſmall number of the *Chriſtians*, and how they were diſordered, they gathered themſelves again together, and coming down, incloſed on every ſide the diſordered *Chriſtians* (greedily hunting after the ſpoil) and ſlew them downright. *Leucowitz* himſelf, with the Governour of *Zeng*, and ſome others, got into *Cliſſa*, where having ſtayed two days, and doubting to be able to keep the Town, they ſecretly by Night iſſued out with 600 men, in hope to have recovered their Fleet; but the *Turks* ſuſpecting ſuch a matter, had ſo beſet the Paſſages, that of all that Company, *Leucowitz* had much ado himſelf, with three others, to eſcape. The Enemy now again poſſeſſed of his

1596 Trenches, layd ſtraighter ſiege to the Town than before; which they of the Garriſon perceiving, and now out of hope of relief, agreed with the Baſſa, that they might with Bag and Baggage depart, and ſo yielded up the Town. Thus *Cliſſa*, one of the ſtrongeſt Towns of *Dalmatia*, through the greedy covetouſneſs of the diſordered Souldiers, fell again into the hands of the *Turks*.

Sombock taken by the Lord *Palfi*.

About the ſame time, *Palfi*, Governour of *Strigonium*, underſtanding of the meeting together of certain notable Adventurers of the *Turks* at *Sombock*, a Caſtle almoſt in the mid way betwixt *Alba-Regalis* and *Buda*, raiſed the greateſt ſtrength he could, and ſo with certain pieces of Artillery, and other things neceſſary for an aſſault, ſet forward from *Strigonium* the two and twentieth of *May*, before the riſing of the Sun, and about three a Clock in the Afternoon came to the aforeſaid Caſtle, whereunto he preſently gave a moſt terrible aſſault, which he never gave over until he had taken it; for after he had by the ſpace of three hours together with great danger maintained a moſt deſperate aſſault, at length he with much difficulty prevailed, and put to the Sword all the *Turks* he found therein, Man, Woman, and Child; and with the reſt, fifty *Janizaries*, but that day come thither. This Caſtle was of great Beauty, and moſt pleaſantly ſcituated, whereunto the Baſſa of *Buda* oftentimes for his Pleaſure repaired; for which cauſe *Palfi* was very deſirous to have taken it without ſpoiling; but the Fire he had therein already raiſed, ſo prevailed, that it burnt down all the goodly Buildings thereof, with great ſtore of Victuals and other Proviſion, nothing remaining but what the *Chriſtians* had ſaved for themſelves.

Temeſwar beſieged by the *Tranſilvanian* Prince

The *Tranſilvanian* Prince, having raiſed a great Army for the relief of *Lippa*, being by great chance a little before his coming relieved, came and laid Siege to the City of *Temeſwar*: where he had not long lain, but that the *Turks* and *Tartars*, fearing to loſe that ſo famous a City, aſſembled together from all places thereabouts, to the number of 40000, and ſo came to raiſe the Siege. Of whoſe coming the Prince hearing, roſe with his Army, and went to meet them, and had with them a great and terrible Battel, the Victory for a great while ſtanding very doubtful, yet ſeeming to incline rather to the *Turks* and *Tartars*, than to the Chriſtians: but at length the *Turks*, diſordered with the great Artillery, and the *Tranſilvanians* charging them afreſh, began to give ground, and ſo at laſt to betake themſelves to plain flight. In this Battel were ſlain of the *Turks* and *Tartars* 5000, and of the Chriſtians 1500. It was for a time reported, That the Prince himſelf was in this Battel ſlain; which was not ſo, being reſerved to the further Plague of the *Turks*, and comfort of his afflicted Country. After this Victory he returned again to the Siege, which he more ſtraitly continued than before, leaving nothing unattempted that he could poſſibly deviſe for the winning of the City. Where, whilſt he yet thus lay battering the City both night and day, News was brought him, That *Giaffer Baſſa* and the *Tartars* were coming with a great Army to the Relief of the Beſieged. Whereupon, he conſidering his own ſtrength, and the power of his Enemies, and that the Aid promiſed him both from the Emperour and out of *Hungary* was not yet ready, with great grief of mind raiſed his Siege, and retired with his Army to *Lippa*, there expecting new Supplies as well of his own as from his Friends. Whilſt he yet there lay, he was certainly advertiſed, That the Baſſa of *Natolia* (the fore-runner of the great Sultan *Mahomet*) was come to *Belgrade* with fourteen thouſand Horſe, and four thouſand Janizaries, to joyn with the Baſſa of *Buda* for the relieving of *Temeſwar*; whoſe Forces joyned together were in number about threeſcore thouſand; and that *Mahomet* himſelf (of whoſe coming had been riſe report all this year) was now coming after with a far greater Power. Whereupon he departed from *Lippa*, leaving therein a ſtrong Garriſon; and ſoreturning to *Alba-Julia*, called there an Aſſembly of all his States, for the repreſſing of ſo puiſſant an Enemy.

The Prince raiſeth his Siege.

1596

Mahomet, for the better ſucceſs of his Wars in *Hungary*, had drawn forth the *Tartar* with a mighty Power; who, altho he was at the firſt ſo unwilling to that Service (conſidering the great Loſſes he had therein before received) that he would not, as he ſaid, ſend ſo much as one Aſs thereunto; yet, overcome with great gifts, and the reſpect he had of the Turkiſh Sultan, was now ready with a ſtrong Army upon the Frontiers in *Moldavia*, to meet him in *Hungary*: unto whom the late choſen Vayvod ſent certain Preſents, with ſuch ſtore of Victuals as he could poſſibly provide for him. Yet foraſmuch as he was not that way to paſs without the leave of the *Polonian*, *Mahomet* had both by Letters, and divers his Ambaſſadors, intreated with the *Polonian* King for his Paſſage; as alſo for the Confirmation of the ancient League he and the *Polonian* Kings, his Predeceſſors, had, to their good, of long time had with the *Othoman* Emperours; from which he well knew the Chriſtian Emperour, with divers other the Chriſtian Princes, to ſeek by all means to withdraw him. *Mahomet* alſo, not ignorant how hurtful and dangerous the Confederation betwixt *Michael* the Vayvod of *Valachia* and the *Tranſilvanian* was unto him and his Deſigns, ſent unto him an Ambaſſador, by the ſhew of great dangers to deter him from the *Tranſilvanian*; and by many glorious Promiſes to allure him to ſubmit himſelf again unto his Protection, and in token of his Fidelity to deliver unto the Sultan two of his Frontier Towns, ſuch as he ſhould require; in regard whereof, he ſhould, together with the Sultan's Favour, receive golden Mountains. Whereunto the Vayvod anſwered, That as yet he was not weary of the Friendſhip he held with the Prince: and for the Towns he required, that they were not in his Power to give, as belonging to the Prince; unto whom he ſaid he would write, and ſtay the Ambaſſador in the mean time until he had from him Anſwer.

The Emperour, on the other ſide, had with all carefulneſs, ſo far as in him was, provided that his Army might be ready to take the Field with the beginning of the Spring: but as it commonly chanceth, the ſpeedy Proceedings of great Actions (wherein the hands of many mighty is required) to be much hindered by delays, ſometimes of one, and ſometimes of another; ſo fell it out with him now: for albeit that his own Forces were in ſome good time ready, yet was the Spring, yea and a good part of Summer alſo far paſt, before the Aid promiſed from other Princes met together. At length, after long expectance, when ſome convenient number for an Army was from divers places come together at *Vienna*; they were by the Lord *Swartzenburg*, and their other Commanders, brought forth into the Field, and not far from *Altenburg* encamped, within the ſelf-ſame Trenches that were the laſt year caſt up by County *Mansfield* for the ſafety of his Army; there to expect the coming down of the great Ordnance, and other Proviſion, by the River from *Vienna*, as alſo the reſt of the Chriſtian Forces daily looked for. From *Altenburg* the Chriſtian Army removed to *Komara*, and not ſtaying there long, the four and twentieth of *July* marched towards *Vacia*, otherwiſe called *Woczen*; but before it came thither, the *Turks* hearing of the approach of the Chriſtians forſook the Town, and with their Cattel and beſt part of their ſub-

Vacia abandoned by the Turks, is taken by the Chriſtians.

1596 ſubſtance fled to *Peſth*, carrying alſo away with them the great Ordnance; the greateſt whereof they buried by the way, which was nevertheleſs afterwards found out by the Chriſtians. And although the Turks at their departure had ſet fire both upon the Town and the Caſtle, yet the Chriſtians left therein did what they might to quench the ſame; by whoſe diligence, and the help of two thouſand Foot-men, and certain Troops of Horſemen ſent thither by *Swartzenburg*, a great part both of the Town and the Caſtle was preſerved: the whole Army of the Chriſtians following after, incamped in the open Field, and with their Horſemen braved the Turks even to the Gates of *Peſth*. This ſo ſudden a coming of the Chriſtians brought a great fear both upon them of *Peſth* and *Buda*; inſomuch, that they ſent their Wives and Children, with the chiefeſt of their Subſtance, down the River unto places of more Safety, and farther off from danger; which was done ſo diſorderedly (as it happeneth in ſuch common Fears) that many of them for haſte thruſt one another into the River, and ſo periſhed.

Hitherto, in the former Wars againſt the Turk, had *Matthias* been General of the Chriſtian Armies; but now of late, *Ferdinand*, the Emperour's Uncle, County of *Tirol*, being dead, *Matthias* was by the Emperour his Brother preferred to the Government of that rich Country and the Provinces thereabouts, not inferiour to ſome Kingdoms; and *Maximilian*, his younger Brother, appointed General in his ſtead: who, departing from *Vienna* in the latter end of *July*, came into the Camp the fourth of *Auguſt*, where he was by the Lord *Swartzenburg*, his Lieutenant, and the Lord *Palfi*, honourably and with great Triumph received.

Now were the Chriſtians threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, and having fortified *Vachia*, and therein placed a convenient Garriſon, reſolved by common conſent to beſiege *Hatwan*, a ſtrong Town of the Turks in the upper *Hungary*. And thereupon riſing with their Army from *Vachia* the thirteenth of *Auguſt*, came the fifteenth of the ſame Month, about noon, and ſat down before the Town; and that with ſuch ſpeed, that they were, before ſeen of the Turks, in the Town, than that they heard any thing of their coming: inſomuch, that at the firſt ſhew of them, they of the Town took them to have been ſome come out to ſeek after Booty; and therefore ſallying out upon them, skirmiſhed with them a while, until they perceived the whole Battel coming. The Chriſtians approaching the Town, incamped themſelves, as they thought moſt convenient, and began in three places to batter the Counterſcarf. This frontier Town of the Turks, beſides that it was kept with a ſtrong Garriſon, was alſo ſtrengthned with a broad Ditch, and fortified with a broad Counterſcarf and ſtrong Paliſadoes. Whilſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the Siege, the Turks ſallying out of the Town brake into their Trenches, and there did great harm; and like enough they were to have done more, had not the Horſe-men in good time come in upon them, and inforced them to retire. In this Sally, amongſt others, was one *Greis*, a notable Captain, ſlain, being ſhamefully forſaken of his own men; who for that their Cowardiſe, were all, in the ſight of the whole Army, diſarmed, and ſo turned out of the Camp, as men unworthy any longer to bear Arms. One morning alſo, as the Chriſtians were at their Devotions in their Trenches, a Turkiſh Prieſt from out of an high Tower not far off, railed moſt bitterly upon them, curſing and deriding them: wherewith one of the Chriſtian Canoneers much moved, made a ſhot at the Tower, which he ſo well beſtowed, that therewith he ſtruck down the Tower, together with the Idolatrous Prieſt, as he was yet railing and blaſpheming. At length the Chriſtians had with exceeding Labour and continual Battery made the Town aſſaultable: wherewith the Turks diſcouraged, offered (but all too late) to yield up the Town upon the ſame conditions that they of *Strigonium* did; whereunto they received no Anſwer, yea commandment was given throughout the Camp, That no man, upon pain of Death, ſhould have any Parle with them. Shortly after, all things being now in readineſs for the Aſſault, the Chriſtians, one day about five a clock in the afternoon aſſaulted the Town in four places; and after three hours hard fight, by ſtrong hand took it, with the ſchriching and lamenting of the Women and Children, and other fearful People, who now gave themſelves all loſt and forlorn. Four hours Execution was done upon all that came to hand, without reſpect of Age, Sex, or Condition: Women were ſlain great with child, and young Children hanging at their Mothers Breaſts; it booted not to cry for Mercy, the bloody Sword devouring all. The fury of the *Wallons* here exceeded, who rip'd the Children out of their Mothers Wombs, and made Thongs and Points of the skins of Men and Women whom they had flead quick. Which their Cruelty they afterwards excuſed, when they were therefore reproved, by pretending that thereby they did teach the Turks hereafter not ſo wickedly to blaſpheme againſt Chriſt, or with ſuch their wonted and barbarous Cruelty to torment the Chriſtians that fell into their hands, for fear of like themſelves. In this aſſault and fury periſhed of the Turks about four thouſand, and of the Chriſtians not paſt three hundred. In this Town, beſide that which the fire devoured, was found a very rich Prey. The firſt that entred the Town was one *Terſky*, a notable Captain, with his Company; after whom followed *Ruſmurme*, who each of them were thought, in their Entrance at the Breach, to have ſlain with their own hand eight or ten Turks.

Hatwan beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Cowardiſe puniſhed.

1598

Hatwan won by the Chriſtians.

Extream Cruelty.

Now in the mean time *Mahomet* the great Sultan being come to *Belgrade*, removed thence to come down into the Heart of *Hungary*, ſending *Cicala Baſſa* before him; and at length, after long looking for, the ſecond of *September* arrived at *Buda*, having in his Army about two hundred thouſand men, and three hundred Field-pieces. From thence he preſently ſent 40000 to *Temeſwar*, but ſtayed there himſelf with the reſt of his Army.

Mahomet the great Sultan cometh to *Buda* with an Army of two hundred thouſand.

The Chriſtians yet lying at *Hatwan*, and doubting leſt the Sultan ſuddenly paſſing the River ſhould come upon them not yet ready for Battel; departing thence, and retiring back again, came and incamped not far from *Vachia*. And albeit that the Arch-duke, before his Departure from *Hatwan*, had left a convenient Garriſon for the keeping of the Town; yet ſuch was the terror of the Turks approach, that the next day after, they that were there left in Garriſon forſook the Town, and ſetting it on fire, followed themſelves after the Camp. This coming of the Turkiſh Sultan to *Buda*, brought alſo a great fear upon them at *Vienna*, as much doubting leſt he ſhould that way have turned his Forces; which cauſed them both day and night to labour for the better Fortification of the City, and for the proviſion of all things, as if it had been for a preſent Siege.

But *Mahomet*, not provided for the undertaking of ſo ſtrong a place, and not ignorant of the diſgrace his great Grand-father, the victorious *Solyman* had ſometime received under the Walls thereof, had no purpoſe thereto, as having bent his thoughts quite another way. In the upper part of *Hungary* is an ancient famous City, well fortified and honoured with a Biſhops See called *Agria*, not far from *Hatwan*: upon this City, as the chief Fortreſs of the Chriſtians in thoſe Quarters, had *Mahomet* at

1596 his coming into *Hungary* caſt his eyes, and began now that way to make head, with purpoſe by taking of that City, and placing there a ſtrong Garriſon, to hinder the uniting of the Emperour's Forces with the *Tranſilvanians*, for the mutual ſtrengthning of the one the other by the way of the upper *Hungary*. Which the Arch-duke perceiving, ſent thither forthwith the valiant Collonel *Tersky* with a notable Company of *Italians* and *Germans*, and a thouſand other Harquebuſiers, who all arrived there in ſafety. At which time alſo the Lord *Teuffenbach* ſent into the City three thouſand Foot-men, under the conduct of County *Turne*, with good ſtore of warlike Proviſion needful for the defence thereof. The one and twentieth of *September*, *Mahomet*, attended upon by the great Baſſaes, *Ibrahim*, *Giaffer*, *Haſſan*, and *Cicala*, for old *Sinan* was now dead, with his Army of an 150000 men, came and encamped between the two Rivers of *Danubius* and *Tibiſcus*, covering a great part of the Country with his Tents. Approaching the City, he with wonderful Celerity caſt up five great Mounts, and from them with ſuch fury battered the Walls, that the Chriſtians were glad night and day to ſtand in Arms for the defence thereof. And altho that the Walls were ſo great, and in many places ſo weakly fortified, as that they were not but by a greater Garriſon to be defended againſt ſo puiſſant an Enemy; and that therefore the Defendants with their Honour lawfully might even the firſt day have ſet the City on fire, and retired themſelves into the Caſtle, which was both fair and ſtrong, and the only place to be truſted unto; yet, for the ſpace of ſix days they worthily defended the whole City againſt the fury of the Enemies; and out of it did them great harm. But ſeeing the danger greatly encreaſing, and that the City was not longer to be holden, they ſet it on fire; having before conveyed all the beſt of their Subſtance, with themſelves, into the Caſtle: which the Turks quickly perceiving, brake ſo ſuddenly into the City, as if they would, together with the Chriſtians, have entred the Caſtle alſo; but in the attempt thereof they were notably repulſed, and many of them ſlain. Adjoyning to the Caſtle was a great and ſtrong Bulwark, againſt which the Turks for certain days furiouſly thundred with their great Ordnance, and that without intermiſſion; and having in divers places ſore ſhaken it, in the ſpace of two days aſſaulted it 12 times, but not without the wonderful loſs of their men: and yet gave it not ſo over; but as men with their loſs more enraged, came on again with greater fury than before, and ſo at laſt by plain force took it; and there put to the Sword all them they found therein, except ſuch as by good hap got betimes into the Caſtle. This Bulwark thus loſt, the Chriſtians the next day ſallying out, again recovered; wherein they ſlew a great number of the Turks, with the loſs of ſome thirty men, and as many more wounded. The beſieged now divers times, both by Letters and Meſſengers, craved Aid of *Maximilian* the General, giving him to underſtand, that they could not long hold out for want of Shot and Powder, if they were not betimes relieved (whereof the Enemy alſo was not ignorant) yet were they reſolved to hold it out even to the laſt man; altho the great Sultan had oftentimes, by Meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, willed them to yield it up, with promiſe that they ſhould in ſafety with Life and Goods depart; otherwiſe threatning unto them greater extremities than was of late ſhewed unto the Turks at *Hatwan*, if they ſhould as obſtinate men hold it out unto the laſt: whereunto they never anſwered him any thing; for *Terskie* had forbid them all Parle with the Enemy; and in the midſt of the Market-place had cauſed a pair of Gallows to be ſet up, threatning to hang him thereon, whoſoever he were, that ſhould once make motion of yielding up the City.

Agria beſieged by *Mahomet*.

A Bulwark twelve times aſſaulted in two days.

Whilſt the beſieged thus live in hope of Relief, 1596
the Arch-duke, upon the coming over of the Sultan towards *Agria*, having retired with his Army to *Strigonium*, and there ſtaid ſomewhat too long expecting the coming of more Aid; began now at length to ſet forward, and to make ſome ſhew as if he had indeed purpoſed to have relieved his diſtreſſed Friends ſo hardly beſet at *Agria*. But ſuch was the foulneſs of the Weather, hindering the paſſage of his great Ordnance (not to ſpeak of any thing elſe) that in fourteen days he marched ſcarcely twelve miles forward. Whereby the Enemy took occaſion to prevail as he did in his Siege: who now hearing of the coming of the Chriſtians, and ſeeing to how little purpoſe he had ſo long battered the Caſtle, converted all his endeavours to the filling up of the Ditch of the old Caſtle, with Faggots, Earth, and ſuch like matter; for the haſtening of which work, *Mahomet* himſelf ſpared not to ride up and down in all places of his Army, with his Preſence and cheerful Speech encouraging his men in that deſperate Work. But whilſt the Turks are thus buſie in fulfilling his Command, the Chriſtians ſallying out upon them made great ſlaughter of them, and put to flight *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa, with ſuch as were about him; after whom they ſo eagerly followed, that he in the flight loſt his Tulipant for haſte, and was there very like to have been taken. Nevertheleſs, the work went ſtill forward, and was now at length, with the reſtleſs labour of ſo great a multitude, brought to ſuch perfection, that the Turks thought it now no great matter by aſſault to enter the Caſtle; and thereupon, the tenth of *October*, gave unto it four deſperate Aſſaults one upon another, being ſtill with greater ſlaughter of his men repulſed. But coming on again the fifth time with freſh Supplies, and greater fury than at the firſt, they prevailed; and ſo entring, put to the Sword all they found in the Caſtle, in number about eight hundred: four hundred of whoſe Heads, one of the Turks Captains cauſed to be carried unto *Mahomet* in the Camp, in the beholding whereof, he is ſaid to have taken great Pleaſure, as in the undoubted Signs of his Victory.

The old Caſtle taken.

The old Caſtle thus taken, nothing remained but the new Caſtle, againſt which the Turks converted their whole Forces, wherein they repoſed not ſo much hope (altho their Battery were very terrible, and their Power great) as in the ſecret Mines wherewith they had in fourteen places undermined the Caſtle, and were now almoſt ready to be blown up. Which the beſieged perceiving, and withal conſidering the ſtate wherein they ſtood, and not hearing any thing of relief; reſolved amongſt themſelves (without the conſent of their chief Commanders) no longer to hold out, but to yield. And thereupon altogether, as if it had been but one man, riſe up in a Mutiny againſt their two Governours, *Paul Niari*, and *Tersky*; who at the firſt, by all the reaſons they could deviſe, diſſuaded them from ſuch Cowardiſe, putting them in mind of the Oath they had taken: which not prevailing, they afterwards upon their knees requeſted them, as men, to hold it out yet a while, in hope of ſpeedy relief; yea *Tersky*, with his hands caſt up, intreated them, that if they would no longer hold it out, but needs yield, then they ſhould firſt kill him with their own hands, that he might not live to ſee ſo great a Diſhonour. But what availeth Perſuaſion with men poſſeſſed with ſo great fear? And in the mean time 250 of the common Souldiers, among whom were many *Italians*, ſecretly eſcaping out of the Caſtle fled into the Camp, of whom divers became Renegades and turned Turk; which added to the former fear, ſo much diſcouraged the minds of the reſt, that they forth-

1596 forthwith required to come to parle with the Enemy, and ſo agreed, That they might with Bag and Baggage, and their Swords by their ſides, in ſafety depart; the great Sultan giving his Faith for the performance thereof, with Hoſtages delivered on either ſide. So the thirteenth of *October*, about Noon, the Garriſon Souldiers came out of the Caſtle, in number about 2000; but they were not gone far, but that they were in a great Plane ſet upon by the *Turks* and *Tartars*, and there cut in pieces; ſome of them were ſlain quick, and ſome other of them otherwiſe ſhamefully diſmembred; the Turks in the mean time upbraiding them, and ſaying, That Faith was not to be kept with them that had ſo cruelly before dealt with them of *Hatwan*. This perfidious dealing much offended divers of the better ſort of the Turks, inſomuch, that ſome of them complained thereof unto the Sultan; who (as is reported) cauſed ſome of the chief Authors thereof to be put to death; and afterward, by open Proclamation commanded, that if any of the *Turks* or *Tartars* had taken any of them Priſoners, they ſhould forthwith ſet them at liberty. Thus is the famous City of *Agria*, of long time a Chriſtian Biſhops Seat, now become a ſure Receptacle for the Turks and Infidels.

Agria yielded unto the Turks.

Petrinia beſieged by the Turks.

Whilſt *Mahomet* thus lay at the Siege of *Agria*, the Baſſa of *Boſna*, with certain other of the Sanzacks thereabouts, having raiſed a great Army, came and beſieged *Petrinia* in the Borders of *Croatia*: which he at his firſt coming ſo furiouſly battered by the ſpace of ſeven days, that it was of many thought not poſſible for it to hold out two days longer. In the mean time, the Lord *Herbenſtein* and *Leucowitze*, with all the Power they could make out of *Croatia* and *Windiſmarch*, came towards *Petrinia*; but having no means in ſo great haſte to make a Bridge over the River of *Kulp*, they retired towards *Siſeg*, there to paſs over. The Turks hearing of their retire, and ſuppoſing them to have fled for fear, put ſix thouſand Horſemen over the River to purſue them: upon whom the Chriſtians turning, and charging them home, overthrew them; and having ſlain many of them, drave the reſt headlong into the River, where moſt of them periſhed. The Chriſtians nevertheleſs keeping on their way to *Siſeg*, there the next day by a Bridge paſſed over the River, and ſo marching towards *Petrinia*, and being come near unto the Town, were encountered by eight thouſand Turks, whom they alſo put to flight; and by certain Priſoners there taken, underſtood that the Baſſa, the day before, was riſen from before the Town, and gone: which they at the firſt believed not, but coming thither found it ſo, to their own good Contentment, and the great Joy of the late beſieged.

Petrinia relieved.

Maximilian the General marching on fair and ſoftly from *Strigonium*, at length, the ſeventeenth of *October*, came to *Caſſovia*, four days after that *Agria* was loſt; and there met with the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, who was come thither with eighteen thouſand men, and forty Field-pieces to aid him; of whom eight thouſand were mercenary Horſemen, fifteen hundred were of the Nobility of his Country, and the reſt Foot-men. The next day after, they ſetting forward from *Caſſovia*, joyned themſelves with the reſt of the Army led by the Lord *Teuffenbach* and *Palſi*, and ſo of all their united Forces made one Army, conſiſting now of 32000 Horſe-men and 28000 Foot; who drew with them an 120 Field-pieces, and 20000 Waggons, wherewith they every night encloſed their Army as with a moſt ſure Trench. So orderly marching, they kept on their way towards *Agria*, with a full reſolution to give the Turks Battel, whereof the whole Army ſeemed to be very deſirous. By the way at length they came to a fair Heath two miles long and four broad, where they were to paſs over a certain River, the Paſſage whereof *Giaffer Baſſa* had before taken with 20000 *Turks* and *Tartars*, the reſt of the *Turks* Army lying ſtill not far from *Agria*. Now the purpoſe of the Baſſa was, to have enlarged the Paſſage of the River, and ſo to have made way for the whole Army to have afterwards paſſed to the other ſide, as moſt commodious for many purpoſes, eſpecially for Water, whereof they ſo might themſelves have had plenty, and yet kept the Chriſtians from it. But of this his purpoſe, by the coming of the Chriſtians he was quite diſappointed; for the next day, being the 23*th.* of *October*, they skirmiſhed with him in divers places, eſpecially at the Paſſage of the River; where, at the firſt Encounter he loſt 300 of his men, and in the end ſeeing himſelf too weak to withſtand the whole power coming on, fled to the Sultan, having loſt two of his Enſigns and 20 field-pieces, but of his men not many, both for that he fled betime, and the approach of the night hindered the purſuit of the Chriſtians, who were now become Maſters both of the paſſage of the River, and of the place where the Baſſa lay: which they finding not ſo commodious for them as they had at the firſt ſuppoſed (eſpecially for lack of Wood, the Weather being then extream cold, as alſo hearing of the approach of the Sultan with his whole Army) they forthwith forſook the ſame, and retired again over the River to the place where they lay before, incloſing themſelves with their Waggons, as if it had been a City ſtrongly incloſed with wooden Walls. The next day, which was the 24*th.* of *October*, towards night, *Mahomet* with all his Army ſhewed himſelf unto the view of the Chriſtians, and ſent 3000 *Tartars* to paſs the River; of whom the Chriſtians ſlew a great number with their great ſhot, and put the reſt to flight. Both the Armies were populous and ſtrong, and covered a great deal of ground, a moſt goodly ſight to behold: both drunk of the ſame River, as well the Men as their Horſes, and therefore kept continual watch all that night on both ſides of the River, eſpecially at the Paſſage. In the morning, betwixt ſix and ſeven a clock, *Mahomet*, with his Army ranged in order of Battel, came within ſight of the Chriſtians, his Squadrons as it were covering all the Country on that ſide of the River, as far as the Chriſtians could well ſee; and now again ſent part of his Army over the River; with whom the Chriſtians skirmiſhed from morning till night, both the Armies parted but by the River, all this while ſtanding faſt, and as it were facing the one the other. But being at length on both ſides well wearied, and many ſlain, the Turks retired again over the River to the Camp; in the mean time (as if it had been by conſent) they reſolved on both ſides the next day to try the fortune of a Battel; and ſo Commandment was given through both the Armies, for every man, againſt a certain appointed time to make himſelf ready. So the next day, being the 26*th.* of *October*, *Mahomet* brought forth his Army again out of his Camp, which was not far from the Chriſtians, and began now to draw down towards the River. Near unto this place were the ruines of an old Church, where *Mahomet* placed certain Companies of Janizaries, and 24 field pieces, and commanded 10000 of his ſelect Souldiers to paſs the River, which they readily did. The Chriſtians alſo ready for Battel, and now thinking it time upon the coming over of the Enemy to begin; with part of their Army thereunto appointed, ſo fiercely charged the Turks that were already come over, that they quickly overthrew them, and not them only, but certain Companies of *Tartars* alſo that were in another place come over the River; and not ſo contented, but following them they had in chaſe, put to flight them alſo that ſtood on the farther ſide of the River, of whom they ſlew a great num-

A great and long Skirmiſh betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians.

Ten thouſand Turks paſs the River, and are together with the *Tartars* put to flight.

1596 number, and by the coming on of the reſt of the Army, took from them an 190 great pieces of Artillery; whereof ſo great a fear roſe in the Enemies Camp, that *Mahomet*, with *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa, ſeeing the diſcomfiture of the Army, fled in all haſte towards *Agria*, ſhedding ſome tears by the way as he went, and wiping his eyes with a piece of *Mahomet*'s Garment, which he for reverence carried about him as a Relique. It drew now towards night, and the Arch-duke was about to have cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, and that day to have done no more. But the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, the Lord *Paſſi*, and the reſt, perſuaded him in that ſo great fear of the Enemy to proſecute the Victory; and the rather, for that the *Turks* began again to make head, and to repair their diſordered Battels. Wherefore the Chriſtians ſtill keeping their Array, charged afreſh the Front of their Enemies reſtored Battel, conſiſting of 40000 men, and that with ſuch violence, as that they in ſhort time had ſlain the moſt part of them, and put the reſt to flight; and with the like good fortune charging the body of the main Battel, forced the diſcouraged Turks, with great ſlaughter, into their own Camp. Now Commandment was before given throughout the Chriſtian Army, that no man upon pain of Death ſhould in ſeeking after ſpoil break his Array, or forſake his Place before the Victory were aſſuredly gotten. But they in this hot purſuit breaking together with the Turks into their Tents, and there killing a great number of them, and ſeeing in every place great ſtore of rich ſpoil, contrary to the aforeſaid Commandment, left the purſuit of the Enemy, and diſorderly fell to the ſpoil of the Tents, until they came to the very Tent of the great Sultan. But here began all the miſchief with a moſt ſudden change of Fortune. For here theſe greedy diſordered men, not now worthy the name of Souldiers, light upon a ſtrong Squadron of reſolute men, with good ſtore of great Ordnance ready charged, which they diſcharged amongſt the thickeſt of their Enemies, and rent in ſunder a number of them, and after that, came on reſolutely themſelves; when in the mean time *Cicala Baſſa*, with his Horſe-men yet untouched, brake in upon them alſo, and with the terror of his coming brought ſuch a fear upon them, that they began amain to fly, eſpecially the *Hungarians* and *Germans*, moſt buſied in the Spoil. Neither could they in that fear, by any threats or intreaty of their Commanders be perſuaded to make a ſtand, or ſo much as once to look back, or to ſhew any token of true Valour: which their haſty flight, was the overthrow not of themſelves only, but of others alſo that would have fought; for whilſt they fled head-long upon the Spur, and could not be ſtaid, they over-ran their own Foot-men, and ſo furthered the Enemies Victory. Thus for want of good order, thro the greedy covetouſneſs of a ſort of diſordered men, the moſt notable Victory that ever the Chriſtians were like to have had over the Turks, was let ſlip out of their hands. Many noble Gentlemen and Commanders, in ſeeking to ſtay the flight of their own men, were here ſlain: and altho the Enemy followed the Chace ſcarce half a mile, yet were the Chriſtians poſſeſſed with ſuch a fear, that they fled amain all over the Country, with greater ſhame than loſs, no man purſuing them. The Arch-duke himſelf ſeeing all deſperate, fled to *Caſſovia*. The *Tranſilvanian*, of all others moſt orderly, retired himſelf towards *Tocaii*, having not loſt in this Battel above 200 men, and of them never a man of name. All this loſs he imputed to the Covetouſneſs of the *Hungarians*, and Cowardiſe of the *German* Horſe-men. The Lord *Bernſtein* having charge of the great Artillery, fled alſo, and made ſhift for himſelf, as did *Paſſi*, and in fine all the reſt. Neither was the fear leſs amongſt the Turks (a wonderful thing to be ſpoken) than it was among the Chriſtians: for the Night following, they, for fear of the return of the Chriſtians, truſſing up the beſt of their things, fled alſo towards *Agria*. And it was afterwards known, that the Turks great Ordnance, Tents, and Baggage, ſtood three days in their Trenches, either altogether unguarded, or ſo ſlenderly guarded, as that they might have been eaſily taken by the Chriſtians, if they would but have made head again. Yea *Mahomet* himſelf is reported oftentimes to have confeſſed the danger and fear he was then in to have been taken, and all his Army deſtroyed, if the Chriſtians had (as they ſhould) purſued the Victory, and not ſo baſely run after the Spoil: by which danger he then warned, afterwards ever ſhunned to adventure his Perſon to the like Peril in the Field. In this Battel of *Kareſta* (for ſo it is of a place thereby called) and at the Siege of *Agria*, were loſt of the Chriſtians about 20000, and of the Turks 60000. *Mahomet* after this Victory fortified *Agria*, and for the keeping thereof left in it 10000 Souldiers, and ſo returned to *Belgrade*.

The Baſſa of *Buda*, perſuading himſelf that the Chriſtians, after ſo great an Overthrow, could not this Year to any purpoſe recover their Strength, came with all the power he was able to make, and the fourth of *November* beſieged *Vachia*, in hope to have eaſily carried it: but finding there greater reſiſtance than he had before imagined, and hearing that the diſperſed Chriſtians in the upper part of *Hungary* were making head for to come to the relief of the Town, he, more afraid than hurt, brake up his Siege, and ſo returned to *Buda*; for indeed the diſperſed Reliques of the late Army of the Chriſtians were drawing together, but unarmed and unſerviceable, as having in the late flight ſhamefully caſt away their Arms, and therefore could have done the Baſſa ſmall harm if he had continued the Siege.

Mahomet, thinking it Honour enough for him to have thus won *Agria*, and driven the Chriſtians out of the Field, divided his Army into two parts at *Belgrade*; whereof the one he billeted in the Country thereabout, to be ready for all Events, and with the other he returned to *Conſtantinople*: but by the way he was ſet upon by *Barbelius Januſchy* the *Tranſilvanian* Prince's Lieutenant, and the Vayvod of *Valachia*, who with a great Power both of Horſe and Foot being got over the River *Danubius*, and ſecretly favoured by the Country People, lay in Ambuſh for him in places of advantage, and ſtill following in the Tail of his Army, cut off 7000 of his men before he could be rid of them; and ſo with much trobble arrived at length at *Conſtantinople*, where we will for this Year leave him, until we hear of him more.

Maximilian, with a ſmall Retinue, arrived at *Vienna* in the latter end of *November*, where he found the Viſcount of *Burgaw*, *Swartzenburg*, and ſome other of the Commanders of his late Army; moſt of the reſt, eſpecially the *Italians*, being ſlain. The ſmall remainder of this unfortunate Year was ſpent with often Skirmiſhes and Inroads one into anothers Frontiers, as the manner of War is, without any other great thing done worth the Remembrance.

Rodolph the Chriſtian Emperour, notwithſtanding the late diſcomfiture of his Army not far from *Agria*, made choice again of his Brother *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, for the managing of his Forces for his next Years Wars againſt the Turk. Whereunto the Pope by his Legate *Fran. Aldobrandino* promiſed of his own charge to ſend him 10000 *Italians*, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Mantua*; as did alſo the *German* Princes their wonted aid, with ſome others. All which ſlowly at length meeting together near unto *Poſſonium* and *Altenburg*, in the Months of *July* and *Auguſt*; departing thence, march-

1596

The Chriſtians in ſeeking too greedily after the Spoil, overthrown and diſcomfited.

Twenty thouſand Chriſtians ſlain, and threeſcore thouſand Turks.

Vachia beſieged by the Baſſa of *Buda*.

1596 marched to *Pappa*, which after eight days hard Siege they took, and ſo again retired to *Altenburg*, where they took a general Muſter of the Army, and afterwards, in the beginning of *September*, ſhewed themſelves before the ſtrong Town of *Rab*: where the Lord *Bernſtein* approaching too near the Walls, was with a Shot ſlain. Nevertheleſs, the reſt there ſtayed, until that hearing of the coming of *Mahomet Baſſa*, the Turks General, with a great Army, they left the Siege, and the twenty fourth day of *September*, paſſing over the River *Danubius*, into the Iſland *Schut* towards *Comara*, there on the North-ſide of the River encamped. Where they had not lain paſt eight days, but that the Caſtle of *Dotis*, ſtanding upon the South-ſide of *Danubius*, was by the Baſſa, before their Faces, and as it were even under their Noſes, beſieged and taken; the whole Army of the Chriſtians in the mean time, as idle Beholders, looking on, but not daring to relieve their diſtreſſed Friends: but afterwards ariſing, marched to *Vachia*; where, hearing of the Turks coming againſt them from *Peſth*, they ſet fire on the Caſtle, and ſo retired along the North-ſide of the River, until they came over againſt *Vicegrade*, a Caſtle of their own, on the farther ſide of *Danubius*; where, by the good direction of the Lord *George Baſta*, a moſt expert Captain, and Lieutenant-General of the Army, they encamped ſo ſtrongly, as that the Turks, after many brave Attempts given to have forced them in their Trenches, were glad with ſome loſs to depart.

Pappa taken by the Chriſtians.

Dotis taken by the Turks.

Neither went things this Year better forward with the Chriſtians in other places, than in this ſide of *Hungary*: for *Sigiſmund* the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, by his Chancellor, beſieging the ſtrong City of *Temeſwar* in *October*, was, by the valour of the Defendants, and the unſeaſonableneſs of the Weather, inforced to raiſe his Siege, and with diſhonour to depart. *Michael* alſo, the Vayvod of *Valachia*, who, moved with the example and perſuaſions of the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, had revolted from the Turks, and done them great harm (as is in part before declared) now wearied with their often Invaſions and the ſpoil of his Country, almoſt brought to utter Deſolation, many thouſands of his Subjects being by the *Turks* and *Tartars* carried away Captives, and his Towns and Caſtles for moſt part razed; to give his People a time of breathing, ſubmitted himſelf again unto the *Turkiſh* Obeiſance, ſolemnly receiving at the hands of one of the Turks Chiaus (for that purpoſe ſent from *Conſtantinople*) an Enſign in token of his Submiſſion unto the Turkiſh Emperour, as alſo of his favour towards him. Which the more to aſſure him of, he by another honourable Meſſenger ſhortly after received from *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour more kind Letters than at any time before, with the confirmation of the Vayvodſhip of *Valachia* by the grand Seignior's ſolemn Oath, unto *Michael* the Vayvod, and his Son *Peter*, then about thirteen years old, for the term of both their Lives, without diſturbance, paying but the half of the old yearly Tribute by the Turks before demanded. So glad they were upon any condition to have reduced that Martial man with his Country unto their Obeiſance: and in token of further Grace, together with theſe Letters he received alſo a goodly Horſe, moſt richly furniſhed, with a fair Scimiter and an Horſe-man's Mace, in ſign of the martial Power and Government committed unto him by the great Sultan *Mahomet*. All which goodly gifts and Honours the Vayvod ſeemed thankfully to accept: nevertheleſs, not daring too far to truſt unto the Turkiſh Faith, of the ſmall aſſurance whereof he had before had ſufficient Experience, he ſtill kept ſtrong Garriſons upon the Frontiers of his Country, with ſuch other Forces alſo as he was

Michael the Vayvod yieldeth his Obeiſance unto the Turk, and yet refuſeth to aid him againſt the Chriſtians.

wont, excuſing the ſame to be done for fear of the *Tartars*; by whom he alſo excuſed himſelf for not going with the *Turks* General this Year into *Hungary*, as he was by ſpecial Meſſengers from the grand Seignior himſelf requeſted; telling him, that he might not in any caſe ſo do, for fear of the *Tartars* moſt horrible Incurſions, and the Spoils of his Country; yet knew he right well, how that they were by the great Sultan's expreſs Commandment charged not to do any harm either in *Moldavia*, or *Valachia*, as they went into *Hungary*. But this wary Vayvod not greatly truſting either the Sultan or them, as alſo loth himſelf, a Chriſtian, to go againſt the Chriſtians, his Friends and late Confederates, excuſed himſelf by the neceſſary care he had of his Subjects and Country, and ſo requeſted that his reaſonable Excuſe to be in good part of the great Sultan accepted: but of him more is to be ſaid hereafter. Thus paſſed this Year without any great thing done more than is before declared; both theſe great Princes, the Emperour and the Turkiſh Sultan, being warned by the laſt Years Work what it was to put all to the Fortune of a Battel: and therefore now, contenting themſelves to have ſhewed their Forces, as not afraid one of the other, countenanced this years Wars more in ſhews than deeds. 1596 1598

What great things might by the Chriſtian Princes at Unity amongſt themſelves be done againſt the Turk, is by the conſiderate Right eaſily to be gathered; but eſpecially by the notable Victory of the famous *Tranſilvanian* Prince *Sigiſmund*, who, confederated but with his poor oppreſſed Neighbours the *Valachians* and *Moldavians*, and ſtrengthened with ſome ſmall Aid from the Emperour and the *Hungarians*, not only delivered thoſe three Countries from the heavy burthen of the Turkiſh Thraldom, but vanquiſhed alſo their moſt renowned Captains, overthrew their mighty Armies, burnt and ſpoiled their Countries, razed their Towns and Cities; which, as it hath been before in part declared, ſo if it ſhould be all particularly ſet down, beſides that it would be tedious, ſo alſo might it haply ſeem almoſt incredible. Beſides which Calamities of War (commonly more felt of the Subjects than of the Prince) the great Sultan himſelf found no ſmall Wants, as well in his Coffers, as other his neceſſary Supplies for the maintenance of his Wars, eſpecially in *Hungary*; the only Country of *Moldavia*, before theſe Troubles, yielding unto him yearly a Tun of Gold, 2000 Horſes for Service, 10000 great meaſures of Wheat, with as much Barly, and a wonderful proportion of Butter, Honey, and other Victuals; the other two Provinces paying the like or more, as a yearly Tribute: whereof he had of late, to his great diſcontentment, by the general Revolt of theſe three Countries, been quite diſappointed. But this ſo wholſome a Confederation (to the great hurt of the Chriſtian Commonweal, and benefit of the Turks) now broken, and *Moldavia* by the *Polonians* diſſevered from the reſt, and again made tributary to the Turk, as is before declared, and now *Valachia* alſo in a ſort acknowledging the Turks Obeiſance; the noble *Tranſilvanian* Prince, who hitherto with great Cheerfulneſs and Courage had fought the moſt Chriſtian Battels againſt the Turk, now left as it were all alone, and doubting how with his own ſmall Forces to be able long to defend his Country againſt the *Turk* and the *Polonian*, whom he feared not much leſs than him; leſt the ſame ſhould, together with himſelf, fall into the hands of the Turks or ſome other his Enemies, by a wonderful Change voluntarily reſigned this his Country of *Tranſilvania* unto *Rodolph* the Chriſtian Emperour, and his Heirs for ever: and ſo leaving his Wife in *Tranſilvania*, went himſelf into

A great Tribute.

The Prince of *Tranſilvania* reſigneth his Country unto the Emperour.

1598 to *Sileſia*, there to take Poſſeſſion of the Dukedoms of *Oppel* and *Ratibor*, which, together with the yearly Penſion of 50000 Joachims, or the Revenues of the Biſhoprick of *Vratiſlavia*, he had in lieu thereof received of the Emperour: whereupon the Poſſeſſion of *Tranſilvania*, by the general conſent of all the States of that Country, was in the beginning of this Year 1598, delivered unto the Archbiſhop of *Vacia*, the County *Nadaſti*, and Doctor *Petzi*, the Emperour's Commiſſioners; and a ſolemn Oath of Obedience and Loyalty taken of them all in general; albeit the aforeſaid Commiſſioners, as alſo the Emperour himſelf, would have perſuaded the Prince, either not at all, or at leaſtwiſe not ſo ſuddenly to have forſaken his Country, but to have ſtill kept the Government thereof himſelf yet for a year or two; well foreſeeing, that the ſame could not ſo conveniently be governed by any other as by himſelf, a natural Prince therein born, and exceedingly beloved of his Subjects. The ſame Commiſſioners alſo, in *June* following, going into *Valachia*, there took the like Oath of Obedience of *Michael* the Vayvod and his People: who, loathing the Turkiſh Sovereignty, all willingly yielded themſelves unto the Emperour's Protection. Theſe Commiſſioners alſo at the ſame time came to agreement with the *Tartars* Ambaſſadors, offering unto the Emperour Peace and Aid for the yearly Penſion of 40000 Ducats, and as many Sheep-skin Gowns, their uſual manner of Apparel.

Michael the Vayvod ſubmitteth himſelf, with his People, unto the Emperours Protection.

All this while continued the Diet of the Empire, begun in *December* laſt paſt at *Ratisbon*, *Matthias* the Emperour's Brother being there his Deputy, and in his Majeſty's Name demanding a greater Aid for the maintenance of his Wars againſt the Turk, the common Enemy, than was by the Princes and States of the Empire offered: where, after great and long Deliberation, a large Proportion was by them all agreed upon for the defraying of the charges of thoſe Wars and defence of the Chriſtian Commonweal, to be paid in three years next; and ſo thereupon was the Aſſembly diſſolved. But as they were returning home, behold, contrary to all hope, *Rab*, one of the ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes of Chriſtendom, three Years before betrayed unto the Turks by County *Hardeck*, was now by the Wiſdom and Valour of *Adolphus* Baron of *Swartzenburg*, the Emperour's Lieutenant in the lower *Hungary*, again recovered, to the great grief of the Turks, and wonderful rejoycing of the Chriſtians, in ſuch ſort as followeth:

This noble Gentleman the Lord *Swartzenburg*, of no leſs Courage than Experience, then lying at *Komara*, and ſtill in doubt leſt the Turks, ſo near unto him at *Rab*, ſhould attempt ſomething againſt him and his Charge, provided for his own defence all that Winter-time with a ſtrong Garriſon, keeping continual Watch and Ward, altho it were as then no time for the Enemy with any Army to keep the Field. So Winter paſſing, and the Spring approaching, it fortuned, that the two and twentieth day of *March*, about ſeven a clock in the night, the Gates being ſhut, were heard near under the Walls of the Town, two men, who by their Speech ſeemed to be *Italians*; with great inſtance requeſting, for the ſafeguard of their Lives, to be let in, for fear of the Enemies Purſuit: which by one of the Sentinels was forthwith reported unto the Governour; who, doubting it to be ſome ſubtil practice of the Enemy, commanded them there to take their Fortune until the Morning; at which time they were received into the City, and being brought before the Governour, proſtrating themſelves forthwith at his Feet, pitifully requeſted him to have compaſſion of their Miſery, and to comfort them with his charitable Relief, that ſo they might at length return again into their Country: who at the firſt asked them, What Country-men they were, and from whence they came at that time of the night? Whereunto they anſwered, That they were *Italians*, and that they had but even then eſcaped out of the cruel hands of the Turks at *Rab*. But deſiring to know of them ſome News, they, after their manner, humbled themſelves, ſhewing by their Geſture not to know any. Yet would he needs underſtand of them the Particularities, when and how they were taken by the Turks, and the means they had uſed to eſcape out of that cruel Servitude, in all order as had befaln them. Where the younger of them beginning, told him, That now almoſt two years ago, at ſuch time as the Chriſtians were overthrown by the Turks under *Agria*, and every man in that confuſion then ſeeking the beſt and neareſt way to ſave themſelves; they having by flight now eſcaped the greateſt danger of the Enemy, and ſo travelling over the Country towards *Vienna*, were, to their great Misfortune (by an hundred Turks come out of *Rab* to ſcour the Country, and to ſeek after Prey) taken Priſoners, and as Slaves committed to the Chain, where they had almoſt two years, until now, with great Patience ſerved. Theſe two Fugitives, by their outward appearance, ſeemed to be men of good Spirit and Valour; which cauſed the Governour the more deſirous to know of them the means they had uſed for their eſcape. So the younger proceeding in his Tale, gave him to underſtand of the whole matter, telling him, That they had been three Months before ſtill carefully deviſing how to recover their loſt Liberty, which now ſeemed to make ſome offer of it ſelf unto them: for that ſince the time that the Emperour's Army roſe the laſt year from before the Town, they were not kept ſo ſtrait, or looked unto as before, but lay as men by the Turks not much regarded; which cauſed them the more cheerfully to take the offer of the time, and to reſolve either the ſooner to dye, or to ſet themſelves at liberty. And that ſo one day as they were carrying certain Munition from the Palace of *Giaffer Baſſa* for the Souldiers, they ſecretly conveyed three pieces of Cord of ſome reaſonable bigneſs, therewith by night to let themſelves down from the Wall, and ſo make their Eſcape: which ſtoln Cord, that it ſhould not be ſeen, and ſo their purpoſe ſuſpected, they buried in the ground. But the Night being come for them to effect in what they had ſo long deſired, and they roming up and down in the dark, and ſtill finding one let or other, they were enforced for that time to ſtay, and to deferr it until the night following; which being come, and choice made of a moſt convenient place, they made faſt the Cord above, and ſo thereby ſlid down, firſt the elder, and then the younger; who not knowing how to ſwim, was yet by the good direction and help of his Fellow conducted over unto the farther ſide of the broad and deep Ditch; and that ſo, in the night (ſo dark as that one of them could hardly ſee the other) they were come by chance to *Komara*, thinking to have taken the way to *Vienna*. The Governour thus fully inſtructed of their Eſcape, demanded of them further, how the ſtrong Town of *Rab* was by the Turks governed and guarded; who told him, very evil, and with ſmall care, eſpecially ſince the Departure of the Emperour's Camp; and alſo that four Gates of the Town were filled up with Earth, which if they were broken open, would all fall into the Town-ditch, and ſo further them that would attempt to enter, with divers other Particularities. Whereof the Governour having well conſidered, thought with himſelf, that if by ſome ingenious Device he might by night, with ſome good ſtrength, upon the ſudden enter the Town, it

Two *Italian* Priſoners flying out of *Rab*, diſcover the ſtate of the Town to the Lord *Swartzenburg*.

1598

1598 it might happily be ſo again recovered. Upon which ſo great a deſignment he thought good to conſult further with the Lord *Palfi*, whom he requeſted, in all haſte, and with as much Secrecy as was poſſible, with 1600 Foot, and as many Horſe as he could make, to come unto him to *Komara*. Who, upon this Advertiſement, ſtaid not, but preſently giving order unto his men, ſet forward by night, and the 26*th* of *March*, before day, with 1400 Foot and 120 Horſe arrived at *Komara*; where they were all joyfully received, and the Gates, after they were entred, again faſt ſhut, and ſo kept for fear of the Enemies ſecret Spies, of whom no man can be too wary, be he never ſo wiſe. Now whilſt theſe Souldiers were refreſhing themſelves, in the mean time, the Governour, with the Lord *Palfi*, diſcourſed to the full concerning the intended Enterpriſe; which reſolved upon, they found themſelves, upon the view of their men, to have 2600 Foot of the Garriſon Souldiers, and 300 Horſe, all good and courageous men, and well appointed for the intended Servige: who there ſtaying two days after their coming, and many of them in the mean time (after the manner of their Religion) confeſſing themſelves, and receiving the Sacrament, were become ſo courageous, as that they doubted not, in the Quarrel of the Chriſtian Religion, to encounter a far greater number of the Turks than themſelves. And the more to ſtir them up, the Lord *Palfi* at the ſame time delivered unto them a notable Speech; not for all that telling them whither they were to go; but, That they were his Chriſtian Souldiers and Brethren, under his leading both of long and late time; who, never by him deceived of their wonted Pay at ſuch time as it was due, would not now, as he hoped, forſake him. And albeit that he well knew them to have deſerved at his hands a greater Contentment, nevertheleſs, being himſelf deprived of his Revenue by theſe late Wars, and his Poſſeſſions ſubject every hour unto the Incurſions of the Turks, could not therefore, according to his Deſire, and their Deſerts, ſhew unto them the great good Will he bare them; yet now and even preſently was come the time wherein they might not only abundantly inrich themſelves, but alſo adorn their Heads with an immortal Crown of Glory, and make themſelves for ever famous, by performing the moſt happy and glorious Exploit that ever was by valiant Souldiers attempted or atchieved in that part of the World. And to the intent that they might know how dearly he accounted of the Life and Honour of every one of them, he would therefore himſelf, with the Lord *Swartzenburg*, (of whom proceeded all that fair Device and new Stratagem) be preſent with them in the Action; and that therefore they were not to think that they were led forth to any private danger, farther than their Commanders themſelves, whoſe Folly were to be accounted great, if raſhly and upon no good ground they ſhould adventure their Lives and Honours together; whereof they ought not now to doubt, having by a thouſand Proofs known how much they had been of them always regarded. And that therefore it behoved them ſo much the more to ſhew their Valour in this piece of Service undertaken for the great benefit of the Chriſtian Commonweal, and the Honour of Chriſt Jeſu, unto whom they were with one accord to make their Prayers, with his mighty hand to ſtrengthen their Hearts, and with glorious Victory to bring to happy end the intended Exploit againſt his Enemies, to the honour of his Name, and the advancement of the Chriſtian Religion and Faith. At the end of which Speech, all the Souldiers cried aloud, That they were moſt ready to do any their Commands, and to follow them whitherſoever. So order was taken, that within three hours they ſhould every man be preſt and ready with their Arms according to their places; and ſo having well refreſhed themſelves, about eleven of clock the ſeven and twentieth day of *March* they in good order began to ſet forwards toward *Rab*. But for that the multitude of Souldiers oftentimes giveth the Enemy warning of that is intended againſt him, *Palfi* gave order to one *John Stroine*, his Serjeant-Major, to follow fair and ſoftly after him, with 1700 Horſe and Foot; which he well performed: and ſo upon the break of the day they began to draw towards *Rab*, and there lay cloſe in Ambuſh all that day until night, about ſeven miles ſhort of the Town; refreſhing themſelves in the mean time with plenty of Victuals, which they had brought with them from *Komara*. Night (the favourer of Deceit) being come, in two hours March they began to draw near to *Rab*, and there ſtaid about five hours; from whence they ſent before them a French Engineer, a man of great Judgment, with thirteen others (before rewarded with 1500 Duckats) having with them four Petards, Engines of Force to blow up into the Air any thing whereunto they be faſtened, be it never ſo great and weighty; where, by good chance, they found the Draw bridge down, and the Portcullis up; for that the Turks then caſting no Peril, expected every hour for certain Waggons with Proviſion from *Alba-Regalis*. By which good hap, the Chriſtians unperceived coming to the Gate, and thereunto faſtning their Petards, in good order gave fire to the ſame, which preſently took not hold; yet were they not far gone, but that they were by a Sentinel deſcried, who demanding what they were, was preſently anſwered by the violent Engines, which in a trice tore in ſunder the Gate, with ſome part of the Wall and of the Fortifications near unto it. When now the Watch (but all too late) began to give the Alarm, and the Chriſtians in the foreward thruſting preſently in, took the Gate, none of the Turks yet coming to the defence thereof, or to hinder them from entring. The firſt that appeared were 200 Turks, which with their wonted Cry *Alla*, *Alla*, in ſuch hideous manner as if they would therewith have rent the Heavens, would have ſtaid the Chriſtians from farther entring, but were themſelves over-charged by 300 which were already entred. At which time alſo the Baſſa came on with more than a thouſand following him, and that with ſuch Courage and Fury as was never greater to be ſeen in any Turk; where, after a moſt tetrible Fight, maintained by the ſpace of two hours, the Baſſa himſelf being ſlain, the Turks began a little to retire, whereby a thouſand Chriſtians more had leiſure to enter: when ſtraightway after came *Giaffer* the great Baſſa with above a thouſand tall Souldiers following him, all the Inhabitants alſo of *Rab* running after him, and that with ſuch force, that they conſtrained the Chriſtians to retire unto the Gate whereby they entred. Who, reſolved rather honourably to die within the Town, than with diſhonour to be forced out, there, with incredible Courage, ſuſtained the greateſt Impreſſion of the furious Enemy; where was to be ſeen the true Chriſtian Valour for the performance of ſo great an Exploit, well worthy of eternal Memory. But this Baſſa alſo (the other being dead of a Wound in his Neck) encountered by the Lord *Swartzenburg*, after he had in that ſharp Conflict ſhewed great tokens of his Valour, was there at length ſlain alſo: both whoſe Heads ſtruck off, were for a Preſent afterwards ſent to the Emperour at *Prague*, with all the particularities of the whole Action. But now the Turks perceiving that all their chief Commanders were ſlain, retired moſt part of them into the City: ſome 300 of them crept underneath one of the

1598

The notable Speech of the Lord *Palfi* unto his Souldiers.

Rab ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians.

Two of the Turks Baſſaes ſlain.

1598 the Bulwarks, where ſtood certain Barrels of Gunpowder, which they deſperately ſet on fire, and ſo together with themſelves blew up three hundred Chriſtians that were above upon the Bulwark; the greateſt loſs the Chriſtians had in all that Victory, who were otherwiſe ſuppoſed not to loſe therein above two hundred of their men. Thus the Turks diſcomfited, and altogether full of fear, loſing both their Force and Courage, fled in every place before the Chriſtians, they in every corner making of them a moſt horrible Slaughter. The Turkiſh Women all this while out of their Windows and other high places, ceaſed not to caſt down Stones, Timber, and ſuch like things, upon the Heads of the Chriſtians, whom they thought by all means to annoy, and to help the Turks. The bloody Execution continued all that day until night, the Chriſtians ſtill finding one or other hidden in the moſt ſecret places of the City upon whom to exerciſe their Wrath; who, ranſacking alſo every corner thereof, were by the Wealth therein found greatly enriched. But coming to the Palace of *Giaffer* the great Baſſa, they found ſuch great ſtore of rich Furniture, as better beſeemed ſome great Prince than a Turkiſh Slave. There they found alſo Letters, written in Characters of Gold, from the Baſſa of *Buda* to this Baſſa, greeting him, and promiſing him in his behalf to deal with the grand Seignior againſt the next Spring, with the firſt that his Army ſhould take the Field, that he might therein have ſome honourable place of Command, to the end he might in the Field ſhew his greater Valour, and no longer lie idle in that ſtrong Town. So found they there alſo many things written from the Great Sultan himſelf unto this Baſſa, with great ſtore of Coin, which all fell to the Souldiers ſhare; inſomuch, that by this ſo notable an Exploit ſo well performed, the publick State, together with the Souldiers private, was not a little bettered. There, amongſt other things, were recovered threeſcore and ſix pieces of Artillery, which were known to have been ſometime the Emperour's, and four and twenty others, which the Baſſa had cauſed to be brought from *Buda*, with great ſtore of ſhot and powder and other ſmall pieces, and meal ſufficient to have ſerved 4000 men for a Year and a half, but of Wine (little uſed of the Turks) only four Veſſels. In the Baſſa's Palace was alſo found of Armour and Weapons of all ſorts great ſtore, with abundance of Cloth and Apparel, which was all given in ſpoil to the Souldiers. Thus *Rab*, one of the ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes of Chriſtendom, not full four years before beſieged by *Sinan Baſſa* with an 150000 men, by the ſpace almoſt of three Months, and then at length, by the Treaſon of the Governour to him betrayed; was now in one night, by the Valour and Policy of a few reſolute men, to their immortal Glory, again reſtored to the Chriſtian Commonweal, the nineteenth day of *March*, in the Year 1598. Of which ſo notable a Victory the Chriſtians rejoyced not a little both in *Hungary* and elſewhere; the great Sultan, with the Turks, no leſs grieving and ſtorming, as well for the loſs of the Town, before got with no ſmall charge, as for the death of his People there ſlain, to the number of about ſix thouſand and more, with the loſs of ſcarce ſix hundred Chriſtians.

A great Booty.

Yet for all this, *Mahomet* the great Sultan ceaſed not to make great Proviſion for his Wars in *Hungary*, and that greater than before; and ſo with greater fury alſo to proſecute his wrathful Indignation to be revenged upon the Chriſtians. Whereunto, order was given unto *Ibraim Baſſa* his Brother-in-law, and General of his Army, with all convenient ſpeed to take the Field; which for all that fell out far otherwiſe; for that now thinking to have had all things in good forwardneſs, a great diſſention riſe betwixt the Janizaries and the Spahi; the Janizaries being the beſt Foot-men, and the Spahi the beſt Horſe-men of the Turkiſh Empire; both the faithful Keepers of the Perſon of their Prince, and the greateſt ſtrength of his State; whereby it cometh to paſs, that in ſetting forward towards the Wars, theſe two ſorts of valiant Souldiers, the one ſtanding upon their Strength, and the other upon their Honour, and both jealous of their Reputation and Credit, have no good liking of one the other, but oftentimes, and eſpecially of late in this corruption of their martial Diſcipline under their degenerate Emperours, fall at odds among themſelves, as now they did, to the great hinderance of their Affairs, and trouble of the General. Inſomuch, that to appeaſe this Tumult he was glad to put to death certain of the inſolent Janizaries, refuſing to ſet forward as they were by their Aga commanded. But proceeding farther, and thinking to have executed ſome others of them alſo, to the further terror of the reſt, he was by them and their Adherents put in ſuch fear of his Life, that to avoid the preſent danger, he was glad to excuſe himſelf by his Lieutenant, laying all the blame upon him as the cauſe thereof; who was therefore as a Sacrifice delivered unto the Fury of the Janizaries, by whom he was there preſently ſlain, with ſome others of the Baſſa's Followers. So theſe Broils, with much ado, overpaſt, *Ibrahim* having taken a general review of his Army at *Sophia*, there ſtayed, expecting Order from the great Sultan where to begin his Wars, in *Hungary* or in *Tranſilvania*, for as yet that was in queſtion: which could not well be before the beginning of *July*, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of Victuals even then ariſing in the Camp; for the ſupplying whereof, *Mahomet* himſelf had no ſmall care. But this long delay was the cauſe that a great number of the Janizaries coming from *Hadrianople*, and hearing by the way, that the General would not as yet ſet forward, not knowing the cauſe of his ſtay, and doubting to be deceived of their promiſed Entertainment, were about to have returned back again; which known at the Court, Commandment was preſently ſent thence unto the General, without longer ſtay to ſet forward toward *Hungary*, which the more haſtened his Departure with his Army.

1598 A great Tumult between the Janizaries and the Spahi.

In this the Turks ſo long delay, the Chriſtians had good leiſure to prepare their new Forces, being now the latter end of Summer: for well they might think that the Enemy ſlept not, knowing what Proviſion he had made as well in *Conſtantinople* as in other places. Wherefore reaſonably doubting that Summer well ſpent, and *Auguſt* now at hand, he would not ſo late turn his Forces into the lower *Hungary*, they thought it beſt to provide for the Safety of the upper Country: and ſo the end the Enemy approaching thoſe Frontiers, might there find Forces ready to encounter him, the Lord *George Baſta*, a man of great Experience and Valour, was appointed Lieutenant-General for that Country, to the great Contentment of the Souldiers in general, all ſhewing themſelves moſt ready at his Command. The Lord *Swarizenburg* in the mean time remaining in the lower *Hungary* at *Rab*, with eight thouſand good Souldiers; and the Arch-duke *Matthias* at *Vienna* for the diſpatch of *George Baſta*, and the haſting of him forward: for that the upper *Hungary*, to the great hurt thereof began now to feel the Incurſions of the *Turks* and *Tartars*: beſides that, he was afterwards to return himſelf to ſpeak with the Emperour his Brother, ſtill expecting a Chiaus of the Turks by the Appointment of the Grand Seignior, ſent by the way of *Polonia* for *Prague*, to intreat with the Emperour concerning a Peace.

They

1598 They of *Buda* in the mean while ſeeing the delay of the Turks, of whom, no one band yet appeared in thoſe Quarters; and on the other ſide perceiving the great Preparation of the Imperials, and the great Garriſon at *Rab* ſo near at hand; began now to doubt ſome new Reſolution of the Chriſtians: wherein they were no whit deceived; for no Army of the Turks being then in field in the lower *Hungary*, and the Country plain and open, the Lord *Palfi*, with a convenient Power, and certain pieces of Battery, ſet forward to attempt the Enterpriſe, and the 16th of *October*, with 16 pieces of Artillery began to batter the City of *Buda*, to the great fear and diſcomfiture of them within; having firſt taken the Fort S. *Gerard*, with hope to have gained the reſt alſo. For which cauſe, the Men, the Women, and all that dwelt in the City, moſt inſtantly beſought the Baſſa, not to endure the deſtruction of the ſame, with the Inhabitants and Wealth thereof altogether; but, being not able long to hold out againſt ſo furious a Battery, in time to hearken unto ſome reaſonable compoſition, that ſo they might yet every man at leaſt with life depart. Whereunto, the Baſſa for all that would not hearken, but put them ſtill in hope that they ſhould be preſently relieved. Howbeit, the Battery ſtill continuing, and they not able longer to endure the force of the Imperials, nor any Relief yet coming, they were glad, at length to abandon the City with the loſs of 2000 of the Janizaries, and but 300 of the Chriſtians ſlain, and 800 hurt; the reſt of the Turks at the ſame time retiring themſelves into the Caſtle, where they might for a ſpace deem themſelves ſafe. So the Lord *Palfi* poſſeſſed of the City, with all his Forces laid Siege unto the Caſtle; which, altho it were in ſome places ſhaken with the continual fury of the Canon, yet were the Defendants ſtill ready to make good the ſame: inſomuch, that *Palfi*, upon good hope of Succeſs, giving thereunto a general Aſſault, was by their Valour inforced to retire; they within in the mean time with great labour and induſtry repairing the Breaches and Gauls made by the Artillery. So that *Palfi* conſidering the difficulty of the Aſſault, thought it better, by undermining, to ſhake the Rock whereon the Caſtle ſtood, than by a new Aſſault to expoſe ſo many worthy men unto ſo manifeſt a danger: which his Purpoſe by the Enemy diſcovered, was by them alſo, by countermining, diſappointed; yet for all that were the Chriſtians ſtill in good hope, by another Mine not yet by the Enemy perceived, to ſort to the full of their deſire; and the more, for that they ſaw not ſo much bravery or ſhew of Courage in the Defendants as before: who now kept themſelves ſilent and quiet, as if they had been conſulting about the yielding up of the Caſtle, as men bereſt of all hope of Relief and Succour; the Chriſtians being now poſſeſſed of a ſtrong Abbey and Fortreſs faſt by, and having broken down all the Bridges over the River *Danubius*, in ſuch ſort, as that the beſieged could not receive any relief either by Land or Water. But foraſmuch as the time of the year began now to grow tedious, and the Winter Weather ſharp, the Chriſtians thought it not beſt there long to protract the time; and therefore reſolved to preſent unto the Caſtle another general Aſſault, and at the ſame inſtant to blow up the Mine: but in giving this Aſſault, they were again repulſed with the loſs of 200 men. At which time alſo, a number of the Turks ſallying out of the Caſtle, courageouſly encountered the Chriſtians, but not with Succeſs anſwerable to their Valour, being there almoſt all cut in pieces: neither did the Mine take the deſired Effect, but being blown up did little or no harm at all. So that the Chriſtians, weary of their long ſuffering of the Extremity of the Weather, and withal conſidering the great Courage of the Defendants, were even upon the point to have riſen; yet willing to give a freſh attempt by the Mine; they began again to work in the ſame, and in hope to prevail, began to parle with the Defendants about the giving up of the Caſtle: but all to little or no purpoſe; for that the Mine having taken *no effect*, *the Souldiers could hardly* be drawn on through the deep and muddy Ditches to give a new Aſſault. In fine, ſeeing no hope to prevail, and hearing alſo of the coming of a great Army of the Turks for the relief of the beſieged, they raiſed their Siege, and at their departure burnt their Suburbs, carrying away with them a great Booty; and ſo retiring towards *Strigonium*, expected further direction where to Winter. Where, ſhortly after, Order was taken, that the Forces diſbanded ſhould be diſperſed, ſome into the Garriſons, and ſome into the Country thereabout, to the intent they might ſo be in the more readineſs with the firſt of the next Spring to take the Field, or as occaſion ſhould ſerve to be otherwiſe employed.

Buda beſieged by the Chriſtians.

The Chriſtians depart from the Siege of *Buda*.

But *Sigiſmund* the *Tranſilvanian* Prince in the mean time repenting himſelf of the unequal Exchange he had made with the Emperour, in diſguiſed Apparel haſting in poſt out of *Sileſia* came to *Clauſenburg* in *Tranſilvania*; and there was joyfully received of his Subjects, and taking of them a new Oath of Obedience, by Meſſengers ſent of purpoſe certified *Maximilian* the Arch-duke (appointed by the Emperour for the Government of *Tranſilvania*, and now upon his way as far as *Caſſovia*) of the cauſes of his Return, perſuading him rather to convert his Forces againſt the Turks for the recovery of *Agria*, than to trouble himſelf to come any farther for *Tranſilvania*, now again by him, to the great contentment of his Subjects, repoſſeſſed: as did alſo the Princeſs his Wife (*Maximilian*'s Couſin-German) wiſhing him to conſider what hurt and diſhonour he ſhould do unto the Emperour's Majeſty, Himſelf, the *Roman* Empire, and the whole Chriſtian Common-weal in general, if in ſo dangerous a time he ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Prince her Husband, and unto him ſo nearly allied.

Now the Turks great Army being come into the upper *Hungary*, lay incamped under the Walls of the ſtrong City of *Veradinum*, where that worthy Captain *George Baſta* was Lieutenant-General for the Emperour; but not having ſuch Strength, as without further help to go againſt ſo mighty an Enemy, or to relieve the beſieged City, not as then furniſhed with a ſufficient Garriſon, he gave knowledge thereof unto *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, who (as is aforeſaid) with a convenient Power was but a little before come to *Caſſovia*, to have gone into *Tranſilvania*, had he not there by the way been ſtayed by Ambaſſadors from the Prince *Sigiſmund*, but lately before returned out of *Sileſia*; and having again taken upon him the Government, by theſe his Ambaſſadors requeſted him no farther to trouble himſelf with that Journey, offering to give him Aid againſt the Turks whenſoever he ſhould require it. The beſieged nevertheleſs in the mean time notably defended themſelves, and with certain brave Sallies did the Enemy great harm; ſtill expecting, that *Baſta* the Lieutenant, or the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, or *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, or they all, with their united Forces, ſhould ſend them relief: unto whom they gave knowledge the Nineteenth of *October*, how that the Turks with all the Force and Fury they had uſed, had as yet little prevailed, being by their Valour ſtill repulſed, and with many ſharp Sallies, to their great loſs encountered, and ſome of their great Ordnance cloyed, in ſuch ſort, as that they were in

Veradinum beſieged by the Turks.

1598 good hope to protract the time until they might by them their Friends be relieved; yet not doubting, but that the Turks, according to their wonted manner, would do what they might to ſubdue them. According to whoſe expectation, the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, with a great Power taking the Field to have relieved them, was letted ſo to do by the *Tartars*, to that purpoſe ſtirred up by the Turks: ſo that he could by no means joyn his Forces with *Maximilian*, for looking to the Safety of his own People and Country. Yet in token of forwardneſs, he ſent certain Companies of brave Souldiers unto the Lieutenant *Baſta*; who underſtanding that of 2000 good Souldiers in Garriſon in the City at the beginning of the Siege, there were ſcarce 700 left alive, all the reſt being, with continual Aſſaults, ſlain or mortally wounded, uſed a notable Stratagem to delude the Enemy withal: for having put his men in good order, and coming bravely on, as if he would even preſently have joyned Battel (a thing which the Turks moſt deſired) whilſt they likewiſe with great ſtir were putting themſelves in order of Battel, and wholly buſied therein, he by another way (of the Turks leaſt ſuſpected) cunningly thruſt into the City eight hundred good Souldiers; and that done, preſently retired again into his Trenches, wherein he ſtrongly incamped, feared not all the Turks Forces: who thinking even then to have come to a day Battel, and ſtill in vain expecting the ſame, returned deceived by this fineneſs. And ſo ſhortly after (inforced by continual foul Weather) raiſed their Siege, not without great difficulty and danger (Relief lying ſo near at hand, and the Defendants ſtrengthened with new Supplies) to have been longer maintained. So paſſed the Troubles of this Year, with no gain but great loſs of the Turk; who, at their departure, inforced by the unſeaſonableneſs of the Weather and fear together, left behind them in their Trenches many Tents, with ſome great pieces of Artillery, being not able to convey the ſame by Water to *Buda*: and withal fearing greatly to be encountered by the Forces of *Baſta*, ſtrengthened with new Supplies even then ſent unto him from the Emperour.

A new Supply put into Veradinum by Baſta.

The Arch-duke *Matthias*, *Swartzenburg*, and the other Commanders of the Army in the lower *Hungary*, being twelve thouſand ſtrong, with the Garriſon Souldiers of *Rab*, *Strigonium*, and *Komara*, in the mean time, becauſe they would not ſtand idle, together with the *Hungarian* Horſe-men, over-ran all the Country thereabout, even unto the Gates of *Buda*: in good hope alſo to have met with eight thouſand Turks (as they were by their Eſpials advertiſed) coming towards *Peſth* with Victuals for the relief of the Caſtle of *Buda*.

Whilſt things thus paſſed in *Hungary*, *Mahomet*, to ſhew his Greatneſs, as alſo the more to keep the Chriſtian Princes in ſuſpence, ſent *Cicala* (or as the Turks call him *Cigala*) *Baſſa* his Admiral, with a great Fleet to Sea: wherewith, being come upon the Coaſt of *Sicilia*, he requeſted the Viceroy of that Kingdom to ſend him aboard his Fleet the Lady *Lucretia* his Mother, which dwelt in *Meſſina*, for that he greatly deſired to ſee her, and to do her Honour; promiſing ſo quietly to depart without any harm doing. And the Viceroy again conſidering how that the angry Renegade for the like Courteſie to him at another time before denied, had in his rage done great harm all along the Sea-Coaſt; covenanting with him to ſend her in ſafety back again, ſent her honourably accompanied aboard the Admiral Gally: whom *Cicala* her Son received with great Joy and Triumph; and having kept her with him one day with all the Honour that might be, according to his Promiſe ſent her back again to *Meſſina*; and ſo without any harm done for her ſake to any part of Chriſtendom, peaceably returned back again with his Fleet. 1598

Now in the mean time, *Michael* the Vayvod of *Valachia*, with good Forces of his own, becauſe he would be doing ſomething alſo, reſolved to give an Attempt upon *Nicopolis*, a City of the Turks in *Bulgaria*: and ſo giving order to his People, cauſed a Bridge to be made over *Danubius* to paſs that great River by. Whereof the Baſſaes of *Siliſtria* and *Badoua* underſtanding, thought it good with all their Power to diſturb him in that work; and ſo coming, as the ſaid Bridge was by the Vayvod's Souldiers laid over the River upon Boats, without farther ſtay attempted to have broken the ſame, to the intent that the Vayvod ſhould not that way paſs. Who haſting thither with his Army, reſcued his Work, and inforced his Baſſaes to forſake the Exploit by them begun; where betwixt them for a ſpace was fought a moſt hard Conflict, until at length the Turks were with a great Slaughter overthrown, and ſo glad, ſome here, ſome there, by flight as they might, to ſave their Lives. After which Victory, he, without let paſſing over the River with his whole Forces, came and incamped under the Walls of *Nicopolis*; where they of the City underſtanding of the late Slaughter of the Turks, and finding themſelves not able to hold it out againſt the Force and Valour of the *Valachies*, and now out of hope of any help or relief in time to come from the *Turks*, without farther reſiſtance yielded themſelves into the Power of the Vayvod; who having ſacked the City and ſet it on fire, carried thence a great ſpoil and booty, with a number of the *Bulgarians*; chuſing out the beſt and moſt able Bodies amongſt them to ſerve him in his Wars, and appointing the reſt to inhabit and manure the waſted places of *Valachia*. The Report of this Overthrow given unto the Turks by the *Valachian*, with the ſacking of *Nicopolis*, running abroad, brought a general fear upon the Turks, even in the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*. For the ſtaying whereof, *Mahomet* commanded the chief of his Baſſaes, with a great power of tumultuary Souldiers, taken up in haſte, to go forthwith againſt the Vayvod, to ſtay the courſe of his farther Proceedings, to the diſmaying of his People; himſelf thundring out moſt horrible Threats againſt him: who, encouraged with his late Victory, and well acquainted with the Turks manners, little regarded the ſame, as knowing that he was not with Words, but with Arms, to be vanquiſhed.

Nicopolis ſacked and burnt by the Vayvod.

Now *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour, oppreſſed with Melancholy to ſee himſelf at once aſſailed with the Plague then raging in *Conſtantinople*, the bloody Wars in *Hungary*, and the horrible mortality and loſs of his People in both places; and withal not ignorant of the evil Succeſs of his Army at *Veradinum*, and of the great harm done at *Nicopolis* by the *Valachian*; yet for all that, ceaſed not, in what he might, to provide for ſo many Evils, but gave order to *Tant Baſſa* with all ſpeed to ſet forward (as we have ſaid) from *Conſtantinople* toward *Valachia*, as from whence he feared the greateſt danger: who without delay, to make the Vayvod to underſtand how highly the great Sultan was diſpleaſed with him, put himſelf upon the way with ſix hundred Janizaries towards *Hadrianople*, with purpoſe there to winter until the Spring, and ſo to expect the coming of the reſt of the Army, that ſo with the ſame, united unto the Forces of *Mehemet Satergi* (who the laſt year beſieged *Veradinum*), he might in the Field appear more terrible unto his Enemies. The Chriſtian Emperour alſo, at the ſame time reſted much diſcontented, that his People, in ſo fair a way for the win- 1599

ning

1599 ning of the Caſtle of *Buda*, had yet failed thereof: the *Wallons* laying the fault upon the Lords *Swartzenburg*, *Palſi*, and the reſt of the Commanders, that it was not won; for that when they, as valiant men, offered to have done therein the uttermoſt of their Devoir, their Leaders had made choice, by the Spade and Mattock, rather than by the Sword, to perform the ſame.

The Turks again ſpoiled by the Vayvod.

But *Michael* the Vayvod, ſeeing the Turks not a little diſmayed with the ſacking of *Nicopolis*, began afreſh, to their greater terror and hurt, to make new Inrodes upon them, in ſuch ſort, as that he was entred an hundred miles into their Territory: againſt whom, *Mehemet Satergi* (as yet the Turks General in *Hungary*) coming with his Forces, he again retired, carrying away with him the ſpoil of the Country by him waſted.

Buda diſtreſſed.

They of *Buda* in the mean time fearing ſome ſudden Aſſault to be given upon them, and ſuffering within great want of Victuals, expected long to be relieved both with Victuals and other Neceſſaries; underſtanding yet withal, that the grand Seignior had cauſed it to be given out in *Conſtantinople*, That he was raiſing a great Power of his beſt and moſt expert Souldiers, and had therefore ſent for unto the Court all his old men of War, ſuch as had ſerved in the Wars of *Perſia*, to be now again employed in *Hungary*. Where the Turks in the mean time providing to relieve the diſtreſſed City of *Buda* both with Men and many other Neceſſaries; certain reſolute *Hungarians* underſtanding by their Eſpials, that one of the Turks Baſſaes with 3000 Souldiers was coming thither to increaſe the Garriſon, laid themſelves cloſe in Ambuſh in a place whereby the Turks were to paſs; where they had not long ſtay'd, but that the Turks, as men without fear, diſorderedly paſſing by, were by them with ſuch force and fury aſſailed, that in a moment, when they leaſt thought, they were overthrown and put to flight, with the loſs of many of their Horſes, much Money and Jewels, and many Captains there taken Priſoners, the Baſſa himſelf, with much ado, hardly eſcaping into the City. But ſhortly after, 400 Chriſtians ſcouring the Country about *Buda*, and having taken a good booty of Cattel and other Pillage, returning loaded with the Prey, were by the way aſſaulted by the Turks, and inforced to forſake the ſame, and to fight for their Lives; whom, for all that, they notably repulſed, with the ſlaughter of divers of them; and ſo again recovering their Booty, returned with Victory. And about this time, or not long after, in the upper *Hungary*, a great power of the *Turks* and *Tartars* having foraged a great part of that Country, and done the Chriſtians great harm, came before *Coſſovia*, making ſhew as if they would even preſently have beſieged that City: which put the Inhabitants in ſuch a fear, that many of them, without farther Deliberation, fled forthwith as faſt as they could into the Mountains, thinking themſelves more ſafe there than in the City. Nevertheleſs, by the perſuaſion of *George Baſta*, the Emperour's Lieutenant in thoſe Parts, 2000 valiant and expert Souldiers ſtaid there with him, expecting what the Turks would do; who approaching the Walls, demanded of them in the City a great Sum of Money by way of Contribution; threatning otherwiſe the utter Ruine and Deſtruction thereof. Which their proud Demand was by *Baſta* ſtoutly rejected, and they, with the loſs of a great many of their Lives, inforced to get them farther off. Wherefore, ſeeing themſelves not able to prevail againſt a City ſo well provided, they, for fear, by night riſe, and departed quite another way than that whereby they came, doing great harm ſtill as they went. The free *Haiducks* of *Valachia* alſo, a warlike kind of People, living for the moſt part upon Prey, and willing to ſhew ſome token of their Hatred toward the Turks, by certain Bridges paſſing over the *Danubius*, encountered with the Baſſa of *Natolia* with a great Power, whom they overthrew with much ſlaughter of his People, and the loſs of his Brother there ſlain alſo; and ſo afterwards over-running the Country, did there exceeding harm, and took the ſame Baſſa's Son Priſoner. Thus paſſed the Winter with many light Skirmiſhes and Incurſions in divers parts of *Hungary*, and other the frontier Countries; which had done great harm, had it not been before-hand well provided for by the Imperials; who in moſt places ſtrengthened with new Supplies, ſtayed the fury of their barbarous Enemies. *Maximilian* the Arch-duke in the mean time coming from *Prague* to *Vienna*, found himſelf there to have in his Camp but four and twenty thouſand Foot and ten thouſand Horſe, ready againſt the next Spring, (divers of the *German* Princes this year not ſending thither any Aid at all, by reaſon of their Troubles nearer home with the *Spaniards* in the lower ſide of *Germany*) which made him the more to dread the Enemies coming, who he knew after his accuſtomed manner would that Summer appear in the Field with a far greater number. But to have holpen this want, the great Duke of *Muſcovy*, about this time, by his Ambaſſadors, amongſt other things, requeſted leave of the *Polonian* for forty thouſand Horſemen to paſs through his Country, which Horſe-men he had determined (as he ſaid) to ſend in aid of the Emperour againſt the Turk: which his Requeſt the *Polonian* would by no means grant, as dangerous to his Eſtate. Wherefore the *Muſcovite*, offended with the *Polonian*, ſent other his Ambaſſadors unto the Emperour, by Sea; who embarqued in an *Engliſh* Ship in the Port of *S. Nicholas*, and ſailing about the Kingdoms of *Sweden*, *Norway*, and *Denmark*, after long trouble at Sea, at length arrived at *Stoad*, and ſo from thence by Land travelling to *Hamborough*, *Lubeck*, and *Maidenborow*, and in every place honourably entertained, came at laſt unto the Emperour into *Bohemia*, then lying at *Pliſena*, for that the Plague was then hot at *Prague*: where they having with great ſtate delivered their Preſents and Letters of Credence unto the Emperour, had Audience, and were by him moſt honourably uſed. Yet the *Polonian*, having thus denied the *Muſcovite* Paſſage, ſuffered the Turks Ambaſſador, who called himſelf *Gabriel*, a Jew, to paſs through his Country unto the Emperour, to intreat with him of a Peace to be made betwixt him and the Turk. Which *Gabriel* coming to *Prague*, as Ambaſſador from the great Turk, and having no Letters of Credence to ſhew for his Negotiation (for that they were, as he ſaid, upon the way taken from him by the *Polonian* Coſſacks, and certain of his Retinue ſlain) was there taken for a Spy, and ſo ſent to *Vienna*; where, at his firſt Arrival he was well uſed in a common Inn; but the night following, being taken in his Chamber by the Martial, was ſo clap'd faſt in Priſon, with as many Irons upon him as he could bear, and all his Followers, with Gyves upon their Legs, compelled as Slaves daily to work in the Town-ditch.

1599

The Turks Ambaſſador taken for a Spy, and impriſoned at *Vienna*.

About this time alſo, *Sigiſmund* the *Tranſilvanian* Prince (whom hitherto all men admired, as a man even ſent from Heaven, for the benefit of his Country and of the Chriſtian Commonweal) by a wonderful change gave a moſt manifeſt token of a divers and unconſtant Nature, to the great wonder of the World: for having broken the Agreement made with the Emperour the laſt Year, and being ſecretly in Poſt returned out of *Sileſia* into *Tranſilvania*, and again taken upon him the Government (as is before declared) and having with-

1599 al requeſted himſelf, and the *Tranſilvanians* his Country-men, to be diſcharged of the Oath of Obedience and Loyalty by them before given unto the Emperour, and the City of *Veradinum*, with the Country thereabout, to be again reſtored unto him; and the Emperour pauſing thereupon, did now, (doubting of his own Ability for the keeping of that Country) in the beginning of this yeat 1599, by his Ambaſſadors, the Biſhop of *Alba-Julia*, and *Stephen Paſchai* his Chancellor, ſent of purpoſe unto the Emperour, requeſt him to have the firſt Agreements again renewed, and the Principality of *Trebnits* in *Moravia* to be added unto the two Dukedoms of *Oppel* and *Ratibor* in *Sileſia*, with fifty thouſand Duckats to be yearly paid unto him out of the Chamber of the Empire; and a general Pardon to be given unto all the *Tranſilvanians* that following him had of late revolted from the Emperour, and their antient Liberties to be again unto every one of them confirmed. With all which Conditions obtained at the Emperour's hands (as of him that ſaw how needful it was for him by any means to keep that ſtrong Country in his power) the ſame Ambaſſadors with their diſpatch returned from *Prague* the nineteenth of *April*.

But *Sigiſmund*, in the mean time, at home, was entred into new Conceits with certain of the *Polonian* Nobility, far differing from the former agreement with the Emperour; and having ſent for one of the Turks Chiaus from *Conſtantinople*, and for his Couſin *Andrew Bathor*, the proud Cardinal, out of *Boruſia*, and ſo meeting with them in an obſcure Village in the Confines of *Tranſilvania*, towards *Polonia*, accompanied with certain of the chiefeſt of the States of his Country; there, in the Preſence of the *Polonians* and of the Turkiſh Ambaſſador, reſigned all the Right and Title he had in the Country of *Tranſilvania*, unto the Cardinal his Couſin; commanding all the States there preſent to ſwear unto him their Obedience and Fidelity; who ſhortly after, together with the *Polonian* Ambaſſador, ſent one of his eſpecial Favourites to *Conſtantinople*, to deſire ſafe conduct for his Ambaſſadours to be ſent thither to conclude of all matters with the Turk. Which Meſſengers ſo ſent, together with the *Polonian* Ambaſſador, were both courteouſly received in the Turks Court, and, as with an eſpecial favour, rewarded with right ſumptuous Garments, and charge given them, That the Cardinal, within three Months next, ſhould ſend thither a ſolemn Ambaſſador, with the old accuſtomed Tribute by the Turk demanded. Thus through the Inconſtancy of the Prince, the Ambition of the proud Cardinal, and the foul Colluſion of the *Polonian*, the Country of *Tranſilvania* (one of the ſtrongeſt Fortreſſes of that ſide of *Chriſtendom*) falling from the Obedience of the Emperour, and ſo in ſort bereft from the Chriſtian Common-weal, became again tributary unto the Turk; moſt good men deteſting the Lightneſs of the one, the Ambition of the other, and the Slineſs of the third.

Sigiſmund yieldeth his Country of *Tranſilvania* unto the Cardinal *Bathor* his Couſin.

Now the Turks of *Buda*, not able longer to endure the great Famine therein, had moſt earneſtly requeſted relief from the other Turks their Friends in *Hungary*; who on all hands ran to have relieved them: but coming near thereunto, could not put therein ſuch Proviſion as they had brought for the relief of the ſame, being letted ſo to do by the Imperials; who about a League off diligently attended every motion of the Enemy: from whence the Lord *Swartzenburg* in the night ſecretly approaching one of the Gates with his Followers, thought with a Petard to have broken it open, and ſo to have entered. Which his Device taking not effect, as did that at *Rab*, the Gate being within ſtrongly fortified by the Enemy, he was inforced to depart, being alſo diſcovered by the Turks from the Wall. Now ſhortly after, the Baſſa of *Buda* with ſix hundred Horſe, iſſuing out of the City to have met with Victuals that were coming thither, fell into an Ambuſh of the *Haiduckes*, who after their manner fiercely encountered him, and putting him to flight, took him Priſoner, his Horſe in his Chaſe falling under him, whom his Souldiers ſeeking to reſcue, there began a new Skirmiſh, encreaſing their former Overthrow with the loſs of the greateſt part of them that were left: amongſt whom the Baſſa's Son, with the Aga of the Janizaries there, loſt their Lives alſo. Which Conflict thus ended, the Baſſa was with ſafe Conduct brought to the Camp, and there with great Threats inforced to reveal the ſtate of his City, with other the ſecret deſigns of the Turks. Whereupon, the *Haiducks* returned again towards *Buda*, ſeeking by all means to ſtop the coming of Victuals thither, ſo in hope at length to have gained the diſtreſſed City. But whilſt they thus lay upon the Paſſages, behold News was brought unto them, how that the Baſſa of *Boſna*, with the Sanzacks of *Sigeth*, *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, and *Coppan*, with 10000 Turks, were coming to oppreſs them, and to open the Paſſages by them holden. But they knowing their own Strength, and nothing fearing ſo ſmall a Force, ſtaid not for their coming, but went to meet them; and in a place of good advantage waiting for them, upon their firſt appearance, with great Aſſurance and Courage charged them, brake their Array, and ſlew the greateſt part of them, together with the Baſſa himſelf; yet with ſo much ado, as that had not the Lord *Palfi* in good time ſent unto their Aid certain Companies of freſh men, it was not without cauſe doubted but that the *Haiducks* had been put to the worſe, about three hundred of them having there already loſt their Lives. The *Tartars* yet nevertheleſs, in good number, held on their way towards *Buda*, with purpoſe to have over-run the Country, and ſo have withdrawn the Imperials from the City: but foraſmuch as that baſe Nation was known to be good for nothing but to rob and ſpoil, the Lord *Swartzenburg*'s Regiment only going againſt them, and encountering them, overthrew them in ſuch ſort, that part of them being there ſlain in fight, and part for fear driven into *Danuby*, the greater number of them there moſt miſerably periſhed.

1599 The Baſſa of *Buda* taken Priſoner.

The Turks overthrown, and the Baſſa of *Boſna* ſlain.

Baſta, the Emperour's Lieutenant in the upper *Hungary*, at the ſame time lay at *Caſſovia*, with eighteen thouſand men, doubting leſt the Enemies Army, which he heard to be at hand, ſhould come to beſiege that City. In the mean time, *Ibrahim Baſſa*, General of the Turks Forces, came to *Solnoch* with an Army of fifty thouſand ſtrong, among whom were ten thouſand Janizaries: but for all that, underſtanding that *Baſta* nothing diſmayed awaited his coming at *Caſſovia*, not thinking it good to go any farther (his Souldiers being already weary with long travel) neither yet ſafe there to ſtay ſo near unto his ſtrong Enemy, retired back again unto *Belgrade*, a place of more Strength and Security; expecting a great Fleet of Ships, which charged upon the *Danubius*, were to bring Victuals for the Army, as alſo for the relief of *Buda*, *Alba-Regalis*, and other ſuch diſtreſſed Places, with divers great pieces for Battery, and other leſs Artillery upon Carriages, with a number of Ladders and other Inſtruments of War, declaring their purpoſe for the performance of ſome notable Exploit, all guarded with five thouſand Turks, which conducted it up the River. Of all which the Imperials underſtanding, the Lord *Palfi* diſpatched his Lieutenant with a convenient Power, and the Captain of the *Huſſars* with his Followers, all good and

1599 and valiant Souldiers, to cut off this Convoy: who, to make the matter ſhort, ſuddenly aſſailing them, and ſo coming to hardy blows, cut in pieces the Convoy, and rifled the ſhips, of whom the greater part were there ſunk in the deep River; and ſo took an exceeding great booty, deemed to be worth a million of Gold: where, among other things of great value, there was found a-board 100000 Dollars, which were all divided amongſt the Souldiers as a reward of their travel. This great overthrow once known at *Buda*, *Alba-Regalis*, and the Cities thereabouts, brought upon them a great fear: yea the Army of *Ibrahim* grew thereby much diſcontented, as being at once diſappointed both of their Victuals and their Pay. Beſides that, the Imperials over-ran all the Country thereabout, ranſacking, ſacking, and deſtroying the Country Villages and Caſtles without Mercy, although the poor Inhabitants offred them large Contribution to have ſtaid their Fury, which would not be accepted. Upon this notable overthrow alſo the Lord *Swartzenburg* was determined with all his Forces to come again to the ſiege of *Buda*, in hope in ſo great a diſcomfiture and want of Victuals to have had it delivered unto him; and for that purpoſe ſent for certain great pieces of Artillery to *Vienna*. But whilſt things went thus well in the lower *Hungary*, Collonel *Rodoler* of S. *Andrews*, in the upper Country, took occaſion alſo, upon this Overthrow of the Turks, with 500 Horſe and 600 Foot, to ſhew himſelf with this ſmall Company before *Agria*, having yet left the greateſt part of his Forces a little off in ſecret Ambuſh; which ſmall Company the Baſſa of *Agria* beholding, preſently put himſelf in Arms, and ſo ſallying out, began an hot and brave Skirmiſh; when ſuddenly the other Souldiers left in Ambuſh, ſtarting out, and courageouſly aſſailing their Enemies, brake their order, and put them to flight, purſuing them at the heels even to the Gates of the City: and had there been a greater force of Foot-men, it was verily thought, that the Turks (diſmay'd with the flight, and altogether confounded) had abandoned the defence of the Place, and the Chriſtians even then become Maſters of the City, which had been the cauſe of their notable Overthrow in the Year 1596. Nevertheleſs, they, with great bravery and ſmall loſs retired, having ſlain a great number of the Turks, and carrying away with them an hundred Priſoners, with a Booty of five hundred Horſe, and much other Cattel.

The Turks receive a notable Overthrow upon the River of *Danubius*.

The free *Haiducks* alſo, ſtrengthened with new Supplies, had done great harm in the Country about *Buda*, ſcouring freely all over it, finding none to oppoſe themſelves againſt them: for which cauſe, the poor Chriſtians, which yet dwelt in that Country, riſe up againſt the Turks, promiſing their Obedience unto the Emperour: and moreover, to the intent they might be no more moleſted by the Imperials, offered to take up Arms themſelves againſt the Enemy, and to the uttermoſt of their Power to hinder his Paſſage both by Land and Water. Theſe ſame *Haiducks* alſo had broken down all the Bridges which the Turks had made betwixt *Buda* and *Alba-Regalis*, to the end they ſhould not that way commodiouſly bring either Victuals or Munition from the one place to the other: and the Lord *Palfi* and *Nadaſti* underſtanding, by their Eſpials, That the Tartars, divided into three Companies, had over-run a great part of the Country, and with a great Booty were retiring towards *Buda*, preſently went out againſt them, and inforced them to fight: which barbarous People, better inured to filch than to fight, there loſt all their Lives, together with that they had before ſtoln. After which Victory, theſe valiant men turning their Forces againſt certain other places of the Turks there by, took two of their Caſtles with much rich Spoil; which Caſtles they ſacked and burnt, together with the great Town of *Zolna*, breaking down alſo the Bridge upon the River *Trava*. 1599

Now at this time the Turks at *Buda* held themſelves male-content within the City, having no Governour, their Baſſa being before taken by the *Haiducks*, and they themſelves pinched alſo with great want of Victuals: wherefore, doubting ſome ſudden Attempt of the Chriſtians, as men diſmayed, they for their more ſafety retired themſelves into the Caſtle, a place of great ſtrength, leaving the City unto the Imperials then ready to have beſieged it: but doubting of the Turks great Army which, as they heard, was marching thitherwards, the avantgard thereof being come to *Moatcſh*, where *Sartes Baſſa* was alſo looked for; the Report being given out, that the *Turks* having relieved *Buda*, would go to beſiege *Canifia* or elſe *Strigonium*, they ſtayed to go any farther, as men in doubt what to reſolve upon. So were ſent certain Collonels and other Captains with their Souldiers, to fortifie certain Paſſages whereby the Turks Army was to paſs: the reſt in the mean time retiring, for that the puiſſant Enemy began now to approach; as alſo for that they knew the great deſire that *Ibrahim Baſſa* had to recover again *Strigonium*, and had therefore ſent a great number of *Tartars* to forrage and waſte the Country, and ſo ſuddenly having relieved *Buda* and *Agria*, there to reſolve whither to turn his Forces. The Imperials in the mean time incamping near unto *Hatwan* and *Zolnoc*, to hinder the Turks from victualling of *Buda*, as they deſired, cut off five hundred of them at their firſt Arrival, who to that purpoſe were going towards *Buda*; and took alſo one of the Turks Chiaus Priſoner; who, ſent from *Ibrahim* the General, was going to *Agria* to put them in hope of their ſpeedy Relief. They alſo at the ſame time attempted to have ſurpriſed *Zolnoc*; where, a good number of them, with certain Petards, approaching the Gates, in hope ſo to have broken them open, being diſcovered by the Watch, were inforced to retire, leaving forty behind them ſlain, and carrying away with them many more of their Fellows wounded: in revenge whereof, the reſt ſhewed their fury upon the Country thereabout, deſtroying the Villages, and intercepting a great deal of Munition, which, together with other Victuals, they met by the way as it was going to *Buda* and *Agria*. 1599

The Turks, for fear, forſake the City at *Buda*, and fly into the Caſtle.

The Chriſtians, upon the approach of the Turks great Army, retire.

Summer now almoſt ſpent, *Ibrahim*, the great Baſſa, in the beginning of *September*, came to *Buda* with an Army of an hundred and thirty thouſand ſtrong, and from thence, in the Name of his Lord and Maſter, gave the Emperour to underſtand at *Prague*, That for the ſaving of further effuſion of innocent Blood, and not for any fear or diſtruſt of his own Strength and Power, he could be content to hearken unto ſome reaſonable Conditions or Treaty of Peace. Whereunto, both theſe great Princes (having well wearied themſelves with theſe long Wars, and exhauſted their Treaſures) ſeemed not now unwilling, expecting (as was thought) nothing more than for the Honour to be the firſt entreated; and the rather, for that the old Sultaneſs, *Mahomet's* Mother (who by the weakneſs of her Sons Government, ſuch as never was in any the *Othoman* Kings or Emperours before, did bear the greateſt Sway in his Affairs) did what ſhe might to further the ſame. Wherefore, in the latter end of *September* a place was agreed upon for a Parle for Peace, which was in an Iſland in the River of *Danuby* beneath *Strigonium*: whither the Lord *Swartzenburg*, *Nadaſti*, *Palfi*, and the Biſhop of *Vacia*, being come for the Emperour; and *Amurath* the Baſſa

A Parle for Peace.

1599 Baſſa of *Buda*; with the Lieutenant-General of the *Tartars*, and ſome others, for the Grand Seignior; The Turks at the firſt, after their unreaſonable manner, demanded to have *Rab*, *Strigonium*, *Filek*, *Setchin*, and all the reſt of the Towns and Caſtles in five Years before taken from them by the Chriſtians, to be now again ſurrendred unto them, with a certain yearly Tribute by the Emperour to be paid unto the Great Sultan at *Conſtantinople*; as alſo there to have his Ambaſſador lieger continually attending upon the Turks Court: for which they offered to delivet again unto the Emperour the City of *Agria* only. All which their proud and unreaſonable Demands being by the aforeſaid Commiſſioners on the Emperour's behalf rejected, they were contented to come to ſome more reaſonable talk, offering to leave unto the Emperour *Rab* and *Agria* (whereof *Rab* was his own already) only for *Strigonium*, exchanging as it were *Strigonium* for *Agria*. Which when it could neither be obtained, the Parle was ſo broken off, and nothing concluded, and ſo the Wars again continued, without any memorable thing more this Year betwixt them done, either on the one ſide or on the other; the Chriſtians contenting themſelves to have diſtreſſed the chief Cities the Turks held in *Hungary*; and the Turks no leſs apayed to have relieved the ſame.

Michael the Vayvod with a great Army entreth into *Tranſilvania.*

But whilſt things thus paſſed betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks in *Hungary*, *Michael* the Vayvod of *Valachia*, yet the Emperour's Friend and Confederate, and under his Protection, certainly informed his Life to be ſought after in the Turks Court, by the ambitious Cardinal *Bathor*, his envious Neighbour, but lately become the Prince of *Tranſilvania* (as is before declared:) by Commandment from the Emperour, and to be revenged of ſo great a wrong, as alſo betimes to provide for his own Safety, with an Army of threeſcore thouſand ſtrong ſuddenly entred into *Tranſilvania*, in moſt horrible manner burning the Country, and killing the People before him as he went. Where, whilſt the Cardinal (who was thought to have purpoſed to have ſerved him in like ſort, had he not been by him prevented) was making Head againſt him, he in the mean time had the City of *Corona* (commonly called *Braſſo*) with the ſtrong Caſtle of *Fogaras*, yielded unto him: from whence he marching toward *Alba-Julia*, the 26*th* of *Octo-ber*, with all his Army, before divided into three parts, but now again united, came into the Plains near *Temiſon*, about three Leagues from *Hermenſtat*; where, underſtanding that his Lieutenant, corrupted by *Ibrahim Baſſa*, had promiſed to kill him; and now well aſſured thereof, to rid himſelf of that danger, with his own hands preſently cut his Throat, and ſo diſpatched him. When by and by after came unto him the Pope's Nuntio, ſent by a fineneſs from the Cardinal, accompanied with another Ambaſſador, the better to countenance out the matter; telling him, That the ſame Ambaſſador had Commiſſion from the Emperour to will him forthwith to deſiſt from Arms, and without farther delay to depart out of *Tranſilvania*. Which thing ſeeming unto the Vayvod very ſtrange, and almoſt impoſſible, de deſired to ſee the ſaid Commiſſion. Whereunto the Nuntio, before inſtructed, anſwered, That he had left it with the Cardinal. But I (ſaid the Vayvod) have one here preſent from the Emperour of another purport, which I purpoſe fully to put in execution; yet was he for that day intreated by the Nuntio to ſtay his Army. And ſo in the mean time lying both ſtill and in great ſuſpence, the Vayvod deſired to know of the Nuntio, the cauſe why the Cardinal, forgetting himſelf, ſo troubled that Country, by intruding himſelf thereinto, to the great prejudice of them unto whom it of better Right belonged, not attending unto the Government of the Church, better beſeeming his Calling than the managing of Arms, to the diſturbance of the Chriſtian Peace. Whereunto he received no Anſwer. So the 28*th* of *October*, a day dedicated to the Commemoration of the Apoſtles *Simon* and *Jude*, theſe Meſſengers were ſent back again unto the Cardinal, who preſently returned them back unto the Vayvod with new Inſtructions, (being then buſie with his young Son, in ſetting his men in order of Battel preſently to go againſt the Cardinal) of whom they could get no other Anſwer, but that he was reſolved forthwith to come unto the Tryal of a Battel with him. So the two Armies lying incamped not paſt a quarter of a League the one from the other, and the ſame day meeting together, joyned a moſt terrible and cruel Battel, which for the ſpace of five hours was with ſuch deſperate Obſtinacy fought, as if they had every man vowed to have carried away the Victory over his Enemy, or there to have left themſelves dead upon the ground; until the Cardinal's People, at length overcome in a long and bloody Fight, were there utterly overthrown; amongſt whom were 30000 *Turks* and *Tartars*, ſent unto him from *Ibrahim Baſſa* the Turks General. The Cardinal himſelf, ſeeing the diſcomfiture of his Army, was by ſome reported to have ſaved himſelf by flight; but by ſome others was ſaid to have been drowned in paſſing a River, as he fled from the *Valachians* that had him in chace. But the Truth was, That the Vayvod, now Maſter of the Field, ſent out certain Troops of Horſemen divers ways ſtill to purſue him; and himſelf, with the reſt of his Army, proſecuting the Victory, came to the Cardinals Camp, now by the *Tranſilvanians* and *Turks* quite forſaken, wherein he found forty five pieces of Artillery, with great ſtore of Coin and Wealth, beſide a number of Tents and Horſes, all which became unto him a Prey. From thence he marched unto *Alba-Julia*, where he was with great Joy received of his Friends and Confederates there: for, though the greater part of the *Tranſilvanians*, eſpecially the Nobility, had, together with the Cardinal, ſubmitted themſelves unto the Turks Protection, and followed his Enſigns; yet were there divers others alſo, who ſtill favoured the Emperour, and therefore rejoyced not a little of this Victory. The Vayvod after that ſent his Lieutenant to *Claudiopolis*, to ſee if they would yield alſo; which they willingly did, with many other Cities and Caſtles in divers parts of that Country, which having none to reſt upon, now yielded alſo; in ſuch ſort, that ſhortly after all *Tranſilvania* ſubmitted it ſelf again unto the Emperour's Obeiſance, and ſwore unto him Obedience; moſt of the Nobility of that Country being either ſlain in the Battel, or afterwards put to death by the Vayvod: amongſt whom were five, which, corrupted by the Cardinal, had before undertaken to kill him. Now the fourteenth of *November*, after divers Reports of the Cardinal's Eſcape, his ungracious Head was for all that preſented to the Vayvod: which, to the terror of others, being for a while ſet up in *Alba-Julia*, (where he but a little before had commanded as a Prince) was afterwards taken down, and ſent for a Preſent from the Vayvod unto the Emperour and the Arch-dukes his Brethren; his headleſs Body being afterward, by the Commandment of the Vayvod, honourably buried in a Monaſtery at *Alba-Julia*, in the ſame Tomb he had before made for his Brother, beheaded by his Couſin *Sigiſmund Bathor*. The Cardinal's Treaſure alſo fell into his hands, which was ſaid to have been three millions of Gold. Thus the Country of *Tranſilvania*, lately before by the Cardinal yielded unto the

1599

A terrible Battel betwixt the Vayvod and the Cardinal.

The Cardinal's Head ſent for a Preſent unto the Emperour.

1600 the Obeiſance of the Turk, was again by this worthy Vayvod recovered and reſtored unto the Chriſtian Empire; the proud Cardinal caſt out and brought to Confuſion, having not yet poſſeſſed theſe his new Honours full eight Months. His Couſin *Sigiſmund*, the late *Tranſilvanian* Prince, who almoſt all this while had ſtaied at *Boruſia*, and in diſguiſed Apparel ſeen *Danske*, and divers other the free Cities thereabouts; Now hearing News of the Cardinals overthrow, ſecretly got him away from thence into *Polonia*, to ſeek again his new Fortunes. The Lord *Swartzenburg* at the ſame time uniting his Forces in the lower *Hungary* with them of *Stiria*, and now twenty thouſand ſtrong, ſought by all means to reduce ſo many places upon thoſe Frontiers as he could, unto the Emperours Obeiſance, and ſo took in above 200 Villages; but afterward, thinking to have ſurpriſed the ſtrong Caſtle of *Capiſuar*, and by Night ſecretly approaching one of the Gates with a Petard, which took not the expected effect, he was diſcovered by the Watch, and ſo by the Garriſon Souldiers (now raiſed with the alarum) repulſed, and enforced to retire with the loſs of about an hundred men, and divers others wounded, all men of good account; in revenge whereof, *Swartzenburg* afterwards ſent out divers Troops of Horſemen, which ſcouring all over the Country as far as *Sigeth*, burned it alſo, and ſo returning, carried away with them a great Booty.

Ibrahim Baſſa, hearing of this overthrow of the Cardinal, with all the Forces he had ſent him, much troubled therewith, ſent News thereof in poſt to *Conſtantinople*; the brute whereof brought a general fear upon the whole City alſo, inſomuch that Commiſſion was forthwith ſent unto him from the great Sultan, giving him Power (if it might be) to come to ſome honourable Peace with the Emperour, and to bring it with him to *Conſtantinople*; whither he was ſhortly to return, being now no longer time to keep the field with his Army, which, beſide the cold ſeaſon of the year, ſuffered great want of Bread, the Plague alſo then raging therein; with the death of many of his beſt Souldiers, both Horſe and Foot, beſide the wonderful Mortality of their Cattel alſo; in ſuch ſort that the Souldiers, not able longer to endure the famine and wants increaſing, fell to robbing of one another, and ſo at length into mutiny; wherein, divers of them being ſlain and cut in pieces by their Fellows, the reſt for the moſt part brake in ſunder of themſelves, and ſo by divers ways returned home, not well truſting one another. So that nothing more was now done with the preparation of the Turks, their Army being diſcomfited with wants and the evil Succeſs of their Affairs, as well in *Hungary* as in *Tranſilvania*. Neither did *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa, for the relief of thoſe Evils, at his return bring any concluſion of Peace unto his great Lord and Maſter, as was commonly expected.

The Turks great Army of it ſelf diſſolved.

Cuſabin Baſſa of Caramania riſeth up in Rebellion againſt the great Sultan.

Now beſide theſe Troubles of *Tranſilvania*, and the other revolted Countries, *Cuſahin* (or as ſome call him *Caſſan*) the Son of one of the Sultaneſſes, brought up in the *Seraglio* according to the manner thereof, and having long ſerved in the Wars of *Perſia* and *Hungary*, and ſo at length made Baſſa of *Caramania*, a man of great Spirit, and not able to indure the Imperfections he daily ſaw in the *Othoman* Empire, and the Cowardiſe of the grand Seignior; upon the report of the evil Succeſs of the Affairs of *Hungary* on the one ſide, and the deſire he ſaw in the *Perſians* to recover their loſt Fortreſſes, on the other, and grieved alſo with more particular wrongs concerning himſelf; as a man altogether diſcontented, reſolved to take up Armes; and calling unto him his Souldiers, and (as he was a well ſpoken man) laying before them the deformities of the preſent ſtate, gallantly perſuaded them, with the promiſe of Honour, Sovereignty, and rich Rewards, what an eaſie thing it were to chaſe the grand Seignior out of *Aſia*, and to ſet themſelves with all that part of the Empire at Liberty. And ſo even at the firſt having won unto him 3000 Harquebuſers and 5000 Horſemen, took the field, to the great hurt of the Turks, and trouble of the State. A ſtrange matter in that tyrannical Empire. The News whereof comming in poſt to the Court, Commiſſion was forthwith directed unto four of the Sanzacks of *Aſia*, neareſt unto him, for the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of that Rebellion, but even then ariſing. Whereof *Cuſahin* underſtanding, and that they with ten thouſand Horſe and Foot were coming to ſuppreſs him; without further ſtay, went couragiouſly to meet them, and ſo encountering of them, overthrew them with a great ſlaughter, and took from them their Baggage with ſix pieces of Ordnance. And after with his People ſeiſed upon all the Caſtles thereabouts, giving whatſoever he found therein for a Prey unto his Souldiers; who alſo much enriched themſelves with the ſpoil of the *Jews*, as the People whom they moſt hated, and never reſted until he had made almoſt all the Country of *Caramania* his own. After that, he laid ſiege to *Cogna*, a City in the Confines of *Natolia*, which was forthwith yielded unto him. And yet not ſo contented, gave it out by open Proclamation, that for the reformation of the diſordered ſtate, he would e're long go to beſiege the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*; and that therefore all ſuch as would follow him ſhould of him be entreated as his Friends and Companions, threatning unto the reſt moſt cruel Death and Deſtruction. Of which his Proceeding *Mahomet* (as then diſporting himſelf in his Gardens of Pleaſure in the Country all along the ſide of *Propontis*) underſtanding, and fearing to be there ſurpriſed, or that ſome ſudden Innovation might be raiſed in the City, haſted with all ſpeed to *Conſtantinople*, and from thence in all haſte diſpatched *Mehemet*, one of the Viſier Baſſaes, the Son of *Sinan*, with all the Forces he could make to go againſt him. Who paſſing over into *Aſia* with a great Power, and yet fearing to come to the trial of a Battel with him, whom he knew to be a man of himſelf deſperately ſet, and not a little favoured alſo even of his own Souldiers; ſo ſecretly wrought by large Promiſes, that *Cuſahin*'s Footmen were even upon the point to have forſaken him. Which he quickly perceiving, fled forthwith through *Siria* into the Country of *Arabia* with his Horſemen, and the Horſemen of *Simon* the *Georgian*; purpoſing the next Spring by the help of the *Arabians* and *Perſians*, to appear in the field with greater Forces than before. After whom *Mehemet* the great Baſſa following, came with his Army to *Aleppo*, there to winter, and to expect the return of the Rebel together with the Spring. This ſo dangerous a Rebellion, with the Troubles of *Tranſilvania* and *Walachia*, were the cauſe that the grand Seignior, ſeeing himſelf in ſo many places forſaken of his Subjects, was the readier to incline unto peace with the Emperour; whereunto for all that, the Emperour was not haſty to hearken, but upon honourable Conditions; as knowing that the *Turk* required the ſame not for any deſire he had to live at quiet, but for that his troubled affairs both at home and elſewhere abroad ſo required; his Janizaries and other men of War in this his ſo weak Government, being grown ſo inſolent, as that they were hardly to be by him commanded; openly threatning in their diſcontented humours, not only the depoſing of the principal Officers about him, but of himſelf alſo, and of the baniſhment of the Sultaneſs his Mother; ſaying, That ſhe had bewitched him, to the end ſhe

Mehemet, one of the Viſier Baſſaes, ſent againſt the Rebel.

1599 might her ſelf rule, which ſhe indeed did in all his greateſt Affairs. But the Rebel *Cuſabin*, the next Year grown again very ſtrong, was now come into the Field, and even ready to have given the Baſſa Battel: who, as he was a Man of great Wiſdom and Experience, well conſidering with what a deſperate Enemy he had to do, thought it beſt again to prove if his rebellious Followers might by fair means be drawn from him; and ſo coming near unto him, by open Proclamation promiſed a free and general Pardon to all ſuch as had followed the Rebel in thoſe Wars, if forſaking him, they ſhould forthwith return home to their Dwellings, and ſo to the Obedience of their juſt and lawful Prince and Sovereign. Which general Pardon ſo proclaimed, was the Ruine of *Cuſabin*; for that the greateſt part of his Followers, now enriched with the great Booties they had gotten, and now alſo having free Pardon offered them, returned home into their own Countries, there at eaſe to live of their evil gotten Goods, leaving their Captain, with ſome few others which ſtaid with him, with little hope to be ſaved. So that within a few days after, *Cuſabin*, thus forſaken of his Followers, was himſelf taken and brought to *Conſtantinople*, where ſhortly after he was with moſt exquiſite Torments tortured to death.

Cuſabin the Rebel taken, and tortured to Death at *Conſtantinople.*

1600 The Troubles of this Year thus paſt, *Rodolph* the Chriſtian Emperour with the beginning of the next (whilſt the ground yet covered with Snow, and the unſeaſonableneſs of the Weather would not ſuffer the Souldiers to keep the Field) cauſed a Diet of the Princes of the Empire to be called, to conſider with him of ſuch helps as were by them to be given againſt the next Spring, for the maintenance of the Wars which yet he had againſt the Turk; who all promiſed to ſend their Souldiers, with their Pay, and ſuch farther Contribution as might ſerve for the maintenance of that defenſive War againſt the common Enemy: whereunto alſo, *Clement*, now Biſhop of *Rome* (this year of Jubile) put to his helping hand, as he had divers times before, by ſending thither ſuch aid both of Men and Money as he had before promiſed: ſo thatby this means great Preparation was made by the Chriſtians for the taking of the Field with the firſt of the Spring. At which time the Turks alſo began to ſtir; who, altho *Ibrahim Baſſa* their General, by the appointment of his great Lord, was then in ſome Speech with the Emperour about a Peace, yet ceaſed not they in the mean time that this Treaty was from day to day prolonged, with their Companies ſcattering here and there, to do what harm they could upon the Frontiers of the Emperour's Territories, the cauſe why he with more ſpeed called upon his Friends for their promiſed Aid. And for the better managing of this years Wars againſt the Turk, he appointed Duke *Mercury* (who had drawn a great number of *French-men*, both Horſe and Foot, out of *France*) General of all his Forces, ſending *Ferant Gonzaga*, ſirnamed the Lame, (whom, for his approved Valour and Experience in martial Affairs, he had ſent for to *Mantua*) Governour into the upper *Hungary*. So the Souldiers, now day by day, by Companies reſorting from divers parts into *Auſtria*, were from thence ſent unto ſuch places as were by the Turks moſt moleſted, ſo to repreſs their often Incurſions, as in many places they did. For eight thouſand of the Turks going out upon the ſudden to have ſurpriſed *Pappa*, were by the Garriſon Souldiers of that place encountred and overthrown. And on the other ſide, whilſt *Ferdinand* the Archduke was aſſembling his People in *Croatia*, for the defence of that Country againſt the Incurſions of the Enemy, ſix thouſand Turks, without reſiſtance, entring the ſame as far as *Buccari*, and burning the Country Villages as they went, had

The Emperour maketh Proviſion againſt the Turks.

taken many Priſoners with a great Booty of Cattel; and ſo (merry and out of fear) being about to have returned, were ſuddenly ſet upon by the County *Serinus*, in certain ſtrait and troubleſome Paſſages, where they leaſt feared any ſuch matter, and overcharged alſo with their Prey, were (I ſay) eaſily by him for the moſt part overthrown, and the reſt put to flight, and ſo the Priſoners, with all the reſt of the Booty, again recovered. At which time alſo one of the Imperial Collonels, with fifteen hundred Horſe, making an Inroad into the Country about *Alba-Regalis*, and meeting with the *Turks* and *Tartars* thereabouts, ſlew ſix hundred of them, and took divers of their Captains Priſoners. Six thouſand other *Tartars* alſo at this time returning out of *Hungary* home towards their own Country, were by the *Coſſacks*, near unto the black Sea, ſet upon with ſuch force, that many of them being ſlain, the reſt for fear ran into the Sea, leaving all the Prey they had got in *Hungary* unto their Enemies. In the heat of theſe Broils, the noble Lord *Palfi*, Governour of *Strigonium*, a Man that all his Life long had done great Service for his Prince and Country, and whom we have ſo often in this Hiſtory remembred, died the three and twentieth of *March* in his Caſtle at *Biberſpurg*, to the great Grief of many, eſpecially the *Hungarians* his Country-men. And for that *Strigonium* (ſo near unto the Enemy) required in his ſtead to have a right valiant and courageous Governour, the Emperour appointed the Lord *Swartzenburg* to that Charge; the Fame ſtill running, that *Ibrahim Baſſa* would come thither with the great Army he was in providing, if the Peace went not forward; which was now ſtill leſs and leſs hoped for, by reaſon of his proud and inſolent Demands.

1600

The Death of the Lord *Palfi.*

But whilſt theſe Troubles, with ſuch others, too long to rehearſe, thus paſſed in divers parts of this miſerable Country of *Hungary*, 1200 *French-men* and *Wallons* in Garriſon at *Pappa* (a ſtrong frontier Town of the Emperour's in the lower *Hungary*) for want of Pay began to mutiny: for which cauſe, it was thought good to the chief Commanders, to have them thence removed, and others placed in their room. Which they perceiving, and withal knowing themſelves too ſtrong for the reſt of the Garriſon, all *Hungarians* and *Almains*, not Partakers of their Conſpiracy; they firſt reſolved to thruſt their own Captains out of the Town, as lets unto their deſires: and then laying hands upon *Michael Marotti* the Pay-maſter, and other the *Hungarian* and *Dutch* Commanders, with their Souldiers, took from them their Weapons, and caſt the ſaid *Marotti* with the other Captains, and ſome of the better ſort of their Souldiers, into Irons, exacting of the reſt, as well *Hungarians* as *Dutch*, in number about 1000 Perſons, 1000 Duckats; threatning otherwiſe to deliver them into the hands of the Turks: and albeit that *Marotti* offered for his Liberty eighteen hundred Duckats, yet would they not be ſo contented, but ſpoiling both him and the reſt of all they had, with their Apparel and Weapons furniſhed ſuch Turks as were there Priſoners, and ſo ſent them away to *Alba-Regalis*: and afterwards, rifling every man's Houſe as if they had been Enemies, took from them whatſoever pleaſed themſelves: and that which worſe was, to increaſe theſe Outrages, compacted with the Turks of *Alba-Regalis* and *Buda*, for the Pay which they ſaid the Emperour owed them, to deliver them the Town; certifying them withal, how that the Lord *Swartzenburg* within two days was coming with Money to give them Contentment; promiſing, if he came into the Town, to deliver him with the ſame into their hands: or, to be the more ſure of him, they might, if they ſo pleaſed, intercept him.

The *French-men* and *Wallons* mutiny in *Pappa.*

Pappa offered unto the Turks by the Mutineers.

1600 him at the Paſſage *Zeſſegkh*, whereby he muſt needs come. For the more credit of which their wicked purpoſe, they ſent an Enſign of the Emperours, as a token unto the Turks at *Alba-Regalis*; who for all that, altogether believed them not, yet willing further to try them, ſent them for Hoſtages, two *Chiaus*; from whence the Rebels ſent alſo two others of the better ſort of them to *Alba-Regalis*; with Concluſion, that the five and twentieth of *June* at the furtheſt, the Money ſhould be paid, and the Town delivered. For the receiving whereof, and for fear of ſome hidden Treaſon, the *Turks* and *Tartars* began to make themſelves ſtrong; the Imperials alſo doing what they might for the appeaſing of ſo dangerous a Tumult. So the tenth of *June*, the Lord *Swartzenburg*, with two thouſand Horſe and Foot, came within two miles of the Town, and from thence ſent twenty four Horſemen to diſſwade the Rebels from yielding the Town unto the *Turks*, and to tell them that they ſhould ſhortly receive their pay; who ſhamefully deriding them, ſent them back again as wiſe as they came; ſo that *Swartzenburg*, perceiving himſelf with ſo ſmall forces to be able to do nothing againſt them, neither yet by fair means to perſwade them, retired again to *Rab*, until ſome greater ſtrength were come unto him. Immediately after, Doctor *Petzen*, Counſellor for the Wars, a man of great Authority, Gravity, and Wiſdom, was by *Matthias* the Arch-duke, with four hundred Horſe, conducted to *Pappa*, to ſee if he by his Diſcretion could have diſſwaded them from their ſo ungodly a purpoſe, for the yielding of the Town unto the Enemy; whom they not only refuſed to hear, although he ſpake unto them moſt kindly, but alſo bent their Muskets and Harquebuſſes upon him, threatning to kill him if he did not forthwith depart. When ſhortly after, twenty of the *Hungarians*, impriſoned in a Cellar in the Town, brake out, and comming to *Rab*, brought News thither, That the *Frenchmen* and *Wallons* in *Pappa*, were at variance amongſt themſelves about the yielding up of the Town unto the Turks, (ſome better minded than the reſt, not willing to conſent thereunto) inſomuch, that they in the Caſtle ſhot at them in the Town, and they again at them in the Caſtle; and that they had already received from the Turks twenty thouſand Duckats, with ſome proviſion of Victuals, and were ſhortly after to receive from them the reſt of the Money promiſed them, and ſo to deliver the Town. For preventing whereof, the Lord *Swartzenburg*, the two and twentieth of *June*, ſent the Lord *Sharpfenſtein* with a French Collonel, 3000 Souldiers, certain Petards, and a number of ſcaling Ladders towards *Pappa*: whom the falſe Rebels ſuffered peaceably to enter the Town the four and twentieth of *June*, ſtill encouraging them to come on, calling them their Country-men and Brethren, and in token of Friendſhip ſhaking them by the hands, telling them, that having aſſurance of their Pay, they deſired no more. But having now received in ſo many of them as they thought good, and as they knew they were well able to deal with, ſhutting the reſt out, they cut them all in pieces, and afterwards in deriſion called upon the *high Dutches* to come on in like manner. Three hundred of theſe Rebels at the ſame time had layd themſelves in ambuſh by a Mill faſt without the Town, who, by the *Wallons* and *Haiducks* without diſcovered, were alſo by them charged; upon whom for all that, by reaſon of the ſhot out of the Town, they could do no good; but having loſt three hundred men, and amongſt them *Hannibal Kralzs*, the Lord *Sharpfenſtein*'s Lieutenant General, and one *Dell la Margoſe* the chief Engineer, they retired; which loſs the deſperate Rebels (if it had been in their choice) had wiſhed rather to have happened unto the *Dutches* than to the *Wallons* or *Hungarians*. About three days after, three of theſe 1600
Rebels being by chance taken Priſoners by the Imperials, and brought to *Rab*, were not only apparelled, but alſo trimmed after the Turkiſh faſhion, as men not deſiring longer to be accounted Chriſtians, the reſt of their Fellows in the Town alſo imitating the Turks faſhions, as well in their Apparel as in their manner of Service; yet for all that, would not theſe metamorphoſed Monſters yield the Town unto the Turks, before they had the full ſum by them agreed upon; the Baſſa of *Boſna* being commanded from the Grand Seignior in all haſte to provide it for them, and ſo to receive of them the Town. Nevertheleſs, for their more ſtrength and more credit with the Turks, they received into the Town one Enſign of the Turks, with certain Wagons of Victuals, brought thither with ſo ſtrong a Convoy as that the Imperials durſt not meddle therewith; in which Wagons (being diſcharged) they ſent in Bonds ſix hundred *Hungarians* and *Dutch*, Men, Women, and Children, Priſoners to *Alba-Regalis*; being all of them glad to be ſo ſent away, in hope to find more Favour and Courteſie at the hands of their Enemies than they had found with theſe renegate Chriſtians. So ſhortly after, theſe Rebels ſent out certain Meſſengers unto the Governour of *Alba-Regalis*, to know his full Reſolution; which Meſſengers (conducted by certain Turks of great account) were upon the way by the free *Haiducks* all intercepted, and the Meſſengers taken, with an hundred Turks more. In the mean while, *Michael Marotti*, before impriſoned by the Rebels in *Pappa*, by Letters ſecretly advertiſed the Lord *Swartzenburg* of a certain place, whereby he might (as he ſaid) eaſily enter the Town, and the rather, for that the Rebels were at variance amongſt themſelves. Who thereupon, the twelfth of *July*, came to *Pappa* with nine thouſand Horſe and Foot; but diſappointed of his purpoſe for entering the Town, hardly nevertheleſs belayed the ſame; upon whom the Mutineers many times deſperately ſallied out, and right valiantly encountered them, albeit that they were ſtill, without any notable loſs, by their Enemies (too ſtrong for them) beaten back again into the Town. In one of which ſallies it fortuned one of their Captains to be taken, who, to the terror of the reſt, was preſently ſlain quick, and his Head and Skin upon a Pike ſet up before the Town, for his Fellows to behold. But the Lord *Swartzenburg*, ſtill more and more prevailing upon them, they ſent ſecretly for Aid to the *Turks*; whereof he for all that getting Intelligence, ſent alſo for three Regiments of Souldiers more to come unto him to the Siege; by whoſe comming he well ſtrengthned, and bringing his approches nearer the Town, took from the Rebels the Mill, a ſtrength which they very unwillingly loſt, as in hope thereby to have the more eaſily received Aid from the Turks, who having made preparation to have relieved them, were letted ſo to do by the riſing of the Water, which had ſpoiled all the Proviſion for their relief at the Bridge of *Eſſeg*, as alſo hindered them for marching forward. At length the Imperials were come with their Trenches even to the Town Ditches, out of which they had let out all the Water; where, ſome of the Townſmen eſcaping out of the Town, declared, how that the mutinous Souldiers within laboured both day and night to fortifie the Town, but to be in their work much letted by the continual aſſaults of the Imperials; as alſo, that they now had neither Bread nor Wine, nor other Victuals left, more than a little Salt, and threeſcore Horſe, of which they had already begun to eat; and that although they were not altogether ſo valiant, yet that they had reſolved to die by the Hands

1600 A moſt wicked Fact.

1600 of the Souldiers, as men expecting no other Mercy. Yet ſhortly after, *viz.* the nine and twentieth of *July*, they deſperately fell out upon the Trenches of *Maſpurgiſch*, a Dutch Captain; of whoſe Souldiers they ſlew many, being drunk, and driving the reſt out of their Trenches, raiſed a great Alarm. Which the Lord *Swartzenburg* hearing, haſted thither to the Reſcue; where, with an unlucky Muſquet-ſhot he was ſtruck in the Head and ſlain: whereof the Rebels got knowledge the ſame evening; and *Della Mota* their General, in reward of that Service gave unto them that had made that Sally a thouſand Dollars to be divided among them. The dead Body of that ſo worthy a man, as had done great Service for the Chriſtian Commonweal, was afterwards with great Solemnity brought to *Rab*, and there honourably interred. The like deſperate Sally they made again the next day, and ſlew of the Imperials an hundred and thirty, and took certain Priſoners: and in retiring back again into the Town, cried aloud, That when they lacked meat, rather than they would yield the Town, they would eat Chriſtians, whereof *Marotti* ſhould be the firſt.

The Lord Swartzenburg ſlain.

The Lord *Swartzenburg* thus ſlain, the Government of the Army was by *Matthias* the Arch-duke committed to the Lord *Redern*, a Noble man, both valiant and learned; who, although he were very ſickly, came unto the Camp before *Pappa* the eighth of *Auguſt*; where, underſtanding that the Rebels, now brought unto Extremity, had a purpoſe by night to fly away and ſo be gone, he cauſed a more vigilant and ſtrong Watch to be kept, when lo, according to his Expectation, the next night after, about two hours before day they began to iſſue out; whereof the Watch giving knowledge to the General, they were indeed ſuffered to go out as unperceived, but preſently after at their heels were ſent out the Lord *Nadaſti* and the Earl of *Thurn*, with 200 *Huſſars*, and after them the chief Collonel and County *Solms*, with part of their Horſe-men alſo, who in three divers places overtaking them near unto a great Wood called *Packem*, ſlew moſt part of them; *Della Mota*, their chief Captain or Ring-leader, being ſlain by the chief Collonel, becauſe he would not yield, and his Head afterwards by him preſented unto the General in the Camp; 200 *Wallons*, the *Huſſars* under the leading of the Lord *Nadaſti*, County *Solmes*, and County *Thurn*, found out in the Wood; who albeit that they for a ſpace made great reſiſtance, yet in the end were inforced to yield, and ſo with their two Enſigns were brought into the Camp. The *Huſſars* alſo, upon another Paſſage light upon other 200 more of theſe rebellious *Wallons*, who, becauſe they ſtood ſtrongly upon their Guard, and were more deſperately ſet than the reſt, the General ſent out other 200 of the Collonels Horſe-men upon them, by whom, and the *Huſſars*, they were almoſt all ſlain: divers others of them alſo were ſlain in coming out of the Town, and in the Mariſhes thereabouts. Their General's Lieutenant, with ſuch other of their principal Commanders as were taken, were by the Lord *Rederns* Commandment delivered unto the Provoſt Martial; the reſt of the rebellious Traitors he, at the requeſt of the Souldiers, divided into divers parts of the Army, there, to the terror of others, to be executed; from whom the Souldiers could hardly be perſuaded even for the preſent to hold their hands. But afterwards having brought them to *Rab*, and leave given them to do with them their Pleaſure, they as far exceeded in the cruel manner of their Execution, as had they before in their outragious Dealings, eſpecially the *Hungarians* and *Wallons*, notwithſtanding moſt of them were of the *Walkon* Countries. Some of them they impailed, ſome they brake upon the Wheel; ſome of their Skins they cut off their Bodies as it were into Thongs, and ſo poured into the Wounds Vinegar, Salt, and Pepper; from ſome others they cut off their Privities, ſome they roſted, and ſome they put into the *Tenthia*; upon ſome they dropped molten Pitch, and then caſting Gun-powder upon them, ſo burnt them to death; otherſome they hanged upon iron Hooks, and ſome they put in the ground up to the Chin, and for their diſport, with iron Bullets bowled at their Heads: in all which Torments, no ſign of Compaſſion was to be ſeen, the Tormentors, to make their Pain the greater, doing nothing but deride them; the miſerable Wretches, in the mean time, confeſſing the heinouſneſs of their Offence, and craving for Death as a Favour. A moſt horrible thing it was to ſee, how whilſt ſome were thus tortured, others were brought to ſee the ſame miſery they themſelves were by and by to endure. Amongſt the reſt of theſe exquiſite Torments, one *Peter Orſy* cauſed one of the Mutineers to be ſewed up in the Belly of a Mare, with his Head hanging out, and ſo to be roſted; in which miſerable Torment, he lived three hours, and then died: after which, he cauſed the loathſome Body ſo roſted, to be given to them that lay ſtarving upon the Wheel, to eat. Thus was the dangerous Mutiny at *Pappa*, with much ado ended, and that ſtrong Town, like to have been loſt, preſerved: the Rebels themſelves being become a dreadful example to all Poſterity, for all them to look upon that ſhall attempt the like Villany.

Pappa abandoned by the Mutineers.

1600

Now at this ſame time alſo, though neither the Chriſtians nor the Turks had as then any great Army in the Field, yet many an hot and bloody Skirmiſh paſſed daily betwixt them in one place or other of *Hungary*; all which to recount, as it would be much tedious, ſo in ſilence to paſs them all over, were greatly to wrong thoſe worthy Perſonages by whom they were not, without their great Adventure, done. Amongſt the reſt, one *Nicholas Horbath*, County *Serinus*'s Lieutenant, with 150 Souldiers, and *Andrew Thuſſi*, another great Commander, going forth to ſeek for Booty; *Thuſſi* hearing that the Turks were abroad for the ſurpriſing of certain *Haiducks* then gone out, ſtaid faſt in a ſecret place until he might hear farther News, *Horbath* another way ſtill going on. Now it happened, that the Baſſa of *Sigeth* having been abroad, in returning home, by chance met with *Horbath*, and encountering with him overthrew him, and ſlew moſt of his men, *Horbath* himſelf by flight hardly eſcaping. But *Thuſſi*, hearing this Skirmiſh, as lying cloſe not far off, and now haſting thither to have been Partaker thereof, found the Baſſa yet in the Field on foot, viewing the Bodies of the ſlain; upon whom he came ſo ſuddenly and with ſuch Force, as that the Baſſa, with his diſordered men, had much ado to take Horſe, and ſo without any great reſiſtance betake himſelf to flight; after whom the *Hungarians* fiercely following, ſlew many of the Turks, and amongſt the reſt the Baſſa himſelf, whoſe Head, preſently cut off, *Horbath* ſent to the County *Serinus*, who ſhortly after, by *Thuſſi* himſelf, ſent it to *Matthias* the Arch-duke. This Baſſa was a man of great Strength and Courage, a moſt expert and adventurous Captain, about thirty ſix years old, and for his Valour, of a common Souldier, created a Baſſa, by the Great Sultan. His Head being brought to *Vienna*, and there ſhewed to the Baſſa of *Buda*, then their Priſoner, and he demanded whether he knew it or not, ſighing anſwered, that he knew it well, and that it was the Head of the Baſſa of *Sigeth*, a braver man than whom the Sultan had none in all his Empire, earneſtly withal deſiring to know how he was

Two Baſſaes of Sigeth ſlain one after another.

1600 was ſlain. And not long after, the Adventurers out of *Komara*, *Strigonium*, and other places thereabout, having made a great Party, and taken a great Booty from the Turks at a fair at *Gombar*, and by *Tra* and *Eſſeg*, thinking to have paſſed *Danubius* in hope of a greater Booty, ſeven hundred of them being paſſed the River, were by the new Baſſa of *Syeth* and others, with five thouſand Turks, in an hot Skirmiſh overthrown; yet not without their great loſs alſo: the Baſſa himſelf, with two other Sanzacks and five hundred Turks, being there ſlain, and but fifty of the Chriſtian Adventurers left dead in the place, the reſt diſorderedly retiring to their Boats, being for moſt part drowned in the *Danuby*. The free *Haiducks* alſo ſurpriſed *Jula*, and ſet it on fire; in which Confuſion the Turks flying into the Caſtle, for haſte thruſt one another from the Bridge into the Caſtle ditch; wherein ſo many of them were drowned, that a man might have gone dry foot over upon the bodies of the dead. They took there alſo ſix hundred Priſoners, with much other Booty, and delivered two hundred Chriſtians which were there Captives. And albeit that theſe *Haiducks* after this Exploit done, were hardly purſued by the Turks from other places, yet they in ſafety retired with ſuch booty as they had already gotten.

Jula ſurpriſed and burnt by the free-*Haiducks*.

But now to leave theſe the Troubles of *Hungary* for a while, as the fore-runners of greater 'ere long to enſue, let us again look back into *Tranſilvania* and *Valachia*, to ſee how *Michael* the Vayvod now in the mean time behaved himſelf there. The Cardinal *Bathor* overthrown and ſlain, and the Country of *Tranſilvania* again brought under the Emperour's Obedience; the Vayvod by his Ambaſſadors gave him forthwith to underſtand of all his Proceedings, with the whole Succeſs thereof, as alſo of a purpoſe he had to invade *Moldavia*; for that it was commonly reported, and alſo believed, That *Sigiſmund* the late Prince (not a little moved with the death of the Cardinal his Couſin, and the Revolt of his Country) aided by the *Turks*, the *Tartars*, the *Polonians*, and *Moldavians*, would now attempt ſome great matter for the recovery of *Tranſilvania*: all which, was ſhortly after the rather thought to be true, for that divers of his Spies being taken, ſome at *Clauſenburg*, ſome at *Neſſen*, beſide the Letters that were found about them from him unto the Nobility and States of *Tranſilvania*, (perſuading them to revolt from the Vayvod unto him, and that his meaning was ſhortly to come with a great Army out of *Polonia* for the repulſing of him) they alſo of themſelves confeſſed, How that *Sigiſmund*, in diſguiſed Apparel, had himſelf been in *Tranſilvania*, to conferr with divers his ſecret Friends concerning that matter. Which his Ambaſſadours the Emperour honourably entertained, and by them confirmed unto the Vayvod the Government of *Tranſilvania*, ſending alſo unto him divers honourable Preſents, forbidding him nevertheleſs to invade *Moldavia*, for fear of raiſing a new and dangerous War againſt the *Polonians* alſo, under whoſe Protection and the Turks the Palatine thereof then reſted. According unto which Command, the Vayvod ſtayed his intended Expedition; yet ſending ſome good part of his Forces unto the Frontiers of *Moldavia*, for fear of *Sigiſmund*, whom he heard to be hatching ſome miſchief in *Polonia*, and even then to lie upon the Frontiers of that Country. Some few months thus paſſing, *Huſraim Aga* (a grave reverend old man, and much employed by the Turkiſh Sultan) with five other Turks of good account, Ambaſſadors from the great Sultan, and a great Retinue following him, came to *Gronſtat* in *Tranſilvania*, where the Vayvod then lay. Of whoſe coming the Vayvod hearing, with four thouſand Horſemen moſt bravely mounted, went half a mile out of the City to meet them; the Foot-men in the mean time on both ſides of the Street ſtanding in good order, from the Gate of the City whereby they were to enter, even unto the Vayvod's Lodging, where ſtood alſo his Guard all in red and white Silk. So meeting in the field, they both alighted from their Horſes, with great reverence ſaluting the one the other: when preſently the Ambaſſador embracing the Vayvod, ungirt his Scimiter, and in the Name of the great Sultan put another about him, ſo richly garniſhed with Gold and precious Stones, as that no part of the Scabbard was therefore to be ſeen: beſides this, he preſented him with a fair Plume of black Hearns Feathers mixed with ſome white, (a right goodly Ornament, in form of a great buſh) which the Vayvod would not in the Field put upon his Head, although he were thereunto by the Ambaſſador moſt earneſtly requeſted, but cauſed it to be carried before him: he alſo preſented him with two very fair red Enſigns, in token of the Turks favour and protection; the one for himſelf, and the other for his Son *Retraſco*: moreover, he gave unto him two exceeding fair Horſes richly furniſhed, with four others, and a moſt fair Faulcon. The Vayvod himſelf was moſt bravely mounted, and (after the manner of his Country) had ten very fair ſpare Horſes led before him. At whoſe Entrance into the Town, all the great Ordnance was diſcharged, with great Vollies of ſmall Shot; and ſo the Ambaſſador ſtill riding on the left hand of the Vayvod, being brought to his Lodging, had ſix of his chief Followers every one of them preſented with a rich Robe of Cloth of Gold: in requital whereof, the Ambaſſador rewarded an hundred of the Vayvod's Followers every one of them with a good ſuit of Apparel: with this Ambaſſador of the Turks was alſo the *Polonian* Ambaſſador, whom the Vayvod in like manner honourably entertained. Theſe Ambaſſadors (as was thought) did what they might to have drawn this worthy and renowned Man, together with the Countries of *Tranſilvania* and *Valachia*, from the Emperour unto the Turks Obeiſance: howbeit, he ſeldom or never ſpake with them, but that either before or after he had Conference with the Lords *Ungnad* and *Zeckel* (the Emperour's Commiſſioners) concerning their Requeſts; always proteſting unto them, not to yield to any thing without the Emperour's Conſent and good-liking. Whereof *Mahomet* advertiſed, and that he was not by any thing yet ſaid or done to be removed from the Emperour, gave him by the ſame Ambaſſadors to underſtand, How that he was in ſome Speech with the Emperour concerning Peace (as indeed he then was by Meſſengers from the Baſſaes at *Presburg*) which if it ſorted to effect, that then it ſhould be well; but if not, that then it ſhould be good for him, whilſt yet he had time, wiſely to conſider of his own Eſtate, and to ſubmit himſelf unto his Protection who was able to defend him, rather than for the vain praiſe of a certain fooliſh Conſtancy, to adventure himſelf, with all that he had, unto moſt certain Danger and Deſtruction: promiſing him in recompence of that his Loyalty, to give unto him for ever, the Countries of *Tranſilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, and at his need to furniſh him both with Men and Money; offering moreover to make him a great Commander in his Army in *Hungary*, and the Baſſa of *Temeſwar*, as his Friend, to be at all times ready with fifty thouſand Horſe and Foot (as need ſhould be) to aſſiſt him againſt the Emperour, reſerving unto himſelf whatſoever he ſhould more win for him: for all which Bounty and Kindneſs, requiring only to have him unto him loyal. All which his large

The Government of *Tranſilvania* by the Emperour confirmed unto *Michael* the Vayvod.

1600

1600 large offers the Vayvod little regarding, declared the ſame unto the Emperours Commiſſioners: yet ſtill proteſting never to ſtart, but to ſtand faſt for the Chriſtian Emperour. Notwithſtanding, as a man deſirous to better his eſtate, he took hereupon occaſion to requeſt of the Emperour the Country of *Tranſilvania*, by him ſo lately taken in, unto him and his Son, in Inheritance for ever; with ſuch frontier Towns as in former time belonged unto *Tranſilvania*: and that whatſoever he ſhould win from the *Turks*, might be his and his Sons. He alſo requeſted, that all the Preferments and Dignities, in former time granted by his Imperial Majeſty, unto *Sigiſmund* the late Prince, might now be beſtowed upon himſelf; and for his Service done, to be furniſhed with Money for the payment of his Souldiers: And that the Emperour, with the other Princes of the Empire, ſhould aſſure him, That if he were taken by the Turk, they ſhould ranſome him; but in caſe he were by the great power of the Turk driven out of thoſe Countries, then, by the Emperours appointment, to have ſome convenient Place allotted for him in the upper *Hungary* to live in, with the yearly penſion of an hundred thouſand Dollars. All which his requeſts, if it would pleaſe him to grant, he promiſed this year to do ſo much againſt the *Turk*, as had not been done in an hundred years before; with vaunt, that if he had had the Employment of the Money which was ſpent in the time of this War, he would not have doubted but to have brought all the Countries from the *Euxine* (or black Sea) to *Buda*, *Alba-Regalis*, and *Solnock*, under the Emperours Obeiſance. A large promiſe indeed, but hardly to have been performed by a far greater Prince than he.

Thus whilſt things ſtood in diſcourſe after the Cardinals Death, *Sigiſmund*, the late Prince, in the mean time ſupported by the *Polonians*, with the Aid of the *Turks*, the *Tartars*, and the *Moldavians*, was ready to have invaded *Tranſilvania*; yea the *Tartars*, (as the forerunners of his great power) were already entered the Country, and had out of the Frontiers thereof carried away ſome booty. Whereof the Vayvod underſtanding, in great haſte aſſembled his forces out of all places, which in ſhort time was grown to ſome good head, the Country People, together with the free *Haiducks*, (an adventurous and reſolute kind of Souldiers) in great number daily reſorting unto him. So being now eight thouſand ſtrong, and moſt of them brave and luſty men, he with them and twenty pieces of Artillery, removed to *Cronſtat* the four and twentieth day of *April*, ſending part of his Army (which every day more and more increaſed) before him to *Neſſen*; where all his forces being aſſembled to the number of almoſt fifty thouſand Horſe and Foot, he with great Celerity paſſed the rough and high Mountains into *Moldavia*, without reſiſtance, but yet not without ſome trouble, his Souldiers by the way being glad ſometimes to eat the Leaves of Trees, the Enemy having of purpoſe before carried away whatſoever he could that might have yielded him relief. Of whoſe ſpeedy coming and great ſtrength, *Sigiſmund*, and *Jeremias* the Vayvod of *Moldavia* hearing, and upon the reaſonable eſtimate of their own Forces, finding themſelves too weak to incounter him, retired themſelves out of *Moldavia* into the Frontiers of *Polonia*, there to gather greater ſtrength, and ſo to meet him; for as yet *Jeremias* the Voyvod had not received from the Turk ſuch Forces as were unto him promiſed, and as he ſtill expected. *Michael* the Vayvod in the mean time (his Enemies thus fled) with Fire and Sword entering into *Moldavia*, took in the greateſt part thereof, the fearful Country People ſtill yielding unto him as he went; and the rather, for that *Jeremias* their Vayvod (placed by the *Polonian*, but tributary unto the Turk) had laid upon them a moſt grievous Impoſition, as upon every man a Duckat a Month, for which they exceedingly hated him. But here in *Moldavia*, *Michael* the Vayvod (having ſtill in his Company one of the Emperours Commiſſioners in *Tranſilvania*, moſt truſty Servants, who might faithfully report unto them the whole manner of his Proceedings) after the departure of *Sigiſmund* and *Jeremias*, his Enemies, ſtaied not long; but hearing that they were retired towards the Confines of *Polonia*, without longer delay made towards them, and the eighteenth of *May* found them by the Caſtle *Othune*, near unto the River *Neſter*, being thirty thouſand ſtrong, *Polonians*, *Moldavians*, *Turks* and *Tartars*; with whom he joyned a moſt fierce and cruel Battel, which begun about ten a Clock before Noon, was with great Courage, but greater Obſtinacy on both ſides, maintained until the Evening. At which time the Fortune of the *Valachian* prevailing, his Enemies at laſt betook themſelves to flight, of whom there were ſlain eight thouſand, beſide many others of them drowned in the River *Neſter*: where, of the *Valachians* were loſt two thouſand onely. Concerning *Sigiſmund* and *Jeremias*, divers reports were after this overthrow given out; ſome ſaying that they were ſlain, and ſome, that they were in flying drowned; howbeit the truth was, that they both by flight eſcaped, to the greater trouble of themſelves, as of their afflicted Countries alſo. *Michael*, after this ſo notable a Victory, taking in the reſt of *Moldavia*, cauſed the People to ſwear their Obedience unto the Emperour, himſelf, and his Son, to the great offence of the *Polonians*, not a little (as they took it) wronged therein; but eſpecially of the great Chancellor, an old Enemy unto the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Whereof enſued greater Troubles in thoſe frontier Countries than before, to the further effuſion of more Chriſtian Blood, much better to have been imployed againſt the fatal Enemy, in defence of the Chriſtian Common-weal. Yet thus the three warlike and frontier Countries of *Tranſilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*, the ſureſt Bulwarks of that ſide of Chriſtendom, and moſt expoſed unto the Fury of the common Enemy, were now once again united under the Obeiſance of the Emperor, to the great benefit (no doubt) of the Chriſtian Common-weal, and hurt of the *Turks*; if they might have ſo continued, as, God wot, they did not long.

1600

Sigiſmund and the *Moldavian* overthrown by *Michael* the Vayvod.

Moldavia ſubdued by *Michael*.

Michael the Vayvod goeth againſt *Sigiſmund Bathor*, and the Vayvod of *Moldavia*.

Now the Vayvod, notwithſtanding this ſo great a Victory, well conſidering that he of himſelf could hardly keep this new gained Province of *Moldavia* againſt the Power of the *Turk*, (pretending that to him it belonged as his own to give to whom he pleaſed:) as alſo againſt the *Polonians*, (not more deſirous to reſtore *Jeremias* again into *Moldavia*, than the Prince *Sigiſmund* into *Tranſilvania*) without the help of ſome other more mighty Prince whom he might reſt upon; by his Ambaſſadours (ſent for that purpoſe) offered the ſoveraignty of all thoſe three Countries unto the Emperour, with Condition, that he ſhould appoint him perpetual Governour of the ſame under him. The Emperour alſo underſtood, how that *Mahomet* the great Turk had not long before again ſent unto him another of his *Chiaus*, commanding him without delay to reſtore the Country of *Tranſilvania* unto the Prince *Sigiſmund* (unto whom he was by the Mediation of the King of *Polonia* now before reconciled) threatning otherwiſe, with Fire and Sword to deſtroy *Valachia*, and by force of Arms to deprive him both of *Tranſilvania* and his Life together. Wherefore the Emperour, doubting leſt the Vayvod, either for fear, or for the better aſſuring of his own eſtate, ſhould to his Prejudice fall to ſome agreement with the Turk, yielded to all that

1600 that his Ambaſſadors had of him requeſted; with Condition, that he ſhould be bound, as need ſhould require, to ſerve with his People againſt the Turk; and that in *Tranſilvania*, near unto his own Perſon, ſhould be always reſident one of the Emperour's Counſellors, as Superintendent over the whole Country. Wherewith the Vayvod being contented, the Emperour ſent thither Doctor *Petzen* with ſix thouſand Souldiers, and a great Sum of Money to pay the Vayvod's Souldiers, as he had before requeſted; and ſo take of them an Oath, That they ſhould from thenceforth become *his* Majeſties faithful Servants. Which Superintendent, ſo by the Emperour ſent, the Vayvod received with great Honour, as unto him of all others moſt welcome. Nevertheleſs, being again returned into *Tranſilvania*, it was not long but that (without regard of him) he began with new exactions to oppreſs the People of the Country, and in ſome ſort to tyranniſe over them; uſing great ſeverity againſt divers of the Nobility alſo, eſpecially ſuch as he knew to have taken part before with the Cardinal, or now of late with *Sigiſmund* his Couſin, or any way to have favoured his Quarrel. All which he did without the conſent or good liking of *Petzen*, contrary to his Promiſe made, No more to imbrue his hands in the blood of the Nobility of *Tranſilvania*, without the Knowledge or Conſent of his Imperial Majeſty, or the Superintendent by him appointed; which for all that, if he had not done, he could not poſſibly have kept them (diſdaining to be governed by him) under his Obeiſance. Nevertheleſs, the *Tranſilvanians*, taking it in evil part to be ſo oppreſſed, and the Nobility almoſt extinguiſhed, yea and indeed to be at all ruled by him; by general Conſent, as if it had been but one man, roſe all up in Arms againſt him; inſomuch, that he finding himſelf with his *Valachians* and other his Favourites too weak for them, retired with all ſuch as would follow him, into the Mountains; and from thence ſent preſently for Aid unto the Lord *George Baſta* (a worthy Captain, and then the Emperour's Lieutenant in the upper *Hungary*) for the ſubduing of theſe rebellious People, and the reducing of them to their former Obedience. Who, by Letters from *Matthias* the Arch-duke, at the inſtance of the Vayvod, commanded ſo to do, with about 6000 Horſe and Foot, and eight Field-pieces, removed from *Caſſovia* in the upper *Hungary* the fourth of *September*. Where, by the way, came unto him Ambaſſadors alſo from the People of *Tranſilvania*, now up in Arms, and Confederate alſo againſt the Vayvod; who in like manner alſo requeſted his Aid, pretending themſelves to be the Emperour's moſt loyal Subjects, but not under the Government of ſuch a Tyrant as was the Vayvod; alledging and exaggerating many his moſt cruel Actions, and clearly proteſting, That for the preſent want of a good Governour, they were inforced, for the ſafeguard of their Lives, to band themſelves together: which if haply it might be in any thing prejudicial unto the Emperour's claim and intereſt, which he with ſo great toil and coſt had procured in that Province, it was againſt their Wills, as inforced by neceſſity to do that they did in defence of themſelves. Which Ambaſſadors ſo ſent from the People, *Baſta* with all ſpeed diſpatched away back again, comforting them, without farther ſtir to expect his Arrival in *Tranſilvania*; yet covenanting withal, That they ſhould before conceive into writing the Oath of their Fidelity and Allegiance unto his Imperial Majeſty. Now might many and important Conſiderations trouble the Mind of *Baſta* in ſo doubtful a caſe. To give Aid unto the Vayvod againſt the People, was the expreſs Order from *Matthias* the Arch-duke, the Emperour's Lieutenant-General; but to aid the People confederate againſt him, as they had requeſted, ſeemed now both more profitable and honeſt, eſpecially having moſt certain Tokens of the ſmall and doubtful Faith of the Vayvod; who, only by diſputation intereſſed in that Province, was not ſo careful of another man's; neither ſeeming to have regard to *Petzen*, or of his own word given for not farther imbruing his hands in the Blood of the Nobility of *Tranſilvania*, without the Emperour's knowledge and leave: upon which Promiſe was likewiſe grounded the Arch-duke's Order for giving of him Aid: ſo that ſuch breach of his Faith, and contempt of *Petzen*, had haſtned the Conſpiracy of the People againſt him, deſpairing of all other Health than that which by force of Arms they could procure unto themſelves. To ſtand doubtful himſelf, or to hold others in ſuſpence, until that by Courriers in this new caſe he might receive new Inſtructions from the Emperour or the Arch-duke, had in it too much danger, as giving leiſure to each Party to make ſides, and to increaſe the ſlander of the laſt Year, That he might ſo eaſily (and eſpecially from the *Valachian*) have aſſured that Province to his Majeſty, had he not been an heartleſs man of no Reſolution, even ſuch an one as durſt not look upon a Cat, (as ſome had ſaid) all which might not a little prick an honourable Mind. To take part with the People confederate againſt the Vayvod, if it ſhould not happily fall out at the firſt Encounter, might betwixt the two Contendants give an entrance unto the third, either the *Turk* or the *Polonian*, in the favour of *Bathor*: but if it ſhould ſort to the quite contrary, and ſo himſelf to loſe the day; then he ſaw himſelf void of all defence againſt the malicious, eſpecially in that the World commonly meaſureth the Wiſdom uſed in any Action according to the Succeſs thereof, than which nothing can be more unreaſonable, but above all others, in matters of War. In this ſo troubled a Tempeſt of contrary Winds, of power to have driven a right good Mariner out of his Courſe, *Baſta* laid hand upon the Helm of good-meaning, and ſpread the Sails of ſuch Diſcretion, as taught him in matters of War to be lawful for a General to depart even from the Inſtructions of his Prince, not concerning the end, but the means leading to that end: eſpecially when the preſent Occaſion ſo requireth, which the Prince could not with reaſon before comprehend, as depending on the moſt mighty Fortune of War, which ſuffereth not ſo much delay as to expect Counſel from far. So in this Ambiguity *Baſta* reſolved to joyn himſelf unto the Confederates, moſt, in his Judgment, concerning his Imperial Majeſty, as being the uttermoſt ſcope of his ſo great coſt and charge, to keep the Country of *Tranſilvania* at his Devotion, which conſiſted in the People, and not in the Woods or Mountains: the matter being not great by what means ſoever it were done, ſo that it were honourable and honeſt.

Michael tyranniſeth in *Tranſilvania*.

The *Tranſilvanians* rebel.

1600

Upon this Deſire *Baſta* ſet forward, and the 14*th* day arrived at *Torda*, and there joyned himſelf unto the Confederates, to the great wonder of the Vayvod, in whoſe help he was ſent: where, repoſing himſelf one day, conſulting and conſidering of their Forces, about 12000 ſtrong, with four Field-pieces, beſides eight of his own, with the ſix thouſand Souldiers he brought with him, in all about eighteen thouſand, he determined not to give leiſure unto the Vayvod to call unto him farther help, having now with him about twenty thouſand Foot and twelve thouſand Horſe, with ſeven and twenty Field-pieces; amongſt whom were divers of the *Siculi*, in hope of their ancient Liberty, Men of good account and ſort, with a mixture of the *Coſſacks*, *Valachians*, *Raſcians*, and *Servians*, People of Prey, ſerving only to ſpoil: whom

Baſta taketh part with the *Tranſilvanians* againſt the Vayvod in whoſe Aid he was ſent.

1600 whom *Baſta* knew to be far inferiour in Courage to his twelve thouſand Foot and ſix thouſand Horſe; not only for the Valour of his own Men, accuſtomed unto the frontier Service, but alſo for the Confederates, who engaged with their Goods, Lives, and Honour, and deſirous to be revenged of the Vayvod, were like enough to ſtand well by it. Wherefore he ſet forward the ſixteenth day, and in two days march came within ſight of the Vayvod; who having ſent out certain great Troops of Horſe-men to take view of the Enemy, and ſeeing them repulſed, ſet fire on *Miriſto*, a Village faſt by, out of which they had before drawn certain ſmall Field-pieces into the Camp.

Miriſto is a Village two Leagues on this ſide of *Alba-Julia*, directly upon the High-way, ſtretching from the ſide of *Maracza* navigable River, unto the foot of an Hill; along which the River running, ſometimes nearer, and ſometimes farther off, together with the riſing of the Hill, maketh an unequal liſt of ground, in ſome places half a mile broad and more, and in ſome other ſhut up as it were into a narrow Throat, as in the ſelf ſame place where the aforeſaid Village ſtandeth, and where the Vayvod lay incamped in a place of great Advantage, behind a great Trench drawn from the River, croſs that little ſpace of ground betwixt the Mountain and the River. On this ſide, which from *Miriſto* the farther a man goeth, the farther the Plane enlargeth, *Baſta* incamping cloſe unto the Village, oppoſed againſt the coming of the Enemy three great *Corps du gard*, two of them *Hungarians*, towards the Hill, favoured with a Church, and the third toward the River, of the *Almain* Foot-men, under the Charge of County *Tomaſo Caurioli* of *Breſcia*, Serjeant-Major of the Field, with all the Artillery; who, as in a place near and very open unto the Enemy, there intrenched himſelf, ſtill approaching nearer and nearer both on the one ſide and the other. Towards the evening of the ſelf-ſame ſeventeenth day, came to *Baſta* one *Peter Armenio*, with Letters from the Vayvod, containing, That having underſtood of his Arrival in the Camp of the Conſpirators, he now farther deſired to know whether it were by the Conſent and Commandment of the Emperour or not; and how it came to paſs that he would ſo do, conſidering the divers chances of War, the Sword hanging as it were even over his Head if he ſhould chance to loſe the Battel? Whereunto *Baſta* anſwered, That the morrow following he would ſhew him the Authority he had from the Emperour (alluding to the Imperial Standard he carried with him;) and that as concerning the Fortune and Danger to enſue, he referred that wholly unto the Will and Pleaſure of the Almighty, the juſt Judge of all Controverſies. But in the mean time he exhorted him to leave that Province he had ſo evil governed unto his Imperial Majeſty, as he was in duty bound; promiſing him free Paſſage into *Valachia*, and giving him time to conſider thereupon until Eight a clock the next Morning, after which time it ſhould be free for every Man to do for himſelf what he could. Which Anſwer the Vayvod having read, inflamed with diſdain, with many proud Words, full of Threats and Diſgrace, although it was then night, preſently cauſed, by the Sound of the Drum and Trumpet, the Battel to be proclaimed againſt the next day.

On the other ſide, *Baſta*, after he had aſſured his Camp, having not only ſent, but gone himſelf to have the counſel of his own Eyes, for his better underſtanding how the Enemy lay; and finding no reaſonable means for him there to attempt any Exploit by, as well for the ſtrength of the Trench before the Front, and in part along the ſide of the Enemies Camp, as alſo for the danger of a riſing ground on the left hand, whereunto all the Plane betwixt the Enemies Camp and the Village was ſubject, thought it beſt to remove, and make a ſhort Retreat about the ſpace of an *Italian* mile, according to the commodiouſneſs of the place; thinking it no hard matter, of ſo proud an Enemy, and not altogether ſo well acquainted with martial Stratagems, to gain a notable Victory. This his purpoſe propounded in Council, was greatly diſliked of the Captains of the Confederates; unto whom it ſeemed more ſafety to aſſault the Vayvod, yet lying in his Strength, than to retire before the face of an Enemy ſo ſtrong and adventurous; for that ſuch a Retreat, according to the manner of that Country, would be deemed no other than a plain flight; and to break his Order and ariſe, was (as they ſaid) but to diſcourage his own People, and to encourage his Enemies. But *Baſta*, the better to perſuade them, promiſed therein to ſhew to them a more cunning kind of Fight than was yet unto them known; and declared the aſſurance that he in his own Perſon, with the *Almains*, in the Rereward would give them in that Retreat, in ſuch ſort, as that they ſhould not loſe ſo much as a man, much leſs they needed to fear to fall into any diſorder in ſo ſhort a ſpace, his purpoſe being only to give the Plane unto the enemy, wherein to ſhew himſelf in the open Field. So the Retreat being agreed upon, the Morning following, being the 28*th.* of *September*, the three *Corps du guard*, (before ſpoken of) were betimes called back, and the Baggage ſent away; after which followed the *Tranſilvanians* and *Hungarians*, the *Almains* in the Rereward incloſing the great Ordnance. 1600

The Battel of *Miriſto* betwixt *Michael* the Vayvod and *Baſta* the Emperours Lieutenant.

The Vayvod, aware of their Departure, ſent forthwith a great Troop of Horſe-men, eſpecially of the *Coſſacks*, to take view of them, and to skirmiſh with them; which were ſo far kept off by a Company of Muſqueteers in the Rereward, as that they could not come ſo nigh as to do any harm, although that all the way they went they were by them ſtill charged, to the great Contentment of *Baſta*, to ſee ſo good a beginning of his Deſigns as might bring them all to their wiſhed Effect. But when he ſaw the great Artillery upon the Carriages to come out of the Village, a certain ſign that the Enemy ſet forward with all his Forces, he marched fair and ſoftly to give him hope to overtake him; and ſo retired as far as he thought good from the Village, having before thought of a convenient place wherein his People might, with room enough, upon advantage ſtay; whenas about half a mile from him, and as far from the Village, he might ſee the Enemy march with his People in order of Battel: then began he to march towards him alſo; and perceiving the Enemy to come on in one only thick Front, by reaſon of the ſtraitneſs of the place, having on the right hand towards the River placed as it were all his Horſemen, and towards the Mountain his Foot-men alone, and 500 Foot placed aloft without any Artillery, as it ſeemed he would have done, having planted ſome below at the foot of the Hill in the way, and in the midſt, even before the Front of the Battel, where the Horſe-men came after the Foot-men; he alſo placed his Squadron in one Front only, to the intent not to be incloſed by the Enemy on the flank of his Army. The body of his main Battel conſiſted of one great Squadron of about 3000 *Almain* Foot-men, flanked on each ſide with 150 *Rutters* of *Sileſia*; before the Squadron toward the right hand he had ſet a looſe Wing of three hundred Muſqueteers; in the right Wing towards the Hill he placed a Company of Launces, with two Squadrons of the Country-Footmen; and in the left Wing toward the River one Squadron of *Tranſilvanian* Foot-

1600 Foot-men, and two of Launces, for that the Enemy was at that time very ſtrong in Horſe-men; the *Coſſacks*, Archers, and Harquebuſers, he placed in the Rereward; of his great Artillery he would make no uſe, for that having not much, he would not ſtand upon the defence thereof, but deſired rather with all ſpeed, to come to the Sword with the Enemy, unacquainted with ſuch cloſe fight, foot to foot; and well the leſs fit, by reaſon of their light Armour. And therefore he thought it beſt firſt to ſet forward his Squadron of *Almains* to give the charge, bending towards the right hand, amongſt the thickeſt of the Foot-men towards the Artillery at the foot of the Hill, as there whereas was the ſtrength of the Enemies Infantry. And doubting in the performing hereof, to be charged on the left ſide with a great Squadron of about 3000 Launces, which ſeemed to ſtand upon that Wing to give the firſt charge, he gave order unto *Rodoniz*, his Lieutenant, and Colonel of the *Rutters*; which had the leading of the left Wing, that he ſhould at a certain ſign given, ſet forward towards the left hand, for the charging of that great Squadron. So his People being ſet in order, and the manner of proceeding ſet down, he putting on his Helmet, with chearful Countenance ſaid, That at that time he truſted he ſhould ſhew unto the Vayvod, that his Trunchion could do more than his Scimitar; and himſelf ſetting forward betwixt the Squadron of the *Almain* Foot-men and the Wing of the Muſqueteers, about two hours after Noon, marched fair and ſoftly towards the Enemy; who without moving, expected the diſcharging of their Artillery, whereunto the nearer that the Enemy came unto it, the leſs harm it did him, by ſhooting either over or ſhort in the Field, which eaſily aſcended. The Wing of Muſqueteers went directly to give a charge unto the Artillery; and the Squadron toward the foot of the Hill, where *Baſta* deſired forcibly to charge, that thereby they might be enforced to ſpend their firſt Vollies, and with ſome diſcouragement or diſorder to retire, preſently came in, all afront, juſt upon the ſign given; and ſo with his *Almain* Foot-men, and the *Rutters* on the right hand, encloſed and compaſſed in behind the greateſt part of the Enemies Foot-men. At which very inſtant, the *Rutters* on the left hand alſo ſo courageouſly charged upon the three thouſand Launces; that better could not have been deſired of any band of moſt old and expert Souldiers. The Launces retiring without any hurt, and the firſt Volley diſcharged, forced the Infantry, and ſo diſordered the reſt. Whereupon the Wings charging, there enſued preſently a great ſlaughter and overthrow, only forty of *Baſta*'s men being ſlain, and as many hurt; where of the Enemies were loſt in the battel ten thouſand; and greater had the ſlaughter been, if the Village and approach of the Night had not covered many of them that fled, and ſtaied the purſuit of the Victors that followed them. Which putteth me in remembrance of the great Victory that *Scipio Aſiaticus* had againſt *Antiochus*, wherein were ſlain of the *Romans*, but three hundred (although that in the fight one of the Wings ſtood for a time doubtful) there being loſt of the Enemies above fifty thouſand. Howbeit there were afterwards found in all (as was by the Peaſants of the Country reported) twenty thouſand ſlain in this Battel. By this Victory *Baſta* recovered many Enſigns and much Armour, before ſent by the Emperour unto the Vayvod, together with all his Tents and Baggage. And preſently after the overthrow, there were many Troops of Horſemen ſent out every way with Proclamation, to ſpare the Lives of ſuch of the *Siculi* as ſhould lay down their Arms; of whom, many were ſent Priſoners unto divers Places, eſpecially to *Fogaras*, a ſtrong Town towards *Valachia*. As for the Vayvod himſelf, he with certain *Coſſacks* eſcaped by flight. 1600

Michael the Vayvod overthrown.

The Morrow following, *Baſta* diſpatched away the County *Caurioli* to inform the Emperour of all the Particularities of the Succeſs of that Expedition; who ſeemed to be therewith pleaſed, yet neither gave Reward unto the County, neither commended *Baſta* in that he had done (foreſeeing perhaps what was to enſue thereof) although he had in Writing before approved his Reſolution and Motion made in Favour of the Confederates. Staying that day in that quarter, *Baſta* gave order unto the *Chiaki*, to ſend out a Thouſand Horſemen to purſue the flying Vayvod; who, inſtead of ſo doing, joyning themſelves with other their Conſorts, ſetled themſelves to ranſack *Alba-Julia*, under the Colour, that there was the Vayvods Wealth and Subſtance; yet (as the manner of ſuch men is) ſparing neither Merchant nor Citizen; which worthily ſeemed unto *Baſta* a great wrong, for to ſee the innocent puniſhed, and the guilty to eſcape free. And albeit that he made what haſte he might thitherwards with all his Camp, and ſo ſtayed one day not far from thence, to have given ſome redreſs unto the ſpoyl that had happened; yet was all that his Labour loſt, for that ſo many of the greater ſort and chiefeſt amongſt them had their hands therein, with whom he thought it more Wiſdom as then to diſſemble, than to fall into any termes of Severity, without hope of doing any good. So he reſolved in all haſte to march towards *Fogaras* (whither he heard ſay the Vayvod was come with new Forces out of *Valachia* and *Moldavia*) and in ſix days march came to *Cibinium*, where he received certain News, That the great Chancellour of *Polonia* and *Sigiſmund* (ſometime the *Tranſilvanian* Prince) were with a ſtrong Army upon the Frontiers of *Moldavia*; having ſent before them *Moyſes* the *Siculian*, with about eight thouſand of the *Siculi* (his Souldiers) to what purpoſe was eaſie to be ſeen. Which Advertiſement interrupted the Courſe of *Baſta*'s Victory; for that it ſeemed not reaſonable to purſue the Enemy, and to leave behind him a doubt of ſo great Importance; and eſpecially, for that he thought he could not aſſure himſelf of the Aid of the Country-people, in caſe that *Sigiſmund* their old Prince were once ſeen in *Tranſilvania*. Wherefore he thought good to ſtay where he was, to provide for all Events as need ſhould be; and ſo reſolved to ſend the *Chiaki*, and one *Ladiſlaus Pithi*, to Parley with *Moyſes*, who made a ſhew of no great Moment of his good will towards the Confederates. In the mean time, came two Meſſengers from the Vayvod, offering in his Name, that he ſhould do whatſoever were in the behalf of the Emperour to be impoſed upon him. Unto whom theſe Conditions were by *Baſta* and the reſt of the Council propounded; Firſt, That he ſhould for ever reſign all the claim he had or might have into the Country of *Tranſilvania*; then, That he altogether with his Army, ſhould give his Oath of Fidelity unto his Imperial Majeſty; alſo, That he ſhould forthwith through *Valachia* go with his Army unto the Frontiers of *Moldavia*, to ſtay the *Polonians* from farther entrance: and moreover, to give his Wife and little Son in Hoſtage for the performance of theſe things. With which Meſſengers was ſent one *Sebaſtian Techelli*, to receive the Oath and promiſed Hoſtages, unto whom was appointed for the place of their ſafe keeping, the Biſhops Caſtle in *Alba-Julia*, the Vayvod having before requeſted, That they might be ſo kept in *Tranſilvania*; although

The *Chiaki* was the chief man, and as it were, the Ring-leader of the *Tranſilvanians* into Rebellion.

A Reconciliation made betwixt *Michael* the Vayvod, and *Baſta*.

1600 *Baſta* thought it much better to have had them kept in the upper *Hungary*. This agreement being made, *Baſta* kept on his way towards *Fogaras*, which he found already poſſeſſed by the *Chiaki*, and ſo from thence to *Corona*. After which, the Vayvod diſtruſting of the Articles agreed upon, went directly into *Valachia*, but not at all into *Moldavia*; not ſo much diſcomfited with the Forces of the *Polonians* whom he went againſt (not doubting to give them a great overthrow) as for the diſtruſt he had of *Moſes* the *Siculian*, who in the Battel might ſhew himſelf his Enemy behind him. Now whether it were for the diſtruſt he had in his own followers, or only for fear of Treaſon by the *Polonians* plotted, being not likely that they with ſo ſmall Forces were come to fight, without ſome greater ſecret deceit; he not knowing whom to truſt or to fear, of his own accord took his flight into the ſtrength of the Mountains, without any great loſs of his People, having left his Baggage behind him, which was aſſailed and taken by the *Haiducks*, and ſuch other ſharkers inured to Prey, and always ready in like occaſion, to help to ſpoil and chaſe them that are already runing; although that afterwards in divers Skirmiſhes with the *Turks* (who to cauſe him the rather to turn his back unto the *Polonians*, had preſumptuouſly ſcoured up and down the Country) he loſt many. In fine, giving *Moldavia* loſt, he was now out of hope how to be able to hold only *Valachia*, his old Government. Even he which but a little before commanded above an hundred thouſand Souldiers in Field; he, which in deſpight of who ſaid nay, was able to command *Valachia* and *Moldavia*, and happily the other Countries alſo near unto him, as having received the command of *Tranſilvania*, as Governour for the Emperour; he that made *Conſtantinople* to tremble, and found no Empire equal to his Deſigns. But it fareth oftentimes with the Great, as with Birds of Prey, who greedily ſeeking to prey upon others, become themſelves a Prey unto other greater than themſelves; for they, never contented, and attributing only unto their own Valour and Wiſdom, their own proſperous Proceedings, are the true ſhewers of the unſtable wheel of Fortune: or what ſay I of Fortune? being rather the very Children of Folly. So commonly falleth it out with Princes (eſpecially the new) which in the Garboiles of War betwixt their mighty Neighbours, not governed by their own Wiſdom, reſt themſelves only upon the Advice of their Counſellors, are by them led they wote not whither, for the greateſt intereſt they have in them. For had the Vayvod had but the leaſt inſight into Political Government, he might well have underſtood, that amongſt ſo many mighty Princes he could not much grow, or yet well root himſelf, without the aſſured ſtay of ſome one or other of them. He ſhould alſo have known within what compaſs a new Prince ought to have uſed Severity and Rigour; and that he ought to abſtain from all offence in good or otherwiſe, which might any way procure unto him the diſpleaſure or hatred of his Subjects. Whereas his Counſellors, not ſo much reſpecting his Profit as their own, had not the Power, or not the Will to perſuade him ſo by good means to plant himſelf ſure in *Tranſilvania*; but ſo both caſt him headlong from his high Eſtate, and at the ſame time furthered the loſs of *Caniſia*, a matter of important Conſequence.

Michael for fear of being betrayed unto the *Polonians*, takes his flight into the Mountains.

Now lay *Baſta* encamped in the Field in *Tranſilvania*, when a Meſſenger came unto him from the great Chancellour of *Polonia*, to declare unto him, That it was not his purpoſe to trouble *Tranſilvania*, having no ſuch order from the King; albeit that he would adviſe the *Tranſilvanians*, if they wiſhed to live in quiet, to make choice of a Prince of their own Nation, and ſuch an one as the *Turk* ſhould well like of, whereas otherwiſe they ſhould but ſeek their own Deſtruction, together with their Neighbours. Which his Counſel was well marked of them all, albeit it was thought by many of the wiſer ſort, not ſo much to proceed of any good meaning he had towards the *Tranſilvanians*, as of an old grudge and inveterate hatred he had always born againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*; as alſo, that he even then countenanced the Prince *Sigiſmund* with his Army to no other end, but by him to raiſe up new ſtirs in that Province, and ſo to draw it from the Emperours Obeiſance, although thereby it became again tributary unto the *Turk*, who in all theſe matters had a great hand. Yea, ſome ſticked not to ſay, That he covertly aimed at that Principality for his Son, howſoever he masked the ſame under the ſhew of *Sigiſmund* the late Prince. But unto him anſwer was given by the *Tranſilvanians*, (with thanks for his good will) That in all their Conſultations they would have a principal regard of their own welfare, together with the common. Which anſwer he having received, forthwith placed one *Simon* (the Brother of *Hieremias* the *Moldavian*) Vayvod of *Valachia* inſtead of *Michael*, by him driven out, and ſo leaving a convenient number of Souldiers with him, returned himſelf towards *Polonia*. Unto which election ſo made by the *Polonians*, the *Turks* craftily gave place, knowing well to play the Foxes where they could not play the Lyons; wiſely for a time comporting the Injury; and the old Chancellor, as crafty as they, having a ſecret purpoſe by occaſion of theſe preſent Troubles, to prefer his Son at length unto the Principality of *Tranſilvania*, and thereunto alſo to joyn the Countries of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, had therein of purpoſe placed the aforeſaid *Simon*, a man of no Valour, and of a ſmall Apprehenſion, whom he might again at his Pleaſure diſplace, and joyn thoſe Provinces unto his new purchaſe: which he could not ſo well do if he ſhould have there placed a man of greater reach and courage. So work the heads of the Great, and ſo travel the brains of the ambitious aſpiring.

The Chancellor placeth a new Vayvod in *Valachia* inſtead of *Michael*, by him driven out.

Baſta underſtanding of the retiring of the *Polonians*, enterd into Conſultation with the *Chiaki*, and other the principal men of that Province, (which lodged with the Army in the Country Villages thereabout) for calling together the States and People, to make choice of ſome ſuch men as they thought meeteſt to be ſent unto the Emperour, to know his pleaſure for the Government of that Province. But now in the mean time, whilſt there was ſuſpition of the foreign Enemy, began to work certain Malecontents, which thinking with greater liberty to live under a weak Prince, than under one of greater Power; with one Voyce cryed out, That *Sigiſmund* with a great Power was entred into the Confines of *Tranſilvania*, one while towards *Valachia*, another while by the way of *Moldavia*; and that the ſtrength of the Country and others thereby ſtill reſorted unto him; with other ſuch like Inventions, of purpoſe deviſed to have made *Baſta* ſuddenly depart, or at leaſtwiſe, to have troubled the Dyet or Aſſembly called, and the Conſultation alſo. But he, well adviſed of their purpoſe, moved not out of his quarter, but there lay very privately, to declare thereby the great Confidence he had in the thankfulneſs of the Nobility of that Country, as by him delivered from the oppreſſion of the Vayvod; as alſo to make them to underſtand, That the Government to be appointed was not to be ſettled in the ſole power of a Tyrant, but in the fidelity of the Subjects, protected under a moſt gentle, royal, and moſt father-like

False Rumours raiſed to have terrified *Baſta*.

1600 father-like Government, not ambitiouſly ſought after, but voluntarily of themſelves offered, and for the common good, by the Emperour accepted. Beſide that, he knew right well, how that *Caſtaldo* (in like caſe before in the year 1551, ſent into *Tranſilvania* with 8000 *Almains*) left behind him his Army, and without any precedent courteſie went privately to *Alba-Julia*, where Queen *Iſabel* had for her defence aſſembled a Dyet of all the States, and there by well handling of the matter, got to *Ferdinand* the Emperour that Kingdom, which he could not by the fear of his Forces have gained; for which doing, Writers attribute unto him the name of great Wiſdom, notwithſtanding that the year following he was forced to abandon his Conqueſt, but yet not through any default in himſelf.

But it is truly ſaid, That men pleaſured, according to the occaſion change their manners, as doth the Camelion his colour, according to the place; nothing being by nature ſo ſhort, nothing of leſs Life, than the remembrance of a benefit with the unthankful; which the greater it is, the more it is repaired with Ungratitude; either by making it to have been of little worth, or to have proceeded not of Courteſie, but from ſome other more private and proper Conſiderations of the Giver. The diet aforeſaid being aſſembled, divers broils were there raiſed by the male Contents, as uſually it cometh to paſs where the People have to do with the Government; apt to be moved with every Rumour, always ready to change their Opinion, as ſtraight glutted therewith, head-ſtrong, faithleſs, all in words to no end; ſome of them in that aſſembly cryed out, that the *Almains* might be paid, diſcharged, and thanked for the pains they had taken for them as their Neighbours, with offering to do them the like Pleaſure, as their Occaſions ſhould require; otherwiſe cryed to have them put all to the Sword, ſo much they were devoid of Reaſon: others cryed out as faſt, that they were not by any means to endure the Government of *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, but by ſome, nominated unto them, would needs have a Prince of their own Country, and ſuch an one as the great *Turk* ſhould well like of, as the Chancellour had perſwaded them. *Baſta* for all that not diſmaid with ſo unexpected an encounter (albeit that he began to ſuſpect that he had loſt all his Labour, if he were not in ſhort time with greater Forces relieved) at ſuch time as the *Chiaki*, with other the chief men amongſt the People, came, as their manner was, every other day to viſit him; with couragious Speech and unappalled Countenance, told him plainly, That he well perceived their drift and purpoſe; and yet doubted not either of their Oath of Obedience given unto his Imperial Majeſty, either of the freſh remembrance of the great benefit they had from him ſo lately received; and in caſe it might happen them little to eſteem of thoſe things (greater than which could not happen amongſt men) that yet they ſhould well know, that he was not a man to be feared with words, but fully reſolved not to ſtir one foot thence with his Forces, but rather to loſe his Life, which he would for all that ſell as dear as he could. Whereunto anſwer was given with much courteous ſpeech, That he ſhould not give ear unto any the Speeches of the light vulgar people; but to content himſelf that the Nobility, in whoſe hands the chief power of that Province was, had not done any thing not beſeeming themſelves. So after much diſpute, were appointed three Perſons according to the three eſtates (the Nobility, the Commons, and the State in general) to go unto the Emperour, to requeſt of him *Maximilian* the Arch-duke of their Governour; with ſpecial requeſt alſo, that it would pleaſe him not to overcharge with foreign Souldiers that Province already ſo impoveriſhed, eſpecially having in it ſelf People ſufficient for the defence thereof, and more nimble to encounter with the *Turks*, than the heavy and ſlow *Almains*, and they alſo of double charge. Theſe difficulties with much ado thus appeaſed by ſuch as ſtood faſt for the Emperour, *Baſta* thought it not good again to call any ſuch aſſembly, hoping that time, and the Emperours great Wiſdom, would for all theſe matters find convenient remedy. Yet ſaw he plainly, the mind of the People was to reſolve to remain for ever free, if they ſhould have come to a ſecond Conſultation; and in them a princely deſire to command rather than to be commanded; yea in that ſelf ſame Diet the *Chiaki* was declared Governour on the behalf of the People, with Authority in many things of himſelf to determine, without calling together of any aſſembly of the reſt of the States; which they ſaid they did only until they were by his Imperial Majeſty provided of a Governour. Nevertheleſs, *Baſta* well perceived more than a Tribunal Power to be now joyned by the People unto the Emperour's Commiſſioners, knowing that this *Chiaki* was in great hope to have been proclaimed Prince of the Confederates, in caſe they had not been preſently relieved againſt the *Vayvod*; and having in him yet noted ſtill his great ambition, for that marching from *Torda* toward the *Vayvod*, he cauſed to be carried before him a Spear with an *Hungarian* Cap, and a Plume of Feathers upon a Lance, in token of his chief command, albeit that afterwards, at the Complaint of *Baſta*, pretending therein a wrong to be done unto his Regiment marching under the Imperial Standard, he took it down; neither was he then a little ſuſpected to have ſuffered his Souldiers to have ſacked *Alba-Julia*, as alſo to have ſurpriſed *Fogaras*, and to have uſed divers other means all tending unto popularity and ambitious aſpiring; wherein he deemed it yet better to diſſemble than to proceed farther, and then to do it indeed when he had power ſufficient.

The next day following came all the Counſel of that Province; with the Deputies (appointed to have gone unto the Emperour) and the People unto the Houſe of *Baſta*, requeſting him (although ſuch their manner of coming might ſeem to exceed the bounds of requeſt) that he would ſend his *Germans* out of the Country, and ſo after ſo many troubles to give it leave a little to breath; as for himſelf, that he might ſtay at *Alba-Julia*, until the men deputed to that purpoſe might go unto his Majeſty with their requeſts. *Baſta* not a a little troubled with ſuch an Imperious Requeſt, and now (but not before) perceiving the occaſion of this great diſcontentment, ſaw himſelf much deceived in a moſt material point, and the ground of all this action, by truſting too much unto his own too ſmall Forces, too weak for the defence of his own Perſon, much leſs to keep under ſo populous a Province, ſuch as before in the year 1552, under the leading of *Caſtaldo*, had of it ſelf ſent out 70000 fighting men for the beſieging of *Lippa*, and now upon the ſudden 12000 with a few Noblemen in the face of a mighty and armed Enemy, where they now held an armed Conſultation with him, the Nobility meeting together with their great Retinues; and ſo much the greater, by how much the Suſpicion was the more by them feared, for them to be enforced to reſolve upon any thing contrary to their good liking; whereas he contenting himſelf only with their Oath, without any other Hoſtages, and ſo giving Aid unto the Confederates, had put himſelf upon their Faith, together with all his People, into the midſt of *Tranſilvania*, a matter of far greater importance than any pleadge they were able to have given him. Beſides that, of the ſix thouſand men which he had brought with him into that Country,

The ſtout Speech of *Baſta*, unto the *Chiaki*, and the reſt of the Nobility of *Tranſilvania*.

The Error of *Baſta*.

1600 three thouſand five hundred of *Sileſia*, now brought to 2000, could not be perſuaded longer to ſtay without their Pay before hand, the Pay of their Country being already ſpent; and the reſt drawn out of the Garriſons of the upper *Hungary*, or elſe there preſſed, were at a certain time to return. Yet nevertheleſs he attempted in ſome ſort to ſatisfie their Requeſt, for not grieving of the Country, by requeſting of them to deliver unto him ſome ſtrong Place, whereinto he putting his men into Garriſon, they might ſo lye without any farther charge or trouble to the Country, living upon their own Wages. Which, when he could not obtain, and withal conſidering, that if thoſe few of his People which yet remained could be contented to ſtay with him, the retaining of them might give occaſion unto the deſirous of new Stirs, upon every the leaſt diſorder of the Souldiers, to alter the matter at their pleaſure, (as had hapned unto the eight thouſand *Almains*, of *Caſtaldo*, driven ſometimes out of that Country under the colour of ſome Inſolency by them committed, altho others had been the chief doers thereof, namely, about ſome twenty *Polonians*) he reſolved of all theſe things to give notice to the Court, and ſo fair and ſoftly to march with his Souldiers unto the Confines of that Country, and to ſave his eight pieces of Artillery, with his other Munition, in *Samos Vivar* Caſtle, a ſtrong Fortreſs a good way within the Confines, which, together with the ſtrong Caſtle of *Kuivar*, *Aga Leche*, an *Albanoiſe*, and General of the Vayvod's Horſe-men, delivered to *Zakell* Captain of *Zaccomar*, one of his Majeſties Commiſſioners; who there provided for the Governour *Baſta*, his familiar Favourite: altho that the *Tranſilvanians* had with great Promiſes ſought to have croſſed ſuch delivery of the aforeſaid Caſtles, and to have had them in their own Power.

The Diſcretion of the doer is not always to be deemed by the event of the thing done.

Wherefore *Baſta*, not deceived, but by neceſſity inforced, yielded that he could not hold, and gave that he could not ſell, making a vertue of Neceſſity; deceived in the event of the matter which he had propounded unto himſelf from the beginning, for the aſſurance of that Country to the Emperour; by an excuſable error, if it be true that ſome wiſe men ſay, nothing to be more unreaſonable than by the Event of Matters to judge of their Wiſdom by whom they were managed; which conſiſteth not in divining before of the certainty of the Event, but in the reaſonable Conjecture thereof, by the means leading thereunto, than which nothing is more deceitful, as not depending from our own Actions only, but from other mens alſo more groſs and unreaſonable; none knowing better how much the Wiſdom of Man deceiveth it ſelf, than thoſe which are unto themſelves true Witneſſes of the event of their own Conſultations. Nevertheleſs the matter was afterward ſo well handled by *Baſta*, *Petzen*, and others the Emperour's great Favourites in *Tranſilvania*, that in a Diet holden by the *Tranſilvanians*, he was with a convenient Guard again by them received as the Emperour's Lieutenant, until further Order were by him taken for the Government and Aſſurance of that Country: the *Chiaki* and his Complices faintly conſenting thereunto, as not greatly pleaſed therewith. Neither had *Baſta* much cauſe to be proud of ſuch his Government, having thereof no longer aſſurance than pleaſed that fickle People to afford him; yet ſith no better could be had, he muſt take it as he might, deeming it better in ſome ſort for the preſent to hold it for the Emperour, than not at all: with which his weak State, amongſt more Enemies than Friends, we will for a while leave him.

But whilſt things thus paſſed (as we have ſaid) in *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*, (the Treaty for Peace betwixt the Emperour and the Turk being vaniſhed into Smoak,) *Ibrahim Baſſa* the Turks General in *Hungary*, having all the laſt Winter made great preparation for the Invaſion of the Emperour's Territories, and the doing of ſome notable Enterpriſe for the recovery of his Reputation, ſomewhat impaired by the evil ſucceſs of the laſt Years Wars; and even in theſe his greateſt Preparations of this Year, not a little troubled by the Mutiny of the Janizaries and Spahi for want of their Pay, at *Conſtantinople*, as alſo with the Rebellion in *Caramania*: now at length in the latter end of *Auguſt* (by order from the Grand Seignior, his great Lord and Maſter) began to ſet forward with his Army from *Belgrade*, ſuppoſed to be above two hundred thouſand men ſtrong. And coming to *Babotſca*, a ſtrong Fortreſs of the Chriſtians in the nether *Hungary*, ſat down before it, and having planted his Artillery, furiouſly battered it, with purpoſe to have the next day aſſaulted it: but the Captain of the Caſtle, conſidering the weakneſs of his Garriſon to withſtand ſo puiſſant an Enemy, and that the Walls to be already ſore ſhaken with the fury of the great Ordnance, came to a reaſonable Compoſition with the Baſſa, and ſo delivered unto him the place. Which Exploit done, and the Caſtle to him ſurrendred, he marched from thence to *Caniſia*, a ſtrong Town in the Frontiers of *Stiria*, of moſt men before ſuppoſed a Place impregnable; for that it was ſcituate in a very deep Marſh, and furniſhed with a ſtrong Garriſon of valiant Souldiers, part *Hungarians* and part *Almains*: after this ſtrong Town *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa eſpecially longed, ſo to free thoſe Frontiers of the Turks from the often Incurſions that the Garriſon Souldiers of that place made therein; as alſo by the taking of that ſo ſtrong a Fortreſs from the Chriſtians, to open a more ſafe and free Paſſage for the Turks into *Auſtria*, to the indangering of other places of the Empire alſo farther off. Wherefore incamping his great Army on the ſide of the Marſh which compaſſed the Iſle round whereon the Town ſtood, he began with Faggots and Earth to fill up the Marſh, ſo to paſs over his Army; they in the Town in the mean time not ceaſing with their thundring Shot to diſturb them, and to do them what harm they might: who for all that, proceeding in their Work, had brought it now almoſt cloſe unto the Iſland, where, whilſt they were about to have landed, they were by the Souldiers of the Garriſon ſo encountered, that having loſt a number of their men, as well Janizaries as others, with two of their beſt Captains alſo, they were by plain Valour inforced to retire. But preparing themſelves againſt the next day with a greater force to have again returned unto the Aſſault of the Iſle, they ſaw the Imperial Army now at their Backs, and come ſo near them, that with their Artillery they did them great harm; which put them in no ſmall fear, ſeeing themſelves incloſed betwixt the Town and the Camp, and both out of the one and the other to receive no ſmall hurt, as well with the ſmall Shot as the great; beſides that, out of the Camp divers whole Bands ſometimes ſallied, diſcharging great Vollies of Shot even into their Trenches. In the Imperial Army were about two and forty thouſand Horſe and Foot, men of divers Nations, under the leading of Duke *Mercury*, now General of the Emperour's Forces in *Hungary*; with whom were alſo the Lords *Nadaſti*, *Eſdrin*, *Bacchian*, and the Governour of *Croatia*, with divers other famous Captains, come thither for the relief of *Caniſia*, a place of ſo great Importance for the defence of that ſide of the Country, and to help that it fell not into the Power of the barbarous Enemy. But *Ibrahim Baſſa*, underſtanding by his Eſpials the ſmall number of the Chriſtians; and well knowing how much he was too

Caniſia beſieged by the Turks.

1600

ſtrong

1600 strong for them by reason of his great Multitude, went out against them, and finding them as ready as himself, joyned Battel with them; with great slaughter of men both on the one side and the other: which bloody Fight (the Victory yet standing doubtful, but in all mens Judgment more inclining unto the Christians than to the Turks) was at length, by the coming on of the night, broken off. At which time, the Christians retiring themselves into their Trenches, the Turks stood all the night in the Field with their Weapons in their hands, as fearing to have been again in the night by their Enemies assailed. Mean while the Christian Captains in the Camp, at variance amongst themselves, and so not now to be commanded by Duke *Mercury* their General; at such time as the Turks, presuming on their Multitude, dared them to Battel the next day, could by no means be perswaded to go out against them, or once to stir out of their Trenches. Insomuch that the General of the *Tartars* thereupon taking Courage, made an Inroad into the Country thereby, and meeting with two hundred Waggons laden with Victuals going unto the Christian Camp, slew the Convoy that guarded them, and so carried them quite away. Whereby such want arose in the Christian Camp, that having not what to eat, and out of hope of any new Supply of Relief in time to come, they were glad by Night to dislodge and retire; which could not so secretly be done, but that it was by the Turks perceived, who presently following after them in the Tail of the Army, cut off about three thousand of them, with certain pieces of great Ordinance, and most part of the Baggage; the rest of the Army in the mean time retiring farther off into places of more safety. From this Victory the Turks returned again to the Siege of *Canisia*, where, after a few days, the Garrison Souldiers, now out of hope to be in good time relieved, suddenly fell into Mutiny, refusing any longer to defend the Town, now hardly laid unto by the Turks; and the rather, for that divers of the *Hungarians* were already fled out of the Town unto the Bassa, having (as it was thought) revealed unto him the whole estate of the besieged: so that now there was no remedy but that the Town must be delivered unto the Enemy, although *Paradiser*, with some other of the Captains, did what they might (as they said afterwards) to have perswaded the contrary. Whereupon, they came to Parle with the Bassa, and covenanting with him, that they might with Bag and Baggage depart, and with a safe Convoy be brought over the River *Mur*, promised to yield unto him the Town: all which the Bassa granted, fearing how to have been able to have kept the Field, if they should for any long time have holden out, Winter now so fast approaching. So the two and twentieth of *October* the Town was unto the Bassa right cowardly delivered, and the Garrison Souldiers with their Baggage in a hundred Waggons lent them by the Turks, safely conducted over the *Mur*, as was unto them promised. After the Agreement made for the yielding up of the Town, the Bassa, in Courtesie, sent unto *Paradiser* the Governour a very rich Gown of Cloth of Gold; which albeit that he refused, yet was it afterwards laid to his Charge as a Presumption of some treacherous Collusion betwixt him and the Bassa for the betraying of the Town, which it was thought he might much longer have kept. *Ibrahim* now thus possessed of the Town he so much desired, fortified it more strongly than ever it was before; and for the more assurance thereof, put into it a strong Garrison of four thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, all old expert Souldiers. And immediately after, without resistance, forraged the Country round about *Canisia*, burning all before him as he went; the poor Christian Inhabitants still flying as fast as they could for safeguard of their Lives. But having thus with the Spoil of the Country well pleased his Souldiers, he, desirous to have the same again in time re-peopled, as thereby to yield unto the Turks the more Profit, staid their farther Outrage, upon great pain forbidding the same; by open Proclamations in every place set up, inviting the Christians, without fear of farther harm, to return again into the Country, where, submitting them unto the Great Sultan's Obeisance, they should under his Protection safely dwell, without any Tribute to be of them exacted for the space of three Years next following. Which Proclamations were in his Name thus published: 1600

The Battel betwixt the Christians and the Turks before *Canisia*.

Canisia yielded unto the Turks.

Stiria forraged by the Turks.

Ibrahim Bassa, to the Inhabitants of the Country about *Canisia*, greeting.

Ibrahim Bassa's Proclamation.

WE Ibrahim Bassa, *by the Grace of God, Visier, and Cousin unto the most puissant and invincible Sultan* Mahomet, *Emperour of the Turks, unto all the Inhabitants of the Marches about* Canisia, *and the rest of the Country of* Steirmarck, *from the greatest unto the least, greeting. Whereas we have willingly heard, that some of you, willing to submit your selves to the great Sultan, and to swear unto him Fealty, are again returned unto your old Dwellings: We promise and assure you, upon the Faith of the said Emperour, That whosoever shall be found near unto the Fortress of* Canisia, *now belonging unto the great Sultan, with all Reverence submitting himself as his Subject, under his Government, acknowledging him for his Sovereign, shall enjoy more Priviledges than ever he did before, and also be protected in the same. And for that we know that your Houses are for the most part destroyed, as also your Posterity, you shall therefore for these three years next following be exempted and free from all Tributes and Charges whatsoever, to the intent you may the better recover your selves. Of which Grace if you shall willingly accept, we promise you, that neither You, your Wives, or Children, shall be in any thing wronged, or your Goods in any part impaired, but so much as in us possibly is, to be defended: so that so many of you as please may in safety return into your own old Dwellings, giving before knowledge thereof unto the Governour of this our Fortress. Given in our Camp after the Conquest of* Canisia.

Many of these poor Country People before fled for fear of the Turks, and not knowing where to bestow themselves, now upon this Proclamation returned again to their ancient dwelling Places, there to begin the World again under the Turkish Obeisance. But for that County *Serinus* was the Man whom of all others in that Country the great Bassa sought after, as him whom he most feared after his Departure to trouble this his new Conquest, and to seek to be revenged; having in this so general a Calamity of *Stiria*, his Country, lost twenty Villages of his own, quite burnt by the Turks, and the People most slain or else taken Prisoners: the Bassa having many times before sought to have perswaded him to have yielded his Obedience unto the Turkish Sultan, and now in hope after so great loss to bring him in, before he were come into the utter ruine of all his Fortunes, (now by the loss of *Canisia*, and the entrance of the Turks into *Stiria*, not a little endangered) writ unto him as followeth:

Ibrahim Bassa's Letters unto the County *Serinus*.

WE Ibrahim Bassa, *chief of the Visier Bassaes, and Cousin unto the most puissant Sultan* Mahomet; *to the County* Serinus *sendeth greeting. We have oftentimes heretofore written unto thee concerning the matter thou knowest of: but what the cause is that*

1600 *that we received no Anſwer, we cannot tell. Yet could I not but write to thee again, That if yet thou canſt be content to begin the matter aright, and to ſubmit thy ſelf unto our Protection, we will be ready to receive thee. Thou ſeeſt, that what we foretold thee is now more than fulfilled both upon thee and thine, which thou wouldſt never believe. Nevertheleſs, for the ſtaying of the farther effuſion of the Blood as well of thy Subjects as ours, and to come to ſome good Attonement, it is high time for thee to lay thine Hand upon thy Heart, and to conſider how much more it concerneth thee than us, and that the benefit thereof redoundeth more unto thine than ours. What our Affection is towards thee,* Hierom *the Vayvod can tell thee. Fare thou well. From our Camp after the Conqueſt of* Caniſia, *the ſeventh of* November, 1600.

Ibrahim Baſſa returneth with his Army to *Belgrade.*

But theſe Letters being alſo, as the reſt, anſwered with Silence, the great Baſſa having diſpoſed of all as he thought beſt at *Caniſia*, and in the Country thereabout, returned with his Army to *Belgrade*, there to Winter: having before fully certified the great Sultan of all his Proceedings, and the Succeſs of this War; vaunting after his vain manner, the next Spring to beſiege *Vienna* alſo, if it ſhould pleaſe him ſo to command. Of all which things *Mahomet* underſtanding, and not a little therewith pleaſed, cauſed great Triumphs to be made by the ſpace of four days at *Conſtantinople*, and in token of his Love and Favour, ſent a rich Robe of Cloth of Gold, with a leading ſtaff, all ſet with Pearl and precious Stones, unto the Baſſa, yet lying at *Belgrade*.

This loſs of *Caniſia* much troubled all that ſide of Chriſtendom, eſpecially them of the Territories belonging unto the Houſe of *Auſtria*, in a ſort diſmay'd to ſee the Turks ſo eaſily poſſeſſed of a Town, before thought almoſt impregnable, and the ſtrongeſt defence of all that Country againſt the furious Impreſſions of the Turks, to whom it was now become a moſt ſafe and ſure Receptacle, all men with one Voice blaming the diſcord of the Captains in the Imperial Army, for ſo retiring without any good doing; but above all deteſting the Cowardiſe of *Paradiſer*, who known to have in the Town a ſtrong Garriſon, with good ſtore of Munition and Victuals (as was ſuppoſed) had ſo baſely delivered the ſame unto the Enemy, not doing the uttermoſt of his Devoir as had beſeemed him for the defence thereof: whereas if he had ſo done, happily in the mean time the Cold and unſeaſonableneſs of the Weather (tho no other Relief had been) Winter being now come, might have inforced the Turks to have raiſed their Siege. Whereupon, he was for this ſo foul a Fact, by the Emperour's Commandment, apprehended and caſt in Priſon at *Vienna*, where after he had long lain, and his Cauſe oftentimes examined, he was the next year following condemned of Felony and Cowardſe, and ſo the 15*th* day of *October* executed, having firſt his Hand at four ſtrokes of the Executioner ſtruck off, and after that his Head; with him was alſo in like manner executed his Enſign-Bearer; and after them his Lieutenant with the Mayor of the Town, who both bound faſt to a ſtake, had firſt their Tongues cut out, and afterwards their Heads chopt off.

Paradiſer executed for the yielding up of *Caniſia* to the Turks.

Now the Rebellion before raiſed in *Caramania* by *Cuſahin Baſſa* (as is aforeſaid) was not with his Death altogether appeaſed. Alſo *Orfa*, a great City of that Country (which having taſted the ſweetneſs of Liberty in the time of *Cuſahin*) yet ſtill holding out againſt *Mehemet* the great Baſſa the Sultan's Lieutenant-General there. At which time alſo a Companion of *Cuſahin* the late Rebel, called the *Scrivano*, and one of his greateſt Favourites, ſeeing how hardly not only *Cuſahin* himſelf, but the reſt of his Followers, had been handled by the Turks, began to make Head, and to call unto him all ſuch as loved their Liberty; unto the ſweet Name whereof, ſo many were in ſhort time come about him, as that out of them he formed ſuch an Army, as made him now dreadful unto the Turks his Enemies. Againſt whom, *Mehemet Baſſa* going with all his Power to have oppreſſed him, found him with thoſe his rebellious Followers ſo courageous (for the deſire they all had to break out of the *Othoman* Slavery, and to live in ſuch Liberty as was promiſed them by their Captain and General) that joyning Battel with them, he received of them a notable Overthrow; inſomuch, that fearing to have loſt his whole Army, he was glad to retire, and to ſend out Commiſſions for the raiſing of greater Forces. Sultan *Mahomet* in the mean time, whether it was for fear of this new Rebellion, or for that he underſtood of the Ambaſſadors ſent from the *Perſian* unto the Chriſtian Princes, began to ſuſpect leſt that King ſhould break the League he had with him, and ſo to his farther trouble take up Arms alſo againſt him. Wherefore, upon a Turkiſh Pride, he ſent an Ambaſſadour into *Perſia*, to give the King to underſtand, That for the more aſſurance of the League betwixt them, he demanded to have one of his Sons ſent unto him in Hoſtage, as a Pledge of his Fathers Faith. Which ſo proud a Demand, the *Perſian* King took in ſuch diſdain, that he commanded in his Rage the Ambaſſador to be forthwith ſlain; but that his fury being by his grave Counſellors ſomewhat appeaſed, he remitted the Severity of this his rigorous Command, and ſparing his Life, was contented, that in deſpight and contempt of him that had ſent him, he ſhould be put to the Baſtonado only: and ſo grievouſly threatned, ſent back again unto his Maſter. Who having received this ſhameful Anſwer, and in doubt of ſome farther matter from that angry King, commanded new and ſtrong Garriſons to be put in all his ſtrong holds confining upon the *Perſian* Kingdom.

The Turks Ambaſſador evil intreated by the King of *Perſia*.

This troubleſome Year of *Jubile* thus paſt, the Emperour much troubled with the loſs of *Caniſia*, and in doubt of worſe to come (albeit that *Ibrahim Baſſa*, whom for all that he truſted not, *did* afreſh intreat with him concerning Peace) and ſeeing alſo the great need he had of greater Aid to withſtand the mighty Power of the Turk, with great inſtancy requeſted Aid of the Pope and of the other Princes of *Italy*: who, conſidering alſo how much it concerned the reſt of the Chriſtian Commonweal, to have the Frontiers of *Hungary* defended, condeſcended unto the Emperour's Requeſt; and ſo the Pope with the beginning of the Spring ſent him eight thouſand Souldiers in Pay, under the leading of *Io Franciſco Aldobrandino* his Nephew their General, who with the like charge had now ſerved ever ſince the Year 1599: King *Philip* alſo, at the inſtance of the Emperour, gave Order unto the County *Fuentes* to ſend into *Croatia* certain Bands of *Dutches*; who, by direction from him, were forthwith conducted to *Millain*. The great Duke of *Florence* alſo, ſent unto him two thouſand Souldiers, under the leading of *Franciſco de Monte*; with whom alſo, by his Appointment, went the Lord *Io. de Medices*, whom *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke forthwith requeſted for to be Maſter of his Camp: thither came alſo the Duke of *Mantua* with an honourable Company both of Horſe and Foot, being forthwith by the Arch-duke made his Lieutenant-General. And ſo whilſt theſe People aſſembled together into *Croatia*, the Emperour ſent alſo another good Army into *Hungary*, drawn for moſt part out of *Germany*, which under the leading of the Arch-duke *Matthias* his Brother, and the Duke *Mercury* his Lieutenant-General, went

1601

The Aid ſent out of *Italy* unto the Emperour.

1601 went into thoſe Parts to withſtand the Turk. A third Army he alſo made of the Imperials; which, ſtrengthened with the Forces of *Don Ferrant Gonzaga*, Governour of the upper *Hungary*, joyned themſelves with *Baſta* for the Recovery of *Tranſilvania*, out of which he had been of late driven, as ſhall hereafter be declared.

And ſo whilſt theſe Armies were in preparing, many hot Skirmiſhes paſſed in *Hungary* betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, the loſs falling ſometime to the one ſide and ſometime to the other. But the time now come that Souldiers might well take the Field, *Ibrahim Baſſa*, being now before dead at *Belgrade*, whilſt he was yet intreating of a diſſembled Peace, and *Haſſan*, one of the Viſier Baſſaes, by *Mahomet* appointed General in *Hungary* in his place, yet delaying his coming, the Parle for Peace laid aſide (as never indeed by the Turks intended, but only by them entertained to dally off the time to their own more advantage) Duke *Mercury*, General of the Emperour's Forces, taking the offer of ſo fit an Opportunity, came with his Army from *Komara* (where he had lain expecting the Event of the Parle) and laid Siege to *Alba Regalis*, one of the chiefeſt and ſtrongeſt Cities of *Hungary*; which, ſeated in the midſt of a Marſh, was thought almoſt impregnable, being hardly to be approached but by the Suburbs; which, ſtrongly fortified and defended by the Marſh, ſerved the City inſtead of three moſt ſure Bulwarks, within which ſtood alſo the City it ſelf, well defended with a good Wall and a Ditch. This City, the Duke for certain days continually battered, as if he had purpoſed at length to have taken it by aſſault: but, in the mean time certainly informed by a Fugitive (but lately fled out of the City) that the broad Lake on the other ſide of the City over againſt the Place where he lay, was not ſo deep, but that it was to be paſſed, (contrary to the Opinion both of the Turks Captives, and of the natural Inhabitants, whom he had upon that Point examined) and that the Turks, preſuming upon the ſtrength thereof, and thinking themſelves on that ſide ſafe, had turned almoſt all their Care and Forces unto that ſide of the City which was now by him battered, without regard of any great Peril to be from the other ſide feared; he appointed the Lord *Ruſſworm* with his Souldiers to make Proof if the *Sigeth* Suburbs (for ſo they were called) on the aforeſaid ſide of the City, ſo little regarded by the Turks, were not to be ſurpriſed; for that theſe Suburbs being taken, the City could not long hold out: for the undertaking of which Enterpriſe, *Ruſſworm* was, both by the captive Turks and Country People thereby dwelling, much diſcouraged, they all with one conſent affirming, That albeit he ſhould find no other Difficulties in the attempting thereof, yet the Lake it ſelf was not poſſible to be paſſed: who nevertheleſs not altogether truſting them, ſent certain of his Men ſecretly to try the matter; who having ſo done, brought him word, That the Lake was undoubtedly (though with much difficulty) to be paſſed. Whereupon, he with 1000 ſelect Souldiers, with every one of them a good Faggot on his Back beſide his Arms, to fill up the deepeſt of the Marſh, by night entred the ſame; wherein he had not gone far, but that he, almoſt with the danger of his Life, found it much deeper and more troubleſome than the Spies had unto him before reported: but carried with an invincible Courage himſelf, and his Souldiers moved by his Example, he ſtill went on, they alſo following of him. It is almoſt a thing incredible, to tell what theſe adventurous men endured, plunged in the deep Mud among the Flags and Bulruſhes, going ſtill up in Water and Mud unto the Waſte, even where the Marſh was the ſhalloweſt; where alſo if one miſſed but a ſtep, he was by and by over Head and Ears, and in danger to be drowned, if he were not by his Fellows preſently holden; yet at length, by God's help, having with the loſs but of ſix or ſeven men, a little before day got over, the Duke by an appointed Sign advertiſed thereof, with greater Stir and Tumult than at any time before, aſſailed that ſide of the City where he lay, as if even then and there he had only meant to have ingaged his whole Forces for the winning thereof. When in the mean time the Lord *Ruſſworm* on the other ſide with his reſolute Souldiers, with Ladders provided for the purpoſe, ſcaled the Walls of the Suburbs, and almoſt unperceived, recovered the top thereof, (the Turks being at the ſame time wholly bent for the defence of the other ſide of the City, where moſt ſtir and apparent danger was) and ſo being got into the Suburbs, with a great and terrible Cry aſſailed the Turks, who, ſurpriſed with an exceeding Fear, and not well knowing which way to turn themſelves, without any great Reſiſtance fled into the City, the Chriſtians following them at the heels, and making of them a great Slaughter. In which ſo great a confuſion, even where was leaſt feared, the Duke by other his Souldiers took the reſt of the Suburbs, as he had before determined, the Turks there alſo for fear forſaking them, and retiring with all the haſte they could unto their Fellows in the City, there to live or dye together. The Chriſtians in theſe Suburbs, beſide much other rich Prey, took alſo fourteen great pieces of Artillery, with good ſtore of Shot and Powder. The Suburbs (the greateſt Strength of the City) thus happily taken, the Duke again ſummoned the City, requiring to have it delivered unto him; whereunto the Turks gave no other Anſwer but by their Pieces, which they diſcharged upon the Chriſtians ſo perſwading them to yield. Wherewith the Duke much diſpleaſed, ſent them word, That he would ſend them other manner of Meſſengers to morrow, and by God's help ſup with them in the City, altho he were not unto them welcome. Neither failed he of that his Promiſe; for the next day, having out of the Suburbs, by the fury of his Artillery, made two fair Breaches in the City, he by the Ruines thereof, with great ſlaughter of the Enemy, entred the City, albeit that the Turks did what they might to have defended the ſame, by caſting down upon the Chriſtians, as they entred, Darts, Wild-fire, and ſuch-like things, uſually provided for ſuch purpoſe. But ſeeing now no remedy, but that they muſt needs give place to the fortune of their Enemies, they fled amain into their Houſes, there to defend themſelves, or elſe to die; many of which Houſes they had before of purpoſe ſo undermined, as that they could eaſily overthrow them, and ſo overwhelm as many as ſhould come within the danger of them: which ſo ſtrange a Reſolution was by many of them as deſperately performed; inſomuch, that the goodly Church, the Palace, with many other ſumptuous Buildings, were left unto the Chriſtians all rent and torn, not much better than rude heaps of Rubbiſh and Stones. Howbeit, the Baſſa, upon promiſe of Life, yielded himſelf, and was by the Duke preſently ſent unto the Camp; the reſt of the Souldiers being (as in ſuch caſe it commonly hapneth) all or moſt of them put to the Sword. The greateſt part of the Prey fell unto the *Wallons*; who by heaps breaking into the richeſt Houſes, not only took what themſelves light upon, but ſtrip'd the *Germans* alſo of ſuch things as they had by chance gotten, to their great heart-burning and grief: yea theſe ravenous and irreligious men not ſo contented, opened the Tombs of the *Hungarian* Kings, there

Ibrahim Baſſa dieth at *Belgrad.*

Alba Regalis beſieged by Duke *Mercury.*

1601

The Suburbs of *Alba Regalis* ſurpriſed by the Lord *Ruſſworm.*

Alba Regalis taken by the Chriſtians.

1601 there long before buried, to ſpoil even the dead of ſuch things, as had for Honours ſake been long before interred with them, (if haply any ſuch thing were there to be found) ſhewing themſelves therein more barbarous than the Turks, who by the ſpace of ſixty years having had the City in their Poſſeſſion, had yet ſpared thoſe reverent Monuments, and ſuffered the reliques of thoſe worthy Princes to reſt in peace. Of this taking of *Alba-Regalis*, the Baſſa of *Buda*, long before taken Priſoner, and then lying at *Vienna*, hearing, abſtained from Meat, with his two Servants, a whole day, proſtrate upon his Face, praying unto his Prophet *Mahomet*, who had (as he ſaid) all this year been angry with the Turks. Which had the ſiege of *Canifia* taken the like effect, had then undoubtedly been unto them moſt unfortunate; but God in his Wiſdom ſtill tempereth the ſweet with the ſour.

Aſſan Baſſa cometh out of ſeaſon to have relieved *Alba-Regalis.*

Now in the mean while was *Aſſan*, the Viſier Baſſa and General of the Turks Army, with ſuch Souldiers as were already aſſembled at *Belgrade*, coming to have relieved *Alba-Regalis*; and albeit that he underſtood by the way as he marched, that the City was won by the Chriſtians, yet held he on his intended Journey; and ſo taking with him the Baſſa of *Buda*, with the other Sanzacks and Commanders of the Towns and Caſtles thereabout, had formed an Army of about threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, but for moſt part raw and unexpert Souldiers; with which power he ſtill held on his way towards *Alba-Regalis*, as well thereby to give ſome Contentment unto the angry Sultan, his Maſter, as in hope alſo to overthrow the Chriſtian Army, or at leaſtwiſe to find the City as yet unrepaired, and ſo to regain it. But vain was that his Deſignment, eſpecially for the recovery of the City; for that the Duke had no ſooner taken it, but that he forthwith cauſed the Breaches to be repaired, and for the more aſſurance of it, put into it a ſtrong Garriſon of old expert Souldiers; and being himſelf about twenty thouſand ſtrong, and hearing of the Baſſaes coming, ſet forward to meet him, and being come near unto him, began an hot and bloody Skirmiſh with him. Yet the Baſſa, to proſecute his intended purpoſe for the recovery of *Alba-Regalis*, the next day ſent away part of his Army, to make proof if happily the City might yet be again recovered; and himſelf in the mean time with the reſt of his Army, offered Battel unto the Chriſtians, ſo to buſie them, that they ſhould not be able to trouble them whom he had ſent to *Alba-Regalis*, or to relieve the City, if it ſhould chance to be by them diſtreſſed. When as the Duke, before informed of the baſeneſs of the Souldiers in the Baſſaes Army, and that although he were for number of men far above him, yet that for old, hardy, and expert Souldiers, he was ſtrong enough for him, valiantly went out and encountered him; and ſo even at the firſt onſet by plain Valour diſordering the formoſt Squadrons of the Turks Battel, inforced them to retire with the loſs of ſix thouſand men; among whom were the Baſſa of *Buda*, ſix Sanzacks, with divers other Captains and Commanders of good place and mark. At which time he alſo took from them divers pieces of great Artillery, and had undoubtedly with a notable ſlaughter overthrown all the reſt of the Baſſaes Army, had not a great Squadron of the *Tartars*, even at that inſtant, ſhewed themſelves at the backs of the Chriſtians, and ſo ſlaying them, given leiſure unto the Baſſa again to reſtore his diſordered Battel. Whereupon the Duke, contenting himſelf with the Victory he had already gotten, in good order retired again into his Trenches, having in this Conflict not loſt above three hundred of his People. But whilſt both Armies thus lay, and new Supplies ſtill repairing unto them, expecting but when they ſhould come to a general day of Battel; the Janizaries ſtill murmuring, that it was now no time of the year longer to keep the field, by their Importunity inforced the Baſſa to retire to *Buda*, and there to diſband his Army. In which his retreat many were by the Chriſtians cut off in the tail of his Army, and a number of Priſoners taken, and amongſt the reſt fifty of the french Mutineers of *Pappa*; whom the Arch-duke *Matthias*, at the inſtance of Duke *Mercurie*, afterwards pardoned. Neither ſped they much better, that were ſent by the Baſſa to have attempted the taking of *Alba-Regalis*; for being come near thereunto, they were ſo welcomed with great ſhot out of the City, and charged with often Sallies by the ſtrong Garriſon, that ſeeing no hope to prevail, they were glad to riſe and to return again unto the Baſſa that ſent them.

The Victory of the *Chriſtians* over the *Turks.*

The Baſſa of *Buda* ſlain.

1601

Canifia beſieged by *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke.

About the ſame time that the Duke began to beſiege *Alba-Regalis*, *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke, having received great Aid from the Pope, with the other Princes of *Italy*, and the King of *Spain*, and ſo now 30000 ſtrong, by the advice of the Duke of *Mantua*, his Lieutenant General, reſolved to beſiege *Canifia*; which to have again recovered out of the hands of the Turks, concerned much, not them of *Stiria* and *Auſtria* only, but the other Provinces adjoyning, yea, and *Italy* it ſelf alſo; whereupon he with his Army in good order came the tenth of *September* and encamped before it; the Duke of *Mantua*, and *Don John de Medices*, with 2000 Harquebuſers, and two Cornets of Horſe being come the day before to take a view of the Town, at whom the Turks made divers ſhot, but without any harm doing. And albeit that the Turks there in Garriſon (in number not paſt a thouſand, accounting amongſt them three hundred of the *Wallons*, ſometime of the Garriſon of *Pappa*) with their often and gallant Sallies greatly troubled the Chriſtians, and that great bands of other Turks came many times out of the ſtrong Towns and Fortreſſes thereby, to skirmiſh with them, and to ſee if they could put any more Souldiers into the Town for the more aſſurance thereof; yet ſuch was the carefulneſs of the Chriſtian Commanders, and Valour of their Souldiers, that the Turks, both in the one place and in the other, were ſtill repulſed and put to flight, with the loſs alſo of ſome of their ſmall Caſtles and Forts thereabout. To approach this ſtrong Town, and to plant a battery againſt it, ſeemed to be a matter of great difficulty, for that it was (as we have elſewhere ſaid) environed round with a Mariſh; yet means was found to dry it a little, and to fill it up on the one ſide, and to come ſo near the Town, that having planted three tyre of Artillery againſt it, the Chriſtians began ſuriouſly to batter it, beating down both the Walls, the Houſes, and other Buildings therein. Yea, at length they had brought their approaches ſo near, that they were come with their Trenches even cloſe unto the Town Ditch, perſwading the Turks, now whilſt they might upon good Conditions, to ſurrender the Town, and ſo to ſave their Lives. Whereunto their fierce and inraged Minds were ſo far from hearkening, that braving the Chriſtians, they ſaid, That they would in deſpight of all their Forces keep the place for their Sultan, do what they could. Whereupon the Arch-duke, and the Duke of *Mantua*, by the Advice of *Medices*, and the reſt of the principal Captains and Commanders in the Army, reſolved to give a general aſſault unto the Town. In the mean time News was brought into the Camp of the winning of *Alba-Regalis*, which there made great rejoycing, in ſign whereof the Chriſtians (as their manner is) in Triumph, many times diſcharged their great Ordnance; and by fit men perſwaded the Garriſon Souldiers in *Canifia* to yield, and not to caſt themſelves into ſuch danger

1601 as had their Fellows at *Alba-Regalis*; for that in ſo doing they ſhould not only ſave their Lives, but eaſily alſo obtained ſuch other Conditions as they could reaſonably deſire; whereas, otherwiſe they ſhould to their coſt find the Chriſtians ſtrong enough to conſtrain them, which muſt needs bring with it their utter Ruine and Deſtruction. Whereunto the Garriſon Souldiers (among whom the Renegade *Wallons* were the chief) contemptuouſly anſwered, That they little feared ſuch weak Aſſailants; and with great cry and ſcorn commanding the Meſſengers to depart, in token of their Confidence, as alſo not to ſeem inferiour unto the Chriſtians, oftentimes to ſmall purpoſe diſcharged their great Ordnance, as had the Chriſtians the day before. Now though the Walls of the Town were with continual Battery ſore ſhaken, and the breaches almoſt laid open; yet was the intended aſſault for a while delayed, until the Bridges might be made that were to be laid over the Town Ditch for the Chriſtians to paſs over upon. But all things (as was thought) now in readineſs, and the *Florentines* with ſome other of the *Italians*, (whoſe Lot it was to give the firſt Aſſault) being come forward, the Bridge whereby they were to paſs the Town Ditch, was found both too ſhort and too weak for them to get over unto the other ſide by; ſo that ſinking under them, not the Souldiers only, but even the Commanders themſelves (and namely *Herberſtein*) were in great danger to have been loſt. By which means they hindered, and the Enemies murthering pieces continually flanking them, and their Muſqueteers ſtill playing upon them afront, they were inforced to retire, leaving behind them three hundred of their men ſlain. Yet were not the Chriſtian Commanders any thing therewith diſcouraged, but being generally reſolved not to give over that they had taken in hand, until they had brought it to effect, began to make ſuch Proviſion as they knew to be needful to preſerve their Army under, againſt the Violence of the Winter Weather, as alſo to hinder that no Victual might be brought unto the Town, ſo by Famine, at length to inforce the *Turks* and *Wallons* to yield; who, although they were already pinched with Wants, inſomuch that Horſe-fleſh was dainty chear with them; yet for all that, they nothing abated of their wonted fierceneſs; but being again required to yield, vouchſafed not to anſwer them one word, but inſtead thereof ſhook their naked Swords afar off at them, in token of their undaunted Courage. But yet for all this Reſolution of the Commanders for the continuance of the ſiege, *Aldobrandino*, General of the *Italians*, being now a little before, dead of an old Infirmity that he had, the *Italians* began at the firſt, ſome few of them ſecretly to withdraw themſelves out of their quarter; but afterward by greater numbers to depart, and ſo to return again into their Country; alledging for their excuſe, want both of Pay and Victuals. But the reſt better minded, underſtanding that the Turks were riſen from before *Alba Regalis*, and the reſt of their Army disbanded, began to enter into new hope by ſome device or other, to paſs the Ditch, and ſo by force to take the Town; and the rather, for that they were by a French Fugitive informed both of the Weakneſs and Wants of the beſieged. Whereupon, they began afreſh to make new Engine for the approaching of the Walls, without danger of the Enemies Ordnance any more to flank them. At which time alſo, *viz.* the fourth of *November*, the Lord *Ruſſworm* came unto the Camp, ſent thither from Duke *Mercury*, with 8000 Souldiers, after that *Haſſan Baſſa* had broke up his Army; by whoſe coming they were alſo the more encouraged to proſecute that they had taken in hand. Neither failed the Turks in the mean time with often Sallies to trouble the Chriſtians; attempting above all things to have fired their Tents, for that ſo lying open in that ſo cold a ſeaſon of the year, they muſt thereby of Neceſſity be inforced to raiſe their Siege, and be gone. But the Succeſs of theſe their ſo great Deſigns was not anſwerable to their Hopes, being ſtill to their loſs beaten back into the Town by the Chriſtians; whom it behoved to look well about them, for that the beſieged deſperately ſet, and all reſolved rather to die than to yield, adventured themſelves to all Dangers, never ceaſing to do what they might to put the Chriſtians out of hope for winning the Town. But whilſt the Turks with doubtful, and as it were deſperate hope, ſo defend the Place, and the Chriſtians grown ſtronger by the coming of their Friends, lay in hope to win the ſame; lo, in the latter end of *November*, the *North* Wind, accompanied with a deep Snow, ſo furiouſly raged, that it overthrew the greateſt part of the Tents and Pavilions of the Chriſtians, and as it were, buried their whole Army in the Snow and Ice, in ſuch wiſe, as that in *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke's camp (being reaſonably well provided for) were 1500 men with 300 Horſes ſtarved and frozen to death. At which time the ſtate of them that came with the Lord *Ruſſworm* was moſt miſerable; who wearied with the ſiege of *Alba-Regalis*, and as it were, ſpent with the dirty Travel of the deep way, had not brought with them their Tents or other Proviſion, and were therefore inforced to lie abroad in ſo cold and unſeaſonable a time; with whoſe Miſeries, although their good General was much grieved, yet to do the Chriſtian Common-weal Service, he with them right patiently endured. In which ſo great an Extremity, the Arch-duke, with the reſt of the Commanders, upon view taken, well conſidering what ſmall hope there was in good time to take the Town, the unreaſonableneſs of the Winter-weather ſtill more and more increaſing; thought it better betime to riſe, than longer to expoſe their Army unto moſt certain Deſtruction, either of the Enemy or the Cold. Which was done with ſuch haſte and confuſed Tumult, as that their riſing ſeemed rather an haſty flight, than honourable departure; leaving behind them, for haſte, their great Ordnance, with their Tents and Baggage; a common Voice ſtill running, That they were well if they might but ſave themſelves; ſo that the Souldiers every man mindful but of himſelf, and in fear to be purſued by the Enemy, no man chaſing them, fled, but ſtill accompanied with ſuch furious Winds, Snow, and extream Cold, that with all the Labour they could take, they could get them no heat, but fell down to the Earth many of them frozen, and ſo once falling, never roſe more, being unable for want of heat to help themſelves; in which caſe they were not to expect for help from others, every man having enough to do to look unto himſelf; ſo that upon the way whereby the Army went thus diſperſed with the Weather, lay above five hundred dead of cold, beſide four hundred others left ſick in the forſaken Trenches, who forthwith after the departure of the Army, were thought to have been all put to the Sword by them of the Garriſon of *Canifia*.

1601 The Chriſtians by Tempeſt and Extremity of Weather enforced to give over the Siege of *Canifia*.

But having thus paſſed through theſe Troubles of *Hungary*, it is time now alſo to look back again into the frontier Countries of *Tranſilvania* and *Valachia*; which to have kept in the Emperours Obeiſance, and ſo preſerved as a lively Member of the Chriſtian Common-weal, no leſs concerned him, than the keeping of any other his frontier Territories, which are many, *Michael*, the Vayvod of *Valachia*, the laſt year for his Cruelty, firſt driven out of *Tranſilvania* by *Baſta*, and afterwards out of *Valachia* by the great Chancellour of *Polonia*,

1601 (as is aforeſaid) and another placed in his ſtead; as a man forſaken even of his own better Fortunes, and not well knowing which way to turn himſelf, thought it beſt now at laſt to ſubmit himſelf unto the Emperour, if ſo happily by his means he might in ſome ſort repair his broken Eſtate, and ſo at leaſtwiſe recover his Government in *Valachia*. So reſolved, he ſet forward, and in the beginning of this year, *viz.* the three and twentieth of *January*, with five and thirty of his Followers, and ſix Coaches, arrived at *Prague*, where he was by the Emperours appointment honourably received, and his coſt at the Emperours charge defraied. Unto whom he excuſed himſelf of the Severity by him uſed in *Tranſilvania* (the cauſe of thoſe late Troubles in that Country) as inforced thereunto by the ſtubbornneſs of the *Tranſilvanians* themſelves, whom he found ſtill inclined to rebellion, and unwilling to be commanded by any but by themſelves. Which his excuſe (as true) was well admitted, and he with all Kindneſs uſed. Now at this ſame time *Baſta* lying alſo in *Tranſilvania*, as Governour for the Emperour, right ſtenderly accompanied (as is before alſo declared) the Parliament at *Clauſenburg* being ended, and all Controverſies (as was thought) well compoſed, now without fear, one night, the watch being ſet, went to bed to take his reſt; where he had not long lain, but that certain of the *Tranſilvanian* Lords, among whom the *Chiaki* was chief, came with their Followers, and ſurpriſing the Watch, and entering the Palace, brake into the Chamber where he lay, took him out of his Bed, and ſo kept him Priſoner all that Night. And the next morning going forth, about twelve miles off met with *Sigiſmund Bator*, their late Prince, before ſecretly by them called in, whom they honourably conducted to *Clauſenburg*, and there delivered unto him *Baſta*, the late Governour for the Emperour, whom he commanded to be caſt into Irons; and ſo going to the Palace, gave like order for the apprehending and ſafe keeping of the reſt of the Nobility alſo, ſuch as had taken part with *Baſta* in the behalf of the Emperour. For now the *Tranſilvanians* were divided into three parts; whereof the one ſtood for the Emperour, the ſecond for *Iſtuan Bathor*, (pretending, that unto him belonged the Soveraignty of that Province) but the third, and far the greateſt, for *Sigiſmund*, their antient Lord and Leader, who now by means of the King of *Polonia*, reconciled unto the great Turk, and in this troubleſome time by his Favourites called again into his Country, was by them joyfully received at *Alba-Julia*, *Clauſenburg*, and the reſt of the chief Cities of *Tranſilvania*. Who now thereof again poſſeſſed, for the better aſſuring of his Eſtate, forthwith writ unto the Emperour what had happened, requeſting him to content himſelf, that he was deſirous of his Love and Favour, promiſing to be always his good Friend and Neighbour, and for ever to keep good Amity with him; giving *Baſta* alſo (whom he had now at the Interceſſion of certain great Friends again enlarged) to underſtand, That he was forthwith to depart from all the places belonging unto his Principality, as alſo to ceaſe from further moleſting of his People, that were now voluntarily again returned unto his Obedience; which his requeſt was neither of the one nor of the other much regarded or hearkened unto; For the Emperour, upon the firſt Advertiſement of this ſo great an alteration in *Tranſilvania*, calling unto him *Michael* the Vayvod (not ſo much troubled with the ſtrangeneſs of the matter, as for that his Wife and Son, whom he had left as Hoſtages with *Baſta*, were now come into the Hands of the *Tranſilvanians*, his mortal Enemies) and ſatisfying him in many things that he had before requeſted, took order with him, That with all convenient ſpeed returning home again into *Valachia*, where he was now much longed for (the People generally diſliking of the ſimple Vayvod, by the great Chancellor ſet over them) and gathering together ſuch Power as he could, he ſhould joyn himſelf with *Baſta*, his Lieutenant General, unto whom he had already ſent great Companies both of Horſe and Foot for the expulſing of *Sigiſmund* out of *Tranſilvania*, and the reducing again of that Province under his Obeiſance. Whereupon the Vayvod forthwith returning into *Valachia*, and aſſembling about ten thouſand of his Friends, all good and expert Souldiers, went to ſeek for *Baſta*, as he had with the Emperour agreed; whom he found ready in the field with about twenty thouſand Foot, and eight thouſand Horſe, but newly departed from *Veradinum*; where, muſtering their Army, they with their united Forces entered into *Tranſilvania*, there to put in Execution what the Emperour had commanded. Where the Vayvod, in diſdain of the People which loved him not, with Fire and Sword waſted all the Country before him as he went; not without the great diſcontment of *Baſta*, to whom it ſeemed not good to make deſolate that Country which he was in good hope ſhould in ſhort time be his Lord and Maſters, the Emperours. But *Sigiſmund*, underſtanding both of the coming of his Enemies, and of the harm they did in his Country, riſe from *Solnock*, where he lay encamped with his Army, and ſo to hinder their further proceeding, went to meet them; howbeit, being come ſo near unto them as that he might well diſcover them, he would not come to the trial of a Battel with them, which was by them offered; but fortified himſelf in his Trenches, ſo ſeeking but to delay the time until the coming of the *Tartars*, which were to have come unto him from the Chancellour of *Polonia*, as alſo of ſix thouſand *Turks* to have been ſent him from the Baſſa of *Belgrade*. Where having afterward underſtood that the Paſſage of the *Tartars* to have been ſent him, was ſtayed by *Don Ferrant Gonzaga*, the Emperours Lieutenant in the upper *Hungary*; and that the Turks ſtaying at *Giula*, would come no farther except they had their Pay before hand; finding himſelf too weak with his own Power to encounter with his Enemies, *he riſe with his Army*, with purpoſe to *have retired a little back*, and to have taken certain ſtrait Paſſages whereby the Enemy muſt needs paſs, ſo by the Advantage of the place to have holpen his own weak ſtrength. But *Baſta* and the Vayvod, perceiving his riſing (whereunto they were ſtill attentive) followed him with ſuch ſpeed, that they overtook him before he could get thither, and ſo hardly preſſed him, that needs he muſt turn his Face and joyn Battel, or elſe ſuffer his People altogether like Beaſts to be ſlain. In which doing, albeit that neither he nor his failed to do what was by men to be done for the obtaining of a notable Victory; yet ſuch was the Valour of the Souldiers of *Baſta*, and the Vayvod, that in a great fight having diſordered his Foot-men, they put them to flight, and ſo cut them all in pieces. Which the Prince beholding, and not able to remedy the matter, betime fled with his Horſe-men from the Fury of his Enemies, and ſo retired to the uttermoſt Confines of *Tranſilvania*, having in this Battel loſt ten thouſand of his faithful Souldiers. Whereupon *Claudiopolis*, with divers other Cities and Towns of that Country, returned again unto the Emperours Obeiſance.

In the proſecuting of this Victory, the Vayvod, to ſatisfie the hatred he had of long borne againſt the *Tranſilvanians*, did what ſpoil he could, utterly waſting all the Places whereby he paſſed; which *Baſta* not liking, requeſted him to uſe his Victory with more Modeſty and to have more reſpect to what he did, eſpecially unto ſuch Places

1601

Michael the Vayvod ſubmitteth himſelf unto the Emperour.

Baſta taken Priſoner by the *Tranſilvanians*.

Sigiſmund recovereth his State in *Tranſilvania*.

Sigiſmund overthrown by *Baſta* and the Vayvod, flyeth out of *Tranſilvania*.

or

1601 or Perſons as of themſelves returned unto the Emperour's Obeiſance. Whereunto he proudly anſwered, That he would do what he thought good, without his Appointment or the Emperour's either, eſpecially in that Country, which he had now with his own Sword twice conquered: and that therefore *Baſta* might command them that were by him to be commanded; as for himſelf, he acknowledged no Sovereignty that either *Baſta* or the Emperour had over him. Unto which his ſo preſumptuous a Speech *Baſta* replied not, but yet much therewith diſcontented, began to enter into a great Suſpicion from what ground thoſe his haughty Conceits (eaſily by his Words to be gathered) might grow: and ſo from that time better obſerving his Proceedings, perceived him to have Intelligence with the Turks, with purpoſe to joyn hands with them, that ſo by their help, chaſing the Imperials out of *Tranſilvania*, he might hold it to himſelf, as tributary to the *Othoman* Emperour, of all others beſt able to defend him. Which to be true (beſide divers other ſtrong Preſumptions) he certainly underſtood by certain Letters of his written to that purpoſe, intercepted by his Souldiers and brought unto him; whereupon he became very penſive and heavy, for the great Power the Vayvod was of in thoſe Countries, as alſo for the great Strength he had even then preſent about him, and wherewith he was as it were then guarded. So conſulting with certain of his Collonels and chief Commanders of his Army, what were beſt to be done in that ſo dangerous a caſe whereof ſo much depended? A *Wallon* Captain offered himſelf to go into the Vayvod's Camp, and there in his own Tent to kill him as a Traitor. Which his Offer well liked of, and he as ready to perform as he was to promiſe, going into the Vayvod's Camp, accompanied with ſome threeſcore men, and finding him in his Tent, boldly ſtepping to him, willed him to yield himſelf the Emperour's Priſoner; whereat he being about to lay his hand upon his Scimitar, the *Wallon* Captain with an Halbard thruſt him into the Breaſt; at which very inſtant, another with a Sword at one Blow clave his Head down to the Shoulders: an unworthy Death for ſo worthy a Captain, had not Ambition (the torment of great Spirits) carried him too high with the Wings of immoderate deſire, beyond the bounds of Loyalty and Reaſon. But there he lieth now dead among his Friends, whom the great Turk ſometime more feared even in his Palace at *Conſtantinople*, than he did all the reſt of the Emperour's Commanders. Preſently upon his Death a great Tumult and Hurly-burly was raiſed by the Souldiers in his Camp; but *Baſta* forthwith ſhewing himſelf with all his Souldiers in Arms, and withal producing the Letters declaring the Treaſon by the Vayvod contrived with the Baſſa of *Temeſwar* againſt the Emperour, all was again appeaſed; but eſpecially for that his Souldiers now ſaw themſelves without an Head, and too weak alſo for the Imperials there preſent and already in Arms. In the Vayvod's Tent were alſo other Letters found, ſo plainly declaring his ſecret Colluſion with the Turk, and Treaſon againſt the Emperour, that the *Valachians*, who at the firſt were wonderfully moved with his Death, and hearing the ſame read, reſted not now only contented, but ſaid moreover, that he was worthily ſlain, and that if they had known him to have had any ſuch traiterous purpoſe, they would themſelves long before have taken of him deſerved Puniſhment. Now unto his Souldiers *Baſta* offered, at their choice, either to depart whither they would without danger, or elſe taking the Oath of Obedience unto the Emperour, to enter into his Pay, which moſt part of them did. The Tumult appeaſed, the dead Body of the Vayvod was laid out a whole day for the Souldiers to gaze upon, and ſo afterward buried. So lieth he, that but of late, and many times before, had ſo fortunately overthrown his Enemies; unhappy man himſelf now overthrown by his own Ambition and Unconſtancy.

Michael the Vayvod *ſlain.*

1601

Baſta, now delivered of the great fear he had before of the Vayvod, what by force, what by agreement, in ſhort time took in moſt part of the Country; for that the *Tranſilvanians*, ſeeing the ſmall Power of *Sigiſmund*, and well comforted with the death of *Michael* the Vayvod, ſo much of them hated; as alſo to avoid the dangers even preſently hanging over their Heads from the Imperials, if they ſhould in any thing ſhew themſelves obſtinate againſt them, ſubmitted themſelves wholly to the Courteſie of *Baſta*, ſo that the places were but few that yet held out for the Prince *Sigiſmund*; who in the mean time was doing what he might for the raiſing of a new Army (having not altogether with this late Overthrow forthwith alſo loſt his hope) by the help of the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Polonians*, to recover again the poſſeſſion of his State, and by force of Arms to chaſe out the Imperials. But he being brought to ſo low an ebb, and almoſt all the Country of *Tranſilvania* poſſeſſed by *Baſta*, who would not have thought but that now after ſo long Travels it would have remained wholly at the Emperour's Devotion? and ſo many, that thought themſelves to ſee much, ſaid aſſuredly it would. But ſee the change, and what ſmall aſſurance even the greateſt have of the Conſtancy of the vain multitude; never more like themſelves, than in diſliking to morrow what they beſt liked to day, fooliſh, ſenſeleſs, improvident, raſh, headſtrong, violent, and above all things, mutable, and unconſtant. So now for all that *Baſta* had done for the aſſurance of this Country upto the Emperour (being ſo much as moſt Men thought to have been ſufficient, and indeed as much as was poſſible for him to do) even in the winding up of this Year 1601, the *Tranſilvanians*, underſtanding that *Sigiſmund*, with a great Army of *Polonians*, *Turks*, and *Tartars*, was now coming againſt the Imperials, moſt part of them preſently took up Arms in his favour, ſaying, That their firſt Oath, voluntarily given unto him as their natural Prince and Governour, was more to be reſpected than any other afterwards by force extorted from them by a foreign Prince. Inſomuch that *Baſta* perceiving with what a Tempeſt he was like even preſently to be overwhelmed, to ſave himſelf and his People from the rage thereof, withdrew himſelf with his Followers unto a ſtrong Town in a corner of that Country; from whence he with all ſpeed ſent unto the Emperour for greater Aid, as well for the defence of the Place he yet held, as for the ſubduing again of that rebellious People. After whoſe departure, *Sigiſmund*, without reſiſtance, entring the Country, was of the People in general joyfully received, as their moſt lawful Prince and Sovereign, and all the Honour done unto him that was by them poſſible: in which his ſo princely, but dangerous eſtate, now twice in leſs than the ſpace of one Year by him regained, and yet thereof no whit aſſured, we will for a while leave him to joy therein with his Subjects.

The *Tranſilvanians* ſubmit themſelves unto *Baſta*.

The *Tranſilvanians* revolt again unto *Sigiſmund* their old Prince.

Baſta flieth.

But whilſt the State thus turneth upſide down in *Tranſilvania*, the Baſſa of *Agria* going out with 10000 Turks in hope to have ſurpriſed *Toccay* (a ſtrong hold of the Chriſtians in the upper *Hungary*, was encountered by *Ferrant Gonzaga*, the Emperour's Lieutenant there, and by him overthrown, and with great ſlaughter of his Turks chaſed to the Gates of *Agria*.

The Baſſa of *Agria* overthrown by *Ferrant Gonzaga*.

Now was *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour this Year alſo no leſs troubled with the Proceedings of the *Scrivano* in *Caramania* and *Natolia*, than with the evil Succeſs of his Affairs in *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*. For, the *Scrivano* by his laſt years Victory grown into great credit with the common Peo-

1601 ple, and ſtill by them more and more followed; to maintain the reputation of his Credit, came now again this year with a great Power into the Field, to meet with *Mahomet*, the great Baſſa, and General of the Turks Army; who, with fifty thouſand good Souldiers (a Power thought ſufficient to have repreſſed him) was ready to encounter him. With whom the *Scrivano* joyning Battel, in a great Fight cut in ſunder a great part of the Baſſa's Army, and ſo became Maſter of the Field, forraged all the Countries adjoyning almoſt as far as *Aleppo*; ſtill calling the People unto Liberty, and cauſing himſelf to be proclaimed the true Defender of the *Mahometan* Faith, and of the Liberty of thoſe Countries with him combined; in ſuch ſort, as that it now ſtood the great Turk upon to ſend another great Army to the Aid of *Mahomet* the diſcomfited Baſſa. With whom alſo, the *Scrivano* (preſuming of his former Fortune) coming to a day of Battel, and overcharged with the multitude of his Enemies, was at the firſt Encounter, with his People, put to the worſe: but forthwith by his good direction having repaired his diſordered Battel, and thereby given as it were new Courage to his fainting Souldiers, he with a great Slaughter diſordered alſo the Baſſa's Army. Yet having not any other firm ſtate or ſtay to reſt upon, more than the Favour and Reputation he held with theſe his rebellious Followers, of whom he had now loſt a great many, he thought it not beſt to adventure too far (not knowing how preſently to repair his Loſſes) but contenting himſelf with what he had already done, retired with his Army into the ſtrength of the Mountains, there that Winter to live upon the Spoil of the Countries adjoyning, and the next Year to do more harm than ever he had done before.

The Janizaries in Mutiny at Conſtantinople.

Beſide all which former Troubles, the Plague alſo this year ſore raged in *Conſtantinople* and many other Places of the Turkiſh Empire. At which time alſo, the Janizaries at *Conſtantinople* having received ſome Diſgrace by ſome of the Great Sultan's Favourites, and with great Inſolency requiring to have their Heads, cauſed their Aga, well accompanied, preſumptuouſly to enter into the Seraglio to prefer this their Requeſt; whom *Mahomet*, to the terror of the reſt, cauſed for his Preſumption to be taken into the midſt of the Spahi, and ſo by them to be cut in pieces; which was not done without the great Slaughter of the Spahi themſelves alſo, ſlain by the Janizaries. Whereupon the other Janizaries ariſing up in Arms alſo, and even now ready to have revenged the Death of their Captain, were yet by the Wiſdom of *Cicala Baſſa*, beſtowing amongſt them a great Sum of Money, again appeaſed, without farther harm doing. Which their ſo great Inſolency *Mahomet* imputing unto their exceſſive drinking of Wine, contrary to their Law of the great Prophet; by the perſuaſion of the Mufti, commanded all ſuch as had any Wine in their Houſes in the City of *Conſtantinople* and *Pera*, upon pain of Death to bring it out and ſtave it, except the Ambaſſadors of the Queen's Majeſty of *England*, the *French* King, and of the State of *Venice*; ſo that as ſome report, Wine for a ſpace ran down the Channels of the Streets in *Conſtantinople*, as if it had been Water after a great ſhower of Rain.

Sigiſmund, the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, now of late again poſſeſſed of *Tranſilvania* (as is before declared) could not yet well aſſure himſelf of the keeping thereof; for that he, with the *Tranſilvanians* of his Faction alone, was not able to withſtand the force of *Baſta*; who ſtill ſtrengthened with new Supplies both of men and all things elſe neceſſary for the Wars, from the Emperour, was now with a great Power already entred into *Tranſilvania*; the *Polonians* buſied in the Wars of *Suevia*, and the Turks with their other greater Affairs, neither of them ſending him their promiſed Aid, the greateſt hope and ſtay of himſelf in that newneſs of his Eſtate. Wherefore ſeeing himſelf every day to loſe one place or other, and fearing alſo leſt his Souldiers for want of Pay ſhould in ſhort time quite forſake him, and go over to *Baſta*, he thought it beſt, betimes and whilſt he had yet ſomething left, and was not yet altogether become deſperate, otherwiſe to provide for his Eſtate, eſpecially having ſmall Truſt in the Turks, to whom he had been before ſo great an Enemy. Wherefore he dealt with *Baſta* for a Truce or Ceſſation from Arms, until Ambaſſadors might be ſent unto the Emperour, to intreat with him for ſome good Attonement. Wherewith *Baſta* being content, and the Ambaſſadors ſent, the matter was ſo handled with the Emperour, that *Sigiſmund*, to make an end of all theſe Troubles, was contented to the behoof of his Imperial Majeſty, to reſign unto *Baſta* his Lieutenant all ſuch places as he yet held in *Tranſilvania*, upon much like Conditions he had about three Years before made with him; and ſo in all, and for all, to ſubmit himſelf unto his Majeſty. Which intended Surrender of the Prince's being bruted in *Tranſilvania*, *Zachel Moiſes* his Lieutenant (and now in Field with the Prince's Forces) not able to endure or to hear that that noble Province ſhould again fall into the hands of the *Germans*; encouraging his Souldiers, went upon the ſudden to aſſail *Baſta*, in hope to have found him unprovided, and ſo diſcomfiting his Army, to have driven the Imperials quite out of *Tranſilvania*; but he an old and expert Commander, perceiving even the firſt moving of the *Tranſilvanians*, with great Celerity put his Army in good order, and ſo joyned Battel with them; wherein he with the loſs of ſome five hundred men overthrew *Moiſes*, with his Army of *Tranſilvanians*, *Turks*, and *Tartars*, having ſlain above three thouſand of them, and put the reſt to flight; *Moiſes* himſelf with ſome few others being now glad to take their Refuge into the Frontiers of the Turks Territories towards *Temeſwar*. But when *Sigiſmund* underſtood what his Lieutenant had, without his knowledge, done, he in token of his own Innocency went himſelf unto the Imperial Camp, accompanied only with certain of his Gentlemen, and thereunto *Baſta* excuſed himſelf of that which was by his Lieutenant againſt his Will, and without his Privity done; frankly offering to perform whatſoever was on his part to be performed, according to the Agreement made betwixt the Emperour and him. And ſo preſently calling his Garriſons out of all ſuch ſtrong Places as were yet for him holden, he ſurrendred them to *Baſta*; and ſo forthwith, honourably accompanied, put himſelf upon his way towards the Emperour. After whoſe Departure out of *Tranſilvania*, all that Province voluntarily, and without more ado, yielded to *Baſta* as to the Emperour's Lieutenant; who preſently called an Aſſembly of all the Nobility of the Country, taking of them an Oath for their Obedience and Loyalty unto the Emperour. Thus by the Wiſdom and Proweſs of this worthy Commander, is the Country of *Tranſilvania* once again brought under the Emperour's Obeiſance; a matter of far greater Importance than to have won the ſtrongeſt City the Turk holdeth in *Hungary*.

Zachel Moiſes overthrown by *Baſta*.

1602

But whilſt theſe things thus paſſed in *Tranſilvania*, great troubles ariſe in *Valachia* (the Country next adjoyning) for that the People of that Province not able longer to endure the great Inſolency of the Turks (who after the Death of *Michael* had by their Power made one *Jeremias* Vayvod there) by a general conſent took up Arms, and pro-

Great Troubles in Valachia.

1601 proclaiming one *Radoll* (a favorite of the Emperours) Vayvod, chaſed *Jeremias* (before placed by the Turks) quite out of the Country; who flying unto *Simon*, Palatine of *Moldavia*, his Friend, by his means, and the help of the Turks, returning unto *Valachia*, drave out thence *Radoll* again; who being now at this preſent with *Baſta*, with about ten thouſand *Valachians*, his Followers, earneſtly requeſted of him (now that he was ſo quietly poſſeſſed of *Tranſilvania*) to help him with his Forces for the recovery of *Valachia*. And *Baſta* well conſidering how much it concerned the quiet and ſure keeping of the poſſeſſion of *Tranſilvania*, for the Emperour to have that ſo neer a Province to friend, eaſily yielded to his requeſt; and gave him a great Regiment of his old approved Souldiers, and ſo ſent him away to recover his Eſtate: with whom (at his entrance into *Valachia*) the *Moldavian* meeting with a great Power both of his own, and of the Turks, come thither in the favour of *Hieremias*, there was fought betwixt them a moſt terrible and bloody Battel, the glory whereof fell unto *Radoll*, he carrying away the Victory. In which Battel, two of the Turks Baſſaes were there ſlain, with a great number of others, both of the *Moldavians* and *Turks*. After which Victory *Radoll* recovered again the Soveraignty of *Valachia*, for which he was beholding to *Baſta*; and ſhortly after with the ſame Aid cut in pieces a great power of the *Tartars*, that were coming to have aided the *Moldavian*.

Troubles in *Hungary*.

Now in the mean time in *Hungary* alſo paſſed many an hot Skirmiſh betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, whoſe Gartiſons at *Buda*, and in other places in the lower *Hungary*, attempting to have ſurpriſed *Alba-Regalis*, and diſcovered by the Chriſtians, were with great ſlaughter enforced to retire. At which time alſo, County *Serinus* underſtanding by his Eſpials, that the Turks with two hundred Waggons, with Munition and Victuals, were going to *Caniſia*, upon the ſudden ſet upon them, and having ſlain and put to flight the Convoy that guarded them, carried the Waggons, with all that was in them, away with him. And ſhortly after, the free *Haiducks* of *Comara*, in a great party going out towards *Buda* to ſeek after Booty, and having taken threeſcore Turks Priſoners, and ſo with them about to have returned home; underſtanding by the way, that *Ali*, ſometime the Baſſa of *Buda*, and now Governour of *Peſth*, was with a ſmall retinue about to come down the River *Danubius* from *Buda*, towards *Belgrade*, there to meet the Viſier Baſſa, but then coming into *Hungary*; they ſlew all the Priſoners, and having got two ſmall Boats, about fifteen miles beneath *Buda*, lay in wait for the Baſſa; who, according to their Expectation, coming down the River, was by theſe Adventurers fiercely aſſailed, and of his thirty followers having fourteen ſlain, being himſelf alſo ſhot in two places of his Body, was there with a great Booty taken, and ſo brought to *Comara*, and ſhortly after preſented unto *Matthias* the Arch-duke at *Vienna*; who amongſt other things, certainly enformed, that *Haſſan Baſſa* was with a great Army by the commandment of the great Sultan *Mahomet*, coming to beſiege *Alba-Regalis*, and that he was now upon his way as far as *Belgrade*; preſently ſent thither the County *Yſolan*, Governour thereof, who with much ado got into the City, the Turks having already taken all the Paſſages, to have hindered the Chriſtians from puting in either Men or Munition, more than was therein already. Howbeit, the County now got in there, and being no leſs good Engineer than a valiant Commander, cauſed all them in the City to labour upon the Rampiers; ſo that beſide the natural Scituation thereof, which was very ſtrong, he had in ſhort time ſo fortified it, as that in moſt mens Judgment it ſeemed a place almoſt impregnable. This *Ali Baſſa* was ſometime the great Turks Butler, but after the taking of *Agria*, made Baſſa of *Buda*; which great place he held but three Months, being by the Envy and Ambition of ſome, but eſpecially of *Amurath Baſſa*, removed thence, and made Governour of *Peſth*; from whence now going down the River to *Belgrade*, it was his Fortune to be thus taken by the *Haiducks*, unto whom he offered for his Ranſom three hundred thouſand *Sultanies*; and had with him when he was taken, ſeventy thouſand Duckats.

Ali Baſſa taken Priſoner.

A great Ranſom offered by *Ali Baſſa*.

Mahomet the great Sultan not a little troubled with the loſs of *Alba-Regalis* (taken from him by the Chriſtians the laſt year) and now reſolved for the recovery of the ſame, to ingage, if need ſhould be, a great part of his Forces; had cauſed an Army of an hundred and fifty thouſand ſtrong, to meet at *Hadrianople* for that purpoſe, under the leading of *Haſſan Baſſa*, one of the chief Viſiers, to be ſent into *Hungary*. Who by the way of *Belgrade* coming to *Buda*, and from thence to *Alba-Regalis*, there the twelfth of *Auguſt* incamped (as he had oftentimes before threatned) with the multitude of his Tents covering all the Country round about, as if it had been a white Snow; where having well entrenched himſelf, and planted his Artillery, he began a moſt terrible and furious Battery, in ſuch ſort as if he had not meant to have made a breach only, but to have beaten the City even from the face of the Earth, which ſeemed now to tremble under his feet, and the Clouds to rend with the thundring of his great Ordnance; and for that the Mariſh and deep Ditches were a great let unto his Men for to come unto the aſſault, he cauſed them with the number of his Pioneers to be filled up (a work thought almoſt impoſſible) and ſo brought on his Men to aſſault the Counterſcarf, which the Governour had cauſed to be made before the City for better defence thereof; which aſſault coſt him much Blood, by reaſon of the wonderful Valour of the defendants; yet in the end the great number of the Turks prevailing, the Chriſtians were inforced to forſake it and retire into the City; but ſhortly after ſallying out again, they with ſuch force aſſailed the Turks now got within the Counterſcarf, that having ſlain moſt part of them that were entered, they forced the other out again; at the brute whereof, an alarm being raiſed throughout the Camp, infinite numbers of the barbarous Enemies came runing thither with ſuch ſavage Fury, that without regard of their Lives, they as deſperate men preſſing ſtill on, fell twice as many as before; inſomuch that the Chriſtians weary of that long and bloody fight, and on every ſide charged, or rather overwhelmed with the Enemies ſhot, were glad again, but not without great loſs, to abandon the place. With which Skirmiſhes, and divers others that they had, the number of the Defendants was greatly diminiſhed, to keep a weak City, ſhewing as yet the Ruins of the late Siege, when it was by the Chriſtians won; the breaches thereof being but evil repaired, and the Mines yet gaping, requiring great and ſtrong Fortification to hold out and endure any long Siege againſt ſo puiſſant an Enemy. Yet was not the Courage of the valiant County *Yſolan* the *Italian* Governour, any whit therewith abated, but by his Letters gave the Arch-duke *Matthias*, to underſtand in what caſe things ſtood with them in the City: requeſting him with all ſpeed to ſend him relief, for that otherwiſe the City, ſo weakly both manned and fortified, would be in danger to be loſt; many of the Garriſon Souldiers being already ſlain in the defence thereof, and divers of the *Hungarians* forſaking the Walls, daily flying unto the Turks Camp; promiſing yet nevertheleſs himſelf to do the

Alba-Regalis beſieged by the *Turks*.

1601 the uttermoſt of his devoir. Upon the receit of which Letters, the Arch-duke gave order unto the Lord *Ruſſworm* (Maſter of the Camp) to go forthwith to *Comara*, and there with ſuch Forces as were from divers places come thither, to go forth and to prove if by any means the weak Garriſon of *Alba-Regalis* might ſo be relieved, by putting in ſome good ſupply of freſh Souldiers. According to which Command, *Ruſſworm* coming thither, without delay took the Field with 12000 men which he found there, to ſee if he might with them, put into the City the deſired relief. But whilſt the matter was in the performance thereof too long delaied, by diſcord ariſing betwixt him and the other Colonels, about the manner of relieving the Town, the Baſſa had time to effect his purpoſe; who, the twenty eighth of the ſame Month of *Auguſt*, after a long and terrible battery, cauſed a general aſſault to be given unto the City; which the Turks from time to time renewing, continued all that Day and the next Night, with ſome part of the day following alſo, without ceaſing; ſo that the Defendants, now much weakened, and they alſo that were left, ſo wearied or wounded, as that they were not well able to make any longer reſiſtance (and the County himſelf, who gave as it were life unto them all, being now alſo carried away dangerouſly hurt in the Thigh with a Muſquet ſhot) there was a ſign of Parley given unto the Enemy; which the Baſſa granting, and the Fury of the aſſault ſtaid, certain of the chief Captains and Commanders in the City, going unto the Governour, put him in mind of the weakneſs of the place, of the force of the Enemy, of the number of his moſt valiant men ſlain, of the want of the Defendants. They had (as they ſaid) done enough for their Honour, having endured ſo many and ſo great Aſſaults, in a place not defencible; and enough to diſcharge their Fidelity, having holden it out to the uttermoſt of their Power. That they could do no more than they had done, being not relieved; and that the ſame Bond which bound them to defend the place, bound the Emperour alſo to relieve them, ſeeing that otherwiſe it was not in their Power to maintain it. That they had, with the loſs of their Lives and Blood, ſhewed their Fidelity unto the Emperour, no ſufficient Army appearing from him (according to his Promiſe) for their Succour. That to fight any longer was but to increaſe the Glory of their Enemies, and their own Loſſes; ſeeing that after they had done what they poſſibly could, expoſed to a thouſand dangers, they ſhould nevertheleſs be vanquiſhed, and the City taken. That the ſame Conſideration which carried valiant Minds unto the Effects of Honour, when they are relieved with hope, diſſuaded them being out of all hope of any happy end of their Troubles; and to loſe themſelves to no purpoſe, was as great a ſign of Folly, as to let ſlip a fair Opportunity, was a ſign of Cowardiſe. That they were to expect nothing but extream Miſery, if the Enemy ſhould again force them; the breaches being ſo broad, as whereby they might eaſily enter; and their own beſt men ſlain, that ſhould keep them out. And that therefore he ſhould do well, to come to ſome good Compoſition with the Enemy, whilſt they had yet ſomething to yield up unto him, and that he ſtood in ſome fear of them; and not to expect, whilſt they were ſpoiled of all means, either to reſiſt him by force, or to bind him by Courteſie; nothing remaining for them in the place, but death, if they ſhould obſtinately ſtand to the defence thereof; nor no way left to ſave their Lives, but by yielding.

A long and terrible Aſſault.

Reaſons whereby the beſieged Captains perſwaded the Governour to yield the City.

With theſe Perſwaſions, the Governour moved, came to a Parley with the Baſſa, being right glad thereof; as well knowing that a Town beſieged coming to a Parley, is commonly more than half woon; and glad by any means to gain it, for that thereof depended the aſſurance both of his Head and Honour; where, after ſome ſhort talk, it was agreed, That the County ſhould yield the Town into the Hands of the Baſſa, with all the great Ordnance, and other warlike Munition therein; and that the County with his Garriſon, ſhould with Bag and Baggage in ſafety depart with their Arms, by the Suburbs leading toward *Rab*; and with a good Convoy in ſafety to be brought half way thither. This Capitulation agreed upon, and by the Baſſa and the County ſigned, every man aſſured himſelf of the Baſſaes Faith, and thereon reſted. But what Faith is to be expected from a faithleſs man? Upon the firſt brute of this Compoſition, yea and before it was altogether well concluded; whilſt the Merchants in the Town were ſeeking for Waggons to carry their Merchandiſe, and the Souldiers for Horſes to carry their Baggage, the ſcarceneſs thereof bred a great Confuſion and ſtir among the People; as commonly it falleth out in things done in haſte, but eſpecially where men, for ſafeguard of their Lives, in their flight for haſte fall into a thouſand Errors; ſo whilſt ſome in this hurly burly were quarreling about their Horſes and Carriages, and other ſome were opening the Gates to be gone; others were as buſie in robbing and pilfering the Baggages of their Captains and Companions; miſerable men, who all appointed for a Prey unto the greedy and mercileſs Turks, yet fell to preying one upon another. Which Diſorders encouraged the reſt of the Souldiers to fall to Pillage alſo, ſome loading themſelves with ſuch Goods as the Merchants had for lack of Carriages left behind them; and other ſome even with the Goods of their own Captains; which the Souldiers appointed for defence of the breaches ſeeing, left their charge, and came thronging into the Town, and thruſt themſelves in amongſt the Pilferers, as if the Pillage of the Town had been unto them by triumphant Victory afluted, and that they themſelves had been Victors, and not men vanquiſhed. The *Tartars*, lodged at the foot of the breach, ſeeing it forſaken, and without any great ſtrength to defend it, let not this Opportunity ſlip, but preſſing on without any great reſiſtance, entred the ſame; and ſo in a trice full thirty thouſand of them thruſt into the Town, and there ſurpriſed the vanquiſhed Chriſtians, at once loaded with Prey, Fear, and Deſpair. After whom, even by the ſame Breach, the Turks entered alſo, to be Partakers of the ſpoil; ſo that in a moment the Town was full of Enemies, both *Turks* and *Tartars*. The *Turks* beſide the Booty they took themſelves, fell to quarrelling with the *Tartars*, for ſome part of theirs; and ſo long as there was any thing that might pleaſe their Eyes, or fill their Hands, they abſtained from ſlaughter and bloodſhed, buſying themſelves with that which for the preſent was more for their Profit; but the pillaging ceaſing, by reaſon there was no more to be had; then the perfidious Wretches fell to maſſacring of the miſerable Chriſtians, the Sword devouring all that they could light upon, ſo that all the City flowed with Blood. Neither was there any end thereof, until that by the coming in of the Baſſa the ſlaughter was ſtayed; by which means County *Yſolan* the late Governour, with ſome other Captains and Souldiers were ſaved, having eſcaped the Enemies Fury.

1601

The Capitulation betwixt the Baſſa and the County, for the yielding up of the City of *Alba-Regalis*.

Great Diſorder and Confuſion among the beſieged.

Alba-Regalis taken by the Turks.

The Chriſtians cruelly murdered in *Alba-Regalis*.

In this Maſſacre were ſlain 3000 Chriſtian Souldiers, beſide others of the Citizens, in number not few. The Captains that were ſpared, were led Priſoners to *Conſtantinople*, there to be fed with the Bread of Tribulation; and with them the County *Yſolan*, for his Valour and noble Courage, unworthy of ſo hard a Fortune. Howbeit, that he by

County *Yſolan* carried away Priſoner to *Conſtantinople*.

1602 by lively and pregnant Reaſons ſhewed both himſelf and the reſt to be unjuſtly detained, as taken Priſoners contrary to the publick Faith unto them before given; within the aſſurance of the Capitulation agreed upon with the Baſſa, and out of the Actions of War. Whereunto it was again anſwered him, That the Town when it was taken, was yet ſtill in his Power, and he at choice whether he would deliver it or no. That if he would by the yielding up of the Town challenge his Liberty, according to the Articles of the Capitulation, he ought then to have delivered it as was agreed, and not to have ſuffered it to have been taken by force, according to the ordinary proceeding of War; the Lays whereof, do juſtly condemn to Death, or to Captivity, ſuch as are by force of Arms vanquiſhed. That every Town, which during the Treaty of Capitulation is by force taken, followeth the courſe of the latter condition and ſtate, and not of the former, ſeeing that it is conquered and not delivered. That this is the reaſon that they are puniſhed by the rigour of Arms, which have not been careful to preſerve themſelves by the ſweetneſs of Peace; for that a man is not to expect of his mortal Enemy any other Courteſie than that which neceſſity cauſed him to promiſe, which he may for his own good again violate, as he for the good of his Enemy againſt his Will hath granted. With which Quirks and Quillets the County deluded, ſay what he could, was carried away Priſoner to *Conſtantinople*, where we muſt for a while leave him. And ſo the Baſſa having in eighteen days taken *Alba-Regalis*, (now being eleven months poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians) cauſed the Breaches he had made to be again repaired, and the City well provided for both of Victuals and Munition, leaving therein a ſtrong Garriſon of 6000 Souldiers; and with his People having over-run all the Country as far as *Strigonium*, roſe with his Army and retired again to *Buda*; where, as he was making a Bridge of Boats over the *Danubius* betwixt *Buda* and *Peſth*, for the more eaſie tranſporting of Victual, and better relieving of the one the other, as need ſhould require; and having brought that work to paſs, and about to have gone to the Siege of *Strigonium*; Commandment came from the Great Sultan, That he ſhould with all ſpeed return to *Conſtantinople*, for that *Mahomet*, accounting of him as of a moſt valiant Man, was now minded to employ him in his Wars againſt the Rebels in *Natolia*, where things now went not well, as ſhall be hereafter declared. Upon which Commandment, the Baſſa gave leave to all ſuch in his Army as had charge of any place, forthwith to return to their ſeveral Places of Government; appointing ſome others, with thirty thouſand Souldiers, in the Company of *Zachel Moiſes* (but of late Prince *Sigiſmund*'s Lieutenant) to go with him into *Tranſilvania*: who after the Overthrow he had there received by *Baſta*, was come unto this great Baſſa, offering unto him, with ſuch an Aid as was now appointed for him, and the help of ſuch other his Friends as he had in *Tranſilvania*, to chaſe *Baſta* with his *Germans* from out thence, and to reduce that Province again unto the Devotion of the *Othoman* Emperours, as it had in former time been. And ſo by the way of *Belgrade*, *Haſſan Baſſa* himſelf with the reſt of his Army haſted towards *Conſtantinople*: which he was thought the more willingly to do, for that the Great Sultan before his ſetting forth, had put him in good hope to marry one of his Aunts (a Woman of great Wealth and Honour) if by the winning again of *Alba-Regalis* he ſhould make himſelf worthy ſo honourable a Match, after which he now longed.

But long it was not after his Departure, but that the Imperials, now at laſt aſſembled together at *Komara*, to the number of about 30000 men, with twelve Naſſadies and two Gallies, ſome by Water, ſome by Land, marched down along the River to *Strigonium*; where were alſo twenty other Ships ready to receive them; and ſo all embarqued, were by the Lord *Ruſſworm* and other the Imperial Captains conducted to *Buda*, there with ſome notable Enterpriſe to redeem the Diſgrace by them before received in not relieving of *Alba-Regalis*. Whoſe coming was ſo ſudden and ſo unlooked for of the Turks there, as that they had not any time to take in any greater help or proviſion than was already in the City. And for as much as the Chriſtians knew the good Succeſs of this their Enterpriſe taken in hand, not ſo much to depend on their Strength as of their politick Proceeding and ſpeedy Diſpatch of the matter begun, they thought it not good to uſe any long delay, or to ſpare for any labour, but ſo ſoon as they might, by taking of the Water-City (or as ſome call it, the *Jews* Suburbs) ſo to cut off the Paſſage of them of *Buda* to *Peſth*, as alſo from thence to trouble them in the Caſtle and the upper City of *Buda*. Which their intended Exploit they happily attempted, and brought to paſs in this ſort: The City of *Peſth* ſtanding right over againſt *Buda*, is (as we have oftentimes before ſaid) divided from the ſame with the great and ſwift River of *Danubius*; over which the Turks upon Boats had with great Labour and Coſt of late built a moſt eaſie ... commodious Bridge for Paſſage or Carriage of things from the one City to the other. This Bridge the Imperials thought neceſſary firſt to break, the more eaſie to beſiege either the one or other City; and for that purpoſe had by a ſtrange Device built a Ship, which by the force of the Stream carried down the River, and reſting upon the Bridge, ſhould by a wonderful Power break the ſame. Which Ship the Turks ſeeing coming down the River with the reſt of the Fleet after her, they ran by heaps, eſpecially out of the Water-City, to the Bridge, for the defence thereof; where, whilſt they were thus buſied, County *Sultze* on the other ſide, by Land, with a Petard blew up one of the Gates of the City; and ſo entering and killing all ſuch as he light upon, came unlooked for upon the backs of the Turks at the Bridge, of whom, ſome he ſlew, ſome he drave into the River, who there periſhed; the reſt, in number not many, by ſpeedy flight retiring themſelves into the City: whereupon he had now brought ſuch a general fear, that they all, as well the Souldiers as the Citizens, with the Chriſtians at their heels, with as much haſte as they could, took their Refuge into the upper City of *Buda*, much ſtronger and better fortified than was the lower City. At which time the Bridge was by them upon the River broken alſo, ſo that now the one City could no more thereby relieve the other as before.

The Water-City thus won, and the Bridge broken, the next was for the Imperials to beſiege either the one or the other City. But for that they of *Peſth* might with their great Ordnance much annoy them in the beſieging of the Caſtle and the upper City of *Buda*, they thought beſt to begin with it firſt; which they did in much like ſort as they had before done at the lower City of *Buda*, the ſame Device again well proſpering in their hand. For the Lord *Ruſſworm* with the Fleet upon the River making a great ſhew as if he would even preſently on that ſide have entered, had with the ſtir by him raiſed, drawn down moſt part of the Garriſon Souldiers unto that ſide of the Town, where moſt ſhew of danger was; whilſt in the mean time County *Sultze*, with the Governour of *Althem*, (before undiſcovered) upon the ſudden by Land ſcaled the other ſide of the City, and gained

1602 The Naſſadies are a certain kind of Boats which the *Hungarians* uſe upon the River of *Danubius*.

The lower City of *Buda* taken by the Chriſtians.

31077

1602 The City of *Peſth* taken by the Chriſtians.

gained the Walls, the Turks yet dreaming of no ſuch matter. But hereupon began a terrible Outcry, the Turks ſtanding as men aſtoniſhed, eſpecially now feeling the Chriſtians Weapons in their Bodies, before they knew they were got into the City. In this ſo great an Amazement, ſuch of them as could, fled into the ſtrongeſt Towers, the reſt hid themſelves in Cellars and other the moſt ſecret corners they could find, out of which they were afterwards by the Chriſtians drawn and ſlain. They which were retired alſo into the Towers and other ſtrong places of the City, ſeeing the great Ordnance bent upon them, and now out of all hope of Relief, offered to yield; requeſting only, that they might with their Wives and Children, with Life depart; promiſing for that favour ſo ſhewed them, to perſuade them of *Buda* alſo in like manner to yield. Upon which Promiſe, that their poor Requeſt was granted, and the Lord *Nadaſti*, with certain other Captains, ſent with ſome of theſe Citizens of *Peſth*, with their Wives and Children, to *Buda*; who coming thither, according to their Promiſe moſt earneſtly requeſted them of *Buda* to yield, for that they were not now to expect any farther help, and that by their fooliſh Obſtinacy they ſhould be the cauſe of the death of them, their Friends, their Wives, and Children. Unto whom alſo, to move them the more, the Lord *Nadaſti* promiſed in the Name of General, That they ſhould all, excepting ſome of their chief Commanders, in ſafety depart. Howbeit, they of *Buda* would not hearken thereunto, but ſtood ſtill upon their Guard. In this City of *Peſth*, well inhabited with Turkiſh Merchants, the Chriſtians found great ſtore of Wealth, which all became a Prey unto the Souldiers, with a thouſand Horſes for Service, many great Pieces of Artillery, and much other warlike Proviſion.

The upper City and Caſtle of *Buda* beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Peſth thus won, and a ſtrong Garriſon left therein, they returned again over the River to beſiege the Caſtle and upper City of *Buda*, which they attempted by undermining the ſame, as alſo by Battery, having placed ſome of their great Ordnance ſo high, that they could at their pleaſure ſhoot into the midſt of the Streets of the City; wherewith they much troubled the Turks, not a little before diſcouraged with the loſs of *Peſth*; thundring alſo at the ſame time with their other Batteries in divers places of the Walls both of the Caſtle and of the City. Where underſtanding that the Turks Garriſons of the frontier Towns and Caſtles thereabouts (hearing of the Siege) were coming to the relief of their diſtreſſed Friends, they ſent out their Horſemen, with ſome part of their Foot-men againſt them; who meeting with them, gave them a great Overthrow, and ſo with Victory returned again unto the reſt of the Army lying at the Siege, being ſtill in hope either by Force or Compoſition to become Maſters of the City.

But whilſt they lay in this hope, and having the twelfth of *October* brought their Approaches nearer unto the Walls, had there planted certain notable pieces of Battery, with purpoſe the next day with all their Power to have aſſaulted the City; behold, the Viſier Baſſa hearing (by the way as he was going to *Belgrade*, and ſo to *Conſtantinople*) that the City of *Peſth* was won, and *Buda* beſieged, changing his Mind, returned in haſte with ſuch Forces as he had yet left; and ſo unlooked for, came and ſat down before *Peſth*, being not then above five and twenty thouſand ſtrong, but thoſe all for the moſt part old and expert Souldiers. But whilſt the Baſſa thus lay at the Siege of *Peſth* on the one ſide of the River, and the Imperials at the Siege of *Buda* on the other, divers brave Attempts were in both Places given both on the one ſide and the other. The Chriſtians in *Peſth* beſieged by the Turks, having amongſt them divers brave Captains, and deſirous of Honour, one day under their Conduct ſallied out of the City to skirmiſh with the Turks; and coming with them to the Sword, by plain Valour diſordered them, and inforced them to fly, and ſo allured with the ſweetneſs of the Victory, purſued them even to the Trenches; from whence a great Squadron of the Turks Horſe-men and Harquebuſiers at the ſame inſtant iſſuing out, and with their Multitude overcharging the Imperials, conſtrained them of force to retire: in which Retreat, County *Maximilian Martinengo* (one of theſe Adventurers) doing what he might, both with his Valour and Direction, to have ſtayed the diſordered Retreat of the Chriſtians, was with many others ſlain: wherewith the reſt diſcouraged, took their Refuge towards the City. Which they of the Garriſon beholding, ſent out certain Companies to relieve them; by whoſe coming out, the fury of the Turks was not only repreſſed, but they alſo even unto their Trenches again repulſed. Shortly after which hot Skirmiſhes, the Lord *Ruſſworm*, with the other Chriſtian Captains on the other ſide of the River, having with continual Battery made ſuch a breach into the Caſtle, as that the ſame ſeemed to be now aſſaultable, in good order came on with certain Companies of their Foot-men appointed for that Service, and ſo courageouſly aſſailed the Breach; where the Turks, who before had expected this Aſſault, having in beſt ſort they could repaired the Breach, and on both ſides thereof placed divers murthering Pieces, with great ſtore of dangerous Fire-works; at ſuch time as the firſt Companies of the Chriſtians ſought courageouſly to have entred the breach, overwhelmed them with that deadly Fire, and ſo rent them with their murthering ſhot, that they no faſter entered, but that they were forthwith cut off and ſlain; with the ſight whereof, they which were appointed to ſecond them nothing diſcouraged, but ſeeking deſperately to have entered, and with the taking of the Caſtle, and ſlaughter of the Turks, to have requited the death of their Fellows, were themſelves in like ſort welcomed. So that now a thouſand of them being loſt, the Captains conſidering how much the loſs of ſo many brave Souldiers concerned the whole Enterpriſe taken in hand, and that the breach could not be gained without the loſs of the greateſt part of them, they cauſed a Retreat to be ſounded, and ſo the Aſſault for that time to be given over.

1602 A notable Skirmiſh betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks.

But long it was not that the Viſier Baſſa (thus retired as aforeſaid) had lain before *Peſth*, but that by reaſon of his ſudden Return great Wants began to ariſe in his Camp; his Souldiers for want of Food being glad to eat their dead Horſes, a pound of Bread being ſold for two *Hungarian* Duckats, and a buſhel of Oats for five, and yet hardly ſo to be gotten: which Wants in that ſo waſted a Country ſtill more and more increaſing, and many of his Souldiers ſecretly ſtealing away from him, he had much ado, by all the means he could uſe, to perſuade them there to ſtay eight days longer. Which time expired, and nothing more done than ſome few weak Attempts given, and ſome light Skirmiſhes made, rather for Faſhions-ſake than for any hope of prevailing, and the want of all things ſtill increaſing; he, with the reſt of the Commanders, fearing ſome ſudden miſchief to be done them by the hungry and diſcontented Souldiers, the ſecond of *November*, cauſing his Baggage to be truſſed up in the dead time of the dark and ſilent Night, riſe with his Army, and ſo in haſte retired directly to *Belgrade*, leaving behind him in his Camp three hundred dead Horſes, not yet eaten by his hunger-ſtarved Souldiers. Immediately after whoſe departure, the Lord *Nadaſti*, and ſome other

The Viſier Baſſa raiſeth his Siege.

1602 other of the Commanders in the Army with 5000 Souldiers and certain great Pieces of Artillery, ſome by Land, ſome by Water, went down along the River to *Adom*, a fair well built Town upon the Bank of *Danubius*, about four *Hungarian* miles from *Buda*, and ſerving as it were for a Store-houſe for the Garriſon there; which Town *Nadaſti* ſummoned by his *Huſſars* ſent before, requiring to have it delivered unto him: which they of the Town at the firſt refuſed to do; but afterwards ſeeing a far greater Power come, provided of great Ordnance and all things elſe requiſite for a Siege, they with the ſight thereof diſcouraged, without more ado offered to yield the Town, ſo that they might with Bag and Baggage in ſafety depart; which they did, the Chriſtians conducting them as far as *Feldwar*; which Caſtle was alſo at the firſt ſummons, by the perſuaſion of them of *Adom*, delivered unto them; for they of the Caſtle, by them informed of the great Strength of the Chriſtians, and of the ſtore of great Ordnance they had brought with them, and that they ſtaid therewith but faſt by, were eaſily perſuaded to hearken to their Friends, and ſo yielded. Which done, the free *Haiducks* the ſame night ſurpriſed alſo the Caſtle of *Pax*; from whence the Chriſtians ſtill marching on along the River, took in alſo the City of *Tolna*.

But whilſt *Nadaſti*, with the reſt, were thus buſied in taking theſe Caſtles and Towns along the South-ſide of *Danubius*, they in the Camp at *Buda* were advertiſed of the new Deſigns of the Turks Lieutenants and Captains thereabout, for the relief of the Beſieged; as that the Baſſa of *Boſna*, with the Governours of *Caniſia*, *Sigeth*, and others, had aſſembled an Army of thirty thouſand for the raiſing of the Siege. Wherefore the Chriſtians doubting as they lay at the Siege diſperſed, to be by them oppreſſed; leaving their Tents in their Trenches, gathered themſelves together in the Water-City; which the Turks out of the upper City quickly perceiving, as feeling themſelves now at ſome more liberty, preſently ſallying out, took both the Trenches and the Tents ſo left, with no ſmall ſlaughter of ſuch as were left for the keeping of them; and ſo poſſeſſed of the Trenches and the Tents, held them by the ſpace of two hours, until they were by ſtrong hand by the *Chriſtians* beaten out, and ſo with ſome loſs inforced again to retire into the City. The Lord *Nadaſti* alſo, with the reſt that had taken the aforeſaid Caſtles and Towns upon the ſide of *Danubius*, making a Road towards *Alba-Regalis*, in their Return within a mile of *Buda*, light upon a thouſand Turks there gathered together, moſt part of whom they ſlew; and having put the reſt to flight, took ſome fifty of them Priſoners. At which time alſo another of the Imperial Collonels meeting with certain other Companies of the Turks coming to the relief of the beſieged, not far from *Buda*, ſlew moſt part of them, took an hundred and threeſcore of them Priſoners, with a number of Horſes, and much other rich Booty; all which he brought into the Camp. Neither were they at the Siege in the mean time idle, their great Artillery ſtill thundring againſt the Walls both of the Caſtle and the City: ſo that by the fury of the Cannon having beaten down a ſtrong Tower next unto the *Danubius*, not far from the Kings Stable, they were a little before Night about to have there entered, when ſuddenly ſuch a Tempeſt of Wind and Rain ariſe, as that they could not poſſibly uſe their Pieces, or well any other Weapon; ſo that the Heavens as it were then fighting for the Enemy, they were inforced for that time to give over the Aſſault begun. Which Storm was no ſooner ended, but that two thouſand of the Turks, both Horſe and Foot, to keep the Chriſtians otherwiſe buſied, ſuddenly iſſuing out of the City, charged upon the *Stirian* Horſe-men; who preſently relieved 1602
by the men at Arms, ſo welcomed them, that having loſt an hundred and threeſcore of their men, they were glad with more ſpeed to ritire than they came out. But ſeeing ſome of the Chriſtians that ſo hardly purſued them, ſome ſlain, and ſome hurt from the Walls; taking heart again, the next day (being the Eleventh of *November*) they ſallied out again; where albeit that a great number of them were ſlain, yet fell they out again the third day alſo, and were again by the County *Thurne*, with great loſs of their men, beaten back unto the City; where in purſuing of them, the Chriſtians were by certain Janizaries (laid cloſe for that purpoſe) ſuddenly aſſailed and dangerouſly gauled, the County himſelf being hurt in his left Arm, and ſome other Captains ſlain. In all which Sallies, although the Turks were ſtill put to the worſe, yet thereby they gained time in ſome good ſort to repair again their Breaches.

Shortly after, the Imperials thus lying at the Siege, certainly informed that a world of the fierce and rude *Tartars*, by the Incitement of the Turk, (having made themſelves way through *Valachia*) were coming as far as *Temeſwar* to relieve *Buda*; thought it not beſt (eſpecially now that Winter was come) to abide the coming of that ſo great a Northern Tempeſt, but betimes, whilſt they had yet ſpace, to raiſe their Siege and be gone; which they did the ſixteenth of *November*, leaving the Water-City, with all that they had got about *Buda*, again unto the Enemy; only *Peſth* they furniſhed with Victuals and all things elſe neceſſary, leaving therein almoſt ten thouſand Souldiers in Garriſon, for the defence thereof againſt the barbarous Enemy. As for *Adom*, it was ſtrengthened with a Garriſon of *Hungarians* only, with their Wages offered to be paid before-hand; which for all that, they refuſed to accept; alledging, that for the great danger this Place was expoſed to above others, they could not ſafely take their Oath for the defence thereof; yet offering withal, to undertake the Charge, and to do what beſeemed valiant Souldiers, in ſuch ſort, as that all men ſhould well underſtand, that nothing evil ſhould happen thereunto thro their default or negligence.

The Siege of *Buda*, for fear of the *Tartars*, thus given over, and the Imperials departed and gone, the Turks forthwith came down out of the higher City into the lower, declaring their Joy for the recovery thereof, by the often thundring of their great Ordnance, with divers other Signs of Triumph. But whilſt in their Jollity they ſpared not by the mouth of the Cannon to ſend commendation to them of *Peſth*, they from them again received the like; but in ſuch rude manner, that the Turks, wearied with ſuch Greetings, requeſted them to ſpare their Shot and Powder, and quietly to live by them as became Neighbours for that Winter until the next Spring, at which time it was to be thought that this Strife ſhould be ended by their Emperours, the weaker yielding unto the ſtronger either the one or the other City. Yet for all this their great Joy, their cheer in *Buda* was not great, Victuals by this Siege being become ſo ſcarce, that it was by the Turks feared, that if the Chriſtians had there longer lain, they ſhould for very want have been inforced to have yielded the City: of which their need their Friends not ignorant, and having made what Proviſion they were able for their Relief, were with a great Convoy bringing the ſame towards *Buda*; whereof the Garriſons of *Komara* and *Strigonium* having Intelligence, went preſently out, and meeting with the Turks in the mid-way betwixt *Alba-Regalis* and *Buda*, overthrew the Convoy, and carried away all that Proviſion of Victuals; like unbidden Gueſts making themſelves

The Siege of *Buda*, for fear of the *Tartars* given over by the Chriſtians.

1602

selves merry with that which was never provided for them.

Mahomet much troubled with the *Scrivano.*

Theſe doubtful Wars of *Hungary*, with the general Revolt of *Tranſilvania*, much troubled *Mahomet* the great Sultan; but nothing like unto the Wars he had in *Aſia* againſt the *Scrivano* and the Rebels his Followers; the evil Succeſs whereof (as moſt dangerous to his State) ſo much tormented his haughty mind, as that it would ſcarce ſuffer him to think of any thing elſe. For the Rebel, encouraged with the ſucceſs of the laſt years Wars, and ſtill growing ſtronger and ſtronger, (by reaſon of the great number which, allured with the ſweet name of Liberty, hope of Prey, or the good Entertainment by him given, daily more and more reſorted unto his Camp) had this Year over-run a great part of the Turks Dominions in *Aſia*, putting all to Fire and Sword that ſtood in his way, ranſacking alſo divers walled and fenced Cities by the way as he went. Which he might the more eaſily do; for that the Janizaries of *Aleppo* and *Damaſco*, with many other their Partakers and Favourites, which might greatly have hindered his Proceedings, were at the ſame time alſo up in Arms, and together by the Ears amongſt themſelves, to the great benefit of the *Scrivano*; who, in the midſt of the courſe of theſe his deſired Fortunes, fell ſick of a natural Diſeaſe, and ſo died. By whoſe Death the Rebellion was no whit appeaſed, (as commonly in like caſe it falleth out, and as was then of many expected) but in ſhort time grew to be both far greater and more dangerous than before; for the *Scrivano* was no ſooner dead, but that a younger Brother of his, no leſs warlike and courageous than himſelf (to the great contentment of the Rebellious) ſtep'd up in his place, fiercely proſecuting the Wars his Brother had before him taken in hand. Againſt whom *Haſſan Baſſa*, by Commandment from the Grand Seignior, with a great Army ſetting forward, with hope in that newneſs of his Command to have oppreſſed him, and ſo to have quenched that ſo ſpreading a fire; at length met with him, that was eaſie enough to be found, and joyning Battel with him, was by him in a great and bloody Fight overthrown and ſlain, together with his whole Army, except ſuch as by ſpeedy flight ſaved themſelves from the fury of their fierce Enemies. So that *Mahomet* the Great Sultan, now inforced to employ his beſt Commanders and Souldiers into thoſe Parts for the ſubduing of him, for that cauſe called *Mahomet* the Viſier Baſſa out of *Hungary* to ſerve againſt this new Rebel; who in the mean time following the courſe of his Victory, made havock of all as he went, taking unto his own uſe all ſuch Tribute as was in thoſe Countries, and others alſo farther off, due unto the great Sultan; having of late exacted only of the City of *Ancyra* and the Country thereabout, 300000 Duckats; ſo by exacting of great ſums of Money from the Country People (ſuch as be his Enemies) heaping up great Treaſures for the maintenance of his Wars.

The Death of the *Scrivano.*

The *Scrivano*'s younger Brother takes upon him the leading of the Rebels in his Brother's ſtead.

Haſſan Baſſa ſlain, and his Army overthrown by the Rebels.

Divers Incurſions of the *Tartars* into the Frontiers of the Emperour's Territories, and much harm by them there done.

Now, tho *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour had called home *Mahomet* the Viſier Baſſa out of *Hungary*, to go againſt the Rebels in *Aſia*, (as is aforeſaid) yet had he before provided, that for the better aſſurance of his Towns and Territories in *Hungary*, the Tartar *Kan* with a great Power of his Crim Tartars ſhould even againſt that time come down into that Country. Which rough and needy People, dwelling near unto the Fens of *Meotis*, for Pay or Prey always ready to do the *Othoman* Emperours Service, ſetting forward under the leading of their great *Han* himſelf, and of his two Sons, and by plain force breaking through *Valachia*, though not without great loſs of their men (being fought with by the *Valachians* and free *Haiducks* a whole day) were now in the latter end of *December* with their huge Companies come into *Hungary*; the *Han* himſelf with forty thouſand to *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, and his Sons with twenty thouſand more into *Poſſega* (a fertile Country lying between the great Rivers *Savus* and *Dravus*) where they ſpoiled all, as well the Turks as the other poor Chriſtians, pretending all that frontier Country, with the whole Command thereof, to be given unto them by *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour, in reward of their good Service. But long they lay not there quiet, but that, to ſhew for what they came, they inforced the Chriſtians thereabout to victual *Canifia* for the Turks; and ſo breaking into *Stiria*, not far from *Caramant* (the neareſt Fortreſs of the Chriſtians towards *Canifia*) carried away above two thouſand Chriſtians Captives; and ſhortly after ſurpriſing *Keſchemet*, a great and populous Town, ſlew moſt part of the Inhabitants, and carried away the reſt Priſoners. Other ſome of them alſo at the ſame time making an Inroad to *Sharvar*, and having burnt twenty Villages down to the ground, carried away thence about a thouſand Souls into moſt miſerable Captivity and Thraldom. They alſo at their firſt coming relieved them of *Buda*, the Lord *Nadaſti* with his *Huſſars*, who before kept them from Victuals, not being able for the great number of them, now longer ſo to do. By them alſo the Turks encouraged, took and burnt certain places poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians near unto *Buda*, putting them all to the Sword that they found therein. So that the poor Country of *Hungary* (never to be ſufficiently pitied) with the reſt of the Countries and Provinces belonging unto the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and confining upon the Turk, were not ſo much eaſed by the calling home of the Viſier Baſſa with his Army, as they were now annoyed by the coming of theſe roguiſh *Tartars*, a People wholly, even from their Infancy, given to the ſpoil. Againſt whom, for all that, the Chriſtians, beſide their ordinary Garriſons, began now, even in the depth of Winter, to oppoſe ſome other of their Forces alſo; the Palatine of *Rhine* ſending ten Companies of Horſe-men to *Poſſonium*, from thence to be ſent to *Sharvar* for the defence of *Stiria*; and *Collonitz* (but lately knighted by the Emperour) for his part raiſing four hundred Horſe, a thouſand *Huſſars*, and three thouſand of the free *Haiducks*, for the repreſſing of thoſe *Tartars*; the Duke of *Brunſwick* alſo at that time, for the ſame Service, ſending thither a thouſand Horſe, with two thouſand Foot, againſt thoſe ſworn Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion.

1602

1603

The Troubles of this Year thus overpaſt, *Alba-Regalis* being by the Chriſtians loſt, *Peſth* with ſome other Places won, *Tranſilvania* recovered, *Buda* beſieged, the Viſier Baſſa returned, and the *Tartars* come into *Hungary*, *January* with a ſharp Froſt began to open the next Year; by force whereof, the Rivers in many places, but eſpecially in thoſe more eaſterly Countries, were not only frozen over, but ſeemed rather even wholly turned into Ice; *Danubius*, that great River (for all his ſwift courſe) being then alſo (as it is often) ſo hard frozen, that Men and Carts might ſafely paſs to and fro thereupon. Which ſo hard a Seaſon for all that did no whit freeze, but rather encreaſe the hot deſires of the greedy Turks, ſtill breathing after the utter Spoil and Ruine of the Chriſtians dwelling near unto them. For which purpoſe, they even in this dead time of the Year, and extremity of Nature (which commonly affordeth unto moſt mortal Enemies a Ceſſation from Arms) out of their Garriſons of *Sigeth*, *Buda*, *Canifia*, *Alba-Regalis*, *Babotz*, and ſuch other Places, raiſed an Army of eighteen thouſand ſtrong, to have forraged and over-run the Chriſtians, with their Territories confining upon them; *Quermany*, with the Coun-

A great Froſt.

An Army of the Turks raiſed out of their Garriſons.

1603 Country thereabout, being the Places by them aſſigned to have felt the firſt force of their ſudden rage and fury. Of which their Deſigns, *Collonitz*, Governour for the Emperour in thoſe Parts, underſtanding; to prevent the ſame, and to meet with their Forces, with all ſpeed put into the Suburbs of *Quermany* a thouſand Reiſters, and two thouſand Lanſquenets; and in the Burroughs thereabouts laded the Regiment of the County *Reingrave*, with ſix Companies of the *Coſſacks*, four thouſand *Haiducks*, four hundred Carabins, *French*, and *Wallons*, two hundred Horſe of the Regiment of *Collonitz*; with whom was *Collonitz* himſelf, commanding over all theſe Troops; a man for his Worth every way anſwerable unto his charge. Who, for the more aſſurance of this Country, over which the Enemy now hovered, commanded all the Inhabitants thereabout to take up Arms; and withal, with good and ſtrong Barricadoes to ſtrengthen the ways, and ſtop up the Paſſages into their Country; which they right cheerfully performed, with their Weapons in one hand, and their Spades and Shovels in the other. Of which their ſo great Reſolution the Turks underſtanding, changed their purpoſe. For they, conſidering the aſſured danger they were to undergo, in forcing of theſe Troops, ſtanding upon the Walls of their Defence, and ſtrong in their Reſolution, changed their former deſign, for the invading of *Quermany*, (where they for the ſpace of five Weeks together had by the Chriſtians been expected) and upon a new Reſolution marched along by *Roquesbourg*, with purpoſe to have loaded themſelves with the ſpoil of the Country thereabout. Which their new Deſign, cauſed *Collonitz* to gather together his Forces to croſs and fruſtrate them therein; which he did by favour of the River, which both ſtrengthened him againſt their Incurſions, and was well to be defended. But the Turks, whoſe Purpoſe was not to fight, but to have robbed and ſpoiled the Country at their Pleaſure, finding now, contrary to their Expectation, ſuch ſtrong Reſiſtance, and their Deſigns diſturbed, in fine, gave over the Enterpriſe, and ſo again retired; contenting themſelves to gather a Convoy of *Victuals to put into Canifia*, which then lay in great extremity for want thereof. Which Victuals they drew out of the Villages thereabout, and ſo came to *Babotz*, to march to *Canifia*, a Town moſt commodious for ſuch an Aſſembly, and for the relieving of *Canifia*. Of this their purpoſe *Collonitz* (who ſpared for no coſt) by his Eſpials advertiſed, even he which before was appointed as a Prey unto his Enemies, began now to plot with himſelf, that they ſhould become a Prey unto him: their Cowardiſe, by ſo many precedent Effects declared, had given him the means to adventure upon them, and the hope to overthrow them. A neceſſary Conſideration in Martial Affairs, for Commanders to put in execution their Deſigns, at what price ſoever; for that it is better to loſe in the performance of them, with the preſervation of their Reputation, than otherwiſe to gain with the loſs thereof; for that it preſerved, ſtill ſtriketh a fear of their Valour into the minds of their Enemies, oftentimes overcome even with this their apprehenſion thereof; whereas otherwiſe they might happily overcome, in the aſſurance by them conceived of their Enemies Cowardiſe.

Collonitz in Arms againſt the Turks.

The Turks for fear of the Chriſtians cowardly retire.

Upon which Reſolution, this brave Collonel, the four and twentieth of *March* with his Troops marched towards little *Komara*, about two Leagues from *Canifia*, and lay with them cloſe in Ambuſh in the Woods near unto two Marſhes, over which the Turks had made two Bridges to paſs the great Artillery and Waggons upon; the Turks being well near 20000 ſtrong, and our men but 8190, whereof there were 2200 Horſe-men, and 6000 Foot, a ſmall number in compariſon of their Enemies. But whilſt that thoſe men lie thus cloſe in Ambuſh, with a purpoſe to do ſome notable Exploit, let us in the mean time run to *Peſth*, to ſee what there in the mean time paſſed.

Collonitz lieth in Ambuſh for the Turks.

1603

The Turks, after the loſs of *Peſth*, much grieved to have this Impoſtume ſo near their Hearts, ſought to break it to our hurt, employing all their Treachery to gain our Garriſon Souldiers, and with their Forces to diſtreſs them of Victuals. And the Chriſtian Army was no ſooner riſen from before *Buda*, but that the Turks came down again into their baſe Town, which they found much ruinated and in evil eſtate. But the joy of their Conqueſt buried in it all the object of their Sorrow, and the feeling of their Grief; the leſſer Paſſions always giving place unto the greater, and Sorrow finding no place at all in the midſt of their immoderate Joy. Whereof they gave a number of Teſtimonies, by the thundring of their great Ordnance, by Fires of Joy and Vollies of ſmall Shot; all which their fury, they diſcharged upon them of *Peſth*; who with the like courteſie requited them, ſending them back again Bullets for Bullets. Which now became a common Exerciſe among the Canoneers, paſſing the time in theſe Actions, more upon a bravery than to any purpoſe, ſmall harm being done thereby either on the one ſide or on the other: in ſuch ſort, that in the end the Turks, better adviſed, requeſted our men to ceaſe from ſuch ſhooting, as they on their part would do likewiſe, and to expect the end of the Negotiation of Peace, of a certain begun (as they ſaid) betwixt their Princes; but meaning indeed by this means to ſpare their Powder, Shot, and Pains, and to reſerve them to their better uſes.

Buda diſtreſſed for want of Victuals.

And yet for all this triumphant Joy, the Turks in *Buda* were in great want of Victuals, the late Siege having devoured all their Proviſions, and no new ſupply thereof as yet come unto them; inſomuch, that their greateſt care was now how to come by Victuals, without which they muſt needs forſake their City. Of which their ſo great neceſſity, the other Garriſons in the places thereabout advertiſed, aſſembled themſelves to take order therefore; and having provided 200 Waggons, loaded with all manner of neceſſary Proviſions at *Alba-Regalis*, with a Convoy of 6000 Souldiers, put themſelves upon the way toward *Buda*. Of all which their Proceedings the Garriſon of *Strigonium* having got underſtanding, and joyning unto them the Garriſon of *Komara*, met with them upon the way betwixt *Alba-Regalis* and *Buda*, and charged them; and ſo with great confidence on both ſides came to handy Blows, the Turks being in number ſtronger, and our men in Valour and Reſolution; the Waggons in the mean time ſtanding ſtill, as the motive of the Charge, and appointed for a Prey unto the Victors. But our Horſe-men, being for the moſt part *Huſſars*, well acquainted with ſuch charge, with their divers Courſes greatly troubled the Enemies, our Foot-men in the mean time charging them alſo with a number of Harquebuſers; againſt whom the Turks, with the ſame Arms and like Courage defending themſelves, and many of them being ſlain, and the Waggons gained from them, gave place unto their Valour, and ſo were almoſt all cut in pieces. The Waggons thus ſurpriſed, were divided as a rich Booty among the Victors; forty whereof were ſent unto the Garriſon at *Peſth*; who were well content that the Enemies Travel and Wealth had been gathered for their good, and without their own Pains to ſolace themſelves with the fruit of their Enemies Labours.

The Turks in carrying a Convoy of Victuals to *Buda* overthrown by the Chriſtians.

But what ſhould we ſay? The moſt ſure Reſolutions are ſometimes by Chances croſſed, and Tem-

1603 peſts otherwhiles overtake us, even in the entrance of the deſired Port. The Turks of *Buda*, underſtanding of the brute of this medley, and that it was for their Bread, poſted in haſte to have ſuccoured their Troops, and arrived at the ſame time that our men victoriouſly led along by the River of *Danubius* the Waggons they had before gained. At the ſight of which Object, they, animated with hunger after the Victuals; and with deſire to be revenged upon the men, charged them. But our men, who thought of nothing more, but that they were victorious, and Poſſeſſors of their Enemies Booty, ſeeing theſe new-come Enemies ſo furiouſly to charge them, daunted with the preſent Peril, and with the conſideration thereof only poſſeſſed, bethought themſelves of nothing elſe, but how to ſave themſelves, and to leave their Honour, Booty, and the Field, all as Spoils unto their Enemies. The furious Countenance of the Turks, and their number ſurmounting ours by 1500, ſo bereft them of their reſolution for to fight for their Lives and Waggons, as that they without more ado quite forſook them, accounting themſelves happy enough if they might but ſave themſelves. And the Turks without farther purſuing of them, contented to have recovered their Victuals, left them, and ſo returned homeward, driving their Waggons along the Bank of *Danubius*. But ſee the Wind, which by and by changed, and having as it were with a ſudden Tempeſt undertaken even at the entrance of the Port to ſwallow up both the one and the other, ſent the Garriſon of *Peſth* upon them of *Buda*, to ſtay them. Great changes of Fortune in one moment of time, which mocketh Men with ſhews, bringing forth effects quite contrary to their Expectation. Theſe Turks, ſtayed upon their Retreat by the coming of theſe new-come Adverſaries, did even as ours had done before. For, not willing to prefer their Goods before their Life, and more greedy of Victual than of Battel, they quitted their prize, and retired. For our men, in number two thouſand, were ſeiſed of a Foreſt about the midſt of the way whereby the Turks were to paſs, and which they could by no means ſhun; and, divided into two Companies, kept themſelves cloſe there in Ambuſh, reſolutely attending for the coming of their Enemies. Of which their Purpoſe the Turks not aware, and ſtill preſſing on forward, found themſelves hardly charged, before they could ſee them by whom they were ſo charged; one of our Companies charging them afront, and the other behind. So that the Turks, incloſed betwixt them, and in ſo great and ſudden a fear not knowing againſt whom to defend themſelves, without any great Reſiſtance betook themſelves to flight, leaving their Waggons, and caſting away their Arms; yet ſo, that a number of them were left dead upon the place, ſome others of them taken Priſoners, and the reſt chaſed even unto the Gates of their City. But our men being Victors, with the Waggons, and a number of Priſoners, returned home, and by the mouth of their great Artillery gave a thouſand Teſtimonies of their Victory unto the ſorrowful Cowards: who themſelves alſo carried the heavy News thereof unto the reſt of their Fellows ſhut up within the City of *Buda*.

The Convoy of Victuals again recovered from the Chriſtians by the Garriſon of *Buda*.

The ſame Convoy of Victuals recovered from the Turks by the Garriſon of *Peſth*.

But ſee again the change of Fortune, conſtant only in Unconſtancy, as the Sequel ſhortly after ſhewed. *Danubius*, that great River, was then alſo (as it is often) ſo hard frozen, that Men and Carts might now ſafely paſs to and fro thereupon. In which ſo hard ſeaſon, the Turks in Garriſon at *Buda*, having once upon the frozen River braved the Chriſtians in *Peſth*, and the two and twentieth of *January* in like bravery coming out the ſecond time, were by the Garriſon Souldiers of *Peſth* put to flight, and by two hundred of the moſt forward and valiant Souldiers hardly purſued; upon whom, not only they which fled, but other of the Turks alſo out of *Buda* in greater number returning, chaſed them likewiſe back again even to the Bridge, whereby they were to have paſſed into the City; which now drawn up for fear of greater harm from ſuch a number of Turks as were now come out, and were ready to have entered at the heels of the flying Souldiers, the poor Souls ſo ſhut out, and too weak for ſuch a multitude as then had them in chaſe, were there even in their Friends ſight every man ſlain, the Turks themſelves with little harm returning to *Buda*. 1603

The Garriſon Souldiers of *Peſth* overthrown by the Turks of *Buda*.

Neither long laſted the joy of this Victory; for within a few days after, one *Lethner*, a Captain of the Chriſtian Garriſon in *Peſth*, more grieved than the reſt with the loſs of ſo many valiant men, and ſome of them his Friends and Companions alſo; certainly underſtanding that certain of the chief of the Turks of *Buda*, with two of their greateſt Commanders, and a great Train of gallant Gentlewomen, were, for their Pleaſure, the next day about to go unto the hot Baths near unto *Buda*, and taking with him threeſcore Muſqueteers, the Night before ſecretly upon the Ice paſſed over the River, and ſo not far from the Baths lay cloſe in Ambuſh, expecting the coming of their deſired Prey. In which Expectance they lay not long, but that theſe Turks, caſting no Peril, came accordingly as they could have wiſhed, and in thoſe pleaſant Baths merrily bathed and ſolaced themſelves: Fools to ſeek after the Pleaſures of Peace amidſt the Gulf of the miſeries of War, and evil adviſed to aſſure themſelves of fair Weather in a Storm ſo near at hand. For in the midſt of all their Delights theſe reſolute men came ſuddenly upon them, not fearing any ſuch danger, and ſlew all the men, ſparing none but one Boy and the Gentlewomen; who in the time of the Conflict, naked as they were, ran as faſt as they could into the City, Fear having in them overcome the modeſty of their Sex. Which Exploit done, the Captain, leaving the Turks ſlain in the Bath (now becomeſted with their Blood) returned with his Souldiers, laden with the rich Booty, and merrily ſporting at the naked Gentlewomen: with whoſe fearful Cry they of *Buda* ſtirred up, ſent out certain of their Garriſon after them, but to no purpoſe; for why, they were in ſafety before got home. By continuance of this Froſt, by reaſon whereof Victuals could not be ſent down the River, the Souldiers in Garriſon at *Peſth* were driven to ſuch wants, as that Dogs and Cats were accounted good meat among them; the *Turks* their Enemies ſtill roaming about in the Fields to keep them from Victuals, and to increaſe their Neceſſity.

The Turks in bathing themſelves at *Buda* by them of *Peſth* ſurpriſed and ſlain.

Great want of Victuals in *Peſth*.

Of theſe Neceſſities the Turks of *Buda* were Partakers alſo, hunger-ſtarved as were the other, but yet every day in the field to ſeek relief. They knew right well, that Hunger was hard to be deceived, being ſtill in Action and vigilant: and therefore they ſought ſome means how to deceive our men, ſtill attending upon them, and ſo to aſſure themſelves of Victuals. To which end they gave it out, and made ſhew as if they would have beſieged the Fort of *Adom*, diſtant about two Leagues from *Buda*: Under the colour whereof, they received into their City a Convoy of fifty Waggons laden with Victuals and Munition; which our men hindered not, for that they had no ſuſpicion of any ſuch purpoſe of theirs. With which Relief the Turks encouraged, gave knowledge thereof unto their overthwart Neighbours in *Peſth* by a thouſand great Shot, which they in thundering manner ſent over the River unto them, as from men of Courage, and devoid of fear. Howbeit, that this Action was more vain than pro-

Buda victualled.

1603 profitable unto the Turks, who, for the diſpence of their Shot and Powder, gained not ſo much as the Life of one Souldier, nor one Stone out of the Walls of *Peſth*. Upon this Jollity, theſe ſame Garriſon Souldiers of *Buda* ſhortly after thought to have upon the ſudden ſurpriſed *Palotta*, a ſmall Caſtle of the Chriſtians, by Night, but being in good time diſcovered, were deceived of their hope, and with the loſs of an hundred and twenty of their men, inforced to retire; unto whom *Gaſpar Horwad*, Captain of the Caſtle, by a Country Peaſant, before ſworn to do the Errand, ſent a little Pot full of Salt, and a Bottle of Wine, willing them (in deriſion) with that Salt to ſeaſon the Veniſon they had taken in their late hunting, and to empty that Bottle to quench their thirſt, and to chear them up after their late Conqueſt.

The Turks ſeeking to ſurpriſe *Palotta*, themſelves overthrown.

This Jeſt more provoked theſe Enemies, galled ſo to hear of their ſhame and loſs in ſuch ſort, that in revenge thereof, they diſcharged a ſhower of thundering great ſhot and ſmall Bullets upon the Garriſon of *Peſth*, which in great abundance fell out of the Cloud of their Rage. But all to ſmall purpoſe; for that their Cannons being evil levelled, overſhot the Town, carrying with their thundering Bullets more fear than they did hurt; yea, that worſe was, the Ruin made by their great Battery fell upon their own City. For while they were thus thundering, Fire, by Negligence of the Canoneers, fell into one of their Barrels of Powder, which taking hold of another, and ſo running along, as if it had been by a Train of purpoſe laid, burſt out with ſuch force, that it overthrew a long piece of the Wall of *Buda*, which in the fall thereof overwhelmed a great number of the Souldiers near unto it. The noiſe of this Thunder-clap was great, and the force thereof terrible, ſo that it revived them of *Peſth* with ſome good hope, by this Breach to force the Place, the Turks being from thence retired. Upon which Occaſion, the Governour of *Peſth* reſolved to give an aſſault unto the Place, and to make uſe of the means that Fortune, without his Pain or Travail, had put into his hand. Whereupon, taking with him a thouſand *Almains*, and three hundred *Hungarians*, he forthwith (in hope of good Succeſs) marched toward the Breach; and happily had prevailed, but that by the way they by chance met with a Company of *Turks*, who gave an Alarm unto them of the upper Town, who upon that brute of their approach, manned their Walls, and with great ſpeed repaired the Breach. Now all that they of *Peſth* could do, was to revenge themſelves upon theſe Turks whom they had met withal, who were there all ſlain, except ſome few, whom they ſaved, and carried Priſoners to *Peſth*, to be by them inſtructed of the Enemies Affairs.

A Breach made in the Walls of *Buda* by the Neglect of a Canoneer.

Siliſtria ſpoiled by the Vayvod of *Valachia*.

About this time, *Radul* Vayvod of *Valachia* adverſed, that the Turks in Garriſon at *Siliſtria* were gone abroad into the Country to ſeek after Booty and Victuals, with his Souldiers paſſed forthwith over the River *Danubius* upon the Ice, to ſurpriſe the Town, now barred of the Garriſon; whoſe men, for the deſire of the Riches of the place, and for fear leſt the Garriſon Souldiers ſhould return before they had gained the place, with redoubled Force and Courage ſo aſſailed the Town, that the Turks diſmayed, and deeming the number of the Chriſtians that ſo furiouſly aſſailed them to be greater than indeed it was, by reaſon of the greatneſs of the Enterpriſe by them taken in hand; after ſome ſmall reſiſtance, left the way open for them to enter; who forthwith over the dead Bodies of their Enemies thruſt into the Town, took the whole ſpoil thereof (which was both great and rich, as being a Town well peopled) and ſo ſet fire upon it, to the intent that it ſhould no more ſerve for a place for the Enemy to retire unto. The Vayvod thus victorious and rich, returned with his Souldiers laden with Spoyls of their Enemies, before that the Turks could gather themſelves together to hinder their retreat. And unto *George Baſta*, who was then in *Tranſilvania* in Arms againſt the Turks, for his part of the Booty he ſent him thirteen of the Enemies Enſigns. 1603

But our Troops are now too long in their Ambuſh, where the valiant *Collonitz* holdeth them cloſe, attending the coming of the Turks, and of their Convoy to *Caniſia*; now we muſt draw them out of their Sentinels, and ſee what Effects their Deſigns ſhall bring forth. Theſe brave Souldiers had now lyen three days in their Ambuſhes without diſcovering of any Enemy, until that the ſixth of *March* three Eſpies fell into their Hands, whom the Turks had ſent forth before, to diſcover what Enemies were then abroad in the field. But theſe faithful Infidels ſo taken, would not by any means diſcover any thing hurtful unto their Friends, or profitable for ours; So that in fine, the General, moved with their Obſtinacy, commanded one of their Heads to be ſtruck off, to terrifie the other two, and by force to draw from them that which fair Intreaty and Perſwaſion could not. The other two that were yet alive diſmayed with this Spectacle, and well beaten to tell the truth, were at laſt conſtrained to confeſs, that they were the Enemies Spies, ſent forth to view the Country, to ſee if the Chriſtians had any forces there, able to let their Cannons and Wagons to enter into *Caniſia*; which not appearing, and they reporting unto their Companions, that the Country was clear, that then within two days after the Convoy was to paſs even by the ſame place where they then lay, to be put into *Caniſia*, ſetting forth from *Babotz* two hours before day. Our men thus informed of the Enemies Deſigns, forced their hope to defeat them, and again retired themſelves into their Ambuſcadoes, attending for their hoped Prey, in ſuch ſort, that our men in their Conceits held the Victory now as good as gained; howbeit, that it was yet but in hope and expectation. And that which more confirmed the matter, was, that within two hours after the taking of theſe Spies, the *Haiducks* layed without the principal Ambuſcado, and hidden in the thickets and buſhes, diſcovered a Cornet of Horſemen, with five Enſigns of the Turks, come out of *Caniſia*, marching to meet with the Convoy, in ſafety to conduct the ſame into the Town. At which overture the *Hungarians* awaked, gave knowledge unto the General of the arrival of the Enemy, to the end he might reſolve what was beſt in that caſe to be done. Which Opportunity *Collonitz* embracing, and making much of time, put his Horſemen in good order, to incloſe the Turks betwixt the Mariſh and the Wood, and to cut them ſo incloſed in pieces. The Turks having diſcovered nothing but the Mariſhes and the Woods, held on their way, and ſo as men having their Hands and Feet bound, fell into the Power of their Enemies. For being come into the danger, the Chriſtian *Carabins* charged them into the head of their Companies as they marched, and diſordered them; The *Hungarians* fell upon their flancks, which they opened; and the Horſe-men preſſed them at their backs. Theſe poor miſerable men ſo incloſed, not knowing againſt whom firſt to defend themſelves, and ſeeing death upon every ſide of them, became as beaſts to be ſacrificed unto the fury of the Chriſtians. The ſmall reſiſtance that they made deſerved not the name of a fight, being all ſlain, and having themſelves not ſlain one man; layed by heaps one upon another, not having overthrown ſo much as one of their Enemies; in ſuch ſort, that of ſix hundred men that were there

Three of the Turks Spies taken.

The Turks by *Collonitz* overthrown.

1603 there together, there were not four of them ſaved. Their Horſemen which followed them, ſeeing them ſurpriſed, inſtead of relieving them, ſhamefully fled; and thinking by flight to ſave themſelves, whilſt that their Companions were in maſſacring, preferred their Lives before their Honour; For if it be a ſhame for Souldiers in flight to flie with the ſafety of their Friends, it muſt needs be an irreparable diſhonour to flie and leave them to the ſlaughter. But our *Carabins*, taking the occaſion for their Advantage, no more ſpared their Horſes in the purſuit of theſe Infidels, than they had done their Hands in the defeating of their Fellows; but purſuing amain after theſe Fugitives, ſlew a number of ſuch of them as were worſt mounted, and purſued the reſt even to the Gates of *Caniſia*. Thoſe of the Town at this Tumult raiſed an Alarm, ſhot off their great Artillery, and diſcharged many Vollies of ſmall ſhot againſt our men, as well to ſtay the purſuit of our men, and to ſave their own, as to give warning unto them that were to bring the Convoy, that our men were in the Field, ready to ſurpriſe them. But during this fight, three of the Turks Horſemen paſſing well mounted, and exceeding hardy, adventured to paſs by our Troops, and upon the ſpur to meet with them which were bringing of the Convoy, and to give them warning of the overthrow, and that they ſhould again return to *Babotz*. Which their ſo brave an attempt Fortune favoured, as not willing to fruſtrate the deſert of ſo well deſerving Valour. And the Turks upon the way with the Convoy, now upon this Advertiſement returned, and retired themſelves again into the Caſtle from whence they came.

Babotz in vain beſieged by *Collonitz*.

But our men, advertiſed of this their retreat, and as if were deceived of the hope by them conceived for the intercepting of the Convoy, undertook an exploit much more haughty, brave, and dangerous; for forthwith they made head toward *Babotz*, with a Reſolution to carry the place; and though they were almoſt ſixteen miles from it, yet they reſolved to go thither, and to make themſelves Maſters thereof. And ſo marching chearfully on, therein uſed ſuch diligence, that about nine of the Clock at night they arrived at the place; whither they were no ſooner come, but that they did what they might to daunt their Enemies, to make their Conqueſt the more eaſie. The greatneſs of the attempt it ſelf ſerved well to that purpoſe, but yet the belief more; if they could drive into their Enemies Minds the ſufficiency of their Forces, for the performance of ſo great an Exploit. Which cauſed them to ſound their Trumpets, to ſtrike up their Drums, to remove their Artillery, to ruſſle with their Arms, to keep a ſtir with their Souldiers, and to make the noiſe, not of a ſmall, but of a puiſſant and great Army. But the Turks, in number twice ſo many as were our men, and within a good and ſtrong place, were not with ſuch a brute to be carried away, but ſtanding faſt upon their Guard and Reſolution, prepared themſelves for fight, and how to receive our men, if they ſhould attempt to aſſail them. Now whilſt the Alarm thus ſounded, our Companions advanced themſelves, repeating oftentimes the name of *Jeſus*, and making themſelves ready for to fight. This Skirmiſh began with a thouſand Cannon ſhot, which the Turks out of their Caſtle delivered upon the Troops of the Chriſtians, and their Muſquets ſtill playing from the Curtain of their Walls, ſo that the Caſtle ſeemed as if it had been a Mountain of Fire. All which Terrours no whit ſtayed the hope of our reſolute Foot-men, who paſſing thwart theſe flaming ſhowers, marched along the counterſcarp of the Ditch toward the Gate of the Town, to have broken open and forced the ſame. The Turks at the ſame time were come forth out of the Town, making ſhew as if they would have ſallied forth upon our men, and have fought with them. But at the ſame inſtant that they charged the front of our Foot-men, they were by them ſo encountered and beaten back, that having loſt ſome of their men, they were glad again to retire into the Town; where they did their indeavour to defend themſelves, not daring afterward to fight without the Favour of their Walls; within which it ſtood them upon to have both Courage and Power, being ſtill furiouſly aſſailed by our men, who, planted upon the Town Ditch, with their Muſquets and Harquebuſes ſo plyed the Turks, upon their Walls, and in their holds, as that they durſt not ſhew themſelves, or look out for the ſhowers of Lead which they thundered upon them. And aſſuredly, if our men had then had Inſtruments wherewith to have opened the Gates or the Walls, as well as their Muſquets and Harquebuſes had made a breach into the Reſolution of the Turks, the Town had undoubtedly been ours; but this deſign being not before foreſeen, neither intended, wanted the means to put it in Execution; ſo that, for want of Petards and of ſcaling Ladders, the place remained ſtill the Turks, and ſaved it ſelf out of our hands. In fine, our men having been four hours in fight before it, both doing and receiving harm, and finding no means to enter the place, were inforced to ſound a retreat, and to leave it.

1603

In which retreat, the Chriſtians burnt certain Villages of the Enemies, rather to ſhew that they had been there, than for any their Valour therein; ſeeing that things inſenſible, which follow the order of their Nature, are without offence, and they which hurt them without reaſon. This done, they of purpoſe retired to little *Comara*; for the long time they had kept the field, the divers Exploits by them done againſt the Enemies, and the common report of the vanquiſhed, had ſtirred up the Enemies, ſo that they began now on every ſide by heaps to flock together to ſwallow them up, and even now preſſed upon their retreat. So *Collonitz*, in deſpight of the Enemy, in ſafety brought back his Souldiers; and being entered into *Comara*, cauſed the Heads of the principal of the ſlain Enemies to be ſet upon the Pikes of the Paliſadoes, and upon a great Pine-tree ſtanding before the Gate, which for this purpoſe had almoſt all the Branches lopped off. An action learned from the Cruelty of the Turks, and now done by the Chriſtians, more to aſtoniſh and deterr them from this their cruel Cuſtom, than for any Glory or Profit enſuing thereby; ſeeing that to tyrannize upon a dead body, is but a ſign of Cowardiſe, and an Action altogether unprofitable.

Collonitz retireth to *Comara*.

This done, our men departed from this Caſtle, as men worn, and almoſt ſpent with Travel and Wearineſs, but yet more with Famine. For why, they, thinking to have executed but that deſign which had put them in Arms, and that in ſo ſhort a time alſo, had taken no Proviſion of Victuals with them; ſo that they were all pined with Hunger, overcome with Watching, and half dead with Labour. Their Horſes alſo in like ſort languiſhed, the Country being alike cruel both to the one and to the other. For beſide that it was unfruitful for ſuch as held the field (all the Fruits thereof being gathered together and carried into the Towns by the Men of War) it was not poſſible for our men to forrage, or to ſeek for Victual there, and to come to an happy end of their deſign, for that they had raiſed an alarm abroad in the Country, and ſo perhaps might themſelves have become a Prey unto them, whom they ought to prey upon. Which was the cauſe that our Souldiers had for the ſpace

of

1603 of three days eaten nothing but Crabs and Acorns, which they found in the Woods which covered their Ambuſhes; ſo that being now come unto this Caſtle, they devoured a world of Victuals, and requeſted every one of them to return again unto their Garriſons, their Bodies weakened with Hunger, being ſcarce able to bear their Arms. But that was not all; for departing from little *Comara*, they were advertiſed, that the Turks ſhut up the ways whereby they were to make their retreat home; in hope eaſily to overcome men already with hunger brought low, and to kill the Bodies which travel already had ſpent. Howbeit, the great Courage of our men fruſtrated this the Enemies Deſign, and ſaved themſelves. But ſo far off was it that this Advertiſement diſmayed *Collonitz*, that even to the contrary it the more increaſed his Courage, as appointed for his Glory; being glad to have ſuch an occaſion offered him for the ſhewing of his Valour, although it were through the midſt of Danger, Death, and Slaughter. So that inſtead of ſhunning the Combat, whereas it was reported, that the Turks with great aſſurance marched near unto a Caſtle of the Chriſtians, to make head upon a Paſſage whereby our men were to retire; he turned head toward the ſame place, with a firm Reſolution, with true Valour upon the ſudden to encounter the Enemy, which had thought to have ſurpriſed him by Cowardiſe. And the Souldiers, weakened with Hunger, although they well apprehended the Danger of this Deſign; yet reſting upon the great Reſolution of their General, and conſidering the Neceſſity they had to go farther for their ſafety, upon a good Courage were content to follow whitherſoever their General would; who led them directly unto the aforeſaid Caſtle, where it was expected that the Turks ſhould have charged them. But being come thither, there was no body to be ſeen; and yet our men, as hungry as they were, ſtayed there one day in ambuſh, expecting the coming of their Enemies; who, for all that, having no mind to meet them, appeared not, but gave them Time and Liberty in ſafety to retire themſelves every man unto his own Garriſon, to refreſh themſelves, and to recover their Strength.

The honorable Reſolution of *Collonitz*.

But now whilſt our Men of War, after theſe Troubles in *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*, repoſe themſelves; let us in the mean time take our Journey to *Conſtantinople*, and go unto the Marriage of *Haſſan Baſſa*, one of the Viſiers of the Grand Seignior, and laſt year General of the Turks Army in *Hungary*.

At ſuch time as he departed from this great City, to goe unto the Conqueſt of *Alba-Regalis*, *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Emperour, reſolved to ſet all upon the regaining of this City; cauſed to be preſented unto him a Crown and a Sword, the one in reward of his Valour, if he returned with Victory from this exploit; and the other in Revenge of his Cowardiſe, if he failed in the performance thereof; promiſing him indeed his Siſter in Mariage, amongſt other the glorious Rewards and Trophies of his Victory; and threatning him with Death, as a Puniſhment amongſt the Griefs of his Diſhonour. But it came to paſs, that by the Cowardiſe of our men, he came unto the effect of his deſire (as is aforeſaid) and took the City, which promiſed unto him the glorious Triumph in *Conſtantinople*. And under the ſweet influence of this Planet he returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he found all things in readineſs for the ſatisfying of his Expectation, and the Advancement of his Glory. He is magnificently received of his Prince, courteouſly ſaluted by all the Nobility, and with greateſt reverence poſſible honoured of the People. And as he had happily diſcharged his Charge, he found in like manner all things prepared and in readineſs for the performance of the promiſe of the Grand Seignior, his Lord and Maſter, who had cauſed them to be in moſt ſumptuous manner provided for the ſolemnizing of the Marriage, and the contentment of the Baſſa. But nothing now wanting that he could have deſired or wiſhed, more than the very ſolemnizing of the Marriage it ſelf, and that alſo every day of all men expected; the *Janizaries* and *Spahi*, with the other Souldiers of the Court, to the number of five and twenty thouſand, even upon the ſudden, when as no ſuch thing was feared, came, and in Arms preſented themſelves before the Divano, or Tribunal, holden for the chief Adminiſtration of Juſtice in the Turks Palace, the firſt four days in every week; and having ſet Guards at the Court Gates, the more ſafely to execute what they were before reſolved upon, proudly demanded to have Audience for certain of the *Spahi* and *Janizaries*, of whom they had made choice, in the names of them all, to deliver unto the great Baſſaes their Grievances, and the Cauſes of that their Aſſembly. Who, as ſoon as they were entered into the *Divano* before the Baſſaes, (of whom the moſt couragious of them was not without fear, as looking for nothing but for preſent death) they at the firſt demanded to have *Haſſan Baſſa* delivered unto them; Who, thinking that his Head ſhould have ſerved for a Sacrifice to pacifie this their Fury; as a man altogether diſmayed, wan and pale, paſſed through this mutinous Multitude, to have gone unto the great Sultan, proteſting of his own Innocency, and calling upon his Prophet *Mahomet*, to diſcover unto them the truth of all things. But they, after a thouſand Injuries and Reproaches by them heaped upon him, rudely demanded of him, whence it proceeded, that whilſt he with a great part of the Forces of the Empire was buſied in *Hungary*, for the recovering of *Alba-Regalis*, there was in the mean time no good order taken for the repreſſing of the Rebel in *Aſia*; who by ſufferance was (as they ſaid) now grown ſo proud, as with Enſigns diſplayed to come within three or four days Journey of *Conſtantinople*, the Imperial ſeat of the *Othoman* Emperours. Whereunto he in ſo ſmall fear anſwered, That he for his part had done his Duty, as well while he had the charge of the Army in *Aſia*, as now of late, whilſt he had the like charge againſt the Chriſtians in *Hungary*, as even the Enemies themſelves could witneſs. But ſeeing himſelf even ready to die, he yet requeſted them, That his guiltleſs Death might be unto the State in general profitable; and in diſcharging of his Conſcience, to declare unto them the Cauſes of this Contempt and Neglect for the ſuppreſſing of the *Aſian* Rebel, which they were ſo deſirous to know. It proceeded (as he ſaid) only from the evil Government of the Grand Sultans Mother (who then all commanded) and from the negligent careleſneſs of the *Capi-Aga*. Which his ſpeech, although they with much impatience and ſtorming gave ear unto, yet hearing him ſo well to excuſe himſelf, and to lay the blame there where they were well content it ſhould reſt; they gave him leave to go to the great Sultan, to requeſt him that they might ſpeak with him; and further to deal with him, that they might have the Head of them who had been the cauſe of this diſhonourable Service, or otherwiſe cowardly behaved themſelves in the managing of the Wars againſt the Rebels in *Aſia*; Threatning him withall, That if he failed to perform this his charge, he ſhould not fail to feel the heavy Effects of their juſt Fury. An heavy charge, yet glad was the Baſſa to undergo the ſame, to rid himſelf out of their Hands, where he ſaw himſelf in great danger, amongſt them, moſt of whom had ſome-

Haſſan Baſſa after the winning of *Alba-Regalis*, honourably received at *Conſtantinople*.

1603

The *Spahi* and *Janizaries* in mutiny, demand Audience of the great Baſſaes.

Haſſan Baſſa in great fear of his Life.

1603

ſometimes ſerved under him, than amongſt ſo many his moſt mortal Enemies; but what Remedy? he muſt now ſo do or die therefore; for which he was the more to be excuſed. So in great fear coming unto the great Sultan, almoſt as fearful as himſelf, he ſhewed unto him the great danger like even preſently to enſue, by the Mutiny of his beſt Souldiers, and Guarders of his Perſon; perſwading him, betime to appeaſe their Fury, before they had embrued themſelves with Blood; for fear of further danger like enough to enſue, as well unto his own Perſon, as unto the reſt of his moſt faithful and truſty Counſellor, from ſuch furious headſtrong men, up in tumult with their Arms in their Hands. And although that a Prince ought not for the Greatneſs of his Eſtate to do any thing as thereunto forced by his Subjects, leſt in ſo doing he might breed in them a Contempt of himſelf, and increaſe their Inſolency; that yet nevertheleſs, in this Action, being altogether extraordinary, he was not to reſt upon that point; for that theſe mutinous Souldiers turned not their Weapons (as they pretended) againſt his Imperial Power and Soveraignty, but rather to the contrary, againſt the Contemners thereof, ſeeking to be revenged upon them that had done him ſuch evil Service for the maintenance of his Honour and Majeſty, and for the Puniſhment of the inſolent and diſloyal. And that therefore the Juſtice of the Cauſe requiting and covering the Malice of the Fact, he was of Opinion, That it were beſt for him to yield a little unto the Zeal of theſe his beſt Souldiers, and to ſatisfie their juſt deſire, although they had by very evil and unlawful means ſought for the ſame. And therefore adviſed his Majeſty, in ſome ſort to ſatisfie the juſt Complaints of theſe men, armed for the Revenge of his Honour; and to chaſtiſe the chief Commanders of his *Aſian* Forces, ſuch as by whoſe Treachery or Cowardiſe his Service being neglected, had armed theſe men againſt them; with the ſame hand puniſhing ſuch as had wronged his Majeſty in Honour, and appeaſing the diſcontented for the good of his Service. *Mahomet* thus by the Baſſa perſwaded, as alſo to ſhew himſelf in his Majeſty unto theſe his diſcontented Subjects, one part of their deſire; the Neceſſity of the Cauſe ſo requiring, in his Imperial Seat preſented himſelf unto them, accompanied with the *Mufti*, (the great Mahometan Prieſt) and ſome few others of the Reverend Doctors of their Law; who, by the Sultan commanded to ſit down, and the Baſſaes ſtanding up (ſo great the reſpect is to men of that ſort, even in a barbarous Nation of ſo ſmall reſpect) the chief of the ſeditious ſtepping forth, demanded leave to ſpeak both for himſelf and the reſt. Which being granted, he boldly thus began;

Haſſan Baſſa perſwadeth the Great Turk to give way unto the *Janizaries*, and to grant them their Requeſt.

Mahomet by the perſwaſion of *Haſſan Baſſa*, ſheweth himſelf to the mutinous Souldiers of the Court.

The proud and rude Speech of one of the Mutineers unto *Mahomet* the Great Sultan.

MOſt happy and mighty Emperour, we the Spahies *and* Janizaries, *thy obedient Slaves, full of Grief and Diſcontentment to ſee a great part of thine Empire in danger to be loſt; deſire to know of thee the cauſe why thy Greatneſs doth not remedy it, and imploy the means which God hath given thee. They ſuppoſe that the Rebels Courſes in* Aſia *are unto thee unknown, ſeeing they have been ſo hardy as to come in Arms ſo near unto thy Imperial City, the Place of thine abode, and that without any let or reſiſtance. They deſire to know if all this hath been made known unto thee, and whither thou wilt take upon thy ſelf the care of the Government of thy great Monarchy, or no; which through the negligent careleſneſs and evil Government of ſome by thee put in truſt, is like unto a body with great and well proportioned Members, but of little or no Strength or Power. Or elſe, that thou, void of care, canſt be content that all ſhould be diſmembred, and ſo every man to take unto himſelf what he can lay hands of, as the Rebels do in* Aſia.

Now let no man marvel at this preſumptuous rude Speech of a proud *Janizary*, unto his Soveraign; for why, they are the men which may moſt boldly ſpeak in *Turky*, they are the ſtay of the Turk's Empire, the Great Sultans Children acknowledging no other Father but them; nay rather, the Great Turk himſelf is their Creature, for they raiſe him up and confirm him in the Empire; they are his greateſt Strength, and unto them he is moſt beholden. If *Mahomet* were with ſo inſolent a Speech much moved, he was not juſtly to be therefore blamed; howbeit, being beſet with ſuch a furious tumult with Weapons in their hands, and having no means to withſtand their Fury, he wiſely diſſembled his inward Choler, and with a fair Countenance, and a Majeſty full of Mildneſs, with the beſt and calmeſt words he could deviſe, ſought to appeaſe them; imputing the Diſorder and evil Succeſs of his Affairs unto the unfaithfulneſs of his Miniſters, and the concealing of the Truth thereof from him. Saying moreover, That before this their Complaint he had reſolved to reform theſe Matters, and to take from them all Occaſions of Diſcontentment, or for them to uſe any ſuch Speech as was not beſeeming them; whoſe Obedience and Reſpect of loyal Duty unto him their Soveraign, ſhould have been an Example unto the reſt of his Subjects. Upon which Speech, they fiercely demanded of *Haſſan Baſſa*, Why he had not given an account unto his Majeſty, of the Rebels proceeding in *Aſia*. Who anſwered, That he had never failed of his Duty therein, but that he had been always hindered ſo to do by the *Capi-Aga*; ſaying, That it was not needful to trouble him their Soveraign therewith, (having committed theſe Matters to others) but to reform and amend them as well as they might otherwiſe, without giving of him any ſuch diſtate concerning theſe Matters. And further, That the cauſe of all theſe Diſorders proceeded from the Empreſs his Mother, the *Capi-Aga*, and ſome few others, unto whom he had commended the managing of thoſe his Affairs. With which his anſwer the Mutineers more moved, furiouſly ſaid, That they were thither aſſembled to demand the heads of ſuch Offenders; being reſolved to take another courſe, *if he* ſhould refuſe to grant it them; [meaning thereby to make a new Emperour.] Whereunto for all that, the great Sultan anſwered, That it was no Reaſon, neither that he would for their Humours put ſuch as they demanded innocently to death; but willed them to reſt themſelves contented, until it might by order of Juſtice be tryed whether they had deſerved death or no, and that then he would give them even his own Son, if he were found culpable. But the Mutineers, conſtant in their Reſolution, again replyed, That he had not by Juſtice put his Brethren to death, but for the Preſervation of the State; and that thoſe whom they ſo demanded were ſo guilty of that wherewith they were charged, as that they deſerved not to have an orderly Tryal; That the Laws, how juſt ſoever, ſhould be unprofitable, and Juſtice Injury, if they were not by them to be puniſhed; and that therefore it muſt needs be ſo, or els that they would take therein a courſe themſelves. As for the Empreſs his Mother, they were contented that ſhe ſhould be confined unto ſome place farther off, and no more to meddle in Matters of State. A ſtrange thing it was, to ſee ſo great a Prince ſo to be forced by the Sedition and Mutiny of his Subjects, to deliver ſo great an Officer of his Court as was the *Capi-Aga*, with ſuch others as they required, to be uſed at their Diſcretion. But the violent Reſolution of theſe moſt inſolent men ſo up in Mutiny, made the Sultan *Mahomet* wiſely to yield to what they demanded; cauſing the *Capi-Aga*, and the others

1603

Sultan *Mahomet* withmild Words ſeeketh to appeaſe the mutinous Souldiers of the Court.

Haſſan Baſſa excuſeth himſelf, and layeth the fault upon the Empreſs, *Mahomet's* Mother, and the *Capi-Aga*.

1603 The Capi Aga, with ſome others, executed.

others to be brought forth; who preſented themſelves unto their fury as men already half dead. *Mahomet* did what he might to have ſaved them, but the Mutineers with a great and dreadful Clamour ſtill cried out to have them diſpatched; neither could they be appeaſed until they ſaw their Heads ſtruck from their Bodies. For the loſs of whom, ſo dear unto him, *Mahomet* inwardly grieved; to be in ſome part revenged, commanded the Executioner to proceed, and to do unto ſome other of the chief Baſſaes (whom he knew to be much beloved and reſpected of the Janizaries, and whom he could have been content to have been rid of) as he had done unto the Capi-Aga and the reſt; but then the murmuring and mutiny of the Janizaries was in ſuch ſort increaſed, and as it were redoubled, as that *Mahomet* was for fear forced with patience to temper his Choler, and by giving way ſo to appeaſe them. The Empreſs, the Sultan's Mother, for all that was not then confined, but reſerved to the farther troubling of the State.

Mahomet glad to give way unto his mutinous Souldiers.

With like Tyranny, and no leſs Injuſtice, *Mahomet* but a few days before had cauſed *Capin*, one of his great Baſſaes, to be beheaded; but whether it were for the deſire he had of his Wealth and Riches, or for the envy of his Honour and Valour, was uncertain; howbeit, the former Cauſe ſeemed unto many to be the more probable, for that *Mahomet*, immediately after his death, took the whole Spoil of his Wealth, and ſeiſed upon all his Goods except 400000 Duckats, which *Caly Baſſa*, Father of the dead Baſſa, had detained for himſelf. Which his purloining, *Mahomet* having diſcovered (as the eye of the covetous man is always fixed upon his Prey) demanded one day of the Baſſa, If it were true that he had retained unto himſelf thoſe 400000 Duckats? Which Fact the Baſſa, partly for fear, and partly for Covetouſneſs, conſtantly denied, and ſwore himſelf to be guiltleſs from any ſuch Crime; whereupon, he was forthwith taken, and thinking by lying to have ſaved his Life, was for the Truth put to death, without any farther Examination of the matter, having his Head ſtruck off. Such is the ſmall aſſurance, even of the greateſt that live in Tyrants Courts. Neither reſted his greedy mind ſo contented with the Baſſa's Blood; for why, that ſerved but for a ſhew, it was his Wealth muſt work that cure, which was all forthwith ſeiſed upon, rifled, and carried away, to ſatisfie in effect the greedy Appetite of the hungry Tyrant, who changed the Dowry and Succeſſion of the Wife and Children of the dead Baſſa, into Bonds, Chains, Priſons, and Slaveries.

Other Cruelties of Sultan *Mahomet*.

Mahomet, another Baſſa, with theſe Cruelties diſmayed, and perceiving the like evil hap and danger to hang over his own Head that had overwhelmed *Calil* and his Son, reſolved to have provided for himſelf againſt this Miſchief, by flying unto the Rebels in *Aſia*. But this his purpoſe diſcovered by certain Spies (which ſerve as means to open a way unto the Turks cruelty) and he, with one of the chief Followers of *Capin Baſſa*, taken by the Janizaries, were both by them cut in pieces.

Mahomet Baſſa by the Janizaries ſlain.

But whilſt theſe things thus paſſed at *Conſtantinople*, the Rebels with all diligence proſecuted their Rebellion in *Aſia*, and bent their Forces againſt the great Towns there. Their Army was exceeding great, every man joyning himſelf unto the firſt Forces which were in good Eſtate, being not as yet by any greater Power repreſſed, and rich with the Spoils that they had taken. Theſe men had beſieged *Angore*, a great and ſtrong Town in *Aſia*, and ſeemed reſolutely ſet down for the carrying thereof. Whereof the Citizens being afraid, and out of hope of Relief, came to Parle, offering unto them a Sum of Mony to redeem themſelves and their City; and ſo in fine agreed to give them 200000 Duckats; upon the ready payment whereof, the Rebels, without more ado, preſently departed.

The Succeſs of the Rebels in *Aſia*.

Shortly after, the new Captains of Sultan *Mahomet* arrived there alſo, whom he had placed in the places of them whom he had before executed for the appeaſing of the Souldiers of the Court, who would needs make it Treaſon, and put to Death the Citizens, for having given ſuch Money as is aforeſaid, unto the Rebels, tho it were done for the Preſervation of their Lives: as if the Laws were to be reſpected in the horrors of Neceſſity, or that Life were to become a Slave unto Riches, and Riches not made for the uſe of Man's Life. Well, needs they would for this ſuppoſed Treaſon (as they pretended) have put them to death, and ſacked their City; but indeed all was in their greedy fury to have carried away that which the Rebels had in their Mercy left them. Theſe poor Citizens, with this ſo cruel a Reſolution diſmayed, and out of all hope of finding favour at ſuch mercileſs mens hands, reſolved now to hazard all, and ſo upon the ſudden taking up Arms, ſtood upon their own defence. Hereupon aroſe a great and cruel Fight betwixt theſe Souldiers and the Citizens, both the Subjects of one Prince, and all of them of one and the ſelf-ſame Superſtition; but the one ſide, armed with Pride and Covetouſneſs, and the other with Neceſſity and Deſpair: howbeit, at laſt the juſter Cauſe prevailing, the Citizens overcame theſe new-come Souldiers, and having ſlain a great number of them, chaſed the reſt out of the City. This evil Encounter of theſe new Captains even at the firſt entrance into their Charges, given them by the Subjects themſelves, increaſed the Rebels Courage, ſo that they, being in number forty thouſand, under the leading of one of the *Tartar Han*'s Brethren, beſieged *Burſe*, a great and rich City, being the Store-houſe for the warlike Proviſions of *Aſia*, and the Place whereunto the Turks Cuſtoms, Taxes, and Subſidies of *Aſia* were brought, and there kept. Theſe men, after certain days beſtowed in the Siege, and great Reſiſtance made by the beſieged, at length by force carried the Place, ſlew the Inhabitants, and ſacked the City. Which Exploit, gracing their Fortune with Honour and Booty, increaſed alſo their Power and Reputation; ſo that re-doubled on all ſides, and increaſed with Courage and Spoils, *Mahomet* diſmayed, reſolved by fair means to appeaſe them, and to entreat with them of Peace. This good Fortune had drawn unto their part the Governour of *Babylon*, either weary of the Service of the Turk, or deſirous by the Ruine of the State in general, to increaſe his own Power; whoſe Revolt greatly increaſed the Rebels Power, and diminiſhed the Grand Seignior's. Beſide theſe Miſhaps alſo, the great Shaugh of *Perſia* (commonly called the *Sophi*) thruſting himſelf into theſe Diſorders, to make his Gain, and to fiſh (as they ſay) in a troubled Water, had now taken *Corbery*, a ſtrong Town upon the Borders of the Turk's Empire, and was making himſelf ready for new Conqueſts. All which Tempeſts ariſing as it were in one together, cauſed *Mahomet* to ſtrike Sail, and maugre his Imperial Dignity and Honour, to ſeek for Peace; which indeed could not be great in ſuch weakneſs of his nature, neither brave in ſuch his great want of Courage. For great Dignities and Honours, without Valour to maintain them, are but like rich Garments which cover Bodies almoſt rotten, but heal them not. *Mahomet*, deſirous to come to ſome good agreement with his rebellious Subjects, at length (but not without his great diſhonour) obtained the ſame; granting to them all their Demands, diſarming them by yielding unto them, and not by Valour; and giving

1603

The Turks together by the ears amongſt themſelves.

1603 unto *Zellalie*, one of their Chieftains, the moſt honourable place of the Baſſa of *Boſna*, to content his Ambition, and to bind him therewith to do his Service. The ready way by ſufferance to increaſe the diſloyal Subjects Courage, inſtead of ſtopping their Fury by the ſeverity of Juſtice; for to grace a Rebel with Offices of Authority, is but to arm him with lawful Power, for him the better to undertake whatſoever ſhall beſt fit his Appetite and Deſire, upon the hope of his own private and certain Profit or Advancement.

The Captains and Souldiers murmur againſt their Sultan *Mahomet*.

Mahomet's other Captains and Men of War, ſeeing this diſhonourable Peace of their Prince, and Preferment of the Rebels, honoured with Honours and Dignities, inſtead of Pains and Puniſhments which they ſhould of right have for their Rebellion indured; began to enter into great Murmuring and Diſcontentment againſt their great Sultan. They conſidered his unjuſt dealing and baſe fear, in advancing the Rebels unto ſuch Honours and Dignities, as of right belonged unto his moſt faithful and loyal Officers and Servants, by ſuch their unworthy Preferments making them Slaves unto his Enemies, and Vaſſals unto the Rebels; they, to their diſhonour and loſs, by their Inſolency and Treachery, injoying the Honours and Preferments of right due unto their faithful and loyal Services. Which dangerous Perſwaſions tranſported them ſo far from their Allegiance and Duty, as to undertake a greater and more perillous matter againſt his Crown and Dignity, than had the Rebels before by taking up of Arms in the Field againſt him, whereunto the aſſured knowledge they had of his Cowardiſe encouraged them alſo; ſo that their Reſolution was to thruſt him out of his Imperial State, and to ſet up his eldeſt Son, called alſo *Mahomet*, in his Place. Theſe are the ordinary Effects of Injuſtice and Cowardiſe, the overthrow of Princes; their Injuſtice through Cruelty arming all Creatures againſt them; and their Cowardiſe through Contempt diſpenſing with every man for his Duty; ſo that he muſt be juſt, that will keep his Subjects in order; and valiant, that muſt hold them in awe.

Mahomet in danger to be depoſed from his Empire, and his eldeſt Son ſet up in his Place.

Unto theſe Diſcontentments theſe Mutineers joyned alſo (as I ſaid) the ſlothfulneſs, effeminateneſs, and ſufficiency of *Mahomet*, unfit to deal in matters of Eſtate, and altogether unable to manage Arms. He was too cowardly, as they thought, to repreſs their Valour by force, and too weak to croſs their Deſigns by Wiſdom; which not a little incouraged them in that their ſo deſperate and dangerous a Reſolution. They drew alſo into this their Plot the Sultaneſs *Mahomet*, his chief Wife, and Mother to the young Prince; who, blinded with Ambition (the bane of great Spirits) had not the hap to reject their Perſwaſions, as dangerous unto her and her Son, but ſhutting her Eyes againſt the due Conſideration of Loyalty and Duty, caſt both her ſelf and her Son headlong into the midſt of moſt deſperate Dangers.

This Project (of no leſs importance, than of the depoſing of one of the greateſt Monarchs of the World) reſolved upon, ſome of theſe men, according to the manner of the Turks, joining Superſtition unto their Deſigns, conſulted with an Aſtrologer, concerning the Succeſs of the Actions of the young Prince, whom they were about to inſtall in his Fathers Imperial Throne. This man, to be excuſed in his Trumperies, ſeeing that to deceive is the chief point of his Art, erected the figure of the Princes Nativity, conſulted with his Spirits, conſidered the coeleſtial Bodies, and in fine, arrived at the point of his Judgment, for the good and welfare of the Prince; and thereupon diſpatched an Eunuch towards the Sultaneſs, with theſe pleaſing Speeches, That ſhe ſhould be of good courage and in aſſured hope that the young Prince her Son, within a few days ſhould have the Imperial Crown ſet upon his Head, and the Royal Scepter put into his hand; his Art (as he ſaid) promiſing unto him theſe Honours, by the Favour of the Coeleſtial Bodies, of whom he had learned theſe News; and by the Conference with Spirits, from whom he had this aſſurance. But O the vain and fooliſh knowledge of Man againſt God! attributing unto the ſecond Cauſes, that which altogether belongeth unto his own Power; robbing him of his own Providence, which extendeth over all, to give the ſame unto Creatures, which neither have their own Being, neither are able of themſelves to bring forth, or to work any Effects at all without it! and that more is, to give certain credit unto the Enemy of all Faith and Belief, even to the Father of leaſing, who taketh as much Glory in falſhood, as God himſelf doth in truth; as being the proper mark of his Power. For it chanced that theſe Letters, ſent by the Eunuch to the Sultaneſs, were intercepted and brought unto *Mahomet* the Great Sultan, whom they moſt concerned; whereupon it ſo fell out, that he which took upon him to foretell the long Life and Empire to befall to another man, could not foreſee the end of his own Life, which followed him faſt, even at the heels, being himſelf by the Commandment of the great Sultan, with the young Prince, the Eunuch, and fifty others of the Conſpirators, and ſuch as were conſenting unto the Conſpiracy, moſt cruelly ſtrangled, and the Sultaneſs her ſelf drowned. Howbeit, ſome report this young Prince to have been ſtrangled upon ſuſpicion of conſpiring againſt his Father, with the Rebels of *Aſia*; which after his Death being found not to be ſo, the Baſſa which put that Suſpicion into *Mahomets* Head, to have been therefore worthily hanged. But with theſe Contentments taken from the Croſſes of our Enemies, let us again return unto *Hungary*.

1603

Mahomet cauſeth his eldeſt Son, with divers others to be ſtrangled.

The laſt year ended with the great brute of the coming of the *Tartar Han*, with a great Army into *Hungary*, and now he had diſpatched his Ambaſſadors towards the King of *Polonia*, to demand of him Tribute, and paſſage through his Country. Great and proud demands to be both at once required. But the King of *Polonia* requited him again with the like, denying him both the one and the other, roughly anſwering of his Threats. Which ſo reſolute and blunt a refuſal, cauſed the proud Tyrant to change his intended courſe, and for fear of being defeated by the *Polonians* in paſſing through their Country, (as the *Tartars* had often been) before he could come into *Hungary*, took another way, and turned with his Army toward *Valachia*. Of whoſe coming, *Radul* the Vayvod underſtanding, and that beſide the forraging of his Country, they had a purpoſe to diſplace him, and to ſet up another Vayvod in his ſtead; with great diligence gathered together the greateſt Power that he could, and ſo marched unto the Borders of his Country, there to attend the coming of theſe *Tartars*, and to ſtay them from entring. Which in effect fell out according to his deſire, for the barbarous People being arrived, and attempting with all their force to have entred, were by this little Army encountered; which, commanding the Country, took all the advantages of the ſtrait paſſages, and there notably repulſed the fierce Enemy. Two of the firſt encounters fell out fortunately unto the *Valachians*, who therein ſlew about 3000 of the *Tartars*; whoſe avantguard for all that ſtill came on, and at the third encounter ſo long maintained the fight, that their whole Army was now come in, and hardly charged the *Valachians*; whoſe

The Polonian denieth the *Tartars* Paſſage through his Country, into *Hungary*.

Divers hard Conflicts betwixt the *Tartars* and the *Valachians*, in their paſſage through *Valachia*.

1603 whoſe Fortune ſurcharged, began then to change, the hardy being conſtrained to bow under the multitude, and valor forced to yield unto number. Which was not done without a long and cruel fight, both Armies encountring with great Courage and Fury, the one for the defence of their Country, and the other for an entrance unto their Conqueſts. Howbeit, the ſtrong Enemy at length prevailed, and entring into *Valachia*, brought in with it Ruine, Death, and Deſtruction.

The Tartars in Hungary. The *Tartars* having by force thus opened themſelves a way through *Valachia*, and grievouſly ſpoiled the Country, were come with their Army to *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, a Town in *Hungary*, to joyn their Forces with *Haſſan Baſſa*, now after his Marriage returned into this Country with a great Army to continue his Charge; who cauſed the *Tartars* to be muſtered in his Preſence, and found them to be forty thouſand ſtrong. Men of great Courage againſt the weak, but meer Cowards before the Courageous; who, inſtead of aſſaulting the Walls of any ſtrong Town, fell upon the Cottages of poor Country Villages, ranſacking and pillaging the poor Inhabitants, as well in the Villages of the Territories ſubject unto the Turks, as in the Territories of the Chriſtians; conſtraining the poor People, contraty to their Conſcience, and to the Prejudice of their Faith, to ſwear to ſerve the Turk; Beſides that, they inforced them to furniſh them with all warlike Proviſion and Munition, which they put into *Caniſia*, but a while after that, our men had defeated the Garriſon there. Neither were they ſo contented, all the Neighbours being thereabouts ſubject to this Tempeſt; for they paſſed into *Stiria* with their Families, and over-ran a part of that Province, ſpoiling it of Men, Cattel, and Goods; leaving inſtead of them, Deſtruction, Miſery, and Death; and carried away with them two thouſand poor Chriſtians for Slaves, whom they ſold unto the Turks, and made great profit of them. From thence they went into the Country of *Shavary*, embruing themſelves with the Blood of the Chriſtians, rifling their Villages, and after that burning them; carrying away with them a thouſand Chriſtian Captives into moſt miſerable Bondage and Slavery. Which cruel Outrages, afterward thruſt the valiant Colonel *Collonitz* into the Field, againſt theſe barbarous People, to ſtay their Incurſions, and to defeat them if he could.

Great ſpoil made by the Tartars in Hungary, Stiria, and Shavarie.

Collonitz oppoſeth his Forces againſt the Tartars.

This worthy Commander had but a few days before been troubled in appeaſing the French light Horſemen in Garriſon in the Villages about *Roquesburg*, riſen up in Mutiny for their Pay; whoſe hot and moved Spirits, he by his Wiſdom ſo calmed, as that they were content again to be ſworn to the Emperour, and ſo joyned themſelves unto the Army of *Collonitz*, which was then 10000 good men Strong.

In the mean time, the *Tartars*, greedy of Prey, and ſtill ſeeking after Booty, ranſack'd and ſpoiled five and twenty Country Villages about *Veradin*; all which they afterward burned alſo, carrying away with them a great Booty both of Men and Cattel; no man reſiſting them. At which time, other Companies of them alſo invaded the County *Serin*'s Iſland as far as *Rackenſpurge*, made in it great ſpoil, as had their Fellows elſewhere; and beſide other Booty, carried away with them two thouſand Chriſtian Captives. Theſe outrages of the *Tartars* armed the County on the one ſide, and *Collonitz* on the other; who courageouſly oppoſing themſelves againſt theſe *Barbarians*, for a time ſtay'd their Incurſions, they not daring to abide the force of this little Army, ſufficient enough, for the Valour thereof, to have overthrown that of their Enemies, for number dreadful. This made them to turn their courſe another way into *Sclavonia*, being in number five and thirty thouſand men, leaving nothing behind them there but Death and Deſolation, for the number of Priſoners and great Booties which they carried from thence. Amongſt other their ſpoils, it was their Fortune by the way to meet with ſix hundred of the Chriſtian Souldiers, of whom not one eſcaped their hands, but were ſlain every Mothers Son. At length it ſo fortuned, that certain of their Troops in roaming abroad, fell into the danger of the County *Serin*; who with his Followers ſtill hovered aloof off, for fear to be of their great Multitude overwhelmed; a part whereof now falling into his hands, were by his Souldiers overthrown and all cut in pieces, and a number of Chriſtian Captives by them taken, delivered out of Chains, and ſet at Liberty. Which Exploit, was greater for the fear it brought upon the Enemy, than for the ſlaughter there made. For the *Tartars*, ſtill in doubt to meet again with the Chriſtian Troops (who left not one of them alive that they could light on) were glad now to keep themſelves cloſer together, and ſo did a great deal the leſs harm than when they, without fear roamed up and down at their Pleaſure; ſo that even by this little Victory the Country received ſome Comfort, and the Earl greater Honour; ſmall helps being infinite Treaſures in time of Neceſſity, which out of it would not be to be reckoned of.

The Tartars repreſſed by County Serin.

The Garriſon Souldiers of *Caniſia*, of late defeated by *Collonitz*, in going to meet the Convoy coming towards them with Victuals (as is before declared) the reſt of the Garriſon, deſirous to be revenged were conſulting of the means how to bring the ſame to paſs. It fortuned, that at the ſame time there was a fugitive Chriſtian Souldier in the Town, who made ſhew of a man male-content, deſirous to turn Turk, of whom the Turks made much reckoning, for that he ſeemed to know much of the Deſigns of the Chriſtians, and the means how to croſs them; whereof he ſo aſſured them, as if the matter had been now already done; promiſing to bring them even into the midſt of the Chriſtian Camp, and to deliver it into their Hands and Power. Howbeit, his meaning was nothing leſs; for ſeeing the Turks much buſied with carrying in of Victuals into the Caſtle, brought into the Town after the overthrow of their Fellows before ſent forth for the bringing in thereof, and wholly intentive to that Buſineſs; knowing the place in the Caſtle where the Powder and Munition lay, he at the ſame time, by a Traif lay'd Fire thereunto, and afterward, amidſt the tumult and the ſtir, by a loop-hole in the Wall, got himſelf out of the Town, and came to *Collonitz*, who with his Troops lay near thereby in ambuſh, expecting the Opportunity to perform ſome notable exploit upon the Succeſs of ſo dangerous an adventure, whereunto he had before been made privy. Neither failed the fire any thing of the accuſtomed violence thereof, but ſeemed rather to redouble the ſame, it had ſo ſuddenly conſumed the Buildings, Munitions, and Perſons. All the place felt the Fury thereof; the Cannons, Canoneers, Souldiers, and whatſoever elſe, was ſubject unto this dreadful blaſt; all was ſhaken and turned upſide down, yea the fire burſt out of the Caſtle, and burnt the greateſt part of the Town alſo. There was a Confuſion of fear, miſhap, and miſery together, the Terror whereof cauſed many of the Turks to caſt themſelves over the Walls, in hope ſo to have ſaved their Lives; but whilſt they

A notable Exploit done by a fugitive Chriſtian.

1603 they thought ſo to have eſcaped the Danger of the Fire, they preſently fell upon the edge of the Sword; for, meeting with the Souldiers of *Collonitz*, (who lying in ambuſh near thereby, awaited the opportunity in that ſo confuſed a Tumult, to have ſeiſed upon the place) they were all either taken Priſoners, or ſlain. But ſee the hap, how one croſs chance of Fortune overthrew this ſo notable a Deſign, as had it been well followed, might in one moment have recovered that ſtrong Place, which had before for the ſpace of many days indured the greateſt Forces of the *Othoman* Emperour; neither yet was then ſo loſt, but through the infamous Treachery of our own men.

A fair Opportunity for the recovery of *Canifia*, overſlip'd through the diſloyalty of the *French* and *Wallons*.

You have heard before, how that *Collonitz* had by fair Perſwaſions, rather than by true Effects, appeaſed the *French-men* and *Wallons*, up in mutiny for their Pay; ſo that by him perſwaded, they had again given their Oath of Fidelity unto the Emperour, and to follow his Army. But now, when occaſion ſerved, and held out as it were both her Arms unto the Chriſtians, for the regaining and conqueſt of *Canifia*, theſe *French-men* and *Wallons*, the greateſt part of *Collonitz*'s ſtrength, injuriouſly refuſed her ſo fair an offer; and at ſuch time as they ſhould rather have fought naked, then have failed in their Duty, (it being to have gained a moſt great and rich Conqueſt) for want of Pay (as they pretended) turned their backs, and being by no great intreaty or perſuaſions to be moved, to the Diſcouragement of the reſt, who were better minded, and their own eternal Infamy, withdrew themſelves from the Army: So that *Collonitz*, rather by the wicked unfaithfulneſs of his own diſloyal Souldiers, than by the Valour of his Enemies, diſappointed of his purpoſe, was to his great Diſcontentment, contrary to that he hoped, inforced to retire without any thing more doing.

The *Tartars* defeated by the *Huſſars* of the Lord *Nadaſti*.

While this Exploit, ſo well begun, but evil performed, was in hand, the *Turks* and *Tartars* aſſembled together, made a cruel ſpoil in the Country about *Rab*, even almoſt unto the Gates of the Town, carrying away with them a great number both of Men and Beaſts. In fine, it chanced that the *Huſſars* of the Lord *Nadaſti* came that way, who underſtanding what had happened, with all ſpeed made after theſe Robbers, overtook them in their retreat near unto *Alba-Regalis*, ſlew a great number of them, and inforced the reſt to leave a great part of their Prey behind them. With which Booty, recovered even out of the Lyons Mouth, they returned to *Rab*; of whom, the poor Inhabitants and Country People, with Tears ſtanding in their Eyes, requeſted to have again their own Goods. But War, the enemy of Charity, and nurſe of barbarous Cruelty, had ſo hardned the Hearts of theſe men of War, as that they were not to be moved to reſtore them their Cattel again, but that they muſt redeem them for preſent Money, which they did and ſo received them.

Now the Noble *Collonitz*, ſeeing himſelf ſo ſhamefully forſaken of his own Souldiers, and diſappointed of his purpoſe, and the *Turks* and *Tartars* in great numbers coming to the relief and repairing of this ſo ſore ſhaken a Town; and out of hope to do any good thereon, full of Grief and Indignation returned towards *Comora*: And howbeit, that evil hap had cruelly fruſtrated the glory of his Enterpriſe, yet the Heavens, in deſpight of Fortunes frown, left not this noble and valiant Captain altogether without Honour, but, as amorous of his Vertues and Valour, preſented unto him in this Winter of Fortunes diſpleaſure, ſome Trophies of Glory. For upon the way, as he was returning home, he met with 2000 Turks, whom, after ſome ſmall reſiſtance he cut all in pieces; miſerable Sacrifices, appointed unto the fury of his wrath. In this fight their Enſigns were all taken, and a number of Priſoners, the chief of whom, together with their Enſigns, he ſent to *Prague*, as a Preſent for the Emperour, and a token of his good Service. 1603

2000 *Turks* defeated by *Collonitz*.

The report then was, That the *Turks* and *Tartars*, with their united Forces, had forraged *Sclavonia*, taken divers ſtrong Holds, burnt a number of Villages, and carried away eight thouſand Chriſtians Priſoners, beſide a great number more ſlain with the Sword, or conſumed with Fire, and all the Cattel of the Country driven away; and that being with this booty come to *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, they had there received Command with *Mahomet Baſſa*, to beſiege *Comora*, and that all the Commanders of the Turks Army were thereupon reſolved. All which reports no whit diſmayed the Valiant *Collonitz*, or any thing altered his Deſigns; but having fortified *Comora*, againſt the intended Siege of the Turks, and taken from thence four Culverins, according to a former purpoſe by himſelf intended, reſolved now to take from the Turks the Caſtle of *Loqua* and *Boulouvenar*, the Garriſons whereof greatly annoyed the Territories of the Chriſtians, and hindred the Deſigns of this great Captain. Theſe two Caſtles are ſcituate upon a great Mariſh which ſeparateth *Hungary* from *Raſcia*, and are therefore as Bounders of *Hungary*, and ſtrong enough to be defended againſt a ſmall Army.

The Caſtle of *Loqua* beſieged by *Collonitz*.

Upon which Reſolution he ſet forward with his ſmall and valiant Power, and the fourth day arrived within the ſight of *Loqua*, a Caſtle well manned, and furniſhed with all things neceſſary for the defence thereof. The Army lodged, *Collonitz* with a Drum ſummoned the beſieged to yield up the Place, with Promiſes of Courteſie if they ſhould now accept of the ſame whilſt it was offered them; which they ſtoutly refuſed to do, ſwearing to the contrary, That they would die and live within thoſe their Walls. *Collonitz* ſeeing them ſo reſolved, firſt cauſed a Mill to be aſſaulted, which, placed over againſt the Caſtle, and well fortified, ſerved it inſtead of a Bulwark, and ſeemed hard to be taken; howbeit his men, loth to have their good Fortune even in the beginning checked, gave thereunto ſo brave an aſſault, that after the Enemy had done what he could for the defence thereof, they became Maſters of the Place, carried it, and therein lodged; but finding it dangerous to be kept, and to ſtand them in ſmall ſtead, they ſet it on fire, and afterward planted four Culverins in battery before the Caſtle. But as they were thus buſied, the Turks couragiouſly ſallied out upon them, not doubting to adventure themſelves, for the hope they had to be in ſhort time by their great Army relieved. In this ſally they met afront with the *Haiducks*, whom they fiercely charged, and ſo gauled them, that having ſlain thirty of them, they retired without any loſs; forthwith diſcharging ſo many thundering Shot and Arrows upon our men, as that they well knew not how to ſave themſelves from the danger of them, in ſuch ſort, that all the ways to approach the place being ſtopped, they began to deviſe how to ſet the Caſtle on fire; which they by certain Fire-works attempted, but to ſmall purpoſe, the fire being no ſooner kindled, but that it was forthwith by the Turks quenched. This done, and our men diſappointed of their hope, they deviſed to ſet fire upon the timber which joyned the Paliſado to the Caſtle ſtretching toward the Port. Which their attempt ſorted but to ſmall effect alſo, the fire burning but ſlowly to do the Enemies any great harm. All which Devices failing, they reſolved by plain force to aſſault the Caſtle, and to ſcale the ſame; which Enterpriſe reſolved upon, the *Haiducks* carrying before them certain ſtrong and thick Planks of Wood, inſtead

1603 inſtead of Targuets, to defend them from the ſmall Shot and Arrows of their Enemies; by this Device gained the Paliſado placed upon the Ditch; and being there in ſome ſafety, with their Muſquets and Harquebuzes ſo applyed the beſieged, that they drave them from their Curtains, and made that they durſt no more ſhew themſelves upon the Walls. And immediately after, two Companies of the *Haiducks* placed ten Ladders againſt one of the Towers of the Caſtle, and ſo with their Enſigns in their hands courageouſly mounted the Ladders, in hope to have gained the Place; but the Turks, as men reſolved to live and dye in their Caſtle, valiantly repulſed thoſe *Haiducks*, and by force drew in unto them from off the Ladders, the two Enſign-bearers of the *Haiducks*, whoſe Heads they cut off, and caſt them down unto their Fellows, which were yet coming up the Ladders; and the two Enſigns ſo gained upon the Walls, they placed in the mid'ſt of their own, as the Trophies of the Spoils of them who would have ſpoiled them. With which ſo great Courage of the Enemies, and death of their Fellows, our men not a little diſmayed, kept themſelves cloſe at the foot of the Wall, as afraid any farther to force the Place, which to their loſs they ſaw ſtored with ſuch valiant men to defend it.

Notable reſiſtance made by the beſieged Turks.

Collonitz, perceiving this diſcomfiture of theſe men, and well aſſured that the Caſtle was not but by Valour to be won, immediately drew out of every Company of the County *Ringrave*, certain of the beſt and moſt reſolute Souldiers to renew the Aſſault: Which ſo honourable a Charge they cheerfully undertook, and as men of Courage, began forthwith to mount the Ladders. Which the *Haiducks* beholding, again took courage, and partly aſhamed of themſelves, and partly to be partakers of the Spoil and Prey, if they ſhould prevail, did what they might for the winning of the Place, ſtriving now who ſhould do beſt. Which Aſſault was with ſuch fury and preaſe of men maintained, that the Turks, not able longer to withſtand ſo great Forces, were conſtrained to yield both themſelves and their Caſtle unto the fury of their angry Enemies. Which Caſtle indeed coſt much Chriſtian Blood, but yet more of the Turks; for the *Haiducks*, armed with rage and revenge, ſlew almoſt all in the Caſtle, as well *Raſcians* as *Turks*, and took the reſt Priſoners. Among others, there was an *Hungarian* Renegade there taken, whom for haſte they beheaded, being not at leiſure to impale him, the ordinary puniſhment for ſuch faithleſs Miſcreants. But during this ſpoil, made by men chafed with fury, the Wind and Fire were on their part exerciſing of their rage alſo. For the Fire which they had caſt upon the Paliſado, and which they had before neglected, as of little or no force, now increaſed with the Wind, by little and little getting hold of one thing after another, having burnt the Paliſado, got hold of the Caſtle alſo; whereunto the Souldiers (loaded with Prey and Booty, the things they moſt deſired) had no regard at all; ſo that the Fire utterly conſumed the Caſtle, with whatſoever elſe had eſcaped their greedy hands.

The Caſtle of *Loqua* by the *Chriſtians* taken and ſacked.

The Turks in Garriſon at *Boulouvenar* (a Fortreſs but a League diſtant from this burnt Caſtle) ſeeing theſe Flames of Fire, and doubting what might betide themſelves, began to conſult what courſe were beſt for them to take, as either to attend the coming of the Enemy, and ſo to abide the chance of War, or elſe betimes to provide for themſelves by flight; the Conſideration of their Honour and Duty perſwaded them to ſtay, but the ruine of their Neighbours, as ſtrong and valiant as themſelves, perſwaded them otherwiſe. In fine, the care of the Preſervation of their Lives prevailed, and the Reſolution was, that they ſhould fly. And ſo putting all their Houſhold-ſtuff and Goods into certain Boats, there ready upon the Lake, they by the midſt thereof fled; fooliſhly perſwading themſelves, that our men coming thither, and finding nothing there, would not long there ſtay, but be gon; after whoſe departure they might, as they thought, return again unto their old dwellings, and in the mean time hide themſelves in the Mariſh, until that the Enemy were paſt. But our men coming thither, and finding no man in the Caſtle, neither yet any thing elſe that could well be carried away, wondered to ſee that there were any men ſo cowardly, as for fear to abandon ſuch a Place, as for the ſtrength thereof might have been an Example to others to ſtand upon their Guard and defence, they ſought out every Corner thereabout, to find out whither the Turks were fled. At laſt, after much diligent ſearch, they found certain Boats which the Turks had ſunk in the Channel near unto the Caſtle Gate, which cauſed them to think that they were fled by Water, and happily were in ſome place not far off. Theſe Boats were forthwith drawn up out of the Water, and found furniſhed with Oats and ſuch other things as belonged unto them. Which done, *Collonitz* choſe out certain of the moſt valiant and reſolute of the *Haiducks*, whom he commanded in thoſe Boats to follow after the Turks in the Lake. Who, accuſtomed to ſuch Exploits, and not ignorant of the Places and Secrets of their Country, went aboard and did as they were commanded. Neither had they gon paſt two Leagues upon the Lake, but that they diſcovered a party of the fugitives hid in a little Iſland, awaiting the end of this Tempeſt, to recover again that which they had forſaken. The Turks, diſmayed with the ſight of theſe men, and forced by neceſſity to ſtand upon their Guard, welcomed them with certain little faulcon ſhot, which they brought with them in their Boats, thinking to have hindered them from landing. But they were too well acquainted with ſuch Muſick to be moved therewith; beſides that, the deſire of the Booty, which was by the Turks brought out of the Caſtle into the Iſle, exceedingly animated them for the gaining thereof; ſo that all fear of Danger ſet apart, they landed in the Iſle. Whom ſo landing, the Turks with great Courage received; ſo that betwixt them was fought a greater fight than is for ſo ſmall a number on both ſides to be believed, only Valour and not number holding the Balance of the Victory. But in the end, the chief of the Turks, and he which was their Governour in *Boulouvenar*, ſlain, the reſt diſcouraged, came to Parley, yielding themſelves, with their Wives and Children, and all that they had, as a Prey unto the Victors. The Priſoners were brought back again unto the Caſtle, until the next day, that our men having put a good and ſtrong Garriſon of four hundred *Haiducks*, and two hundred *Huſſars* into *Boulouvenar*, with their Priſoners and their Booty returned toward *Comara*; where they, notwithſtanding divers Reports of the aſſembly of the Turks Garriſons for the ſurpriſing of them upon the way, in ſafety arrived, with a rich Booty, and a number of Wagons loaded with the Spoils of their Enemies. The Emperour had for his part thirteen Enſigns, beſide the Places won; which being nigh unto *Caniſia*, much bridled the Spoylings and Incurſions of that Garriſon.

1603 The *Turks* for fear forſake the Caſtle of *Boulouvenar*.

The *Turks* fled out of the Caſtle of *Boulouvenar*, ſurpriſed and overthrown.

But leaving theſe endleſs Troubles of *Hungary* for a while, let us now again look into *Tranſilvania*, to ſee what they there do. *Moyſes* the Rebel, by *Baſta* the Emperours Lieutenant (as we have before ſaid) overthrown, and diſappointed of his hope, betook himſelf unto a ſtrong Caſtle of his own,

Moyſes by *Baſta* overthrown, flyeth unto his ſtrong Caſtle of *Solomoſe*.

1603 own, called *Solomoſe*, there in fear attending the final Succeſs of his Affairs. *Baſſa* in the mean time being as wiſe to make uſe of his Victory, as he was valiant to obtain the ſame, ſubdued the reſt of the Country, repreſſed the Rebels, ſtopped the way of Sedition, and put *Moiſes* in deſpair of all Safety. Who ſeeing himſelf brought unto ſuch Extremity, offered to yield his Caſtle unto the Turks, and ſo without farther acquainting of any man with his purpoſe, thruſt himſelf, with his Wife and Family, and all the reſt of his Subſtance, into *Temeſwar*, a ſtrong City of the Turks not far off: whom the Baſſa in ſhew moſt courteouſly received, and the rather, for that he was in good hope to make a Prey of the great Wealth of this new-come Fugitive; who had not there long ſtayed, but that he had perſuaded the Captain of *Givaſgar*, a ſtrong frontier Caſtle thereby, to deliver the ſame to the Turks, and that without the Privity of the Garriſon Souldiers, for that he doubted that they would hardly be thereunto drawn; who yet getting knowledge thereof, put their Captain in remembrance of his Duty, beſeeching him not to draw ſuch an Infamy both upon himſelf and them, by committing ſo foul a Fact. But afterward finding him reſolutely ſet down for the betraying of the Caſtle, they ſuddenly laid hands upon him, and ſtruck off his Head; and ſo with the Blood of their traiterous Captain having averted the eminent danger, with great Honour held the Place.

He with his Wife and Family flieth unto the Turks.

Moiſes now, as he thought, in ſafety at *Temeſwar*, was yet ſtill plotting how to trouble the State of *Tranſilvania*, and raiſe new Stirs therein; and to that end ſent a number of Spies with Letters of Credence unto the principal men of that Country, aſſuring them of great and ſufficient Aid from the great Turk, if they would but take up Arms for their Liberty (as he termed it) and ſhew themſelves in Field againſt the Imperials. Neither was *Baſſa* in the mean time careleſs of him, or negligent in his ſo weighty Affairs; but knowing that he, as a notorious Rebel, had yielded his Caſtle unto the Turks, and was himſelf retired unto *Temeſwar*, forthwith made choice of ſix thouſand of the beſt Souldiers in his whole Army, and ſo ſet forward to beſiege it; whom, at his Arrival, the Turks there in Garriſon derided, in hope to fruſtrate his Deſigns. For why, they thought that their Caſtle, ſeated upon a ſteep high Hill, fortified with good and ſtrong Walls, environed with a broad and deep Ditch, and not ſubject unto Battery, could not, but with much labour, great danger, and long time, be gained out of their hands, it being impoſſible (as they ſuppoſed) for their Enemies to make a breach, or find an entrance thereinto. And indeed our men ſeeing the Strength of the Place, and the difficulty to force it, ſtood at the firſt as men diſmayed at the foot of the Hill where the Caſtle ſtood; yet more diſcouraged with the impregnableneſs of the place, than with the Valour of the Defendants. But what cannot Induſtry and Valour do? In ſeeking about to find ſome means to make ſhew of their Courage and Valour, they diſcovered a little ſharp ſteep Hill over againſt the Caſtle, from the top whereof the Caſtle was to be battered, and the beſieged diſtreſſed; but to bring the Cannon thither, and eſpecially with Horſes, was impoſſible, by reaſon of the ſteep roughneſs of the Aſcent thereunto, with broken and hanging Rocks, overgrown with Trees and Buſhes, as if it had been another *Alps*, not but with Fire and Vinegar to be opened: yet in fine, our men reſolving to gain the Place, did themſelves that which their Horſes ſhould have done but could not, and by force of hand drew their Cannon up to the top of the Hill; and having planted it over againſt the midſt of their Enemies great Ordnance, began to batter the Caſtle: which done, they day and night made their Approaches, fortified their Forts and Trenches, brought on their warlike Munitions, and put all things in ſuch order, as if they would even by plain force have carried the Place. But the Turks more admiring the valourous Reſolution of our men, than reſolving themſelves upon their Reſiſtance, being not many in number within the place, and ſeeing themſelves to have to do with men of invincible Courage, laying aſide both their Hope and Weapons, craved to come to a Parle. Which granted, it was at length agreed, That they ſhould deliver up the Caſtle, leaving behind them their great Ordnance, their Munition and Enſigns, and ſo with their Arms and Lives only ſaved, to depart. A great and glorious Conqueſt got with ſmall charge; only by Reſolution gained by our men, without peril: thoſe being indeed the true Victories, which neither draw Blood out of the Veins, nor Tears out of the Eyes.

Baſſa beſiegeth the Turks in the Caſtle *Solomoſe*.

The Caſtle of *Solomoſe* by the Turks yielded up to *Baſſa*.

This ſtrong Place ſo gained, contrary to the common Opinion conceived thereof, led the whole Province as it were by the hand unto the Obeiſance of the Emperour; in ſuch ſort, that *Baſſa* having called together all the principal men of *Tranſilvania*, declared unto them the Juſtice of his Cauſe, the Right of the Emperour, with the Malice and Treachery of the Turks and Rebels; how they might live in aſſurance with the one, and become miſerable with the others; That the Emperour was always armed for their Defence and Health, deſiring nothing but their Welfare and Preſervation; whereas their Enemies to the contrary, ſought altogether their Ruine and Decay; That as they were not to expect light flames of Fire out of the Sea, no more they were to look for Aid from thoſe their mortal Enemies, whom they knew to have before decreed to have put them all to death, and to have given their Country unto the *Tartars* their Enemies; That this Diſaſter had not now been to fall upon them, either ever have been by them perceived, without the Aid of the Emperour; who oppoſing himſelf againſt this Fire, had quenched it and put it out; preſerving them with his great charge, and ſaving them even in the midſt of their greateſt Perils and Dangers. That they ſhould therefore remember theſe his ſo great Benefits, to the intent to make him recompence according to the publick Faith, which bindeth us to the reward of good Deſerts; and that all the recompence that the Emperour deſired, was the welfare of the eſtate as concerning their own good; inſomuch, that he deſired nothing of them but their Obeiſance, for being bound to defend them and preſerve them to his Power; whereby it ſhould come to paſs, that he ſhould be ſatisfied for his Travels, and they preſerved from their Enemies; the Prince and the Subjects together jointly working their mutual Health and Welfare; each of them according unto their Proportion, for that this mutual performance of Duty preſerved the Scepter for the good government of their Eſtate. Whereunto their Anſwer was, That they beſought him that their Country might be relieved from the croud and cruelty of the men of War, and delivered from the intolerable Burthens of Tributes, which ſo heavily oppreſſed it; that theſe Objects and Inconveniences could not keep them conſtant in their Obedience, ſeeing that they both felt them, and received them from the hand of them, to whom they had yielded their Obedience, in hope to have been by them relieved; that the new feeling of the Wound did continually renew in them the hatred, and the Object of their Harms ſtill kept both their Eyes and their Minds occupied upon them, who were the cauſes thereof; ſo that they could not well, either look upon them or make reckoning of them;

Baſſa's Admonitions to them of *Tranſilvania*.

The Anſwer of the *Tranſilvanians* unto the Admonitions of *Baſſa*.

1603 them; That therefore it would pleaſe him to eaſe them of their Grievances, in recompence whereof they would pay him 15000 *Hungarian* Duckats yearly for to pay his men of War, and would farther furniſh them with all Proviſions neceſſary; it being a thing more honourable and profitable alſo unto a Prince moderately to uſe his Subjects means to keep his State in perpetuity, than through Covetouſneſs to devour them in one day, in their loſs to undo himſelf for ever. This their Offer was by *Baſta* accepted, and the minds of theſe People, by this Contentment given them, kept in their dutiful Allegiance and Loyalty unto the Emperour.

New Enterprises by the Rebel *Moiſes* in *Tranſilvania.*

But whilſt *Baſta* thus travelled for the quieting of *Tranſilvania*, *Moiſes* the Rebel, in the mean time, was for his part no leſs buſied for the diſturbing thereof again; inſomuch, that having by the appointment of the Viſier Baſſa received ten thouſand *Tartars* in his Aid, and aſſiſted with a great number of Turks; he, with Enſigns diſplay'd, entred into *Tranſilvania*, proteſting there to dye, or to be revenged of *Baſta*, who had before chaſed him out thence. And the better to effect this troubleſome Deſign, he now had made choice of a moſt fit time for the Performance thereof. *Baſta*, upon the Truſt he had of the publick Faith which he came to take of the *Tranſilvanians*, for their Allegiance unto the Emperour, which aſſured him from all Stirs and Tumults in that Province, being with a ſmall Power come from *Claudiopolis* in *Hungary*, and then lying at *Wiſcebourg*, upon the Confines of *Hungary*: Which his Journey, and the neceſſity of his Preſence in *Hungary* for the defence thereof, had cauſed the *Tranſilvanians* to believe, that he ſhould for that Year ſtay in *Hungary*, as General of the Emperour's Army there. Upon which Perſuaſion of his Abſence, many of them began again to hold up their heads, and to entertain high Conceits of new Stirs, whereunto *Moiſes* by his Eſpials had prepared them, and now by his Preſence not a little encouraged; inſomuch, that many, as well of the Nobility as others, joyned themſelves unto him, and his increaſed Army, againſt the Imperials.

He with Enſigns diſplay'd entreth into *Tranſilvania.*

Moiſes with his Power being come into the Province, firſt forced a Caſtle, about three Leagues diſtant from *Wiſcebourg*, and ſlew all the Garriſon therein. Which Exploit encouraged him farther, full of hope in the abſence of *Baſta*; and ſeeing himſelf now the abſolute Maſter of the Field, which he at his Pleaſure, without reſiſtance, forraged, robbed, and ſpoiled, with his men loaded with Booty, beſieged *Wiſcebourg*, a little Town upon the Confines of *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*, neither by Art nor by Nature ſtrong, but expoſed as a Prey unto him that is in the Field ſtrongeſt, if Succours be not at hand to relieve it. Howbeit, weak as it was, held out three Weeks Siege, and having a breach made in the Walls, endured two Aſſaults againſt all the Forces of the Rebel. After which, the beſieged, thinking themſelves to have ſufficiently diſcharged their Duty in holding out ſo long, and enduring of ſo much, and out of hope to be relieved by the weak Forces of *Baſta*, came to parle with the Enemy, and their Lives and Goods ſaved, yielded unto him the Town, and ſo departed themſelves to *Varadin*.

Wiſcebourg beſieged by *Moiſes.*

Wiſcebourg yielded to *Moiſes.*

Now albeit that there were no great Forces of the Emperour's on foot in *Tranſilvania*, yet the hungry *Haiducks* for all that failed not to follow theſe Wars, even amidſt the great Clouds of their Enemies, and were ever taking of ſome Prey or Booty from the Enemy, the chiefeſt and almoſt the only means whereby they live. In which doing, as they benefited themſelves (the chief Motives of their Adventures) ſo they not a little eaſed the Country, by repreſſing the Excurſions and Pillages of the Turks, whereof the Country had endured the fury. Where, amongſt other Priſoners by them taken, it was their Fortune to light upon a Chiaus of the Turks come from *Conſtantinople*, going toward the Rebel *Moiſes* from the great Sultan *Mahomet*: Who, by them examined, confeſſed, That *Moiſes* was a man in great Grace and Reputation with his Lord and Maſter the Grand Seignior; and that he was ſent to aſſure him thereof; as alſo of all the needful Aſſiſtance of his Prince, if he ſhould faithfully and effectually ſerve him in *Tranſilvania*, and bring it under his Subjection and Power, as he had promiſed and ſworn. In which doing, he ſhould not only gain the credit of a noble and faithful Servant towards him, but ſhould farther obtain thereby the honour to be the Lieutenant General of his Army in this Province; the great Sultan (as he ſaid) having means as eaſie as words to advance his faithful Servitors, who might draw more good Fortunes in one hour out of this infinite ſource of Felicity and Greatneſs, than they could in a thouſand years out of the poverty of the Princes of *Europe*. He ſaid alſo, That the great Sultan had on foot an Army of a hundred and fifty thouſand men ſtrong, for the Conqueſt of *Peſth* and *Strigonium*, furniſhed with all things neceſſary, which had now already turned head toward *Hungary*, had it not been for the Rebellion of ſome of his diſloyal Subjects, whom for all that he would in ſhort time chaſtiſe, and ſo turn his whole Forces upon the Emperour.

1603

Moiſes in great favour with *Mahomet.*

Moiſes, proud of his late Conqueſt, and having found a great deal of great Ordnance in *Wiſcebourg*, reſolved to proſecute his Victory, and to beſiege *Baſta* in *Somoſinnar*, whereinto he had thruſt himſelf, with the reſt of his ſmall Forces: but *Baſta*, better acquainted with martial Affairs than he, and knowing that a General, departed from his Charge, and brought to the mercy of a Wall for his chief Defence, hath loſt his Credit and Reputation with his Friends, and they alſo in hope of Safety from him thought it beſt firſt to take order for the ſtrengthening of the Place, ſo to put *Moiſes* out of hope of the winning thereof, and afterward, as he might to provide for the ſafety of himſelf and his. Wherefore he in good time advertiſed the Governour of *Caſſovia* (who was neareſt unto him) of *Moiſes*'s Deſigns, and of the neceſſity wherewith he was himſelf incloſed. Who forthwith conceiving the conſequence of ſo great an Exploit, as concerned both the loſs of the Place, and of ſo great a Commander as was *Baſta*, a loſs irreparable; preſently commanded ſix Companies of Horſe-men to thruſt themſelves into the Place, for the better defence thereof. Theſe Horſe-men, either afraid of the Rebels Army, or elſe favouring his Proceedings, without reſpect of that they had in charge, or of their Honour (things dearer unto men of Worth than their Lives) without any Attempt at all given, returned again to *Caſſovia*; having with their Pilfering and Outrages by the way much offended and provoked the Minds of the Country People by him ſpoiled. But being now better adviſed, and repenting themſelves of their Faults, and craving Pardon of their Governour, who was about with the reſt of his Power to have cut them in pieces, they offered him for ſatisfaction ſix of the principal Authors of their Diſloyalty; who were all forthwith executed, and their Quarters (to the terror of others) hanged up upon Gibbets by the High-ways ſide. But *Baſta*, by their Treachery, lay in the mean time without ſuccour, forſaken by his Friends, and the Place wherein he lay in danger to be taken: when the *Tranſilvanians*, dwelling near thereby, reſolved to relieve him, as well for fear of the Turks Bondage, as for the Tyranny of *Moiſes*; one of whoſe Secretaries, with Letters of

A General beſieged loſeth his Reputation.

Baſta prayeth Aid of the Governour of *Caſſovia.*

1603 of Credence then threatned all the Country with Fire and Sword, and all kind of Miſeries, if the Inhabitants helped not with all their Power to force the Place and to win it. Which Threats by *Moiſes*, publiſhed before he had any abſolute Power, diſmayed every man; for why, they could not hope for any Moderation or Kindneſs in the Proſperity of him, who in the time of his Adverſity gave ſuch apparent Teſtimonies of his Cruelty. So that the People, doubting this angry man, reſolved to prevent his ſo grievous Threats by relieving of *Baſta*, who only was able to ſtop him. Amongſt others, *Radul*, Vayvod of *Valachia*, mindful of the Aid that *Baſta* had given him againſt the *Tartars*, and willing now as a Friend to reach his hand in time of his ſo hard diſtreſs, immediately raiſed a Power of eight thouſand *Valachians*, which he preſently ſent to the relief of *Baſta*. *Moiſes* advertiſed of their coming, and farther underſtanding, that *Baſta* having well fortified the place, was departed thence, having before his Departure aſſuredly promiſed his men there left to relieve them, and that he was now in the midſt of the Field gathering together his Army, changed both his Reſolution and Purpoſe, of himſelf raiſed his Siege, and ſo departed. After which, miſhaps began to fall upon him by heaps. The Turks forthwith forſook him, taking their way to *Temeſwar*, whither they were by the Baſſa called back to repreſs the *Haiducks*, who were now every day even at the Gates of the City. Theſe active and courageous men, for their profit attending upon all occaſions, knowing that the better part of the Garriſon of *Temeſwar* was gone to aid *Moiſes*, upon the ſuddain had deſperately aſſailed the Suburbs of that ſtrong City, ſlain all that they found there, rifled them and burnt them; and ſo, loaded with a great and rich Prey, both of Cattel and other things, returned to *Veradin*, no man purſuing of them: and not ſo contented, were every day abroad ſeeking after new Booty; which was the Cauſe that the Baſſa now called back the Turks from *Moiſes* home again into their Garriſons.

The Vayvod of *Valachia* ſendeth Aid to the Relief of *Baſta*.

Moiſes raiſeth his Siege.

The Baſſa of *Temeſwar* calleth home his Turks out of *Tranſilvania*, for the repreſſing of the *Haiducks*.

Moiſes, notwithſtanding this departure of the Garriſon Turks of *Temeſwar*, was yet Maſter of the Field, *Baſta* with his ſmall Forces not daring to oppoſe himſelf againſt him, yet by far too ſtrong for him, the Succours from the Vayvod of *Valachia* being not yet come, which he daily expected, howbeit that many hot Skirmiſhes paſſed between the ſtragling Souldiers on both ſides, as they by chance met together roaming abroad in the Country ſeeking after Booty. *Moiſes* therefore, ſeeing not any ſufficient Enemy to appear in Field able to ſtay him, laid Siege to *Claudinople*, a great, but weak City, and not very well manned; for that it was thought a place fitter, by the Weakneſs thereof, to weaken and deſtroy ſuch as ſhould undertake the Defence thereof, than ſufficient to be maintained by their Valour. Nevertheleſs, the Garriſon Souldiers and the Inhabitants (more to make a ſhew of their Fidelity and Allegiance toward the Emperour, than for any hope they had to maintain the Place) ſtanding upon their Guard and Defence, *Moiſes* was conſtrained to plant his great Ordnance againſt it, and to batter it; which he did, and in a very ſhort time, with the fury of the Cannon, had beaten down the Bulwarks and Slankers thereof, and made a fair breach in the Wall, ready now to have given thereunto an Aſſault, and to have entred. Whereupon, the beſieged, not ignorant of their own weakneſs, came to Parle, and agreed to give up the City, the Citizens having their Lives, Goods, Liberty, and Religion ſaved, to ſtay there ſtill, and the Souldiers with their Arms and Baggage to be in ſafety brought over the Mountains into ſome place of

Claudinople beſieged by *Moiſes*.

Claudinople yielded to *Moiſes*.

Surety. The taking of this City much encouraged the Rebel, reſolved there to make his Reſiſtance, and the Seat of his Principality. Full ears of Corn draw Birds to pick upon them; and the good Fortunes of Generals, Souldiers to follow them: they forſake none but ſuch as are before forſaken of their better Fortunes; to become Slaves unto Gain, and Enemies unto Honour. The *Turks* and *Tartars*, thirſting after theſe Commodities, and allured with the ſmell of Riches, repaired thither on every ſide, in ſuch ſort, that the Army of *Moiſes* increaſed in Number, his Mind with Hope, and his Fortune with Power. Armed with theſe Aſſurances, he ſent for his Wife and Family, then at *Temeſwar*, to come unto him to *Claudinople*, to be Partakers with him of his good hap. And for that purpoſe ſent a Convoy of 400 Turks to conduct them on the way thither: who being come to *Temeſwar*, and about to have led the Wife and Family of *Moiſes* out of the City, were not ſuffered by the Janizaries that had the guarding of the Town, ſo to do; who told them, That the great Sultan had in former times found ſo many Diſloyalties, Treacheries, and Treaſons, in the *Hungarians*, *Tranſilvanians*, and *Valachians*, to the great hurt and hinderance of his Eſtate, that he could no more aſſure himſelf of them: and that doubting of the Fidelity of *Moiſes*, being a *Tranſilvanian*, he was reſolved to keep this gage for his more aſſurance; aſſuring him withal, That his Wife and Family being in his Power, ſhould receive nothing from him but Favour and Grace, ſo long as he received from him the effects of his Loyalty; but, that he ſhould never hope to enjoy them but in *Temeſwar*, or ſome other ſuch-like place aſſured for his Service. *Moiſes* aſtoniſhed at this Anſwer, was much moved againſt the great Sultan, complained in his Soul, that having ruinated his Faith, his Honour, and the Welfare of his Country, to aſſure him of his Fidelity towards him, he yet doubted of his Conſtancy, as if all theſe Crimes did not bind him to ſerve him with his Perſon for ever, were it even but for fear of Puniſhment from them whom he had ſo grievouſly offended.

Moiſes ſendeth for his Wife and Family to *Temeſwar*.

The Janizaries of *Temeſwar* refuſe to deliver *Moiſes*'s Wife and Family.

In the mean time, the Succours ſent from the Vayvod of *Valachia* were upon the Borders of *Tranſilvania*, under the Conduct of *Marſa* the Vayvod's Lieutenant, and *Baſta* was gathering together his Forces, to recover again his former State; expecting every hour the coming of two thouſand Horſe-men out of *Sileſia*, with which united Power he was in good hope to diſcomfit the Rebel, and to recover his former Loſſes. All which, *Moiſes* by his Eſpials knew right well, and for the Remedy thereof reſolved to march with thirty thouſand men to meet with the *Valachians*, and to cut them off before they could come far into *Tranſilvania*, or joyn their Forces with *Baſta*. For the furthering of which his Purpoſe, he had learned the Place whereby they were to enter, their Number, and the way they were to hold, the better to conduct his Army againſt them; and being in number more than three to one, already aſſured himſelf of the Victory. All which fell out according to his Deſire: for, the *Valachians* coming on, being in number but eight thouſand, fell as it were a Prey into his Mouth. For needs fight they muſt, or die therefore, altho the Number were unequal; for that to fly was more dangerous to the *Valachians* (having the *Turks* and *Tartarian* Horſe-men at their Backs) than manfully to fight it out. Neceſſity gave Courage unto the weaker ſide, and Fear cauſed them to perform more than they would have done, had they had liberty to have fled; yet for all that, the greater number at length prevailed againſt the leſs: ſo that after a great and mortal Fight, wherein a great number of the *Turks* and

The *Valachians* by *Moiſes* put to flight.

1603 and *Tartars* were ſlain; the *Valachians* in the end were inforced to leave their dead Companions, their Honour, and their Tents, with all their Baggage, in the Field, and to betake themſelves to flight; but not all in rout as freſh water Souldiers, but with often making ſtands, as men diſdaining by true Valour, but only with Number oppreſſed, to be overcome. The Rebels, proud of their Victory, and now fearing no more harm, forthwith gave themſelves to the rifling of the Enemies Camp, divided the Spoil, and filling the Heavens with the noiſe of their Trumpets, publiſhing thereby the Trophies of their Victory. Which Diſorder the *Valachians* perceiving, and thereof conceiving hope of ſome good to be done, turned head, and ſerred cloſe together, courageouſly thruſt themſelves into the midſt of theſe proud and triumphant Victors. Which unexpected thunderclap ſo diſmayed them and troubled their Wits, that, ſurpriſed in diſorder, with their hands full of Spoils inſtead of Weapons, they could neither recover their Courage, nor put themſelves again in order. Such Confuſion maketh men oftentimes to feel the blows of Death, before they are aware of the Army that giveth the ſame; ſo, of theſe men ſo confounded, ſome ſtood as men amazed, otherſome ran away to ſave themſelves, and otherſome ſtood upon their defence, but all were alike ſlain; ſo that in fine, this great Army was for the moſt part cut in pieces, and the reſt put to flight. *Moyſes* himſelf was there among the reſt ſlain, worthy for his Treaſon to have been reſerved to a more ſhameful Death.

Moiſes with his Army by the *Valachians* overthrown, and himſelf ſlain.

Of this Victory, the Vayvod, by Letters, certified *Baſta*, to whom he ſent five and twenty of the Enemies Enſigns for an honourable Preſent, with this joyful news of the Death and Overthrow of the Rebel; whoſe Body, as the Vayvod writ, was found dead among the midſt of the dead, ſlain even at the firſt Charge, wherein his Gaurd was overthrown. And for that it was commonly believed, that he was not yet dead, neither preſent at that Battel, as ſome had given it out; to manifeſt the contrary unto the World, and by his Example to terrifie others, his Head was upon a Lance ſet up at *Caroſtad* for all men to behold; a Preferment well beſeeming ſuch an ambitious Head, as had made ſo great Troubles, and been the death of ſo many Chriſtians.

Moiſes's Head upon a Lance ſet up at *Caroſtad*.

This Rebel ſuppreſſed, another by and by ſtart up, called *Albert Nage*, who, gathering together the Rebels of *Tranſilvania*, mingled with certain *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Coſſacks*, and *Moldavians*, all together amounting to the number of ſix thouſand, made head towards *Lippa*. Againſt whom, *Baſta* with all ſpeed ſent forth three thouſand *Haiducks*, well acquainted with the Country, which ſometimes ſerved them to better purpoſe than their Arms, for that the Rebels ſought not ſo much to come to a ſet Battel, and to try the matter by true Valour, as by taking the Advantages of Places, to delay the time and gain Purchaſe, the chief end of their Rebellion. Theſe Rebels the *Haiducks* ſurpriſed, near unto a Caſtle called *Ferre*, where they meant to have lodged, and charged them. Who ſo upon the ſudden overtaken, and ignorant of their Enemies Power, ſuppoſing them to have been more in number than indeed they were, made ſmall Reſiſtance, but as a many of Raſcals, gathered by Villany, and without truſting of one another, by flight provided every man for himſelf as he might. In which Flight, the greateſt number of them were ſlain, and their Chieftain with much ado ſaved, to be at another time for his evil Deſerts juſtly executed.

New Rebels in *Tranſilvania* diſcomfited.

Baſta, by theſe good haps, and the aid of the Vayvod of *Valachia*, being again become Maſter of the Field, in very ſhort time after had again reduced all *Tranſilvania* under the Emperour's Obeiſance; unto whom, he, together with the Vayvod, for an honourable Preſent and a Teſtimony of their good Service, ſent to *Vienna*, and from thence to *Prague*, an hundred Enſigns gained from the Rebels. All which, with ſome other rich Spoils, the Maſter of the Ceremonies in great pomp and triumph led, together with *Moyſes* the late Rebels Horſe, exceeding richly furniſhed with Furniture of pure Gold; and was for his Pains by the Emperour rewarded with a Chain of Gold, ſent unto him by the County *Fuſtenberg*.

1603 An honourable Preſent by the L. *Baſta* ſent unto the Emperour.

The Troubles of *Tranſilvania* thus once again quieted, *Baſta*, reſolving again to beſiege *Temeſwar*, with his Power marched towards *Lippa*, there to meet with the Forces of the Vayvod of *Valachia*, the better to undertake and perform the intended Exploit. His Army conſiſted of twenty thouſand men ſtrong, carrying with them five and twenty Pieces of great Ordnance, furniſhed with all things neceſſary. And of the Enterpriſe it ſelf every man had good hope, as well for the ſufficiency of him the General that had undertaken it, as for the want of Relief, that was not any way like to be brought unto the beſieged. But while he ſo lay at the Siege thereof, his Souldiers, too greedily and exceſſively feeding upon Fruit, (whereof there was that Year great ſtore) fell ſo into the bloody Flux, and thereof in ſuch number died, (although he had given moſt ſtrait Command, That none ſhould be eaten, or upon great Penalties be brought into the Camp) that he was glad to riſe with his Army and be gone.

Whilſt this was in doing, the County *Solmes*, lying in Garriſon at *Caroſtad*, took upon him to ſurpriſe *Wiſcenbourg*, and ſetting forth but with four hundred Souldiers of his Garriſon, with wonderful Diligence ſurpriſed the Place, and without any great Reſiſtance became Maſters thereof. But the Citizens, over-grieved with the inſolent Outrages of theſe men of War, opened the Gates of their Town unto the Rebels of *Tranſilvania*, even then fled from the late Overthrow; who, full of Revenge, took the Place, and being too ſtrong for the County and his Souldiers, made ſuch ſlaughter of them in the Streets (they of the Town out of their Windows, and from the tops of their Houſes, helping them) that of all thoſe which the County brought with him, there were but ſixty left alive; who, all taken, were, together with the County, thruſt into a ſtrong and loathſome Priſon.

County *Solmes* ſurpriſing *Wiſcenbourg*, is himſelf taken Priſoner.

Now the bruit of the coming of the Turks great Army into *Hungary*, had awaked the Chriſtian Forces to aſſemble themſelves together, and to do their endeavour to withſtand the ſame; ſo that a number of Companies were raiſed in *Germany*, who came into *Hungary* marching towards *Strigonium*, where the Army was to be aſſembled. The good ſucceſs of things paſt, the Opinion men had of the Turks Troubles with his Rebels, and the great Promiſes of the Emperour, drew many into theſe Liſts of Honour; in ſuch ſort, that there were come together an Army of five and twenty thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe, all good and brave Companies, well appointed and well conducted. Of this brave and gallant Army the Lord *Ruſſworm* was for this Year appointed General; who therewith marched within the ſight of *Strigonium*, to aſſure the Inhabitants of Relief, if the Enemy ſhould chance to beſiege them, as the News then went. About three Weeks this Army lay thereby incamped, attending the coming of the reſt of the Forces, which were to ſtrengthen and make up the

A great Army of the Chriſtians.

1603 ſame, during which time the General diſpoſed of all things neceſſary for the keeping of *Strigonium*, and put into the Fort of Saint *Andrew*, near unto it, three thouſand *Lanſquenets*, for relief of the City; which done, he removed with his Army toward *Peſth*, and incamped within a League thereof toward the *Weſt*, reſolved ſo to croſs the Deſigns of the Enemy, if he ſhould attempt to beſiege this Place; (as it was doubted he would) and in hope that the Preſervation thereof might in time be a cauſe for the winning of *Buda*, and a means to impeach the Enemies Forces.

The Turks Army of 100000 men in Field.

The Turks Army, within a few days after, upon a contrary Deſign, conducted for the winning of *Peſth*, (and reſolved to raiſe the Chriſtians Camp) in number an hundred thouſand men, came, and face to face incamped within the ſight of the Chriſtian Army on the other ſide of the River *Danubius*. In the mean time, whilſt they ſo lay, certain cowardly Souldiers of *Peſth*, more in love with their Bellies than with their Honour, by ſtealth fled out of their Garriſon in *Peſth*, to the Turks over againſt them in *Buda*, ſhamefully craving of them Victuals; whom, the Turks themſelves, being almoſt in as great want, yet bounteouſly relieved. Beſides that, the Baſſa of *Buda*, to corrupt the reſt of their Fellows, cauſed theſe renegade Fugitives to be entertained with double pay; who therefore gave the Baſſa a thouſand thanks, extolling his Bounty unto the Heavens, and from the Walls invited their Companions to do as they had done, and ſo to become Partakers of ſuch Bounty and Pleaſure as they were. Howbeit, theſe Fugitives nothing profited the Baſſa, either by their Perſwaſion or Example; for albeit that they from the Mouth of the Baſſa promiſed unto their Companions plenty of Victuals, good Entertainment, and four Months pay more, yet was there not any of them which hearkened or gave Ear unto their Allurements; but rather, the more to aſſure their Commanders of their Fidelity, of themſelves offered to be ſworn again unto their Allegiance unto the Emperour, and to dye in the place rather than to forſake it. Yet was the want of Victuals then in *Peſth* great, and the Garriſon therewith extreamly pinched, fed almoſt as much with hope, as with that little which was left them. Neither was it long after, but that according to their deſires, the fifteenth of *May*, a great Ship arrived there, laden with Wine and Victuals ſufficient for the relief of their preſent Neceſſities. Of the coming of which Ship, the Turk having heard, attended the Paſſage thereof in the Iſle, to have intercepted it. Of which their purpoſe the Garriſon Souldiers of *Peſth* having knowledge, and armed with Neceſſity, ſallied out upon them, and killing a number of them, inforced the reſt to quit the Place. This Ship was but the fore-runner of greater Succours; for ſhortly after followed a number of other Ships, which arriving at *Peſth*, laden with Victuals and other Neceſſaries, filled the Place with as great plenty, as there had been want before. Which ſupply was conducted unto *Peſth* by 500 Harquebuſiers of *Strigonium*, the Turks from *Buda* looking on, but not daring, or not able to ſtay the ſame.

The ſhameful flight of certain of the Garriſon Souldiers of *Peſth* unto the Turks at *Buda*.

Peſth victualled.

The Suburbs of *Alba-Regalis* by the Chriſtians ſacked and burnt.

It fortuned at the ſelf ſame time, that a Captain of the Turks, fled from *Alba-Regalis* to *Rab*, ſhewed unto the Chriſtians there the way and the means how they might come to the Suburbs of *Alba-Regalis*, and take the ſpoil of the ſame; yea, and happily, as things might fall out, find occaſion to ſurpriſe the Town it ſelf alſo; offering himſelf to be the Guide in the ſame Action. And albeit that this Turk was an Enemy to be feared and diſtruſted, yet the Chriſtian Souldiers, as men deſirous both of Honour and Prey, and induced alſo with the Probability of the attempt, gave credit unto him, and imbraced the ſame. Neither failed he of his Promiſe, neither the Chriſtians of their Devoir in performance of the Exploit. For the two Garriſons of *Rab* and *Strigonium* aſſembled together, by the leading of this Turk ſurpriſed the Suburbs of *Alba-Regalis*, ſlew all them that made reſiſtance, rifled them on all hands, ſet them on fire, and ſo laden with Riches and Spoil, returned home again in ſafety. 1603

Another Convoy of Victuals by Land put into *Peſth*.

At the ſame time alſo, the Chriſtians on the other ſide *Danubius* gathered an head together to conduct another Convoy of Victuals into *Peſth*, with a Reſolution to march with the ſame through the plain field at noon time of the day, even in the Eye of the Enemy, ſo to brave him. And to this purpoſe, the Lord *Nadaſti* was there preſent with a good number of *Hungarians*, Collonel *Mesbourg* with a Regiment of *Almaines*, and the County *Thurn* with a number of *Huſſars*, all good Souldiers and Men of Courage, deſirous to have made proof thereof upon their Enemies. This Convoy, with the Trumpets gallantly ſounding, bravely marched over the Plain at mid Day, the Turks from the Walls of *Buda* beholding the ſame, but not daring to adventure upon it. And ſo *Peſth*, for want of Victuals before diſtreſſed, was now both by Water and by Land plentifully relieved.

The Caſtle of *Adom* upon a vain fear forſaken by the *Haiducks*, who had the keeping thereof.

The Chriſtians, the laſt year having left the ſiege of *Buda* for the Reaſons before written, in their return took the Caſtle of *Adom*, ſeated upon the Bank of *Danubius*, about two Leagues from *Buda*, and for the keeping thereof, left therein a Garriſon of *Haiducks*. This Caſtle was commodious for the annoying of the Turks in *Buda*, and for the relief of the Chriſtians in *Peſth*, for that it impeacheth the bringing of Victuals unto the one, and favoured the victualling of the other. The good and faithful defence of which Place, theſe *Haiducks* undertook to the uttermoſt of their Power, upon their Honour and Credit, as they would be accounted valiant and couragious men; but yet refuſed to be bound by Oath to render an account of the Place, whatſoever might befall; a thing (as they truly ſaid) above their Forces, and more than was in their Power to perform. Theſe men now, upon the brute of the coming of the Turks great Army, afraid of their Shadows, having before truſſed up their Baggage, ſet fire on the Caſtle, and ſo departed, retiring themſelves to *Strigonium*; where, examined by the Governour *Althem* of the cauſe of their flight, and what Enemies had chaſed them thence, and being not able to make therefore any excuſe, neither to yield thereof any reaſon more than their imaginary fear, were by his commandment impriſoned, there to remain until order were taken by the General of the Army for their further Puniſhment.

Sultan *Mahomet* among his greateſt Pleaſures perplexed.

Sultan *Mahomet* now wallowing amidſt his ſenſual Delights in *Conſtantinople*, yet found not therein ſo full Contentment, but that his Pleaſures had alſo their Griefs fully mixt with them. In *Conſtantinople*, the ſtrong Seat of his mighty Empire, he was in the midſt of the Inſolencies and Mutinies of his proud Baſſaes and tumultuous Janizaries; and abroad he was in Wars both againſt his rebellious Subjects in *Aſia*, and the Chriſtians in *Europe*. Unto all which Troubles he ſaw not how to give Remedy at once, and therefore reſolved (if it were poſſible) firſt to appeaſe the Troubles abroad with his rebellious Subjects in *Aſia*, as more deſirous to be at peace with his own Subjects than with Strangers; howbeit, that the puniſhing of Rebellion is more neceſſary in a Prince for the maintenance of his State, than is War againſt a Stranger for the conquering of a new Country or Kingdom; the one preventing the danger hanging over

1603 over his Head, the other ſerving but his vain and ambitious deſire; ſo he, preferring Peace with the Rebels his Subjects, before Peace with the Chriſtians his Enemies, reſolved (as I ſaid) to pacifie the firſt, the more eaſily to ruinate the other. But whether he upon good Faith, or upon Policy, entered into this Reſolution, and whether indeed he meant plainly with theſe Rebels, or but only to deceive them, is hard to ſay. Howbeit, as the ſequel of the matter ſhewed, Falſhood and Treachery was the ground of all this Buſineſs both on the one ſide and the other. For theſe men, reſpecting only the ſafety and aſſurance of their Eſtate, held all other Actions to them indifferent, whether they were good or bad, ſo that they ſerved to that effect; and nouriſhed with the ſame Milk of Infidelity that their Prince was, trained up in the ſame School, and foſtered with the ſame Air, feared in him againſt them, that which they felt in themſelves againſt him. An hard matter it is to aſſure minds fraught with like Craft, Subtilty, and Deceit, and poſſeſſed with like diſtruſt one of another. Howbeit, *Mahomet* ſpared no kind of cunning to deceive theſe crafty and ſubtil men; offering unto them, together with his gracious Pardon, great Preferments, Dignities, and Honours, ſo that they would but yield to him their due Obedience, lay down their Arms, and no more take up the ſame but in his Service. But theſe wily Foxes knew right well, that the Promiſes of faithleſs Princes coſt them nothing but Words, the honour and credit whereof they regarded not, ſo that thereby they might attain unto the effect of their deſires, which they eſteemed above all other things; ſo that for them to truſt unto a thing of ſo ſmall Value, with him that was ſo prodigal thereof, and for the ſame ſo eaſily to yield up their Lives and Fortunes, which they eſteemed as their only Treaſure, they thought right worthily to deſerve all ſhame and miſhap that might betide them. So that they not only refuſed to lay down Arms, and to yield their Obedience unto him, as he deſired, but even to have Peace with him upon any Conditions whatſoever, ſeeing them dangerous unto themſelves, and good only for him their Enemy.

Mahomet in vain ſeeketh to make Peace with the Rebels in *Aſia*.

Mahomet, ſeeing his Offers rejected by the Rebels of *Aſia*, covertly ſeeketh for Peace with the Chriſtians.

Mahomet, finding the Rebels ſo reſolutely ſet down, as not by any means but by force to be appeaſed, thought it now beſt to turn his purpoſe unto the Chriſtians, and to offer them that which the other had refuſed, in hope that Peace made with the one, ſhould be the Ruine and Deſtruction of the other. Upon which Point he being in himſelf reſolved, ſought now but ſome honeſt means, not unbeſeeming his Greatneſs, to joyn unto this his Project, to give him a way thereunto. For the eaſing him of which care, the *French* Ambaſſador, then Lieger at *Conſtantinople*, was very fitly then entreating with the Viſier Baſſaes for the Deliverance of the County *Yſolan*, taken at *Alba-Regalis* the laſt Year, and againſt all Law of Arms detained Priſoner at *Conſtantinople*. This noble Gentleman *Mahomet* thought fit, as well for the Sufficiency of himſelf, as with Inſtructions, to deal with the Emperour concerning an entreaty of Peace to be had. Whereupon, he commanded him to be ſet at liberty, with Charge, That he ſhould both diſcreetly and faithfully deal with the Emperour concerning this matter of Peace; which, if he ſhould by his Induſtry effect, to the good liking and contentment of *Mahomet* the great Sultan, that then he ſhould become and remain free, otherwiſe to return again into his former Captivity and Bondage; for whom the *French* Ambaſſador gave his Word, and became Pledge. Upon which barbarous Conditions the Earl was forthwith delivered, who by the Law of Arms ſhould not at all have been detained. Beſides this Plot laid for the Negotiation of this Peace, *Achmet Baſſa* to this purpoſe writ to *Collonitz*, then Commander of the Emperour's Army in *Hungary*. But ſee the Copy of the Letters themſelves.

1603

The Letters of *Achmet Baſſa* to *Collonitz*, concerning a Treaty of Peace to be had.

TO thee our Friend Collonitz, *Health and Greeting. I ſuppoſe that you yet remember the Propoſitions concerning Peace, which our Sovereign and moſt mighty Monarch not long ago cauſed to be opened and propounded unto you by certain of his Baſſaes near unto* Strigonium, *which as then remained not reſolved. But if now it ſhall ſeem unto you good, that we ſhould aſſemble our ſelves together into ſome place of Aſſurance both to the one ſide and to the other, we may again conferr about that Buſineſs, as having on my part full Power and Commandment from my Prince ſo to do; yet with Charge, That before all other things,* Strigonium *ſhould be again delivered unto us, Which being done, we may eaſily afterward determine the other Difficulties, and conclude a good and wholſome Peace. God which reigneth alone in the Heavens above, is witneſs of our faithful and juſt deſire, to aſſure a quiet and firm Peace betwixt us, and that to avert theſe floods of War from the poor People, and to give them ſome Repoſe and Reſt after ſo great Troubles. This is our Intent and Purpoſe, which God knoweth to be void of all Fraud and Guile; which we now declare unto you, in hope to underſtand yours alſo. But if you be not reſolved to render to us* Strigonium *before we begin to intreat of any other Matter, it is not needful for you to trouble your ſelf to give any Anſwer to theſe our Letters. But if you ſhall reſolve to the contrary, to deliver the ſame, with as much ſpeed as you can let us in few Words underſtand your Reſolution, the Time and the Place fit for our Aſſembly and Meeting, to the intent fully to determine of theſe Affairs. You know alſo, that you have been of long time accuſtomed to pay Tribute unto our Prince; which, if you ſhall continue to pay for the time to come, and diſcharge the Arrearages for the time paſt, it ſhall be commodious for us, and honourable for you, ſeeing that it is an Honour unto you to be Tributaries unto the Grand Seignior, it having always in times paſt been for your Good and Profit. Beſides that, Peace ſhall likewiſe be entreated of with the Great Cham of* Tattary, *who, as commanded by our moſt mighty and gracious Emperour, upon juſt and reaſonable Conditions to entertain the ſame, and never more, but in peaceable manner, to come into* Hungary. *Now if that you ſhall neglect or reject this Treaty for Peace, it is certain that you ſhall be the Author of the Miſery and Ruine of the whole Country, it being impoſſible that the Towns and Villages conſumed with Fire ſhould ever recover their former Beauty or Felicity. God which reigneth in Heaven is there witneſs unto me, and my dread Emperour upon Earth, that I ſpeak frankly with you, and without Diſſimulation concerning this matter. Now on your part, let us underſtand if you have a deſire to attend unto this Treaty of Peace, according to the purport of our Letters: for if you ſhall reſolve to the contrary, we proteſt unto you to write no more concerning theſe Affairs.*

The Emperour adverтiſed of the Turks motion for Peace, giveth order to *Collonitz* for the entertaining thereof.

Collonitz having received theſe Letters, ſent them forthwith unto the Emperour, requeſting his Majeſty to conſider what Anſwer he would have given unto them. Whom the Emperour, deſirous of a good Peace, commanded to embrace the occaſion, and by Proof to learn whether the Turks deſire were indeed conformable to their Words or not. Whereupon, *Collonitz* taking unto him certain of the beſt Commanders in the Army, undertook the Buſineſs, and entered into the Treaty of Peace with the Turks; wherein he found the unreaſonableneſs of their Demands to tend ſo much unto the hurt and diſhonour of the Emperour, as that they even at the firſt Entrance ſhut up the way to all farther or reaſonable Conference; it being altogether impoſſible to bring to any Conformity Minds ſet

1603 down upon Reſolutions ſo far different. For the Turks (as if the Emperour would have been glad of Peace upon any Condition) after their proud manner, unreaſonably demanded to have *Tranſilvania*, *Strigonium*, and *Peſth* reſtored unto them; for which they offered to deliver unto the Emperour, *Agria* and *Caniſia*, Peble for Pearls. So that upon Propoſitions ſo far different, being able to conclude nothing, they departed on both ſides as they came, to try by Arms that which by Talk and Conference they could not agree upon. But as all the Turks Treaties of Peace with the Chriſtians are indeed but falſe ſhews to abuſe the Facility of the Chriſtians by, even ſo now alſo it was known, that they in the mean time, whilſt this Treaty of Peace was in hand, gathered together great ſtore both of Men and Munition at *Belgrade*, wherewith to arm a great Convoy of Victuals, which they had thought during this Interparley for Peace to have put into *Buda*. But *Collonitz* underſtanding thereof, ceaſed further to intreat of Peace, which with the falſe ſhew thereof did but hurt and deceive the Chriſtians, and betook himſelf again to his Arms (his and their ſafeſt and ſureſt refuge) reſolving with the other Captains and Commanders of the Army to do what they might for the croſſing and hindering of the Turks in their purpoſe for the putting of Victuals into *Buda*; whereof there was now ſuch want, that the Turks in Garriſon there having already eaten all their Horſes, and for Victuals rifled the Governours Houſe, were reſolved to abandon the City, if they ſhould not be within ſome few days relieved.

The *Turks* unreaſonable demands break off all the Treaty of Peace.

Now upon this Reſolution for the keeping of the Turks from the victualling of *Buda*, the Chriſtians, for the more aſſurance of their purpoſe, prepared therefore both by Water and by Land, embarking their Foot-men upon the River, under the Conduct of Collonel *Altmeine* and *Sultze*, the one Governour of *Strigonium*, and the other of *Peſth*; whilſt that *Collonitz* with the Horſemen, ſcouring along the Banks of the River of *Danubius*, took the charge by Land. And ſo it fortuned, that upon the two and twentieth day of *Auguſt*, he with his Horſemen, near unto the Village of *Mohatſch*, (famous for the death of King *Lewis*) fell upon the head of the Turks Army, led by the Baſſa *Murat*, conſiſting of ſix thouſand Turks, two thouſand of them being Janizaries, who altogether lay encamped upon an even plain, very commodious for our Horſemen, who let ſlip neither the Time nor the Opportunity of ſo great an advantage offered them, but forthwith charged them; where, after a number of notable Charges both given and received, which ſtill abated both the Number and Courage of the Turks, they at laſt retired toward the Body of their Army, and that in ſuch haſte, as that their retreat little differed from a ſpeedy flight. After whom *Collonitz* followed, with like heat as he had charged them; but evil followed by his Friends, who evil performed their charge, ſeeking after the Spoil inſtead of purſuing of their Enemies; the Turks perceiving the ſmall number that purſued them, turned upon them, and ſo began again not only to make ſtrong reſiſtance, but even right hardly to charge them. Who ſo by them preſſed with no leſs Courage than Power, were now glad themſelves to retire inſtead of purſuing of the Victory; but yet ſo, as that the retreat was made without any great loſs therein received. Howbeit, the Turks not a little incouraged with this change of Fortune, and perceiving themſelves too ſtrong for their Enemies that charged them, came on ſo faſt and ſo couragiouſly, as that in fine they had defeated the Chriſtians, had not the *Haiducks* out of their Boats from the River in good time come reſolutely to their relief. Which Cloud the Turks perceiving, ready to pour forth a great Tempeſt upon their Heads, and not daring to abide the ſame, again retired, leaving the Chriſtians Victors both in the firſt and laſt charge; who, not content with the retreat of the Turks, furiouſly charged them, and purſued them even unto their great Camp, and ſo returned, carrying back with them both the Glory of the Field, and the Spoil of their Enemies.

A notable Enterpriſe of *Collonitz* upon the Avaunt-guard of the Turks Army.

Collonitz in good time relieved by the *Haiducks*.

1603

In this Conflict, the red Cornet of *Murat Baſſa*, the Cogniſance of his great Command, was taken, with two Field-pieces, ſeven hundred Turks were left dead upon the Place, and ſixſcore more taken Priſoners; amongſt whom was *Saxar Beg*; who being a man of underſtanding, and by the Chriſtians examined, confeſſed, That *Haſſan Baſſa*, the day before this Conflict, came into the Camp, and there honourably dined with the great *Cham*; with whom, after their great chear, he entering into Diſcourſe of many great Matters, and among the reſt, concerning his return into his Country; was much againſt the ſame, until ſuch time as they had new victualled *Buda*, whereunto he was (as he ſaid) both in Honour and in Duty bound to give his aſſiſtance, the loſs of this good place being of ſo great importance unto the great Sultan. That otherwiſe his Aid had been to him rather hurtful than profitable, his People having devoured ſo much Victuals and performed nothing, if he ſhould now at this time fail to do his Prince Service, who could never think either Valour or Fidelity to be in him, if he ſhould fail in ſuch Actions as wherein his Valour and Fidelity ſhould appear; all things having no other Credit and Reputation, but according unto their Effects. And that therefore he ſhould reſolve to ſee the end of this Exploit, which required every mans helping hand for the Performance thereof, conſidering the Forces of the Enemy in readineſs to hinder the ſame. Moreover, he aſſured them, that the Baſſaes purpoſe was to new-fortify *Haſwar*, *Pax*, and *Kaletſch*, frontier Caſtles, and neceſſary for this Action, and ſo to go to the ſiege of *Peſth*; and that done, to beſiege *Strigonium*; which for all that he doubted to win this year, as well by reaſon of the approach of Winter, as for that a great part of his Forces were far off, and not eaſily in a little time to be aſſembled together. That the *Tartars* were yet a great way from the Camp, where the Baſſaes of *Aſia* and *Caramania* were within a few days expected; the one of them leading with him the reconciled Rebels of *Aſia*, and the other ſix thouſand Janizaries. Which his Confeſſion, although it were not altogether true, yet it carried ſhew of ſome Probability, as time by proof afterward declared.

The *Turks* Affairs and Deſigns made known unto the *Chriſtians* by *Saxar Beg*, by him taken Priſoner.

Some of our men were in this charge ſlain alſo, but few in compariſon of the Turks, who there loſt ſome of their beſt men. It was noted, that in this Conflict the Souldiers of Collonel *Sultze*, had ill behaved themſelves, refuſing to purſue the Enemy being in flight, whether it were for that they feared ſome ambuſh laid for them, or for that they diſdained to follow the General *Collonitz*; the reaſons perhaps for which their Collonel ſtayed them from the purſuit of the Enemy, but to evil purpoſe; for, being out of order at ſuch a time as the Turks turning back, renewed the fight, they had been all ſlain and cut in pieces, had not the *Haiducks* in good time (as we ſaid) come on to their reſcue. As for *Collonitz*, he moſt bravely bare himſelf in this Conflict, ſo much as in him was, urging his good Fortune, for the obtaining of a full Victory; ſometime performing the part of a good Captain, and ſometime of a valiant Souldier; ſometime forcing the charge, and again ſtaying his men in their retreat; inſomuch, that oftentimes loſt amongſt his Enemies, and again returning by the Grace

The Negligence of certain Chriſtian Souldiers, forgetful of divers Duties.

The great and brave Indeavour of *Collonitz*, to have obtained the Victory over the Turks.

1603 Grace of God, he escaped Death, as it were by Miracle, and from being taken Prisoner, by chance. Into neither of which dangers he could have fallen without the danger of the whole Army; which, next unto God, was for the Safety thereof beholding unto the Valour of him their so brave a Leader. But God in his Wisdom createth not such worthy men, but by his Providence also to preserve them; wonder it were otherwise, that ever such worthy men should return from amongst the midst of so many desperate Dangers, Death as it were envying at their Lives, and their Enemies for their Glory chusing them out to triumph of their Spoils and Overthrow. And without doubt, had the rest of the Christians after his Example prosecuted their good Fortune, and done what good Souldiers should of Duty have done, their Enemies had been quite overthrown, and they themselves had been both victorious and rich; where now for lack of good Resolution, the Victory was almost equal. For beside the Spoils by them gotten, they might have carried away with them a whole Years Pay, due to the Garrison of *Buda*, which the Turks (put into a fear, and careful only of their Lives) had left in their Camp; which they afterward again recovered, upon the recovery of their Force and Courage. This Money, with much more, was all appointed as a Prey unto the good Fortune of our Men, had their Valour had the Courage to have gone to fetch it; but failing of their endeavour in so glorious an Action, Fortune failed them also of her Bounty.

A great and rich Booty lost through the negligence of the Christians.

Now at length the Army of the Christians was met together, about the fourth of *September*, wherein the Lord *Russworm* commanded as General; who, desirous to understand of the Turks Affairs and Designs, sent forth two of his most trusty and expert Souldiers to perform that piece of Service; who in Turks Apparel being got into the Turks Army, were there eight days undiscovered or suspected of any. Where, after that, they roaming up and down, had taken a full view of the Turks Army, and in what they might discovered their Designs, they returning back, declared unto the General what they had both there heard and seen; as, That the Turks Army was very great, but yet not such as that which the last Year had besieged *Pesth*; That the Turks lay incamped at large, and not close together, which caused their Army to seem the greater, taking up for the lodgment thereof half a League, being well provided of Cannon and other Field-pieces; That *Hassan Bassa* commanded therein as General, having brought with him twelve thousand Janizaries, beside his Horsemen, and the reconciled Rebels of *Asia*, which were daily looked for, the Leader of whom was not known; some thinking it to be him who had always commanded them, being a most valiant Man, and expert Commander; but some other deeming him to be but one of his Captains that had forsaken him, (as indeed he was) a right valiant man also, but not of so great Experience as he: That the great *Tartar Han*, come to aid the Turks in their Wars in *Hungary*, was (to the great discontentment of *Hassan Bassa* the Turks General) now already returned towards his own Country (with such Booty and Prisoners as he had got from the poor Christians) to appease a Rebellion there raised by a young *Tartar* Prince, his Nephew, who, by his Uncle the great Han, given in Hostage unto Sultan *Mahomet*, and kept at *Constantinople* as in Prison, having found means to make an Escape, and to return into *Tartary*, was about to trouble his Uncles Affairs, in hope now in his Absence to mount unto the Throne of his Estate: and that the *Tartar*, being come to the Bank of *Danubius*, and by the Turks denied Boats to pass over the River in, and with many railing and opprobrious Speeches, by them charged for his departure as a Coward, had found means to make a floating Bridge of great Faggots, whereby he passed his Foot-men over the River, his Horse-men swimming over the same; and so was by great Journeys returning home, boasting by the way as he went, that he had rejected and troden under foot all the Prayers and Requests of *Hassan Bassa*, entreating him yet to stay a while in *Hungary* for the Service of the great Sultan his Master. Besides that, That they had seen six great Vessels upon the River of *Danubius*, with ten lesser Vessels following of them, manned with three thousand Souldiers well armed, and men of good sort, three hundred of them being Janizaries, appointed to safe Conduct the Munition to be brought up the River, and to serve for a Convoy unto the other Vessels that were to follow them with Victuals, if happily the Christians should attempt to do any thing against them. And in fine, That the Turks Army could not this Year possibly be great, by reason of many great Lets wherewith the great Sultan was this Year troubled; which much abated both the Courage and Hope of his Captains, who, hanging their Heads, came unwillingly to these Wars, accounting themselves happy if they might in this Expedition but take *Pesth*, that they might not return so much dishonoured, as they came daunted and discouraged. With which News the Christians were so much encouraged to encounter with the Turks, as if they had been assured to fight with men already discouraged and out of Heart. 1603

The Lord *Russworm*, General of the Christian Army, by his Espials certainly informed of the estate of the Turks Army.

In the mean time, the *Hussars of Strigonium*, always ready for Fight, by good fortune going forth, met with four hundred Turks seeking for Forrage; who encountering together, at the first made a most brave and gallant Fight, every one of them wishing, That their private Success might be the beginning of their general Victory. But the *Hussars*, being both more skilful in that manner of skirmishing and sudden Encounter, and also of greater Courage, at length brake the Turks Ranks, of whom, six score lay dead upon the ground, most of the rest were taken Prisoners, with an hundred and thirty good and serviceable Horses, wherewith both the glory and the profit of their Victory was increased. Collonel *Sultze* also, with three hundred men, marching out from the Camp, chanced to discover an hundred of those brave Horse-men which but newly came out of *Asia* with *Zellaly* the Rebel; who having never seen the Army of the Christians, nor yet felt of their Forces, were, with three hundred Janizaries, upon a Bravery, come over the River of *Danubius*, to take a view of the Christian Camp; for the drawing on of whom, the politick Collonel had sent forth fifty of his Horsemen a great way from the rest of his Troop, as it were to discover the Country thereabout. These Fore-runners failed not to meet with the Turks, as if it had been by chance, and were by them forthwith charged, as thinking to have had a great hand over that so small a number; when upon the sudden, *Sultze* with the rest of his Company coming on, and hotly charging them, encouraged his own men, and discouraged the Turks; who, surprised with fear, thinking the Christians to be more in number than indeed they were, having left some fifty of their men dead upon the place, as men dismayed and void of Understanding, fled. In which Flight, such as were not by the Christians slain, were in the River of *Danubius* drowned, whereinto, they for fear all headlong plunged themselves.

The Turks overthrown by the Garrison of *Strigonium*.

The Turks defeated by Collonel *Sultze*.

All these little Conflicts served but as Sparks to kindle the great Fire by the Bassa intended; his first Purpose being to put a Convoy of Victuals into

1603

The General of the Chriſtian Army providently fortifieth upon the River of *Danubius*.

into *Buda*, which the Chriſtians thought by all means to hinder; which ſo contrary Intentions were not but by Force and Policy to be decided. The Chriſtian General, wiſely doubting leſt the Baſſa ſhould come and lodge his Army betwixt *Vicegrade* and *Buda*, and ſo victual the City at his Pleaſure, raiſed a ſtrong Fort of an old Church betwixt the ſaid two Places, and therein lodged a Regiment of Lanſquenets. Beſide which Fort, called the Fort of Saint *Andrew*, he built another at the head thereof in the Iſle of *Vicegrade*, in ſuch order and proportion, that theſe two Forts might one of them defend the other, and annoy them that ſhould attempt to force either of them. Together with this commodiouſneſs, the Fort in the Iſle kept the Paſſage upon *Danubius* free and open for the bringing of Victuals and other Neceſſaries to the Camp of the Chriſtians; and was but a League and an half from *Buda*; into which Fort was put a Regiment of four thouſand *Italians*, being all very well armed. Which done, he made a Bridge of Boats upon the River, which began in the Camp, and ended at the Iſle, for the relieving of the Fort; and ſo from thence paſſed quite over the River to *Vacia*, a little Town, which it was needful for the Chriſtians to keep.

The Turks aſſailing one of the Forts of the Chriſtians, with loſs repulſed.

Theſe Forts finiſhed, according to the Neceſſity of the time, it was not long after, but that the Baſſa ſent ten thouſand Turks both Horſe and Foot to take the firſt of them, which they ſuppoſed to have been but weakly fortified. Who coming thither, were with ſuch Courage received by the Lanſquenets with their Harquebuſes, as that the whole Fort ſeemed to have been on fire. Wherewith the Turks diſmayed, as men in their Expectation deceived, and in approaching of the ſame having ſome of their Men ſlain, and more hurt, they ſounded a retreat, and having done nothing, but loſt a number of their men, returned to their Camp from whence they came. In which Enterpriſe they, failing, they reſolved upon another, and began to make a Bridge over *Danubius*, in hope thereby to paſs over, and to annoy the Chriſtians on the other ſide of the River. Whereof the General of the Chriſtians underſtanding, ſuffered them without any Interruption to ſpend the time in performing of the ſame. But certainly informed by his Eſpials, both of the Day and Hour wherein they were about to paſs over, he laid an Ambuſh of four thouſand *Lanſquenets* and two thouſand *Reiſters* for them, in ſuch Place as from whence they might without danger do great harm unto the Enemy, and aſſure the body of the Chriſtian Army. The River of *Danubius* had growing upon the Banks thereof, and eſpecially in the deſolate and unfrequented places, great ſtore of Flags and Reeds, which were now thick, and high enough to cover theſe Foot-men in, having with them four Culverins ready charged. Behind this ambuſh lay Collonel *Collonitz*, with his Regiment, and in the head of it the Prince *Joinville*, with a certain number of *French* Gentlemen, who, upon a brave Courage, and a deſire they had to ſee Service, had followed him into thoſe Wars. There was alſo the Lord of *Baſſomperre*, another *French* Lord, with his own private Followers, in Number few, but in Valour great. Upon the flanks lay four Troops of *Carabins*, *French-men*, *Loranoiſes*, and *Wallons*, moſt expert and reſolute Souldiers.

The Turks made a Bridge over the River of *Danubius*.

A great Ambuſh laid for the intercepting of the Turks.

The Turks having made their Bridge, began now to paſs over the ſame, being charged by ſome few ſtraggling and looſe fore-runners of the Chriſtians, ſent before for that purpoſe; whom the Turks not much regarding, ſtill preſſed on, in hope to overtake them, and to cut them in pieces, not aware of the ambuſh laid for them, nor of their Enemies Counter-deſigns. The Foot-men in the mean time lying ſtill cloſe in the Reeds in Ambuſh, beholding how and in what order they paſſed, and expecting but the time when they were to begin their charge. But having perceived ten thouſand of the Turks to be now come over, and making head toward them, the *Wallons*, upon the Bank of the River (as was before appointed) firſt diſcharged their Pieces upon them, and ſlew ſome few of them. Nevertheleſs, the Turks *ſtill* paſſing on by them, ſlew of them alſo about four and twenty, and ſo keeping their way, marched directly toward the Chriſtians. But this their forwardneſs was quickly ſtayed, and their Courage abated; for in paſſing by they were upon the ſudden aſſailed by the *Lanſquenets* and *Reiſters*, now riſen out of Ambuſh, and by them hardly laid unto on every ſide; as alſo by the Horſe-men, who how come in, had put them into ſome diſorder before they were well aware of them. The *Wallons* alſo, at the firſt by the Turks ſcattered, but now again rallied, and deſirous to revenge the Death of their Friends and Fellows, now played their parts, and on another ſide right furiouſly charged their Enemies. During all which fight the Culverins ceaſed not to open the flanks of the Turks Battel, with the loſs of a number of their men by the fury of them rent in pieces. Neither did *Collonitz* foreſlow ſo fair an Opportunity, but afront charging this diſmayed Company, by plain force cauſed them to give Ground; the *Carabins* in the mean time charging them upon their flanks, and the *Wallons* behind. Who thus on every ſide beſet and hardly laid unto, as men diſcouraged, and out of hope to be relieved, turned their Backs and fled amain, to have recovered the Bridge whereby they came over. In which fight and flight two thouſand of them being ſlain, and the reſt not able to recover the Bridge, driven headlong into the River, were therein drowned and ſlain, to the number of five thouſand of them, thoſe which remained alive, being all taken Priſoners. Amongſt the reſt, one of the Baſſaes, a man of great account amongſt the Turks, was ſlain, with many other Captains and Commanders of great note, and fifteen hundred Janizaries. There were alſo four Field-pieces taken, with thirty Enſigns and two Cornets, beſide a very rich Prey of brave and couragious Horſes, with much fair Armour, rich Apparel, and good Scimitars, Weapons of no ſmall account and price among the Turks. This overthrow much abated the Courage and Hope of the reſt of the Turks for coming to the effect of their Deſigns; and increaſed the Courage and Hope of the Chriſtians, reaſonably well hereby aſſured of the good Succeſs of their Affairs for this year in *Hungary*.

1603

The Turks falling into the Ambuſh laid for them by the Chriſtians, receive a notable overthrow.

About this time, Sultan *Mahomet*, having put a Fleet of Gallies to Sea, to have gone againſt the King of *Fez*, was certainly informed, how that the ſame, with Tempeſt ſore beaten, to avoid Shipwrack, was again returned unto the ſame Port from whence it looſed, bringing back with it nothing for all his great Charges, but Sickneſs and great Loſſes at Sea received. The like evil hap or worſe, having at the ſame time alſo betided another Fleet, by him ſet out into the *Euxine* or black Sea, to defend thoſe Sea Coaſts from being rifled and ſpoiled by the Rebels in *Aſia*, who with their daily Incurſions did there ſtill great harm. For albeit that *Zellaly*, one of the Captains of the Rebels, allured with *Mahomet's* fair Promiſes, was by the ſtreight of the *Dardanelli* (called in antient time the ſtreight of *Helleſpont*) come with twelve thouſand good Souldiers out of *Aſia* into *Europe*, and ſo marching through *Macedonia*, was come into *Hungary*, there to do his Lord and Maſter Service; yet the chief Rebel held ſtill out, and both now, and for divers years after, maintained a moſt cruel and dange-

Sultan *Mahomet* much troubled in his Affairs.

The doings of the Rebels in *Aſia*.

1603 dangerous War, to the great trouble of the Grand Seignior, and the hindering of his Affairs. And even now the crafty Rebel having made ſhew as if he would have ſubmitted himſelf, and come over into *Europe* as *Zellaly* did; and had therefore certain Gallies ſent unto him from *Mahomet*, to have tranſported him and his Souldiers in; he, now of them poſſeſſed, ſlew all them that were ſent therein, and kept the Gallies to himſelf. So that ſo far from was it, that the Rebellion was extinguiſhed in *Aſia*, and the Rebels ſuppreſſed, as that they were now up in greater number than ever, and ſo did alſo more harm. Whereunto they were alſo the more incouraged by the example of *Haſſan Baſſa*, (not him the General in *Hungary*, but another Baſſa of the ſame Name) who, by the Great Sultan ſent againſt theſe Rebels, had for a time kept them under, and ſomewhat repreſſed their inſolency; but now by *Mahomet* diſplaced, and another being ſent to ſucceed him; he therewith diſcontented, ſo animated and incenſed his Souldiers againſt him, as that coming to have taken upon him his charge, he found moſt part of the Souldiers ready to turn their Weapons upon him; ſo that at length they fell together by the Ears about the matter, ſome taking part with the old General, and ſome with the new. In which tumultuous quarrel a number of Souldiers were ſlain, all they of the richer ſort ſpoiled, and the great Sultans Service and Authority neglected. But the new General, armed with his Princes Authority, and ſome of the old Souldiers alſo taking his part, at laſt prevailing, *Haſſan*, the old General, with his partakers, were glad to fly and ſhift for themſelves; who for all that, having afterward gathered together the diſperſed Souldiers, and joyning with the reſt of the Rebels, held ſtill the Body of a good Army on foot; by his Example ſtirring up the People to Rebellion, croſſing the Service of his Sovereign, and doing what harm he could, ſo to ſeem unto his Followers the more valiant. The *Perſian* King on the other ſide taking the Advantage of theſe the Turks Troubles at home, as alſo of his Wars with the Chriſtians; at the ſame time with a great Army beſieged the great City of *Tauris*, as then kept by the Turks with a moſt ſtrong Garriſon. In which ſiege he for Battery uſed the help of the Cannon, an Engine of long time by the *Perſians* ſcorned, as not beſeeming valiant men; until that by their own harms taught, he was now content to uſe it; being with the ſame, as alſo with ſkilful Cannoneers, furniſhed by the *Portugals*; by which means he in ſhort time after again recovered this great City from the Turks, being before by Sultan *Amurath* taken from *Mahomet* the *Perſian* King, but now again reſtored unto the *Perſian* Kingdom.

The great City of *Tauris* beſieged and taken by the *Perſian* King.

Sultan *Mahomet* perplexed with the evil Succeſs of his Affairs, falleth to his ſuperſtitious Devotion.

Sultan *Mahomet* thus on every ſide beſet with Troubles, and not well knowing which way to turn himſelf for to remedy the ſame, being in mind much troubled and perplexed, began to enter into Conſideration of the Vanity of theſe Earthly things, and of the Frailty of his Eſtate; and ſo ſtruck as it were with a Remorſe of Conſcience, and a firm belief that God did thus chaſtiſe and puniſh him for his Offences, conſidering that his Anceſtors had never been troubled with any ſuch Attaints or Diſgraces, he converted all his Thoughts unto Prayers towards God; and therefore gave Commandment for publick Prayers to be continually ſaid in all the Moſquies or Churches throughout all his Dominions, giving himſelf wholly alſo unto ſuch devout Exerciſes and Works of Charity; and withal ſent two of his moſt reverend Prieſts bare-headed and bare-footed, on Pilgrimage to *Mecha* (where the chief Temple of their great Prophet is, and wherein they vainly believe their ſuperſtitious Prayers to be of him moſt ſpeedily heard) there to pray unto him for the Health and Proſperity of him their Prince and Sovereign. 1603

A great fight of a *Flemiſh* Ship with the Gallies of *Amurat Rais*.

At the ſame time, *Amurat Rais*, an old Pyrat, the Turks Admiral for the *Weſt* part of the *Mediterranian*, roaming there up and down, and doing what harm he could, chanced to light upon a great *Flemiſh* Ship, which he with his Gallies forthwith incloſed, the calmneſs of the Weather then favouring him, and hindering the *Flemins*, their Ship being able to make no way. Who, ſo beſet, and having made a great fight againſt the whole Fleet, and ſlain a number of the Turks, and ſore rent divers of their Gallies, though not without loſs of many of their own men alſo; being not able longer to fight, and now ſeeing themſelves boarded by as many Turks as could well ſtand upon the Hatches of the Ship, and their Gallies hanging round about her; as men of invincible Courage, and reſolved to die, and yet to ſell their Lives at as dear a rate as they could, laid all the Powder they had left in the Ship on an heap together, and thereunto upon the ſudden put fire, by force whereof, the Turks with the Hatches were all blown up, the *Flemings* with their Ships rent in pieces, together with divers of the Gallies that were faſt grapled unto her, and an incredible harm done unto ſuch other of the Gallies as were near unto her. Men worthy always to vanquiſh, ſeeing that they fear nothing more than to be themſelves vanquiſhed; and more worthy to have lived for the Glory of Men, than by their Cruelty to have periſhed to the diſhonour of Men. The old Pyrat aſtoniſhed at ſo great and deſperate a Reſolution, having in this Exploit loſt much, and gained nothing, haſted to the ſhore to repair his rent Gallies, and ſo put to Sea again; where he had not long been, but that he by chance (and that full ſore againſt his will) met with the great Duke of *Florence's* Gallies, accounted the beſt Gallies in the World, and ſuch as now at this preſent moſt troubled the Turks Deſigns. At which meeting, after many a thundering Cannon-ſhot on both ſides diſcharged, not without the apparent loſs on the Turks behalf, when they ſhould have come to have grapled together, and to have fought hand to hand, a thing which the *Florentines* moſt deſired, as in hope to have made that famous Pyrat the prize of their Victory; he not willing ſo to do, ſuddenly turned about and fled; after whom the *Florentines* followed amain, and in the chaſe ſunk ſome of his Gallies, and took other ſome full of great Riches; and ſo brake the Credit of this old and renowned Pyrat, as that for a great while after he was little by the Chriſtians feared upon that Coaſt. But leaving *Mahomet* to his Devotions, and the old Pyrat to bewail his loſſes, let us again return to ſee what the great Armies of the Turks and of the Chriſtians did more in *Hungary*.

The Turks in a Skirmiſh by the Chriſtians overthrown.

While theſe Armies lay incamped the one attending upon the other, many an hot Skirmiſh paſſed betwixt them, moſt whereof ſorted unto the hurt and loſs of the Turks. Among others it fortuned, that a Troop of Adventurers going out of the Chriſtian Army to ſeek after Booty, fell upon a like Troop of the Turks, come out for the like purpoſe; where, after a ſharp encounter on both ſides given and received, the Turks at length put to the worſe and defeated, betook themſelves to flight, having left a number of their Fellows dead upon the place, and loſt two of their Enſigns, with an hundred and thirty Horſes of Service. In which Chace, the Chriſtians hardly purſuing them, drave a number more of them into the *Danubius*, wherein they moſt miſerably periſhed; and took a great

many

1603

Eighty *Italian* Renegades hanged.

many more Priſoners, amongſt whom were found above fourſcore *Italian* Renegades, who, brought into the Camp, were, as Enemies unto God, in a Martial Court all condemned to be hanged, and ſo accordingly executed, ſaving the Captain himſelf, who, for the regard of his Place, was beheaded.

The Turks Army greatly diminiſhed and diſcouraged.

Shortly after, the great Baſſa ariſing with his Army, came in the beginning of *October* and incamped near *Buda*, both for the Preſervation of the Place, and the ſafety of his Army, now greatly diminiſhed both in Number and Courage. For it was certainly known by divers Fugitives from the Turks, that in theſe many Conflicts they had loſt a number of their beſt Souldiers, but eſpecially of their Janizaries. So that the Baſſa, for the ſupplying of that Defect, was glad to make choice of 6000 of his beſt Souldiers, whom, armed with Muſquets and Scimitars, the proper Arms of the Janizaries, he entertained into the Rooms and Pay of the Janizaries that were dead and ſlain; the reſt of his Army for the moſt part conſiſting of bare and feeble, baſe raw Souldiers. Beſides this, that all the Army was full of Mourning and Lamentation, the Souldiers in all Places bewailing the loſs of their Brethren, their Friends and Companions; ſo that inſtead of their wonted Threats and bravery, nothing was to be heard but ſighing and complaining. And moreover, that the general Opinion conceived of the greatneſs of the Chriſtian Army, (imagined to be much greater and ſtronger than indeed it was) had ſtruck ſuch a fear into the minds of the Turks, as that they were reſolved, *Buda* being once victualled, to return home, all their other proud Deſigns for this year ſet apart; which was the cauſe that they had diſlodged with their Army, and drawn near unto the City, the better to attend to the new victualling thereof, and ſo to be gone; accounting themſelves right happy, if they might but perform that good piece of Service and ſave themſelves.

The Chriſtians with their Army follow the Turks.

The Chriſtians, before in doubt leſt the Turks ſhould have beſieged *Peſth*, as they had before given it forth they would, and ſeeing them now to be riſen with their Army and incamped near unto *Buda*, reſolved to follow them, and in what they might to croſs their Deſigns; and thereupon leaving *Peſth*, as now out of danger, they roſe alſo, and came and incamped before the Fort in the Iſle of *Vicegrade*, betwixt the ſaid Fort and *Vachia*; where they ſtayed four days, and then by a Bridge which they made upon the *Danuby*, whereby to paſs from the Iſle where the *Italians* lay in Garriſon, unto the Fort of Saint *Andrew*, kept by the *Lanſquenets*, they with the whole Army paſſed the River, and ſo came and incamped before the Fort of Saint *Andrew*, in the face of the Enemy. Now the field betwixt the heads of the two Armies was plain and open, without Woods, Buſhes, or Rivers, to hinder the joyning of a ſet Battel. In which ſo fit a Place, the Chriſtians incouraged, with the fear of their Enemies, and the diminiſhing of their Number and Courage (whereof they had got knowledge as well by their tumultuous riſing, as by other Advertiſements) were deſirous in ſo favourable Occaſions to have given them Battel; and for the deſire they had thereof, were come thither to ſeek it; which the Turks on the other ſide ſought as much to ſhun, not daring to adventure themſelves unto the Fortune of a general Battel, for all the brags they had made. Nevertheleſs, very ſhame arming them with ſome Reſolution, they put forth into the field a Battalion of five thouſand men, five days after that the Chriſtians were incamped on that ſide of the River. This Battel of the Turks came marching on, within half a quarter of a League of the Chriſtians; which they would not have done but upon the Confidence of a greater number following of them, having behind them ten thouſand men both Horſe and Foot, laid as cloſe as they poſſibly could a little out of the way. Now the Chriſtians, thinking of no other Forces ready to fight, but thoſe which appeared in their ſight, ſent forth 12 hundred men againſt theſe five thouſand Turks, to skirmiſh with them, until the whole Army were put into order, even for a general Battel that day to have been fought, if the Turks ſhould accept thereof; whereunto the General, the Collonels, Captains, and Souldiers in general, were fully inclined, the whole Army with great Chearfulneſs marching on foot at this loud alarm of their common deſire. Which had not failed to bring forth great change of effects, had the Turks been likewiſe diſpoſed for the producing of the ſame. But they be the extraordinary favours of Fortune, when fit Occaſions joyn themſelves with brave Reſolutions, and ſuch Reſolutions with means to effect the ſame. This is the let of many moſt noble Trophies, which moſt commonly fail, either for lack of fit Occaſion, or for lack of good Reſolution for the performance of them. But as moſt men judge of other mens Conceits by their own Inclination, ſo the Chriſtians themſelves, reſolved to give Battel, thought the Turks their Enemies to have been of the ſame Reſolution; and thoſe five thouſand men to have been the head of the avaunt-guard, followed with the whole Army, coming to draw them out to skirmiſh until the coming on of the reſt of their Forces. Howbeit their deſign was quite contrary to this the Chriſtians hope, for their purpoſe was only to train them out into their Ambuſhes, ſo without danger to cut them in pieces. Of which their purpoſe they gave ſufficient Teſtimony, and cauſe of ſuſpect; for that the Skirmiſh having continued three hours, with ſome loſs on both ſides, the Turks Army appeared not; and theſe five thouſand Turks now in Skirmiſh, by little and little retiring, ſought ſo to have drawn the Chriſtians into the danger of their Ambuſh. Which their manner of fight cauſed the Chriſtians to ſuſpect the matter; for it was not like, that five thouſand men ſhould give ground to twelve hundred, if they had not had ſome ſecret meaning therein, which they ſought to effect to their more advantage. Which cauſed the Chriſtian *Carabins* which followed them, not to be too earneſt in purſuing of them, and more cloſely to ſerre themſelves together, the better to indure the ſhock of their Enemies, if they ſhould charge them. Neither were they in that their provident fear deceived; for the Turks, ſeeing their purpoſe diſcovered, and themſelves now out of hope to effect the ſame, upon the ſudden made a ſtand, and ſo preſently coming on, hardly charged the formoſt of our *Carabins*; who, as men half ſurpriſed, to ſee themſelves ſo readily and reſolutely charged, by men who but now made ſhew as if they would have fled, were not able ſo valiantly to receive the charge (conſidering the great number of them by whom they were charged) but that ſome few of them were overthrown and ſlain, with ſome of the *Hungarians* amongſt them. Howbeit they made good reſiſtance, and right valiantly repulſed their Enemies, of whom they ſlew a good number alſo. The preaſe in this Conflict was great, every one deſiring to ſhew himſelf brave and couragious in the head of his own Army. But new Supplies ſtill coming in, the Turks in fine ſhrunk back and retired, having left three hundred of their Fellows dead upon the Place, accompanied with an hundred of the Chriſtians there ſlain likewiſe. Now upon the retreat on both ſides, every man in his conceit appointed the next day for the general day of Battel; the bragging

1603

The Chriſtians reſolve to give the Turks Battel.

The Turks ſeek to draw the Chriſtians into the danger of their Ambuſh.

A Conflict betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians.

1603 ging Speeches of the Turks giving the Chriſtians occaſion ſo to think; for why, they ſeldom or never refuſe Battel, being offered them by the Chriſtians, as well for the Confidence they commonly have in their multitude, as for the fooliſh opinion they have of the inevitable Predeſtination of men to Life or Death; accounting it amongſt them an eternal infamy, to refuſe any Combat againſt the Chriſtians; which, howſoever it fall out, ſhould ſort to their Advantage, by vanquiſhing, gaining the Fruits of their Victory; and by loſing their Lives in Battel, to gain the Joys of Heaven; being vainly perſwaded, no mens Souls do go more readily unto Heaven, than the Souls of ſuch as dye in Battel againſt the Chriſtians. Such Effects old ſuperſtitious Opinions are able to work in the Minds of men, even to the deſperate adventuring and ſpending of their Lives. Howbeit, that this Effect for this time witneſſeth, that theſe men, with all theſe Advantages, as much feared the danger as any other poor faint-hearted men; and that a ſtrong apprehenſion of fear is able to prevail againſt all Cuſtoms and Perſwaſions, be they never ſo old, as alſo againſt all other Accidents whatſoever. For why, the Turks, contenting themſelves with their great Braggs and vain Threats, came not forth according to their Promiſe, neither could by any means be drawn to adventure themſelves unto the hazard of a general Battel. The loſs of their great and choiceſt men diſcouraged and deterred them from adventuring all to the hazard of ſo great a Peril. For (as I have ſaid) almoſt all their Janizaries and moſt valiant Souldiers were dead or ſlain, and the reſt, men of ſmall Spirit or Courage, reſerved that little which was in them, for the ſafeguard of themſelves, and not for the gaining of any notable Victory. They had alſo in theſe often Conflicts loſt all their *Erasbles*, which are a deſperate kind of Souldiers fighting on Horſeback, without Saddles, having only a little piece of Tapeſtry upon their Horſes Backs, and by the readineſs of their Horſes, do for a long time in one ſort maintain their fight. They carry light Darts made of ſtrait and fair Canes, excellently well made, and ſtrongly armed; and their handy Weapons are good Sables, or broad and ſharp Curtleaſſes. Theſe men a great while fought moſt valiantly in the laſt Combats, but in fine, were all ſlain, except ſome few which caſt themſelves into *Danubius*, and were there drowned. The loſs of which men much diſcouraged the Turks; for why, their Service ſtood them in great ſtead in receiving the Enemies Charges, and with their Bodies covering of the Turks Squadrons in their greateſt Perils and Combats. Howbeit the Turks received not theſe Loſſes without returning of ſome part thereof to us again; for *Collonitz* had a little before fallen into great danger of his Perſon, and loſt ſome of his Followers in an Enterpriſe of great Moment, had the Effect anſwered unto the Project thereof. While the Turks yet lodged in the Iſle of *Vicegrade*, he cauſed eight great field-pieces to be ſo placed, as that therewith he ſo much annoyed the Turks, that they were about to have forſaken the Place. And the more to force them ſo to do, the ſecond of *October* he embarqued himſelf with ſix hundred *Haiducks* upon the *Danubius*, and ſo by Night with great ſilence landed near unto the Enemies, thinking ſo upon the ſudden to have ſurpriſed them. Which for all that, could not ſo ſecretly be done, by reaſon of the coming on of the day, but that the Turks were thereof aware; who thereupon with great preaſe iſſued out of their Trenches, and with all their Force and Power charged him. Againſt whom he made head, rather upon a brave and conſtant Reſolution, than upon any Confidence he had in his own Forces, not having men enow to withſtand the leaſt part of his Enemies. Which his ſo great Reſolution ſo abated the Turks Fury, as that they ſtood a good while in doubt to charge men ſo reſolved. The Field-pieces which he had brought over with him into the Iſle, then ſerved him to good purpoſe, beating them back with their murthering Bullets, who with their number thought to have overwhelmed him. Which good help oppoſed againſt the number of the Enemies, for a time balanced the Victory, and wrought the death of many on both ſides. This manner of fight indured the ſpace of two hours, maintained more by Reſolution, than by Strength and Power. At length for all that, the Turks with their number prevailing, the Chriſtians therewith rather oppreſſed than vanquiſhed, forſaking their Field-pieces diſorderly retired toward their Boats: After whom the Turks eagerly following, in that purſuit ſlew 400 of the *Haiducks*, the reſt with much ado recovering their Boats, carrying with them their General, by them hardly defended from the Fury of their Enemy. Which loſs happned not ſo unto the Chriſtians, but that it was mingled with ſome loſs of the Turks alſo, of whom, the moſt forward and couragious were in that fight ſlain, as was afterwards known by certain Priſoners of theirs afterward taken, who made report of the Loſſes by them there received. The Turks, by this ſo deſperate and dangerous an attempt warned, to prevent the like for the time to come, caſt up great Trenches in the Iſle along the Bank of *Danubius*, therein placing certain Janizaries and other their beſt Souldiers, who there lay until the diſlodgement of the Camp, to go to lie before *Buda*.

The Turks had before built a Bridge of Boats at *Lamaſcin*, which gave them Paſſage into *Stiria*, where they did great harm; for the ſtrengthning whereof, they had built at both ends thereof a ſtrong Fort, well furniſhed both with Men and Munition. This Bridge, ſo commodious for the Turks, and hurtful to the Chriſtians, *Trautmeſtorf*, Governour of *Stiria*, and a great Commander in thoſe parts, with his *Stirian* Troops, and ſome good Aid brought unto him by the County *Serin*, undertook to break. Upon which Reſolution he upon the ſudden approached one of the aforeſaid Forts, and ſo right furiouſly aſſailed the ſame, before they in the Fort were well aware of his coming. In which doing, he cauſed the greateſt noiſe and ſtir that was poſſible to be made with Trumpets, Drums, and clattering of Armour, as if it had been ſome great Army imployed in that Action, the more to terrifie the beſieged. Which ſo great and dreadful a noiſe, joyned unto ſo brave an attempt, with ſo great Courage begun, ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the Minds of the Turks, that they without any great reſiſtance quitted the place, and fled over the Bridge to the other Fort. Of which forſaken Fort the Chriſtians became Maſters, and with all ſpeed proſecuting their good Fortune, preſently drew out thereof three Cannons, and therewith battered the other Fort. In which the Turks, having no other place of Refuge to fly unto, nor hope of ſafety but in their laſt Valour, ſo well behaved themſelves, as that the Chriſtians had much ado to force them. Howbeit, a breach being made by the Fury of the Cannon, and ſcaling-ladders ſet up, the Fort was on every ſide aſſaulted; which the Turks for the ſpace of five hours ſo valiantly endured, as that it was hard to ſay who ſhould prevail or have the better. In this Aſſault were many on both ſides ſlain, the Turks not being to be overcome but with the loſs both of their Lives and Honour; nor the Chriſtians able to retire without

1603

The Turks refuſe to come to a general Battel with the Chriſtians.

Erasbles, what manner of Souldiers they are among the Turks.

Collonitz in governing about to ſurpriſe the Turks, with loſs repulſed, and himſelf indangered.

The Bridge of *Lamaſcin* taken and broken by the Governour of Stiria.

1603 loſing the fruit of that their ſo great and rich an Enterpriſe; ſo that the aſſault was with great Reſolution on both ſides maintained, the Turks fighting for their Lives, and the Chriſtians for their Honour; until that at laſt, the Turks, with much ſlaughter overcome, the Fort was by the Chriſtians taken, and moſt of the Turks therein being ſlain, and the reſt taken Priſoners, both the Forts were forthwith razed, and the Bridge broken, which before had ſerved for an ordinary paſſage for the Turks to forrage and ſpoil the Chriſtian Territories by. The Boats whereof the Bridge was made were all burnt, and ſome great Ordnance therein found broken in pieces and caſt into the River.

Lugaze, a ſtrong Place delivered to *Baſta*.

At the ſame time *Lugaze*, a Place of great Importance for the Service of the Emperour, and ſo near unto the Turks, as that they could hardly attempt any thing thereabouts, but that it might from thence be diſcovered and known, was by the *Tranſilvanians* delivered to *Baſta*, General for the Emperour in that Country. From which place, he ſending out certain Scouts toward *Belgrade*, they brought in with them certain Priſoners; who being examined, ſaid, that *Haſſan Baſſa*, the Turks General in *Hungary*, had writ to *Giaffer Baſſa*, the Governour of *Temeſwar*, That he ſhould only attend to the Preſervation of his own, without attempting any thing further againſt the Chriſtians, the preſent eſtate of their Affairs ſo requiring; and that having revictualled *Buda*, his purpoſe was for this year to return, in hope of ſome good Peace to be ere long concluded betwixt the great Sultan and the Emperour.

The two Armies of the Turks and the Chriſtians lay ſtill near the one of them unto the other, the Turks, careful for the revictualling of *Buda*, and the Chriſtians ſtill intentive to their doings, and deſirous in what they might to hinder and fruſtrate the ſame. Which, becauſe they could no way better do, than by offering of them Battel; they thereupon generally reſolved, upon a *Friday*, being the ſeventeenth of *October*, the day by them aſſigned for the Battel (having by the ſhooting off of three great Cannons, given warning unto the Souldiers throughout the Camp, for the preparing of themſelves firſt toward God, and then to the Service of their Prince) after they had well refreſhed themſelves, in good order took the field, and ſo ſtood ready ranged there, either to give or accept of Battel. Before whom, the County *Ringrave* was ſent forth with his Regiment, about half the way betwixt the two Armies, to diſcover the moving of the Enemy, and to receive his firſt charge if occaſion ſhould ſo require. Whoſe Scouts before ſent forth, about Noon diſcovered a Troop of Horſe-men come out of the Turks Camp, about ſome buſineſs they had to do, but to them unknown; whom the Scouts ſuppoſing to have been the fore-runners of the Turks Army, and by them almoſt ſurpriſed, haſtily retired back again, and by their haſty retreat put the whole Army in an alarm, which came bravely marching on, in hope now to have come to try the matter by true Valour, and by the Fortune of a general Battel to have made that day for ever famous by their Victory and the overthrow of their proud Enemies. And in the heat of their ſo great Courage, like enough it was for them to have performed the ſame, had the Turks had but ſo much Courage in them as to have met them in the Field, as was well hoped they now would. But they, with their former Loſſes diſcouraged, and reſolved only upon the ſafeguard of themſelves, and the victualling of *Buda*, had no mind to enter into theſe honourable Liſts, but kept themſelves cloſe within the covert of their Tents,

The Chriſtians offer the Turks Battel.

The Turks refuſe to accept of Battel offered them by the Chriſtians.

and the ſtrength of their Trenches. And ſo the Chriſtians, with a falſe alarm moved, and having for the moſt part of the day in vain expected the coming forth of their Enemies, returned into their Camp deceived of their Expectation. 1603

The ſame day there was an Eſpie taken, whom they which took him thought to have been a Turk, howbeit he was found to be one of their own men; by whom they were better informed of the Cowardiſe of the Turks, of their purpoſe for the ſhunning of Battel, and of their Reſolution for the keeping of themſelves within the ſafeguard of their Trenches; and that they ſo did, as well for the loſſes they had before received, as for divers other unlucky accidents, which cauſed them to miſdoubt ſome evil ſucceſs in the end and winding up of this their Expedition. Nevertheleſs, the Chriſtians, not greatly truſting to theſe Reports, ſtill kept their Army in readineſs, to give their Enemies Battel upon the leaſt occaſion offered them. Howbeit, that indeed they had no great cauſe of fear, the Turks having no deſire at all to come to a general Battel; ſo that inſtead of great Effects that were expected, the time paſſed but in light Skirmiſhes and vain Alarms betwixt the two Armies, until that at length the Turks, having by the River ſufficiently ſtored the City of *Buda* with Victuals, the great Baſſa ſecretly by Night roſe with his Army, and ſo retired toward *Belgrade*. Which ſo baſe a retreat differed not much from a cowardly flight, being with ſuch ſilence made under the dark covert of the Night, as that the Chriſtians had thereof no perceiving until they were quite departed and gone. This victualling of *Buda*, and ſome other few places of the Turks in *Hungary*, was all that the great Baſſa did this year with his great Army; whereas at his firſt coming it was given out, that he would therewith take both *Strigonium* and *Peſth* from the *Chriſtians*.

The great Baſſa having victualled *Buda*, ſecretly by Night riſeth with his Army, and retireth out of *Hungary*.

The next day, the haſty and ſudden departure of the Enemy being perceived, the General of the Chriſtians called together the Collonels and other great Commanders of the Army, to conſult with them, what were beſt to be done in ſo unexpected an occurrent? Of whom, ſome were of Opinion, That it was beſt forthwith *in all haſte* to purſue their fearful Enemies; others, for many Reaſons diſſuading the ſame, and others withal, propounding ſome other notable Exploits to be taken in hand. But in Concluſion, the ſafeſt point was reſolved upon, which was, not to hazard any of their Troops in purſuing of their flying Enemies, who were hardly to be overtaken; but now immediately after their departure to attempt the taking in of ſome one of their ſtrong holds; where, amongſt others that were propounded, *Hatwan* was thought to be the moſt neceſſary Place, being ſo ſeated, as that beſide the great harm it did to the Chriſtians thereabout, it much hindered both Advertiſements and Victuals to be brought unto *Peſth*. Which Exploit reſolved upon, they forthwith razed the Fort of St. *Andrew*, and the Fort by them built in the Iſle of *Vicegrade*, becauſe they ſhould not ſtand the Turks in any ſtead after their departure, and ſo with all their Power ſet forward toward *Hatwan*. This Town is ſeated beyond the River of *Dannbius* toward the *North*, about eight Leagues from *Buda*, croſſing the way to *Tranſilvania* and *Caſſovia*, upon a fair and even Plain, near unto a great and deep Mariſh, and was ſometime defended with good and ſtrong Walls, with a Caſtle, and three large and deep Ditches, for a long time in the Power of the Turks, and which, without loſs, a great while held out againſt the valiant Baron *Teuffenbach*, by whom it was moſt ſtraitly in vain beſieged; until that afterward it was again beſieged by *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, the Emperours Brother,

The Chriſtians after the departure of the Turks, reſolve to beſiege *Hatwan*.

1603 Brother, then General of his Army in *Hungary*, in the year 1594, unto whom it was by Compoſition ſurrendred, after it had for a certain ſpace been by the Turks notably defended; who, conſidering the harm this place did unto the Emperours Territories, by reaſon of the ſcituation thereof, wherein a great and ſtrong Garriſon of the Turks always lying, forraged all the Chriſtian Territories as far as the Rivet *Vague*, yea, and oftentimes took Booties as far as *Strigonium*, and by ſpoiling of all that ſide of *Hungary*, cauſed the Country to pay Contribution as far as *Ternavie*, ſtanding within four Leagues of the Mountains which ſeperate *Hungary* and *Moravia*; all irreparable Loſſes to the Chriſtians, and hardly to be avoided; for which Reaſons he cauſed it then to be diſmantled, and to be made unſerviceable for the Wars. After which time for all that, the Turks, for the commodiouſneſs of the Place, had with great Labour again new fortified the ſame; with Walls made with great Piles of Wood and Faggots, with Earth rammed in betwixt them; a ſtronger kind of Fortification, and better able to withſtand the Fury of the Cannon, than are Walls of Stone; in which ſort the Turks uſe moſt commonly to fortifie ſuch Places as they mean to defend, and which oftentimes coſt much for the Chriſtians to gain the ſame from them.

Hatwan taken and diſmantled by Maximilian the Archduke, in the year 1594.

Hatwan again fortified by the Turks.

Hatwan beſieged by the Chriſtians.

This Place thus fortified, and both with Men and Munition well furniſhed, and with all things needful ſtored, was able to indure a great and long Siege; whereunto the Garriſon therein was as reſolutely ſet down, as were the Chriſtians to attempt it; where now, at their firſt coming unto it, a part of the *Italian* Regiment, aſſiſted with three hundred *Lanſquenets*, under the leading of County *Sultze*, and *Graſold*, General of the *Italians*, were appointed to go before the reſt of the Army, and to begin to make the Approaches; which they did by forcing of a Water-mill, driven by the Water of the Mariſh, not paſt a Muſquet ſhot from the Town. Wherein while they were buſied, the Turks ſallying out of the Town, came to fight hand to hand with the Chriſtians, and had with them a ſharp Combat, the Turks fighting for the defending of the Place, and of their Lives, and the Chriſtians for the gaining of the ſame, and for their Honour. Which ſo contrary a Reſolution in that Conflict, coſt the Lives of many; and amongſt others, the Life of *Graſold*, General of the *Italians*, there ſlain with a Harquebuſe ſhot, unto the great hurt of the whole Army, but eſpecially of the *Italians*, now deprived of ſo great and expert a Commander. At laſt, for all that, the Turks were inforced confuſedly to retire again into the Town, having in this ſally loſt a number of their men alſo. The Chriſtians nevertheleſs, having driven the Turks back into the Town, went forward with their Buſineſs in making their Approaches, and placing their Gabions to cover their Cannon; wherein the Turks with their great and ſmall ſhot did them great harm, but eſpecially with their murthering pieces, charged with Nails and other ſmall pieces of Iron. Howbeit, by the coming of the Lord *Ruſſworm* with the reſt of the Army, the Approaches were the next day brought on, and the Battery planted ſo near unto the Town, as that the Turks could not without moſt manifeſt danger and loſs, any more ſally out to trouble the Chriſtians in their Works. The firſt Inconvenience the beſieged felt, was the want of Water, which through the diligence of our men was ſoon taken from them, the Cannon right furiouſly battering the Walls in the mean ſpace. Wherewith the Turks diſcouraged, and now out of hope to be relieved, thought it not beſt for them to expect either whilſt a Breach were made, or an Aſſault given, but by Parly to prevent theſe Dangers, in hope ſo to come to ſome eaſier Compoſition, while yet they ſtood in their whole ſtrength. And ſo Parly by the Turks demanded, and by the Chriſtians granted, and Hoſtages for the ſurety thereof on both ſides given, they ſent two of the chief men amongſt them to intreat of the ſame; who at the firſt demanded, That their Lives and Liberty ſaved, they might with Bag and Baggage depart. Whereunto anſwer was given them, That they ſhould only with their Lives and Liberty be gone, with ſome few hundreds of their worſt Horſes, of Courteſie given them, to carry them to ſuch place as they meant to retire themſelves unto, and to deliver into the hands of the Chriſtians all ſuch Renegades as were in Town.

Graſold, General of the Italians, ſlain.

1603

The Turks in Hatwan crave Parley.

Now the beſieged Turks, carrying yet the marks of the Cruelty by the *Wallons* exerciſed upon them in the former Siege, when as the ſame Town was by force taken, and filled with dead Bodies of all Ages and Sexes, and doubting now this ſecond Shipwrack, with like miſery threatned unto them by the Chriſtian General, if they ſhould expect the dreadful event of a general aſſault; accepted of theſe hard Conditions, ſeeing no better could be obtained; and ſo covenanting, that they with their Families, their Lives and Liberties ſaved, might with a ſafe Convoy be conducted unto ſome place of ſurety within their own Territory, they promiſed to give up the Town. Which Agreement, on both parties reſolved upon, they full of Sorrow and Heavineſs, with their Families departing out of the Town the 29*th* of *November*, were by Collonel *Andaſt*, with certain *Huſſars*, ſafely conducted to *Solnoc*. The Chriſtians entring the Town, found therein great ſtore of Victuals and Munition, the Houſes full of Corn and other Neceſſaries, and the Shops ſtored with Weapons, Shot, and Powder, with 24 pieces of great Ordnance ready mounted, which might have well ſufficed for the defence of the place. But all theſe things are but Acceſſories unto one principal, that is to ſay, to Reſolution, without which they are but of ſmall force, and with which they are able to do much. Beſide that, the place it ſelf thus furniſhed well conſidered, ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to have been forced; but eſpecially now that Winter was come on, which might have brought a thouſand Storms and Difficulties, by the Chriſtians not to have been indured; ſo that every man beholding the ſame, with his Eyes caſt up towards heaven, gave God the Praiſe, for taking away the Turks Courages in their ſo great Advantages, and increaſing of the Chriſtians in their no leſs Difficulties; unto whom the glory of this Victory was wholly attributed, ſeeing that contrary to all appearance and mans forces, he had given to the Chriſtians the Victory, no way able by their own forces to have been gained. But God, which in his Providence from Heaven beholdeth all things upon Earth, diſpoſeth of the ſame as he ſeeth beſt for his Glory, and the welfare of his; ſo that in this Action he was the only Pilot which brought this our Ship into the Haven of Health; for the Hairs of our Head are of him numbred, and even the leaſt Creatures upon Earth are by him regarded.

Hatwan yielded unto the Chriſtians.

Into this new gained Town the Chriſtian General put a good and ſtrong Garriſon of a thouſand *Lanſquenets*, and 500 *Hungarians*, part Horſe-men, and part Foot-men, for the keeping of the Place and of the Country thereabout; which done, he retired with his Army toward *Peſth*, which he relieved with Victuals, and ſtrengthned with the Troops of the Collonels, *Collonitz*, *Geisberg*, and *Rouer*, who were there billited to paſs the Winter, and to preſerve the place againſt the Devices and Enterpriſes of the Turks of *Buda*, who were ſtill deviſing and practiſing for the regaining thereof.

1603

The Lord *Ruſſworm* breaks up his Army, and ſendeth the Enſigns gained from the Turks for a preſent to the Archduke *Matthias*.

The time of the Year for Souldiers any longer to keep the Field now paſt, and the great Army of the Turks riſen and gone, the Lord *Ruſſworm* breaking up his Army near unto *Strigonium*, cauſed all the Enſigns by him this Year gained from the Turks, even ſixty four in number, to be gathered together, all very brave and gallant; all which he ſent with great Pomp and Triumph to *Vienna*, for a Preſent to the Arch-duke *Matthias*; who received them with great Thanks, given both unto the General that ſent them, and the Souldiers that had gained them; and bountifully rewarding them that had brought them. They of *Vienna* at the ſame time highly commending the General, and not a little rejoycing to ſee thoſe ſame Enſigns now in their Power within the City, which not long before had proudly braved them in the Field.

Inſolent Souldiers juſtly puniſhed.

Now after the breaking up of the Chriſtian Army, a great number of inſolent and ſeditious Souldiers, eſpecially of the Regiment of Collonel *Altmein*, roaming up and down the Country to ſeek for Booty, moſt cruelly rifled and ſpoiled the Country Villages, with the Inhabitants therein, as well the Chriſtians as the Turks, ſparing no more the one than the other: whoſe Outrage not otherwiſe to be ſtayed, they were by Commandment from the Emperour, by force charged at *Widhof*, and two hundred and thirty of them being brought in Priſoners to *Vienna*, four and thirty of them were there for Example hanged, and the reſt, as men not worthy of Entertainment, caſhiered.

The Souldiers of the Regiment of the *Reingrave* evil billited, by Extremities driven to provide for themſelves.

The time of the Year having (as we ſaid) broken up the Army of the Chriſtians, the Regiment of the County *Reingrave* was put in Garriſon into the Villages of *Chiante* and *Ternavy*, always at hand with the Enemies, as fitteſt to repulſe them. Theſe Souldiers were always kept in doing, ſtill fighting whilſt others were at Peace, and managing their Arms, whilſt others hanged theirs by the Walls. For, beſide the Troubles they had with the Turks, their nigh, but bad Neighbours, the very Inhabitants of the Country (who held all that might hurt them for Enemies, were they never ſo much their Friends) oftentimes, and that for little or no occaſion at all, took up Arms, and right furiouſly charged them as their mortal Enemies. Of which Combats there was no end, the Country Peaſants ſtill ſtriving to rid themſelves of ſuch Gueſts. So that theſe valiant men, ſtill inforced to buy their Bread with the price of their Blood, as men become deſperate, uſed the Chriſtians as they did the Turks, dividing all things with them by the Sword. But in theſe ſmall and often Fights more men were ſlain and loſt than would have been in a general Battel, ſome good number, either on the one ſide or the other being every day ſlain; which daily Inconveniences cauſed theſe Souldiers to reſolve to go to ſeek their living elſewhere, rather than in the midſt of the Graves of their Fellows. Whereunto they were the rather induced, for that but a little before, the Troop of Captain *Clinchampe*, the beſt and braveſt of the whole Regiment, was one night furiouſly aſſailed, and almoſt ſurpriſed by the Country Peaſants. Wherefore they departed out of *Hungary* into *Auſtria* without Victuals, Apparel, or Money, their Pay due unto them for ſeventeen Months being kept from them. A Cruelty full of Covetouſneſs, and a Covetouſneſs full of Cruelty, by wrong and hard dealing to leave thoſe men to the deſperate extremity of Hunger, who for our Safety had expoſed themſelves to all manner of danger. For if the Prince (as he may of right) demand the Lives of his Subjects in his Service, as bound unto their Loyalty; they may alſo of Right require due Proviſion for their Maintenance: of which two Offices, where one faileth, the whole State muſt needs fall. For providing wherefore, great was the Wiſdom of *Auguſtus*, who laid up the publick Revenue apart by it ſelf, to defray the publick Charge; and that which was his own private, to ſerve his own private Uſes.

1603

Theſe poor Souldiers thus reſolved, craved leave of the Biſhop of *Presbourg* to paſs by the Suburbs of his Town, without doing therein any harm: which their Requeſt he courteouſly granted; and ſo, according to their Word, they indeed paſſed, not ſo much as once wiſhing for that they durſt not once touch. Which their ſo quiet Paſſage, cauſed the Biſhop to furniſh them with Boats, whereby to paſs over the River which divideth *Hungary* from *Auſtria*. Which once known unto the Peaſants of *Auſtria*, they aſſembled themſelves together, to the number of 1500 men, and caſt up a Fort upon the Bank of the River, with three Faulconers in it, reſolutely ſet down to keep them from coming over into their Country. Which their ſo forward a Reſolution for a while ſtaid theſe men of War; who, to avoid farther trouble, courteouſly requeſted Paſſage of theſe men, promiſing all their good Behaviour in paſſing quietly through their Country; which the Carles in moſt churliſh manner refuſed to grant, with proud Threats of the danger of their Lives, if they ſhould by force attempt the Paſſage, and not with quietneſs return. With which Bravadoes of the Country Churles theſe Troops of martial men provoked, reſolved by force to remove theſe lets, and by the Sword to open themſelves a way; ſo turning the Head of their Baggages toward the Fort, as if they would have there paſſed; while the Peaſants ſtood gazing upon them, *Camgaillard* with his Troop of Horſemen, unperceived of them took the River a little higher up, and by ſwimming gained the farther Bank; after whom Captain *Clinchamp* with his Troops immediately followed alſo. In which Paſſage, they were much troubled with great flakes of Ice, with the great deepneſs of the River, with the ſteepneſs of the Banks where they were to land, and many other Difficulties: all which they regarded not, to be revenged of their Enemies. Theſe valiant men being got over, upon the ſudden ſurpriſing theſe rude Country Churles, and furiouſly charging of them, quickly overthrew them, and cut them in pieces; of whom, 300 were left dead upon the Place, as many more hurt, and the reſt put to flight. Which was no ſooner done, but that the reſt of the Troops of the Regiment without let paſſed the River, and ſo joyned themſelves unto their victorious Companions. Seven Weeks this Regiment ſtayed in *Auſtria*; and ſo longer had, but that upon the Complaint and Requeſt of the Nobility and of the People of the Country, they having for ſeventeen Months Pay due unto them received nine Months Pay, were licenſed to depart. Which was a great Overſight in them that had to do therewith, at once to diſband ſo many good Men, as had not their like amongſt all the reſt of the Emperour's Garriſons; and who, being ſtaid with a little money, might with their good Service have ſtood the Emperour in great ſtead; as by proof afterward appeared; when as the Emperour, by neceſſity forced to call them together again, could not of all that ſtrong Regiment raiſe but three Companies; the reſt being ſome of them returned into their own Countries, other ſome of them gone to ſerve in other places, or elſe otherwiſe diſperſed. Of which three Companies, the firſt was given to *Camgaillard*, the ſecond to *Baltazar Maradas*, a Spaniard, and the laſt to *John Raul*, an Italian: Which three Captains had before commanded in the *Reingraves* Regiment, and done the Emperour good Service as they did afterward alſo.

The Peaſants of *Auſtria* ſeek by force to ſtay the Paſſage of the Souldiers of the *Reingraves* Regiment into their Country.

The Churles of *Auſtria* overthrown.

The

1603

Divers happy Conflicts of the Chriſtians with the Turks and Tartars.

The reſt of this year ended in *Hungary*, with divers other Encounters and Combats, Fortune therein ſtill favouring the Chriſtians. As three hundred *Haiducks*, going forth to ſeek for Booty, by good hap chanced to meet with a Company of the Turks, being very rich, and divers of them men of good account; amongſt whom, the Governour of *Mohatz* was one; all whom theſe *Haiducks* cut in pieces: to be borne withal, for ſhewing no favour unto them, who moſt cruelly had before ſpoiled them of their Parents, Lands, and Goods. Beſides that, they took the Governour of *Copan*, with his Son, and twenty four other very rich Turks, with 170 Horſes of Service, and eight fat Oxen prepared for their Proviſion. Which fat Booties drew forth other Souldiers alſo to ſeek out for the like; of whom, certain Troops of the Chriſtians going forth toward *Batſwar*, a Town of the Enemies, met the Governour of the Town and of the Territory thereabout, come out with his Garriſon againſt them; where betwixt them was made a right hot and ſharp fight; wherein, at the firſt encounter the Turks ſeemed to have the better, but in the end the Chriſtians taking Courage, overthrew them, and cut them in pieces. In this conflict divers Priſoners were taken, with three Enſigns, and many other rich Spoils. This happy Exploit was ſeconded with News agreeable thereunto out of *Moldavia*, whereof the Vayvod by a Curror ſent of purpoſe, gave our men to underſtand of the great and general overthrow of the *Tartars*; who, having with all manner of Cruelty waſted the Country, had in the end made the Inhabitants ſo deſperate, that repoſing more Comfort in a ſpeedy death (the end of all Miſeries) than in a lingring Life, turmoiled with ſo many intolerable Calamities, they generally arming themſelves, joyned themſelves with their Vayvod, ſo to try their laſt Fortune. With which Reſolution, they in Battel encountering with the *Tartars*, gave them a great overthrow, a number of them being left dead upon the Field, and the reſt put to flight, and chaſed out of the Country, the *Moldavians* notably revenging their former Loſſes, and in their own Territories burying their Enemies.

Beged Baſſa thinking to have ſurpriſed the Lord *Baſta*, is himſelf by him ſurpriſed and overthrown.

Neither were the Turks in this cold and hard time of the year on their parts idle, but ſtill plotting of their great and notable Deſigns, even through the midſt of the Froſt and Snow to have been performed. The Baſſa *Beged*, hearing that the Lord *Baſta* lay with his Troops diſperſed in the Country about *Lippa*, in great ſecurity, by reaſon of the Extremity of the time, altogether unfit for men to keep the field; and therefore imagining it to be no great matter, now amidſt the Froſt and the Snow to ſurpriſe him; acquainted three other of the Turks Captains and Commanders thereabout with the matter; who liking well thereof, with five thouſand men altogether ſet forward, in hope to have upon the ſudden ſurpriſed him. But he, an old expert Captain, and not ſo careleſs as they ſuppoſed, had his ſecret Spies ſtill abroad among them; by whom, he, advertiſed both of their purpoſe and of their coming, reſolved in both to prevent them; and to that end having called together his Forces, ſet forward to meet them in the mid way, and ſo before they were aware to intercept them; neither failed he of his purpoſe; for, meeting with the Turks, fearing no ſuch matter in place of diſadvantage, and upon the ſudden charging them round, they, deceived of their Expectation for the eaſineſs of the Victory promiſed them, as men diſmayed, after ſome ſmall reſiſtance fled; above eleven hundred of them being in this conflict ſlain, and the reſt put in rout, and driven into the River *Maruze*, there periſhing; ſome few only by ſpeedy flight with the Baſſa eſcaping. Twenty of the Turks Captains were here taken, with ſome few other Priſoners, and a great and rich Booty.

1603

Much about the ſame time *George Barbel*, one of the chief of the Rebels in *Tranſilvania*, acknowledging his fault, came to *Claudianople*, to take the Oath for his Allegiance unto the Emperour; by whoſe Example a great number of others moved, came in and ſubmitted themſelves alſo; and happily he, being a good and valiant Captain, had done much more for the Service of the Emperour, had he not been by death prevented; for ſhortly after he ſuddenly died. The other Rebels, moved neither by his Example, nor by the coming in of ſome others of their Companions, made choice of one *Bethlin Habor* (a moſt renowned Captain, and of great Reputation amongſt the Souldiers) for their Chieftain; who, proud of ſuch a choice, immediately after ſent an Herauld unto *Baſta*, to will him forthwith to deliver unto him all the Country of *Tranſilvania*, as to him that was of late choſen Prince thereof, or elſe to denounce unto him moſt cruel War; and to tell him further, That if he refuſed ſo to do, he was in good hope by his own Forces, without any Aid from the Turk, to drive him out, being well aſſured of the faithful devoir of the *Tranſilvanians*. At whoſe proud Threats *Baſta* ſmiling, only ſhewed him his open Hand in ſign that he accepted of his proud Threats, not vouchſafing him any other anſwer at all. This glorious Boaſter bare himſelf the higher, for that he had married the Widdow of *Moiſes* the chief Rebel, whereby he had gained both great Riches, and much Credit and Reputation among the common People; both which he enjoyed but a while, for the fourth day after he was married, he died, and ſo was buried. *Baſta* nevertheleſs, for the better aſſuring of the ſtrong Places of *Tranſilvania*, put into them Garriſons of his moſt faithful *Germans*, and diſpatched *Crauſenich* away toward the Emperour, to requeſt of him a ſupply of a thouſand Horſe-men, and four thouſand Foot, without which he thought it impoſſible to preſerve and keep the Province, troubled with ſo great Factions, and ſo earneſtly ſought after by the Turks; and further to certifie him, That the little Forces he had left, was not ſufficient for the keeping of the Places beſet with ſo many Enemies, and all lying as it were in their Mouths; That the Province ſwarmed with ſeditious People, one thruſting another forward in Miſchief and Rebellion, as the Ears of Wheat, driven with the Wind, do one another in the Field; that the Turks were always making of new Incurſions, which he was not able to repreſs without greater Forces, which he expected from his Majeſty with all ſpeed poſſible; proteſting, for want of ſuch ſupply to be in time ſent unto him, to lay the loſs of the Province upon the Negligence of them which might and ought to have ſent the ſame; acquitting himſelf for the loſs thereof, ſeeing that he durſt not to repoſe any Truſt or Confidence in the Faith of the Citizens and Inhabitants of the Towns, although they were diſarmed, for having ſo often falſified their Faith, and put their Province in danger of utter Ruine and Deſtruction. But leaving theſe Troubles of *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*, let us a little ſtep back to ſee what hapned among the Turks themſelves, after the departure of the great Baſſa with his Army out of *Hungary*.

Bethlin Habor choſen chief of the Rebels in *Tranſilvania*.

Baſta's ſcornful Anſwer to the Meſſenger of *Bethlin*.

Baſta ſendeth for new Supplies unto the Emperour for the keeping of *Tranſilvania*.

Mahomet the great Sultan had (as is before declared) by great Promiſes made unto his Rebels, ſought to appeaſe the Rebellion in *Aſia*, and by that means drawn *Zellaly*, one of the chief Rebels, with twelve thouſand good Souldiers, out of *Aſia* into *Europe*, and ſo into his Wars in *Hungary*, upon an aſſured promiſe made unto him of the Government of *Boſna*; the hope whereof, as it had drawn

him

1603 him into theſe late Wars, ſo had it alſo encouraged him with his gallant Troops of moſt brave Horſe-men to do the beſt Service he could, ſo to ſhew himſelf worthy of ſo honourable a Preferment: which he right notably performed during all the time of the Baſſaes Abode in *Hungary*, to his own great Commendation, and the furthering of his Lord and Maſter's Service. But the Baſſa with his weak Army retired out of *Hungary*, and the Baſſa himſelf returned toward *Conſtantinople*; *Zellaly*, with three thouſand Horſe, withdrew himſelf into his promiſed Government of *Boſna*, to poſſeſs himſelf thereof: and being come near to *Bagvalue*, the chief Town of that Province, he there encamped in a fair large Meadow, within ſight of the City. Now *Zeffer Baſſa*, then Governour of the Province, and not as yet thereof diſcharged, ſeeing this Rebel thus to incroach upon his Charge, as if he would even by force intrude himſelf thereinto; with all ſpeed called together his Garriſons and men of War (ever ready at his beck) and ſo went forth againſt *Zellaly*, with a purpoſe to have quickly, and without any great Trouble, cut him, with his ſo ſmall a Company, all in pieces. But the old Rebel, not ignorant either of his own weakneſs, or of the Baſſa's ſtrength, having himſelf loſt the beſt part of his Forces before in *Hungary*, as he was a man of no leſs Wiſdom than Courage, reſolved now to attempt by Policy that which he well knew he could not by force effect. Wherefore he, as a great Prince, upon ſome brave Reſolution, began to incamp himſelf, as if he had meant there to have lain, when as immediately after, upon a fair Night, having cauſed divers great Fires to be made in his Tents, as if it had been to beguile the Enemy with, he ſuddenly roſe and departed. Of whoſe Flight (for ſo it was like) the Baſſa underſtanding, and that he had forſaken his Camp, haſted thither with all ſpeed with his Souldiers to take and pillage the ſame; not making any other account of him that was ſo fled and gone, but as of a baſe and faint-hearted Coward, who for Fear, and want of Courage, had left both his Camp and Honour as a Prey unto his Enemies; the Spoil whereof, the Baſſa (being poſſeſſed of the Camp) gave unto his Souldiers; who, glad of ſuch a Morſel, greedily ſwallowed it up, which by and by after became their bane and utter deſtruction: for, whilſt that they were charging themſelves with Booties, and every man was thinking of his Prey, nothing careful of their common Safety, *Zellaly*, with his three thouſand Horſe, all valiant and reſolute men, ſuddenly the ſame Night returning, ſurpriſed the Turks being faſt on ſleep, as buried in Security, and cut them in pieces. Some, of greater Courage than the reſt, began to make head, and to give ſome ſhew of their Valour; but, overcome with the general Fear, out of order, and not reſolved what to do, they were quickly with the reſt forced, overthrown, and ſlain. In this ſurpriſe there were of the Baſſa's men ſix thouſand found dead upon the Place; a very great ſlaughter to be made by ſo few men. But what cannot valiant Reſolution do againſt careleſneſs, lulled aſleep in the lap of Security? The Baſſa himſelf eſcaped by Flight, with ſuch as could get out of the Camp to follow him.

Zellaly cometh into *Boſna*.

By Policy overthroweth *Zeffer Baſſa* the Governour, and poſſeſſeth it himſelf.

Now *Zellaly*, well knowing how to uſe his Victory, marched in haſte to all the chief places of the Province, and with his Forces, more feared for their Victory than their Number, cauſed all the Inhabitants of thoſe Places, with moſt part of the reſt of the People of the Country, to ſwear unto him their Obedience and Fidelity. In which doing, he gathered together great ſtore of Wealth, with a great number of brave Horſes for Service; all which he put into *Balnaluc*, a ſtrong Town, whereinto he in triumphant manner entred, with a Crown of Lawrel upon his Head, and his Souldiers ſinging his Praiſes amidſt the ſmoak of a thouſand Pieces of great Ordnance, which he cauſed inceſſantly to be ſhot off for the ſpace of two days together; giving it out withal (amongſt all the joyful Feaſts and Triumphs, made for the magnifying and ſetting forth of his Praiſe and Glory) That his Reſolution was, to take part with the Chriſtian Emperour, if the great Baſſaes, or other his Enemies in great place in Court, ſhould ſeek to croſs his Deſires, or to formalize his Actions or Proceedings in this manner of the obtaining of his Government. 1603

Now *Mahomet*, doubting what this Man, ſo well acquainted with Rebellion, would do, had by divers Meſſengers ſent for him to *Conſtantinople*, after the breaking up of the Army in *Hungary*, there of his Imperial and Infinite Bounty, to receive the honourable Rewards of his good Service and Valour, the greatneſs whereof he had (as he ſaid) already underſtood by *Haſſan Baſſa* the General; which ſo bound him to the Reward thereof, as that his Deſire and Pleaſure was, to grace him in Court with his own hands, for the greater Teſtimony of the Love he bare him, and of the eſteem he had of him. But the crafty and miſtruſtful Rebel, doubting that theſe fair Words were all but baits to draw him into his Power, to the endangering or aſſured loſs both of his Life and Liberty, ſhut his Ears againſt theſe ſo ſweet Charms, and, as a Man well adviſed, and one which knew that the hand of a Prince juſtly offended, is always open for to puniſh his rebellious Subjects, being once in his Power, with as great Juſtice in puniſhing him, as he with Wrong and Diſloyalty offended him, would in no wiſe accept of the offer; but civilly anſwered, That he moſt humbly thanked the Great Sultan for his ſo great and honourable Offers, and that he was ſo mindful of him; but that he for his part deſired not any greater reward for the Services by him done, more than the Government which his Majeſty had before promiſed him, whereof (according to which Promiſe, which he could not think but to be agreeable to his good liking) he was now poſſeſſed, with a reſolution *to hold and keep the ſame for his Majeſties Service.* Which was as much in effect, as for a diſloyal Subject to talk with his angry Sovereign with his hand upon his Sword: but with this ſly Anſwer, ſuch as it was, Sultan *Mahomet*, for all his Greatneſs, muſt as yet content himſelf, for fear leſt if he ſhould have ſought to have by force removed him, he might ſo have raiſed a more dangerous Rebellion in *Europe*, than was already in *Aſia*. *Zellaly*, ſo politick and reſolute a man, and not to ſeek what to do in ſuch matters, being poſſeſſed of ſo great a Government, and the Chriſtian Emperour at hand ready to have backed him, if he ſhould upon any Diſcontentment have revolted. 1603

Sultan *Mahomet* ſendeth for *Zellaly* to come unto him to *Conſtantinople*.

Zellaly refuſeth to come to *Conſtantinople* at the great Sultan's ſending for.

The Troubles of this Year 1603 thus overpaſt, the beginning of the next was like unto a fair blooming Tree, which promiſing great ſtore of Fruit, but afterward blaſted with the Extremity of the Weather, proveth in effect as barren, as it before ſeemed in hope fruitful: for, beginning with the ſweet Weſtern Winds of Peace, it ended with the ſtern Northern Blaſts of War. The Turks had oftentimes the laſt Year made motion of Peace, but eſpecially toward the end thereof; outwardly making ſhew of a great deſire and forwardneſs in themſelves thereunto. Which buſineſs the laſt Year begun, was even with the beginning of this Year alſo effectually continued, that Commiſſioners were on both ſides appointed to conferr and conclude upon the ſame. Among theſe Commiſſioners, Colonel *Althem* was one; who, to perform his Charge, ha- 1604

1604 having taken with him the other Commissioners deputed with him for this purpose, with certain other Captains, embarqued himself with them in thirteen Ships from *Strigonium*, and from thence sailing down the River, landed with his Train in the Island betwixt *Buda* and *Pesth*. Of whose Arrival there, the Turks of *Buda* advertised, and on their part ready, came forthwith thither also, with all the outward shews that might be of their most earnest desire for the concluding of Peace; whereas our Men, who by a thousand effects were assured of the unfaithfulness of the Turks, and that Necessity, and not the desire of any Quietness, had drawn them to seek for Peace, to the contrary shewed themselves very backward in this Business. For why, they knew right well, that the Turks had not taken this matter in hand, but to overtake them, and by this time of Peace to gain a time of War more commodious and fit for their ambitious and cruel Designs. They had the year before made sufficient Proof of our Forces, accompanied with good Fortune, which caused them to despair by strong hand to vanquish and overcome us, besides that, they still every hour in one place or other received a thousand Losses and Crosses from our Garrisons, who distressed and annoyed them both with their Forces, and with driving of them unto the extremity of Wants. Our men knew moreover also, that the Troubles of *Asia*, as well from the Rebels as from the *Persian*, which lay so heavy upon the Great Sultan, drew them to this necessity, to seek for a breathing time of Peace, wherein to repair that which was in their Forces and Strength by Wars impaired. And even yet also, the manner of the Turks demeaning of themselves in this Action, their Delays, their Excuses, and deferring from day to day to conclude upon some Point of this Treaty, gave our men good cause to suspect them of evil meaning, as men respecting their Profit more than their Faith; and more subtil and cruel in all their Actions, than honourable and valorous. The Fifth of *January* was the day by our men expected for the Treaty; for as then the Bassa of *Buda* had appointed with the rest of the Commissioners to come into the Isle, to hear what our Commissioners should demand, and to intreat of the Peace. But he was too true an Infidel to fail of his Infidelity, and so came not at all, but deceived our Men both of their Hope and Expectation. At length, instead of himself, Letters were brought from him to Collonel *Althem*, whereby he excused himself for not coming, requesting him, with the rest of the Commissioners, to come over the River to *Buda*, the more commodiously for them to conferr together, and so the better to conclude their Negotiation. Now though *Almain*, for the Majesty of his Prince, and the Honour of the State, ought not at the Request of these his Enemies to have put himself into their Power, but to have stood fast upon the Terms of Honour, yet to the end that the Country of *Hungary*, so miserably spoiled with Wars, should not take occasion to complain of his negligence in this Negotiation of Peace, he resolved to go to *Buda*, as the Bassa had requested; deeming every Action tending to the hinderance of the common Good, to be but in shew honourable, and in deed hurtful. Upon which Resolution, he sent before the Gentleman of his Stable, and his Cook, with a Gentleman of the Turks, sent but the day before from the Bassa: which men going aboard together, were assailed with such a cruel Tempest upon the River, that neither the Skill of the Water-men, nor Goodness of the Vessel, was able to resist the force thereof; so that the Boat was sunk, and the men drowned: an evil Presage of the Peace to be made, the raging Water as it were foreshewing the Troubles to come. But this Tempest, by the sacrifice of those poor drowned men, appeased, *Althem* and *Geisberg*, two of the chief Commissioners, embarqued themselves, and so passed over the River to *Buda*. At whose Arrival, the Turks gave in shew a thousand Testimonies of their joy for their coming. Neither did the *Germans* refuse their kind offered Courtesies, but largely fed of the good cheer, and filled themselves with the good Wines, whereof the Turks had given them Plenty; and they again using them as kindly as if they had been their Brethren, and conversing with them as with their own Countrymen. Amidst this carousing and Platters full of good cheer, the Proposition of Peace, which the Turks meant to demand, were served in also, and a Truce for twelve days demanded to consider of the matter; during which time, it should be lawful for every man, without let, freely to come and go whither they would; which was forthwith on both sides agreed upon. And for better Testimony of the Turks true meaning in this their Negotiation of Peace, the Bassa, in the presence of our Commissioners, dispatched a Courier toward the great Sultan, to advertise him of this business, and of the proceeding therein, according to the Commandment by him before given. Which he did, to cause our men to believe, that the great Sultan himself was desirous of Peace, and that his Captains, well affected thereunto, were willing to further the same. Which done, the Bassa presented unto Collonel *Althem* two Cases full of Turks Arms, of all manner of Fashions, very rich, and cunningly wrought; both carried by a Mule, with Furniture for an Horse, embroidered with Gold and Pearl, very sumptuous and rich, as a Present from the great Sultan, his Lord and Master, to the Emperour. And for the Archduke *Matthias*, he presented unto the Collonel, a Robe of purple Velvet, with Sleeves cunningly embroidered with Gold and Pearl, embossed with fine and curious Figures cunningly wrought with the Needle; for the rareness thereof as admirable to behold, as for the richness thereof to have been desired: which was by every man wondered at, when as shortly after it was by *Althem* presented unto the Arch-duke, together with other Presents from the Turks. Besides that, the same Bassa, in token of Friendship, presented unto *Althem* himself another very fair and rich Robe; all the rest of the Commissioners receiving also from the Bassa other Robes of less Value, but yet all very rich and sumptuous.

This business for this time thus ended, and the Truce for twelve days concluded, the Christian Commissioners, loaded with Presents, took their leave of the Turks, with the shews of their good Wills, and so returned back again to *Pesth*. Howbeit, these the Enemies fair Presents still savoured but of Enmity, being indeed but like to the Presents of *Hector* and *Ajax*, tending rather to War than to Peace.

Now the Death of the most valiant and renowned Lord *Nadasti*, which at this time happened, was another evil Presage of the bad Success of this Treaty of Peace now at hand; who, having of long been a bar unto the Turks Rage in that part of *Hungary* where he dwelt, they now after his Death, with the violence of their Forces, as with an heady stream, bare down before them all our good Fortune in that Province. This worthy man, of great Fame and Desert, had spent both his Years and Fortune in the most honourable Wars against the Turks; wherein he was so skilful and expert, that he was of them feared as another *Huniades*, and of the Christians honoured

Commissioners appointed to confer upon a Peace to be made betwixt the Christians and the Turks.

The Causes which moved the Turks to encline to Peace.

The Bassa of *Buda* faileth to meet the Christian Commissioners according to his Promise.

An evil Presage of the future Peace.

1604

The Christian Commissioners courteously entertained at *Buda*.

A Truce for twelve days agreed upon betwixt the Turks and the Christians.

Presents by the Turks given to the Christian Commissioners.

The true and just Commendation of the Lord *Nadasti*.

1604 as another *Matthias*. He had a thouſand times moſt valiantly fought againſt theſe Miſcreants, and as many times foiled them, to the great benefit of the Chriſtian Commonweal, the advancement of the Emperour's Service, and the relief of his diſtreſſed Country. Theſe his heroical deeds of Arms were engraven upon the Gates of the Towns and Cities of *Hungary*, and within the Rocks of *Tranſilvania*; having both in the one Country and the other right happily defeated theſe Infidels. He had the Honour to have received the firſt Incurſions and Attempts of the Turks, at ſuch time as *Amurath* the Third, having perfidiouſly broken the League made with *Maximilian* the Emperour, with his Forces invaded *Hungary*; and was the firſt of all the Chriſtian Chieftains that made head againſt them; and being by their ſudden coming in by them almoſt ſurpriſed, performed yet great and worthy Exploits and Service againſt theſe faithleſs men. It ſhould ſeem that good Fortune favoured the Country of *Hungary*, but only in reſpect of him; for he being dead, it died alſo, burying it ſelf as it were in his Grave, and him in Glory; not ſuffering him to grow old, and ſo to languiſh in the Ruines of his native Country. He died of a natural Death, about fifty and four Years old, moſt part whereof he lived in Arms, ſtill charged with the burthen of his Armour, and even at the yielding up of the Ghoſt yet breathing Wars againſt theſe the Enemies of the Chriſtian Faith. His Death was much lamented of many faithful Chriſtians, but eſpecially of his own Tenants and Subjects, whom he had always kept and preſerved in Safety, and ſtill maintained them in all Peace and Tranquility during all theſe former Wars, the Turks not daring once to aſſail them, nor to enter into their Territory, being ſtaid from ſo doing by the Bulwark of his Valour, right dreadful to their Attempts. Never Turk was buried in his Territory, no more than were the *Barbarians* upon the Banks of the River *Eurotas*, his Wiſdom had ſo wiſely provided for the Preſervation of his People; and his Valour ſo worthily aſſured them of their Health and Safety. He was for his Country another *Epaminondas*, who made his Town not only free from the Arms and Invaſions of their Enemies, but alſo dreadful to their Forces ſo long as he lived. The Turks on the contrary part no leſs rejoyced for his Death; but accounting his Country now rich and plentiful (for that it had never been by them ſpoiled) for their moſt aſſured Prey came now thither on all ſides, to have taken the Spoil thereof, and therewith to have enriched themſelves. But as they were about ſo to have done, the valiant *Collonitz*, honouring the Remembrance of the Lord *Nadaſti*, his late Fellow and Companion in Arms, and holding that for his own which he had left, oppoſed himſelf with his Forces againſt theſe ravening Wolves: ſo that they were no ſooner entered into this his Territory, but that, contrary to their Expectation, they were encountered by this new *Nadaſti*, and by him ſo overthrown and cut in pieces, that for a good while after they durſt no more attempt the like.

The Death of the Lord *Nadaſti*.

This ſo great a loſs of ſo worthy a man, was a little eaſed, by the Victory about the ſame time gained by the Vayvod of *Valachia* againſt the Turks, ſpoiling of his Country. This valiant Champion not able longer to endure the proud Inſolency and Tyranny of thoſe barbarous People, gathered together his Troops of Horſe-men, with ſuch other ſmall Forces as he had; whereof, the Turks having made ſmall reckoning, and therefore without order pillaging and ranſacking his Country, were, when they leaſt feared, by him upon the ſudden ſurpriſed and overthrown, many of them being cut in pieces, a number more taken Priſoners, with all the Spoils they had got, and the reſt with ſuch fear chaſed out of his Country; as that being glad to have eſcaped, they took no pleaſure for a great while after to look into that his Province again.

The Turks overthrown by the Vayvod of *Valachia*.

But to return again to the Commiſſioners for the Peace to be made betwixt the Great Sultan and the Emperour; The Baſſa of *Buda*, to the end that the Captains and Governours of the Turks, and Caſtles belonging to the Turks, being ignorant of the Truce, ſhould not continue their warlike Actions, to the prejudice of his Faith given; immediately after the departure of the Chriſtian Commiſſioners from *Buda*, diſpatched divers Courriers towards them, to give them knowledge thereof, and eſpecially the Governour of *Agria*, commanding them from thenceforth to abſtain from their ordinary Incurſions into their Enemies Territories, and from all other Actions of Hoſtility, and ſo to keep themſelves quiet until they were from him otherwiſe commanded. This little time of reſpite and breathing from War, gave great Contentment unto the poor Country People, now with Wars almoſt exhauſted and ſpent. And now our Souldiers, during this time of Truce, laying their Arms aſide, ran by heaps with Spades and Shovels unto the places where our Armies had ſometime lain incamped, there to delve and ſearch to find ſuch things as the Armies riſing in haſte had haply left there buried. In which Action they ſo buſied themſelves as if they had been Labourers in Harveſt, ſo that nothing was in the Fields to be ſeen, but Men digging and removing of Stones and Earth. A right fooliſh Buſineſs, and yet ſo exceedingly pleaſing the greedy Minds of theſe covetous men, as that amidſt their ſuch moiling labour they accounted themſelves at great eaſe. The Turks alſo did the like, mingled together with our Men, and our Men with them, without any injury doing one to another, either by word or Deed. And no doubt it is, but that there they found more Travel than Wealth, the greedy deſire which drew them into this Work deceiving them in effect. And in this mad Labour both the Parties ſpent many days without any loſs or injury doing either on the one ſide or the other. The Chriſtians of *Peſth* alſo paſſing over the *Danuby*, went into the victualling Houſes of the Turks at *Buda*, whereinto they were ſuffered to enter, and at liberty to walk up and down the Town at their Pleaſure. And ſo the Turks of *Buda* likewiſe came over the River unto *Peſth*, and there walked at their pleaſure, no man letting of them. Which manner of living was very commodious and pleaſing both for the one ſide and the other, the Chriſtians buying of the Turks ſuch things as they needed, and the Turks of them likewiſe. Through which quiet and peaceable Intercourſe and Traffick, the People in general ſeemed even in that ſhort time to have forgotten a great part of their forepaſſed Miſeries, this little time of Peace, joyned with ſecurity, having well aſſwaged the ſame. But while theſe mutual and unwonted Courteſies thus paſſed betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, and the minds of moſt men were filled with the expectation of an aſſured Peace to have been forthwith concluded, the Great Sultan *Mahomet*, in the midſt of all his Pleaſures and Delights, died in his Imperial Palace at *Conſtantinople*: the News whereof, being in the Evening brought to *Buda* by a Courrier of purpoſe ſent from *Conſtantinople*, the Baſſa forthwith ſent the Captain of the Sentinels of *Buda*, to Collonel *Geisberg* at *Peſth*, to aſſure him of the Death of the Great Sultan *Mahomet*, and of the Succeſſion of his young Son *Achmat* into his Empire, now already

1604

The ſmall time of Truce yieldeth great contentment both unto the Chriſtians and Turks in *Hungary*.

The Death of the Great Sultan *Mahomet*.

1604 ready both at *Conſtantinople* and other Places thereabout proclaimed Emperour. By which Meſſenger he alſo wrote unto Collonel *Althem*, to certifie him both of the Death of the Great Sultan, and of the Succeſſion of his Son, as alſo that he was by him commanded to continue the Negotiation of the Peace, and ſo if he could to conclude the ſame. For the more evidence whereof, behold the Copy of the Letters themſelves.

The Letters of the Baſſa of *Buda* to Collonel *Althem*.

OUR due Commendations remembred, noble Lord Governour, our dear Friend and right honourable Neighbour. We have thought good to advertiſe you, that the fourth day after your departure from this City, we received Letters from Conſtantinople, *giving us certainly to underſtand of the Death of our Moſt Mighty Emperour* Mahomet, *and of the Succeſſion of his Son Sultan* Achmat, *into all his Dominions and Empires: whereby we were, as his moſt humble Subjects, ſummoned to yield unto him our Oath of faithful Obedience, as unto our rightful Lord, and lawful Succeſſor of his Father into all his Eſtates and Dominions. Moreover, he particularly commandeth us, to give him certain Advice and Knowledge concerning the Negotiation of the Peace begun betwixt Us and You, by the Commandment of his deceaſed Father; promiſing to confirm and ratifie all whatſoever he ſhall find done and agreed upon concerning that Buſineſs, without any Qualification at all. And that if the Treaty be not yet concluded and ended, that his Will and Deſire was, that it ſhould be ſo, according to the juſt Means and Aſſurances that we ſhould faithfully and carefully together deviſe. Whereof I ſhould readily give him Advice and Anſwer, which I have deferred to do, until I have received your Anſwer, which may inſtruct me what to reſolve upon. Which your Anſwer I attending, have ſtayed the Courrier of* Conſtantinople, *to the intent he may carry backward unto our Emperour, what he is to hope for concerning this Buſineſs, by the Anſwer that you ſhall give us. Theſe are now therefore to adviſe you, as our dear Friend, and a moſt valiant Governour, to ſet down that which you ſhall think to be moſt fit and neceſſary in this Buſineſs; giving you withal to underſtand, that our new Emperour is a man of Reſolution, even in theſe his young Years, wherein he now flouriſheth, hating Idleneſs, deeming no loſs greater, and altogether irreparable, than the loſs of time. If then you be ſtill deſirous, that the Peace betwixt our Emperours ſhould be made and confirmed, I hope you will employ your whole endeavour with ſpeed to determine this moſt happy Negotiation, and ſo neceſſary for every mans good; as alſo to avert far from our own Heads the Curſes of the common People, for whom it is moſt needful that the Peace ſhould for their good and quietneſs be concluded, ſeeing that the Fruit thereof is expected to be unto them happy, and the Glory thereof for ever ours, for having by our diligence and true endeavour concluded the ſame. Which maketh me to hope, that when you ſhall find your ſelf ready to conclude this Treaty, you will not bring with you Men Enemies unto Peace, or ſuch as ſhall diſſuade the ſame; but rather, wiſe and grave men, which to the uttermoſt of their Power may advance the ſame, and find out good and reaſonable means to aſſure an eternal and faithful Peace betwixt our Emperours, unto which ſo general a good every one of us is in duty bound to imploy the uttermoſt of his Sufficiency and Power. And this is that I have of Truth to write unto you at this time: and ſo I bid you farewel.*

Now theſe Letters, although they moſt concerned the Continuation of the Treaty of Peace already begun, and were too friendly from an Enemy to have in them any good meaning, yet did they well aſſure the Collonel, to whom they were written, of the Death of the great and late Sultan *Mahomet*, and of the Succeſſion of his Son *Achmat* into his Empire, to which end they are here ſet down. 1604

This late mighty Monarch, and now nothing but a loathſome lump of dead Fleſh, the great Sultan *Mahomet*, departed this Life about the latter end of *January*, in the Year of Grace 1604, (according to their Computation which begin the year at *Chriſtmas*) when he had lived about 44 years, and thereof reigned eight. He was a man of no great Spirit, and yet exceeding proud; which was the cauſe that he was both the leſs beloved and feared of his Subjects in general, but eſpecially of the Janizaries, and other his Souldiers and men of War, who, ſcorning his looſe Government, and griev'd to ſee even the greateſt Affairs of his State not only imparted to Women, but by them managed and over-ruled alſo (as by his Mother, the Sultaneſs his Wife, and others) not only rebelled againſt him, but were oftentimes in their Rages about to have depoſed him. He was altogether given to ſenſuality and voluptuous pleaſure, the marks whereof he ſtill carried about with him, a foul, ſwoln, unwealdy, and overgrown Body, unfit for any Princely Office or Function; and a Mind thereto anſwerable, wholly given over unto Idleneſs, Pleaſure, and Exceſs, no ſmall means for the ſhortning of his days, which he ended with Obloquy, unregarded of his Subjects, and but of few or none of them lamented. *Mahomet*, why he was not regarded of his men of War.

He had Iſſue four Sons, and three Daughters married unto three of the great Baſſaes. *Mahomet's* Iſſue.

His firſt and eldeſt Son was called *Mahomet* (after his own Name) whom he cauſed to be ſtrangled in his own ſight, upon ſuſpicion of aſpiring to the Empire, and conſpiring with the Rebels in *Aſia*: but afterward finding him guiltleſs, cauſed his Body to be buried in his own Sepulchre, and hanged the Baſſa that had miſinformed him.

His ſecond Son died a natural Death, being yet very young.

His third Son was Sultan *Achmat*, who ſucceeded his Father, and came to the Empire by the untimely Death of *Mahomet* his eldeſt Brother.

His fourth Son, being then a Youth of about ſixteen Years old, was carefully kept within the Seraglio, with ſuch a ſtrait Guard ſet over him, as that his Name was not to be learned, even by a good underſtanding Friend of mine, of late lying above three Months together at *Conſtantinople*, who moſt curiouſly enquited after the ſame, having very good means to have learned it. He was reported to have been long ſince murthered, howbeit that he of late lived, but looking every day to be by his Brothers cruel Commandment ſtrangled, which is accounted but a matter of courſe, and a Death hereditary to all the younger male Children of the *Othoman* Emperours; the Policy for the maintenance of their great Empire entire and whole, ſo requiting.

His dead Body lieth buried at *Conſtantinople*, in a fair Chappel of white Marble (near unto the moſt famous and beautiful Church of *S. Sophia*) for that only purpoſe by himſelf moſt ſumptuouſly built, about fifty foot ſquare, with four high ſmall round Towers, about the which are certain ſmall round Galleries of Stone; from which the Turkiſh Prieſts and Church-men, at certain hours, uſe to call the People every day to Church; for they uſe no Bells themſelves, neither will they ſuffer the Chriſtians to uſe any. But the top of this Chappel is built round, like unto the ancient Temples of the Heathen Gods in *Rome*. In the midſt of this Chappel (being indeed nothing elſe but this great Sultan's Sepulchre) ſtandeth his Tomb, which is nothing elſe but a great Urn or Coffin of fair white Marble, wherein lieth his Body, covered with a great covering of the ſame Stone over it, made *Mahomet*, how he lieth buried at *Conſtantinople*.

1604 rising in the midst, and stooping on each side; not much unlike to the Coffins of the ancient Tombs of the *Saxon* Kings, which are to be seen on the North side of the Quire of S. *Paul*'s Church and in other Places of this Land; but that this Coffin of the Great Sultan is much greater, and more stately than are those of the *Saxon* Kings; it being above five foot high at the end thereof, and by little and little falling toward the feet, covered with a rich Hearse of Cloth of Gold down to the ground; his Turbant standing at his Head, and two exceeding great Candles of white Wax, about three or four Yards long, standing in great brass or silver Candlesticks gilded, the one at his Head, the other at his Feet, which never burn, but there stand for shew only: all the Floor of the Chappel being covered with Mats, and fair Turky Carpets upon them. And round about this his Tomb, even in the same Chappel, are the like Tombs for his Wives and Children, but nothing so great and fair. Into this Chappel, or any other the Turks Churches or Chappels, it is not lawful for either Turk or Christian to enter, but first he must put off his Shoes, leaving them at the Church or Chappel Gate, or carrying them in his hand. Near unto this Chappel, and the great Temple of *Sophia*, are divers other Chappels of the other great Turks; as of Sultan *Selim*, this Man's Grand-father, with his seven and thirty Children about him; of Sultan *Amurath*, this Man's Father, with his five and forty Children entombed about him. And in other places, not far from them, are the Chappels and Sepulchres of the rest of the Great Sultans; as of Sultan *Mahomet* the Great, of Sultan *Bajazet*, Sultan *Selim* the first, Sultan *Solyman*; all by these great *Mahometan* Emperours built, whose Names they bear. And being all of almost one form and fashion, have every one of them a fair Hospital adjoyning unto them, wherein a great multitude of poor People are daily still relieved. 1604

Some others of the great Bassaes have their Chappels and Sepulchres, with their great and stately Alms-houses also, not much inferiour unto those of the great Sultans; as namely, *Ibrahim Bassa*, of all the Bassaes that ever were amongst the Turks the most magnificent, hath his stately Chappel, Sepulchre, and Alms-Houses, near, both in Place and Beauty unto that of *Solyman*'s. The Turks bury not at all within their Churches, neither are any at all buried within the Walls of the City, but the great Turkish Emperours themselves, with their Wives and Children about them, and some few other of their great Bassaes, and those only in Chappels by themselves built for that purpose. All the rest of the Turks are buried in the Fields; some of the better sort in Tombs of Marble, but the rest with Tomb-stones laid upon them, or with two great Stones, the one set up at the head, and the other at the feet of every Grave; the greatest part of them being of white Marble, brought from the Isle of *Marmora*. They will not bury any man where another hath been buried, accounting it Impiety to dig up another man's Bones: by reason whereof, they cover all the best Ground about the City with such great white Stones: which, for the infinite number of them, are thought sufficient to make another Wall about the City. But not to stand longer upon the manner of the Turks Burials, leaving this great Sultan to rest with his Ancestors, let us now prosecute the course of our History.

The Turks bury not in their Churches, neither within the Walls of their Cities, but in the Fields.

Christian Princes of the same time with Mahomet *the Third.*

- *Emperours of* Germany: Rodolph *the Second.* 1577.
- *Kings,*
  - *Of* England: *Queen* Elizabeth. 1558. 47.
  - *Of* France: Henry *the Fourth.* 1589.
  - *Of* Scotland: James *the Sixth.* 1567.
- *Bishops of* Rome:
  - Clement *the* VIII. 1592. 13.
  - Leo *the* XI. 1605. 26. days.
  - Paul *the* V. 1605.

THE

Non tua te virtus, non ingens copia rerum
Te faciunt magnum, non tua dextra potens;
Maximus est Superùm, nutu qui territat Orbem
Hinc Achmete tibi gloria tota manat.
Hic tibi tunc tenero regalia Sceptra paravit,
Hic tibi nunc juveni maxima quæque dedit:
Non quod sis aliis melior, multumvè beatus,
Sed quò sis aliis terror, et ira Dei.
Quid turges igitur fastuve superbis inani,
Sic te cum miseris, numinis ira premat.
Pone modum magnis, ni vis succũbere magnus.
Maxima quæque suo pondere pressa ruunt.
Nec tibi promittes regnandi tempora longa,
Te tua fata vocant, te tua fata premunt.

'Tis not thy vertue, nor thy dread command,
That makes thee great, nor thy victorious hand,
There's an almighty God who makes thee so,
From him these glories (Achmet) on thee flow.
He in thy infant hands the Scepter plac'd,
And he thy vigorous youth with honours grac'd.
Not for thy merits he exalted thee,
But that his Scourge of Vengeance thou shouldst be.
Boast thou not then, of what is not thine owne,
For he that sett thee up, may pull thee downe.
Be humble in thy most triumphant State,
For great things sink deprest by their owne weight.
Nor feed thy self with hopes of endless daies,
For at Fates Summons thou must goe thy waies.

THE LIFE OF ACHMAT,

The First of that Name, Eighth Emperour of the *Turks*.

1604

Achmat, by excessive bounty procureth the favour of his great Courtiers and men of War.

Mahomet, the late Sultan, in the midst of his excessive Pleasures, by untimely Death taken away, *Achmat*, the elder of his two Sons yet living, who was to succeed him in the Empire, to prevent the usual and insolent Tumults of the Janizaries, and other Souldiers of the Court at the change of the Emperours, and to take from them all Occasions of discontentment; by the Counsel of the great Bassaes (before he took upon him the Government) caused an exceeding great sum of Money (*viz.* two millions and an half) as a token of his Bounty, to be distributed amongst them; the *Spahi* and *Silictars*, his chief Horse-men, receiving thereof ten Crowns a man, with five Aspers a day more to increase their Pay; and the Janizaries thirty Crowns a man, and one Asper a day more of ordinary pay; they of his Court, but especially the chief Officers, tasting of this his bounteous Liberality also. With which so great a largess all men well contented, he, in a most rich and stately Chariot, so placed as that all men might well see him, was in great Majesty carried through all the chief Streets of *Constantinople*; the People on every side gazing upon him, and still as he passed by them, prosecuting him with their most joyful and happy Acclamations. Some wishing, that he being but young, might as another *Solyman* begin his Reign with the Conquest of *Malta*, as had the other with the Conquest of the *Rhodes*; and other some as heartily praying, that with glorious and victorious Conquests he might be like unto *Mahomet* the Great, whom he was then reported much to resemble. In which so great and publick Magnificence, he, being about fifteen years old, was with all the accustomed Solemnities openly crowned, every man wishing unto him a most long and happy Reign. And albeit that no great fruit was for the present from so young and tender a Plant to be expected, yet nevertheless, by his Authority, and in his Name, many good Orders were taken for the relief of his Subjects, with most heavy Grievances generally oppressed, during the loose and careless Reign of his Father. His Grandmother also, a most proud, ambitious, and imperious Woman, and withal exceeding rich, who, with great Authority, at her Pleasure, over-ruled all in the time of the Reign of her Son *Mahomet*, he now removed from the State, as not fit for her to have to do therein, and so deprived her of all her former Power and Command. The *Persian* Ambassadour, whom his Father in his displeasure had close shut up, he set at liberty, and with him sent the Bassa of *Aleppo*, to intreat of Peace with the great Shaugh of *Persia*, who not long before (as was reported) had recovered the great City of *Tauris*, and was then preparing himself for new Conquests. Which Report for the motion of Peace with the *Persian*, discovered in his Subjects their divers opinions concerning himself; some condemning his Patience, as not beseeming the *Othoman* Emperours, unto whom Fury and Rage had always made them a way unto their great and dreadful Conquests, even against the most puissant Armies, and strongest Towns and Fortresses of their Enemies; and some others to the contrary praising therein his Wisdom, in seeking by fair means (now in the beginning of his Reign) to disarm his Enemies when they might most hurt him; at his better opportunity, in his settled estate, to oppress them for ever. So the Actions of Princes are like unto strange Lights appearing by Night in the Air, which hold mens Eyes busied with the intentive beholding of them, some thereof divining well, and some others evil, according to the diversity of the beholders conceits and humours.

Achmat Crowned Emperour of the Turks at *Constantinople*.

Achmat removeth his Grandmother from dealing with matters of State.

1604

The Turks diversly conceited of their new Emperour.

The Treaty for Peace also in *Hungary*, was notwithstanding the death of *Mahomet*, by the Bassa of *Buda* still continued, who (as he said) by the new Sultan authorised, by Letters incited the Governour of *Strigonium* to repair unto some such convenient Place, as wherein the matter might be safely concluded. Upon which motion, the Governour, with the rest of the Commissioners, departing from *Strigonium*, the fourth of *February* came to *Collonitz*'s Camp, from whence they were by the Souldiers most bravely conducted along the Banks of *Danubius*, unto the Ships which lay ready for them, to carry them down the River to *Pesth*; during which time of their Passage, nothing was to be seen or heard, but Fire and Smoak, and the thundering of the great Artillery both from *Pesth* and *Buda*, the Christians and the Turks both striving to excell each other in these their shews of Joy and Tryumph. The Governour, with the rest of his Company, being happily arrived at *Pesth*, met there with a number of the better sort of the Turks, sent thither by the Bassa to meet him, and in his Name to greet him; who, with a thousand Honours again received and saluted them. All shews of Kindness, and signs of the happy success of the Negotiation begun. And now the Christians, desirous to excell the Turks, as well in Courtesie as in Valour, appointed a number of them the next day to go to *Buda*, to invite certain of the chiefest and most honourable men amongst the Turks, unto a Banquet at *Pesth*; who willingly accepted of the offer, and so came six hundred of the better sort of them over the *Danuby* to *Pesth*, where the feast was most sumptuously and magnificently prepared for them. There were ten fair and

The Treaty for Peace in *Hungary* continued.

The Turks honourably feasted by the Christians near *Pesth*.

1604 rich Pavillions, ſet up for the Entertainment of them a little diſtant from *Peſth*, in a fair place, and fit for this purpoſe. In the firſt whereof were placed three very proud and ſtately Tables. At the firſt of which Tables, on the right hand, were ſet the Commiſſioners for the Emperour, with the two Baſſaes, and one Mufti or Arch-Prieſt, with a Mitre upon his Head, a long furred Gown upon his Back, and under that, a Robe of moſt fine and exceeding rich Silk. Upon the left hand, at the ſame Table, were placed certain of the Turks Lords, and other great men. At the other two Tables were ſet other of the beſt ſort of the Turks mingled with the Chriſtians: and ſo at all the other Tables in like order were ſet a Chriſtian and a Turk, until that the ſix hundred Turks were placed, with as many Chriſtians among them; who, by their good Countenance and Behaviour one of them to another, might have ſeemed to have been all of one and the ſame Belief, Nation, and Country. The Turks, after the manner of their Superſtition, would not ſit down before the ſetting of the Sun; which being ſet, they with a thouſand Ceremonies, to the imitation of their Arch-prieſt, ſet themſelves down at the Tables in order as is aforeſaid, and there merrily repoſed themſelves until nine of the Clock at night. At which time, the Tables with great reverence taken away, the Turks, as men well contented, and full of Joy, returned to *Buda*, the Inſtruments of Muſick, Trumpets, and Drums, on every ſide ſounding about them with much glee, and as it were witneſſing unto Heaven and Earth the great Contentment they had received. And yet was all this fair ſhew nothing elſe but deep Diſſimulation mixt with moſt foul Treachery: for, a little before their departure, they of *Peſth* were advertiſed, That the Turks in great number well appointed, were come out from *Buda* to ſurpriſe *Peſth*, during the time of the Feaſt; being in hope, that the Chriſtians, all buſied in this Action, had left the Walls of the Town unfurniſhed of defence. But they, too well acquainted with their Treacheries to put any truſt or confidence in their fair ſhews, had as well provided for the Defence and Safety of the Town, as for the Magnificence of the Feaſt abroad. By which means the Turks diſappointed of their intended purpoſe, were in the attempting thereof repulſed, and ſo glad to return as they came, back again to *Buda*.

The Turks by Treachery ſeek to ſurpriſe *Peſth*.

The next day after, the Commiſſioners for the Emperour complained unto the Baſſa and the reſt of the Turks Commiſſioners of this ſo treacherous dealing; who excuſed themſelves as altogether ignorant thereof; diſavowing the Action for want of Succeſs, which had it been effected, they would to the uttermoſt have ſhamefully maintained. An ordinary courſe among the Great, with Speech and Countenance in ſhew to condemn that for want of effect, which they in Heart and Mind could for their own Profit have wiſhed to have been performed.

The Turks Commiſſioners diſavow the Practice for the ſurpriſing of *Peſth*.

Nevertheleſs, the Turks the next day (as if no ſuch thing had been meant) requeſted the Chriſtian Commiſſioners to come to *Buda*, as they had done to *Peſth*; but they, as well by Proof as by Report, perceiving the evil meaning of the Turks, excuſing themſelves, returned to *Strigonium*, as loth any more to adventure themſelves into the Power of their faithleſs Enemies; yet left they *Geisberg* at *Peſth*, with Commiſſion to continue the Negotiation for Peace with the Baſſa of *Buda*, if he ſhould find him thereunto diſpoſed, or any hope of bringing the Treaty to good effect or iſſue.

The Commiſſioners for the Emperour refuſe any more to go to *Buda*.

Mahomet the late Sultan, had a little before his *Death* (*as is before declared*) ſet at Liberty the County *Tſolan* (carried away Priſoner to *Conſtantinople* after the taking of *Alba-Regalis*) and ſent him with Letters of Credence to intreat of a Peace to be made with the Emperour; with promiſe to yield himſelf again Priſoner, if he failed to obtain the ſame; for whom, the *French* Ambaſſador became Pledge. He having now delivered his Letters of Credence unto the Emperour, and commanded to ſay what he had farther in charge, declared, That the Great Sultan offered to deliver unto his Majeſty the ſtrong Towns of *Buda*, *Alba-Regalis*, and *Canifia*, in exchange of *Tranſilvania* and *Valachia*, whereunto he laid claim, promiſing on his part to make a moſt firm and ſure Peace with the Emperour for the time to come, and to give thereof ſuch aſſurance as ſhould of him reaſonably be demanded. The Baſſa of *Buda* alſo, amongſt other the fair Remonſtrances of Peace, had offered unto the Emperour's Commiſſioners to reſtore *Canifia* and *Agria* for *Peſth*, *Hatwan*, and *Vacia*, together with the Remiſſion of all ſuch Payments and Tributes as were by the Emperour due unto the Great Sultan for the Kingdom of *Hungary*. All which fair Shews and Offers, though much unreaſonable, were nothing but windy Words to delay the time, and ſubtil Baits to deceive the Chriſtians: for the Event and Iſſue, which giveth life to all Actions, with a form unto them agreeable, hath by Experience taught the Chriſtians, That all the glorious and glozing Proceedings of the Turks in this buſineſs of the Peace, ſo much wiſhed and expected of the Chriſtians, were but Nets and Snares wherewith to intangle them with the vain hope thereof, until that they in the mean time might fortifie their Towns with new Supplies of Men, Munition, Victuals, and whatſoever elſe was needful, the more eaſily afterward to annoy them at their Pleaſure, and ſo to laugh at their Simplicity and light belief. For *Mahomet* being dead, and *Achmat* his Son (yet by reaſon of his Minority under the Tuition of his Mother and other the great Baſſaes) ſucceeding in his Place, the Turks aggravated the Conditions of the Peace, and propounded them ſo far from reaſon, as that any man might ſee them now to have no more deſire or regard of Peace, after that they had diſpatched that for which they ſeemed before deſirous thereof; inſomuch, that they ſent a Meſſenger in Poſt from *Conſtantinople* unto the Baſſa of *Buda*, to forbid him, upon the pain of his Head, any farther to continue the Treaty of Peace, but forthwith to renew the War. So this Peace, ſo much expected, and now of the People generally holden for as good as concluded, ſuddenly vaniſhed into Smoak, nothing remaining of that Body, compoſed of ſo many Wiſhes, more than a vain Expectation, now diſperſed with the Wind of the Turkiſh Treachery. And yet during the time of this Negotiation for Peace ſought for by the Turks both by often Letters and Meſſengers, many a ſolemn Oath had paſſed both from the Sultan *Mahomet*, and from the Viſier Baſſa, for their faithful and ſincere dealing in the Treaty thereof; as, *By the God of Heaven and Earth*; *By the Books of* Moſes; *By the Pſalms of* David; and, *By the Holy Evangeliſts*; Oaths much uſed of Turks, and reſerved for their greateſt Solemnities, and ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of their Leagues and Promiſes; all which, for all that, having ſerved but as Baits and Trains to beguile the ſimple and well-meaning men, lay now neglected and unregarded: ſuch is the faith and aſſurance which men have from faithleſs and untruſty men.

1604 The Meſſage of County *Tſolan* from the Great Sultan to the Emperour.

The Turks in all the Negotiation for Peace did nothing but diſſemble with the Emperour's Commiſſioners.

The Treaty for Peace with the Turks cometh to nothing.

The Treaty of Peace thus broken off, it was forthwith by ſome bruited, That *Achmat* the Great Sultan, under the Conduct of the Viſier Baſſa, his Governour, was himſelf in Perſon, with a moſt

Divers Reports concerning the Turks great Preparations and Deſigns.

1604 a moſt huge Army about to come into *Hungary*; ſome others in the mean time reporting, that he was letted ſo to do by reaſon of the *Perſian* Wars, whereunto he was of neceſſity to ſend the greateſt part of his Forces; ſo that he would but only ſend one of his great Baſſaes, with the remainder of his ſo great an Army, againſt the Chriſtians in *Hungary*, being before ſworn never to return again unto *Conſtantinople*, until he had brought the Countries of *Tranſilvania* and *Valachia*, with the remainder of *Hungary*, under the Obeiſance of the great Sultan, together with the Country of *Auſtria*, and eſpecially the ſtrong City of *Vienna*, the end of the Turkiſh Emperours Conqueſts; and that to this purpoſe the Grand Seignior had with great rigour in all places levied great ſums of Money upon his Subjects for the maintenance of his ſo great an Army. It was by others reported alſo, That only the Preparations for ſo great an Army ſhould be made this year, the Turks being reſolved to do much therewith the next year, and therefore willing to beſtow much, in hope with ſo great and puiſſant an Army as they were about to raiſe, to make an end of the Wars in *Hungary*, and not to return until they had conquered all the reſt of that Kingdom, in the rent reliques whereof the Fortune of the *Othoman* Emperours had ſtayed; ſo that all Handy-crafts men were ſet to work by Day and Night, not only to forge Weapons, to caſt great Ordnance, and to make Powder, but to prepare all other things neceſſary alſo for ſo great an Exploit.

All theſe great Preparations were made for the ſervice of the Viſier Baſſa for the War in *Hungary*, and of *Çicala Baſſa* in *Perſia*, whereof he was appointed Genetal, having before preſumptuouſly promiſed, utterly to ruinate the *Perſians* Eſtate, and with ſo great a Power even to ſwallow him up. And indeed, theſe *Eaſtern* Wars greatly troubled the Turks; News coming ſtill concerning the Conqueſts of the *Perſian* upon his Territories; and that even of late the *Perſian* King proſecuting his Victories, had taken *Babylon*, with all the Country thereabout; and that divers other Towns, and Cities, more moved with fear than with the Faith wherewith they had bound themſelves unto the Turks, now yielded themſelves unto the *Perſian*, as weary of the Turks Servitude, and deſirous of their antient Liberty. And yet for all that, the Turks (as they are wiſe to diſſemble their Loſſes, and to ſtrike a fear into their Enemies) had given it out in *Conſtantinople*, That the *Perſian* King was near unto *Babylon* diſcomfited, all his Army overthrown, and he himſelf taken Priſoner; ſo that the Turks Forces, before diſtracted, ſhould now wholly joyn together, to the utter Ruine and Deſtruction of the Chriſtians in *Hungary*. And the more to confirm this evil News, it was reported, That the Beglerbeg of *Grecia* had raiſed a great Power to joyn with the Viſier Baſſa's Forces, to the intent to leave nothing unconquered in *Hungary*. For the better effecting whereof, it was alſo ſaid, That the Viſier Baſſa had cauſed a great number of Veſſels, loaded with Powder and other warlike Proviſion, to be brought by Water out of *Egypt* to *Belgrade*, to ruinate the Eſtate of the *Chriſtians*. All which Reports, were by the Turks given out, to cover their own Miſhaps, and to terrifie their Enemies; as knowing right well, Wars to depend much upon Reports, and that a falſe brute believed, worketh oftentimes the Effect of a thing indeed done. Howſoever it was, thoſe ſo dreadful Reports might well have ſerved to have ſtirred up the Spirits of the Chriſtians to have provided for their own Defence, and to have ſtood upon their Guard; for he that faileth to provide againſt the Preparations of his Enemy, well deſerveth either Bondage or Death, which ſoever ſhall befall him, for having by his Negligence betrayed his own Ability and Power to have withſtood him.

Babylon reported to have been taken by the *Perſian* King.

The Turks wiſely diſſemble their Loſſes.

1604

The great Report of the Turks Preparations and Forces, had now daſh'd all the Talk of Peace at *Conſtantinople*, and the hot fire of Ambition had quite ſcorched the ſweet Flowers appearing upon the overture of the late hope of the common Repoſe; ſome perſwading the Great Sultan, that he was able with his Power at the ſame time, both to ſubdue the *Perſian* King, and to confound the Forces of the Chriſtian Emperour, having ſo many Kingdoms within his Empire, ſo many Armories ſtored for his Service, and ſuch ſtore of Treaſure ready for his Deſigns, promiſing unto him moſt happy and eaſie Succeſs both in the one and the other Expedition, even at one and the ſelf ſame time; ſo that he might vanquiſh the *Perſian* by *Cicala*, Chieftain of his Army in *Perſia*, and conquer the remainder of *Hungary*, with the Countries of *Tranſilvania* and *Valachia*, by the Viſier Baſſa, General of his Forces againſt the Chriſtians; it being (as they ſaid) a thing both honourable and profitable for a Prince to beſtow both Men and Money, thereby to gain Men, Honour, and Empire; ſo that things which with great charge might be done all at once, were more profitable than were thoſe which with leſs charge were done at divers times; for that things ſo done at once, yielded preſent profit, as being in our Power, and recompenſing our Charge; the other in long time putting us to great charge, and yielding little or no profit at all. And indeed men ſtand in great fear of this the Turks young Emperour, being by Nature fierce, haſty, vigilant, cruel, ambitious, and proud; and who, in his Behaviour and Actions, much reſembled *Mahomet* the ſecond, he which took from the Chriſtians ſo many Kingdoms, Towns, and Cities, and amongſt the reſt, the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*. He like unto a young *Alexander*, occupieth himſelf in all the Exerciſes of War, hateth Idleneſs, his Fathers greateſt Pleaſure; he cauſeth Arms to be made, Cannons to be caſt, Ships and Gallies to be built, and taketh a Pleaſure to diſcourſe, how the ſame are to be imployed againſt his Enemies; ſo that it is greatly to be feared, that he being but a Child in *Conſtantinople*, will prove a man grown in Chriſtendome, in bringing the ſame under his Power and Obeiſance. He ſpareth no Perſon nor Means which may ſerve to ſatisfie his deſire. So that Strangers are to expect ſmall Courteſies at his hands, when as they ſee him to uſe ſuch bloody Cruelty againſt his Noblemen and domeſtical Servants, of the chieſeſt of whom ſince he was Emperour, he hath already put divers to death, with one of his Baſſaes alſo, who was the Governour of *Peſth*, when as our men won it. But as Juſtice and Clemency unto good Princes are the ſureſt Bonds to keep their Subject faſt bound unto them in their Obedience and Duties, ſo are Cruelty and Rage Bridles wherewith the Turkiſh Emperours keep their Subjects in awe and ſubjection unto them, and themſelves in their Eſtate.

The great Opinion the Turks have of the Power of their great Sultan.

The Diſpoſition of the young *Turkiſh* Emperour.

Fury and Tyranny the chief means whereby the *Turkiſh* Emperours command their Subjects.

But leaving the Turks buſie about their Preparations for the accompliſhing of their young Emperours high Deſigns, let us return into *Hungary*, taking *Tranſilvania* in our way, the woful Miſeries of which Country my Mind abhorreth to think upon, and my Pen thereof to write. This Province, ſometime much renowned for the great Victories obtained againſt the Turks by the Inhabitants thereof, under the leading of their Prince *Sigiſmund Bator*, and others, abounding with plenty of all things, was now, not by any invaſion of the Turks, but by civil Diſcord amongſt themſelves,

1604 ſelves, and Rebellion againſt the Emperour, now their Sovereign, ſo waſted and ſpoiled by the Souldiers on all ſides, that many of the poor Inhabitants, for want of food, fell down dead, as they went in the Streets and Fields: miſerable Wretches, always ſowing, but never reaping; always labouring, but nothing profiting; the mercileſs and greedy Souldier ſtill ſpoiling or devouring all. By long continuance of which daily Outrages, the Fields at length lay now untilled, the Paſtures unſtored and neglected, and all things elſe unmanured and quite out of courſe; by means whereof, the Famine ſo increaſed, that the poor Peaſants of the Country, having eaten up for great Dainties all the Dogs and Cats, Mice and Rats, that they could get, fell to eating of dead Horſes, and the loathſome Carrion of other hunger-ſtarved Beaſts. It is reported alſo, That one man ſhould eat another; and that at *Hermanſtat*, a Woman having ſix Children, did among them eat one another, until they were at length all ſix devoured; and to the contrary, that two men did eat their own Mother; yea, Thieves and other Malefactors, hanged for their Villanies, were by the poor and miſerable hungry People cut down from the Gallows, and devoured, the People generally living upon nothing but upon the Roots of Weeds, green Herbs, and the leaves of Trees. For remedy of which ſo extream Miſeries, it was on all Parts agreed, That a General Aſſembly of the States of the whole Province ſhould be holden at *Dewa*; wherein it was accorded, That all Hoſtility ſet apart, the Gentlemen of *Tranſilvania*, having by their Rebellion forfeited both their Lives and Lands, ſhould be pardoned their Lives, with three fourth Parts of their Lands reſerved unto them, and that for ready Money they might of the Emperour redeem the fourth part alſo. But concerning the Moveables of ſuch as were dead in the time of theſe Troubles, and already confiſcate unto the Emperour, they ſhould ſo remain; and that they ſhould pay their Diſmes, or tenth part of their Wine and Fruits, unto the Emperour. And farther, That there ſhould be no farther exerciſe of Religion permitted unto them, but only the *Romiſh* Religion: and that the Towns of *Cronſtadt* and *Clauſenburg* ſhould within the ſpace of three Weeks, pay, the one twenty thouſand Dollars, and the other eight thouſand; and the Magiſtrates of thoſe Towns ſhould deliver the Keys of their Towns, with all their Power, into the hands of the Emperour's Lieutenant; and that the Gentlemen of theſe Towns which would not be accounted in the number of the Rebels, ſhould, for the ſafety of their Perſons, take Letters of Pardon for their Rebellion, of the General of the Army. This Pacification gave ſome little time of breathing unto this poor diſtreſſed Country, which, bared of all ſtrength, and as it were upon the Graves brink, had now but even the laſt Gaſp to give; and the Country People began again to give themſelves unto their wonted Labours, in hope at length to reap the profit thereof themſelves; but alas, all in vain: for why, the ravening Souldiers, inured to Prey, after their wonted manner made havock and ſpoil of all things, leaving nothing unto the poor Countryman, but his labour for his Pain, and time enough to bewail his manifold and remedileſs Miſeries: the Cauſes whereof were the Nobility and Gentlemen themſelves; who, not liking to be governed, or rather (as they took it) oppreſſed by the *Germans*, and having, not upon any deſire that they had of Peace, but rather by neceſſity inforced, yielded unto the Pacification aforeſaid, ceaſed not ſtill under-hand to incite the Souldiers (ready enough of themſelves to do miſchief) and in what they might to trouble the Government of the State by the *Germans*, being unto them, (as they accounted of them) but Strangers. All which their doings *Baſta*, the Emperour's Lieutenant, well perceiving, cauſed three of the greateſt of the Gentlemen of the Country, and whom he moſt ſuſpected to be the Authors of theſe Troubles, to be apprehended, and faſt mured up betwixt two ſtrong Walls in an old ruinous Monaſtery; whither their Friends afterwards coming to have viſited them, and finding them ſtarved to death, were therewith much abaſhed, as were alſo other their Complices, aſſoon as they heard thereof. But leaving them to work themſelves farther Troubles, let us again return unto the Turks Affairs.

1604 A ſevere and miſerable kind of Puniſhment.

The miſerable eſtate of the Country of *Tranſilvania*.

An horrible Famine.

An Aſſembly of the States of *Tranſilvania* for the appeaſing of the Troubles there.

The Troubles of *Tranſilvania* ſecretly maintained by the Nobility of the Country.

Now was all the hope of Peace betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks become deſperate, the Turks making thereof no more account, ſeeing that according to their Deſire they had provided *Alba-Regalis*, *Agria*, and *Buda*, of their neceſſary Proviſions. They had in four Waggons put into *Agria* the Pay due unto their Garriſons; ſo that their Affairs being now in good eſtate, and their Courages revived, they began to ſcoff and jeſt at our Credulity, to believe that they had had any purpoſe to conclude upon any thing that was not agreeing with their Profit, how far ſoever it were differing from their Honour or from their Faith: ſo that now theſe faithleſs men began again to renew their wonted Incurſions and Pillages upon the Chriſtians, with all other manner of Hoſtility, and that in more cruel manner than ever before; and our *Huſſars* on the other ſide well requited them with the like, being as well contented as they with theſe manner of doings, their whole Fortune depending upon the points of their Weapons, and ever ready to the Service of their Prince for their Pay: Now it fortuned, that fourſcore of the Turks going forth to ſeek for Booty, chanced to meet with certain of theſe *Huſſars*, who finding themſelves too weak to encounter with our men, and betaking themſelves to flight, were certain of them taken Priſoners, and ſo brought unto the General; unto whom, they upon Examination confeſſed, That the Turks much marvelled at the Simplicity and Fooliſhneſs of the Chriſtians, to believe that they were deſirous of Peace, and not to have diſcovered their ſo manifeſt Intentions to the contrary, tending only to the pleaſuring of themſelves, and the annoying of them their Enemies, to the ſtrengthning of themſelves, and deſtruction of the Chriſtians, as by Proof it appeared, ſo ſoon as their Deſires were accompliſhed, unto the prejudice of their Enemies; and that their young Emperour was always againſt this Treaty of Peace, whatſoever ſhew he had made to the contrary, conſtrained thereunto by the Victories and Conqueſts of the *Perſian* King; all his Wiſhes and Deſires aiming at no other mark, than at the general Ruine of *Chriſtendom*. Our Garriſons alſo, ſeeing themſelves charged by the Turks, took up Arms likewiſe, and requited them with like Outrages, as they did. They of *Pappa* and *Veſprinium* were the firſt which began theſe Broils after the Treaty of the Peace; who, having joyned their Forces together, and making head toward *Alba-Regalis*, met with a number of Turks driving of Sheep and Cattel thither, whom they ſurpriſed, and together with their Cattel carried them away with them Priſoners. Which good hap was ſeconded with the Liberty of twenty Chriſtian Priſoners from *Buda*, who one night ſeeing their Keepers oppreſſed with Sleep and with Wine, cut their Throats; and ſo happily eſcaped over the River to *Peſth*.

1604

The Treaty of Peace betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks quite broken off, and the War again begun.

Booties taken from the Turks by the Chriſtians.

The Chriſtians by the Turks Priſoners informed of their evil meaning in the Treaty of Peace.

Now while theſe Troubles, betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks (after the Treaty of Peace broken off) thus began again in *Hungary*, the Turks

1604 Turks, beſide the Rebellion in *Aſia*, were together by the Ears in the Province of *Boſna*. *Zellaly*, having by force joyned with Policy driven *Zeffer Baſſa* (as is aforeſaid) out of *Boſna*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of that Province, thought himſelf now ſure enough within the ſtrength of his Government, although he being by the great Sultan ſent for to *Conſtantinople*, had refuſed to come, as knowing himſelf right well to hold that ſo great a Government much againſt his Will and Pleaſure. But *Zeffer Baſſa*, now ſupported with the Authority of the Great Sultan, and deſirous to be revenged of the great diſhonour and loſs he had before received from *Zellaly*, his Enemy, with a great Army ſuddenly entered into *Boſna*, and ſo coming unto *Zellaly*, fearing as then no ſuch matter, overthrew him with all his Power, and never left purſuing of him, until he had chaſed him quite out of the Province, and ſo again recovered the Government thereof. But ſhort was the Joy the Baſſa received of this ſo pleaſing a Victory; for within few days after he dyed, comforting himſelf only in this, that he died not unrevenged. Of all which things, the great Baſſaes of the Court underſtanding, and loth to loſe ſo great a Souldier as was *Zellaly*, (who, as a man diſtreſſed, was now making ſhift for himſelf) or by uſing him hardly, to deterr the other *Aſian* Rebels from coming in, and yet not willing to truſt him with ſo great a Government as was the Province of *Boſna*; they, to provide for all events, appointed him to be Governour of *Temeſwar*; and *Begedes Baſſa* (before Governour there) to ſucceed *Zeffer Baſſa* in the Government of *Boſna*; ſo contenting all Parties, to keep their Forces whole and intire againſt the Chriſtians.

Zeffer Baſſa recovereth the Government of *Boſna* from *Zellaly*, and ſhortly after dieth.

Zellaly made Governour of *Temeſwar*.

But as the Turks were troubled with their Affairs in *Boſna*, ſo the Chriſtians were no leſs, but rather more buſied with theirs both in *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*. The Eſtates of *Hungary* had appointed a general meeting at *Poſſonium*, wherein the Arch-duke *Matthias* was to ſit as Preſident, there to conſult of the means for the maintenance of this years Wars againſt the Turks. But as the Arch-duke was about to have entred into the City *in the midſt of* his Souldiers, ſuch a Fire upon the ſudden aroſe *in the City*, as conſumed the greateſt part thereof; an evil preſage of the Action then in hand, and a woful ſpectacle to behold, with the Terror whereof all mens Minds poſſeſſed, turned them from the magnificent entertaining of the Arch-duke, (as was before determined) to the quenching of the raging fire, as more neceſſary and concerning them than the other. Beſides that, the Miſeries then to be ſeen in the other parts of *Hungary* yet holden by the Chriſtians, were both great and lamentable; for beſide the harms therein done by the Turks, the Regiment of Collonel *Althem* had made ſuch ſpoil and havock all over the Country where it lay, that the Towns and People in general ſo grievouſly complained thereof unto the Emperour, that he, moved with their juſt Complaints, cauſed the Authors of theſe ſo great Outrages to be apprehended and brought Priſoners to *Vienna*, where ſome of them were beheaded, and ſome others of them hanged; beſide whom ſo condemned and executed, there were ſome other Captains and Lieutenants, of whom, ſome denying the Fact, and otherſome ſtanding upon the juſtifying of that they had done, as thereunto by extream Neceſſity inforced, were for their further tryal ſent Priſoners unto *Prague*, where they were committed unto Priſon into the Caſtle, until their Cauſes might be heard. Among which Captains and Lieutenants, and other ſuch great Officers, was one *Genderot* Collonel *Althem*'s Antient, who moſt wickedly but a little before had ſlain *Nudercy*, a Gentleman of good ſort, and his Fellow-companion in Arms; for which murther he was committed Priſoner into a very high and ſtrong Tower within the Caſtle (wherein County *Paradiſer*, who ſold *Caniſia* unto the Turks, lay ſometime Priſoner) until his Tryal might within a few days after be made. The horror of which criminal place, together with the guilt of Conſcience, ſo troubled and wounded the Mind of *Genderot*, as that all the hope now to ſave his Life, was by making an eſcape, and ſo to avoid the ſtroke of Juſtice. Which he happily brought to paſs by the help of one of his Lacquies, who had found means to bring unto him a long Cord, where, by ſtraining himſelf out at a little Window (whereby it was thought almoſt impoſſible for any man to have got out) he in ſafety got down to the Ground, and there having two good Horſes ready for him, he with his man fled amain, and ſo eſcaped, his Keepers drunken over Night, being in the Morning found yet ſleeping, without perceiving of any thing, whoſe Drunkenneſs and Favour toward the Priſoner had given him means to eſcape. The reſt of the Captains and Lieutenants in Priſon at *Prague*, were ſome of them beheaded, and ſome of them hanged, and the reſt, at the Interceſſion of the Nobility of *Auſtria*, and other great men, pardoned; yet with Condition, That they ſhould pay the fines ſet upon them, and ſerve the Emperour in his Wars three Months of their own charge without Pay; ſome few of the common Souldiers, to the Terror of others, had two of the forefingers of their right hands cut off, and afterward faſt nailed unto Gibbets ſet up by the high-ways ſide.

The Miſeries of the *Hungarians*.

The Regiment of Collonel *Althem* in Mutiny.

1604

In like manner alſo the Regiment of Collonel *Meysberg* roſe in Mutiny for their Pay, and came and incamped at *Sneche*, about a League from *Vienna*; threatning to deſtroy the Country, and to kill the chief men therein, if they were not paid their Pay. Which rebellious Mutiny the Captains did what they might to appeaſe; they beſought them, but in vain; they intreated them, but to no purpoſe; they promiſed them pay, but prevailed not; yea, the Collonel himſelf thruſt himſelf into the midſt of them, with moſt earneſt Prayers, and his hands caſt up, putting them in mind of their Duty, and laying before them the danger of moſt aſſured Death and Diſhonour, if they continued further to proceed in that their Diſloyalty, whereunto their head-ſtrong Fury ſo diſorderedly led them. But they, as men inraged, carried headlong with their Fury, breathing nothing but Threats and Deſtruction, and by no Prayers or Perſwaſion to be moved, preſently made choice of another Chieftain, under whoſe conduct and leading they reſolved to rifle the Suburbs of *Vienna*, and with the ſpoil of them to pay themſelves. Upon which Reſolution they marched on, and ſo drew near unto the City; with which their ſo great and dangerous an Inſolency, the Governours of the City moved, (the ſufferance whereof they accounted to be unto themſelves both diſhonourable and hatmful) they on the other ſide reſolved by plain force to repreſs them, and by juſt Arms to chaſtiſe them, who were not otherwiſe to be reclaimed. But ſuch be the miſerable Calamities of War, where violent Remedies muſt purge out of the body of the Common-weal the good Humours together with the bad, ſo to recover the health thereof; which Remedies, not but upon Neceſſity to be uſed, are ſo quick and violent in their working, as that they afford not leiſure to diſcern the whole and ſound from the ſick and infected, to ſave the one, and to kill the other; but that they muſt altogether run the ſelf-ſame way. For albeit that the whole Regiment was in this

The Regiment of Collonel *Meysberg* in Mutiny.

1604 this mutinous Action, and ſo all in like danger; yet were they not thereof all alike guilty, many of them being even againſt their Wills and good liking carried away head-long, as with the violent courſe of an heady River.

Now the Captains of the Town, with their Troops and Companies, ſtrengthened with ſome other Supply ſent from other Places, were to ſet forward againſt theſe rebellious Mutineers, and to fruſtrate their Deſigns; for the greater ſtrengthening of whom, divers of the Burgeſſes of the Town were inforced to enter into this Action alſo: amongſt whom, there were two, accounted very honeſt religious men, who by all means ſought to excuſe themſelves from going, labouring both by lively Reaſons, and by the Word of God, to prove, that they neither might nor ought of Right to enter into Arms againſt their Chriſtian Brethren, inforced with Extremities, for want of their due Pay, to forget their Duty, and to do that beſeemed them not. But what availeth it to alledge eitther Reaſon or Law amongſt the clattering of Arms; the noiſe whereof is ſo great, as that Reaſon and Law cannot there be heard. Theſe two men ſeeing themſelves inforced to go, and much grieved in Conſcience to do that they were enjoyned to do, and to help to ſhed the guiltleſs Blood of their innocent Brethren (as they accounted them) entred both of them into a moſt ſtrange and woful Reſolution, which was, to dye themſelves, rather than to embrue their hands with the Blood of the guiltleſs; whereupon, one of them, having oftentimes called upon the Name of *Jeſus*, with his own Sword thruſt himſelf through the Body, and ſo died; the other, upon the like Reſolution, threw himſelf into the River, and ſo periſhed alſo: Men worthy to be pitied for their Conſcience ſake, but juſtly to be condemned for their ſo weak and deſperate a Reſolution. In fine, the rebellious Mutineers ſeeing in what Peril they were, being even now ready to be charged, and withal conſidering the weakneſs of their Power in compariſon of them that came againſt them, thought it beſt, upon the ſight of ſo great a Tempeſt, to ſtrike Sail; and ſo changing their former Determination, and laying down their Arms, craved Pardon of the Arch-duke; who graciouſly granted it them, and ſo took them to his Mercy; yet with Condition, that they ſhould again return unto their Garriſons, and deliver into his hands the Ring-leaders and chief Authors of that Mutiny, to be puniſhed according to their Deſerts, as afterwards they were: the ordinary end of ſuch inſolent and diſordered Actions, which have nothing aſſured unto them but Death, which (all things elſe failing) attendeth only upon them.

A ſtrange Action of two of the Citizens of *Vienna*.

But while the Chriſtians, thus divided, were at variance among themſelves, the Turks were ready enough to take advantage of ſuch their dangerous Diſcord. And firſt of all, *Zellaly*, the old Rebel, but now Governour of *Temeſwar*, having in his crafty Head plotted the taking of the City of *Lippa* by ſurpriſe, and to that purpoſe gathering the greateſt Power that he was able to make, in the Evening ſet forward from *Temeſwar*, and ſo travelling by Night, came to *Lippa*; unto the Walls whereof he planted ſcaling Ladders, and at the ſame time laboured to have forced the Gates, in hope ſo to haye gained the Town; which was done with ſuch a terrible Noiſe and Outcry as was poſſible by the Turks to be made, after that they were once diſcovered, thereby to have diſmayed the Chriſtians within the Town; who, well acquainted with ſuch Stratagems of their Enemies, and now therewith awaked, came readily to the Walls, and there ſo well defended themſelves and their Town, that the Turks repulſed, were glad to give over the Aſſault, and having loſt a number of their men, with all ſpeed to retire; upon whom, the Chriſtians ſallying out, flew many of them in that their diſordered Retreat, little differing from plain flight, and took many more of them Priſoners; yea *Zellaly*, who not many hours before had thought to have ſurpriſed *Lippa*, was now glad himſelf to have recovered the Walls of *Temeſwar*. Some of the Turks that were there taken Priſoners being examined, reported, That the Army that was this Year to come into *Hungary*, was like to be very great, and that a part thereof was now come to *Belgrade*, expecting there the coming of the *Tartars*, who were together with them to enter into *Hungary*; and that by reaſon of the Wars with the *Perſian*, which devoured almoſt all the Souldiers in *Conſtantinople*, and yet could not be therewith ſatisfied, the Great Sultan had commanded, That all ſuch as were able to bear Arms, as well in *Boſna*, as in that part of *Hungary* which was ſubject unto him, and in the other Provinces thereunto adjoyning, ſhould be ready to joyn with his Army in *Hungary*, for the farthering of his Conqueſts there: and that the *Perſian* King, proſecuting the courſe of his Victories, had overthrown *Cicala Baſſa* with his Army, and taken his Son Priſoner, almoſt ſlain all his Troops, and entered into Confederacy with *Caracaſe*, chief of the Rebels in *Aſia*, a Man of great Power, who had following of him a great number of valiant Men, all reſolutely ſet down for the troubling of the Great Sultan's Eſtate.

The Turks in vain ſeek to ſurpriſe *Lippa*.

1604

About the ſame time, the Governour of *Caſſovia* (a great and ſtrong City in the upper part of *Hungary*) going forth, with ſome good part of his Garriſon, to appeaſe the Souldiers lying about in the Country (but now up in Mutiny for their Pay) and there ſpending ſome few days about this Buſineſs, in ſhewing of them the danger of their Inſolency, and perſuading them, by the evil ſucceſs and end of ſuch-like Actions, to return again unto their Duties; and they again to the contrary obſtinately urging the Payment of their Pay, or elſe to have leave to depart, as being not able longer to continue without the one or the other: and ſo the time paſſing, it fortuned that certain Turks, then Priſoners in *Caſſovia*, encouraged by the Abſence of the Governour and of the Garriſon Souldiers, to attempt the gaining of their Liberty, brake their Irons, and ſlew their Keepers, in hope ſo to have eſcaped: but being in the doing thereof diſcovered, and ſo again ſurpriſed before they could do any farther harm, and upon Torture examined, By what means they thought to have eſcaped out of the City, the Walls thereof being kept with continual Sentinels? they confeſſed, That their Purpoſe was, the ſame night to have ſet fire upon divers Places of the City (ſo to have drawn the People to the quenching thereof) and at the ſame time to have ſlain the Sentinels upon the Walls, and ſo to have made their Eſcape: for which their ſo miſchievous a Fact and Purpoſe, they were ſome of them executed, and the reſt again committed to Priſon, and more ſtraitly kept and looked unto than before.

Caſſovia in danger to have been burnt by the Turks.

Now as *Caſſovia* had, by the Providence of God, eſcaped ſo great an intended Miſchief, *Canifia* at the ſame time alone felt the evil hap by the Turks intended both to *Caſſovia* and *Lippa*; for a Souldier of the Garriſon, in the Cittadel there, having, through Negligence or Miſhap, caſt Fire into the Powder, provided for the ſtore of the Caſtle; the Powder taking fire, blew up the Cittadel, the Towers, the Houſes, and Walls; and, to be brief, made this poor place like unto another *Rome* burnt by *Nero*. So that had any of the

The Cittadel of *Canifia* by chance burnt.

1604 the Chriſtian Forces been then near unto the place, it had been an eaſie matter to have won the ſame, as well for the ſmall reſiſtance that was therein to have been found in ſo great an aſtoniſhment of the Men, and Deſtruction of the Place. But ſuch accidents have no certain hours limited to their Beginnings, nor aſſurance of their coming, ſo that they oftentimes chance, without any man to make uſe of them; and again fly away, when men make their greateſt Preparations to obtain them.

The Turks of *Buda* overthrown by the Chriſtians of *Peſth.*

At the ſame time, the Turks of *Buda* ſent two hundred of the Souldiers of their Garriſon to fetch in Forrage a little from *Peſth*, who, as they were in the doing thereof too preſumptuous, ſo were they well puniſhed for their Pride; for the Chriſtians in *Peſth*, having diſcovered them in this Action, ſallied out upon them and charged them; againſt whom they for a while right valiantly defended themſelves, but at length, oppreſſed with number, and overthrown, they were moſt of them ſlain, and the reſt taken Priſoners; wherewith the Baſſa of *Buda* was ſo much offended, that in Revenge thereof, he in his Rage threatned with Fire and Sword to do what harm he might unto the Chriſtians. But, as the common Proverb ſaith, *Men warned, are half armed*; and Enemies Threats bring this Comfort with them, That in receiving of the threatned harms, we are in hope to be revenged thereof, as therefore before provided.

Unto theſe woful Troubles of *Hungary*, proceeding as well from the Inſolencies of the Chriſtian Souldiers themſelves, as from the Fury of the Turks, who were their antient and mortal Enemies, were joyned the like, or rather worſe Calamities in *Tranſilvania*, extream Famine and want of all things ſore raging in both *Countries*; ſo that hardly hath any Miſery or Extremity been ſeen or read of, even in Countries by the juſt and heavy Judgments of the Almighty God appointed to Deſtruction, which were not in thoſe two Countries to be found, and of many felt. For remedy whereof, *George Baſta*, the Emperours Lieutenant in *Tranſilvania*, had there done what he might for the appeaſing of the Tumults and Troubles of that Province, and now of late brought the ſame into ſome good terms, as was thought, and as is before declared. Howbeit, that in proof it fell out far otherwiſe, and that the more he therein laboured, the farther he was off from his intent and purpoſe; for the Nobility of that Province, who were generally inclined unto Rebellion, and deteſting the *Germans*, together with their Government, rejected the Decrees and Orders which were agreed upon in their late meeting together for the concluding of Peace; inſomuch, that aſſiſted by the Turks, they had taken certain Caſtles and ſtrong Places in that Province; and the better to ſupport their Rebellion and Inſolency, they had appointed a certain Place to meet at, where the Turks and they might conferr together of the means which they intended for the effecting of their Deſigns. Whereof *Baſta* having by ſecret means got underſtanding, to remedy this pretended Miſchief, he ſent away a great number of *Haiducks*, to lye in wait to ſurpriſe them upon the way. Which men, who were skilful in the Paſſages of the Country, failed not in this Action, but lay cloſe in ambuſh, very conveniently for the ſurpriſing of their Enemies; who, proceeding in their intended purpoſe, and thinking of nothing leſs than of that which was intended againſt them, were ſuddenly, before they were aware, *Turks* and *Tranſilvanians*, altogether ſurpriſed and ſlain. Which Exploit being performed, theſe *Haiducks* and other Souldiers, deſtitute of their Pay, and inraged with Fury, fell upon the Province, uſing therein all Hoſtility, as if they had been mortal Enemies unto it; puniſhing the guiltleſs for the guilty, and ſeiſing upon all mens Goods in common, to pay themſelves that which was by ſome few in private kept from them. All the whole Province was ſubject unto the Rage and Fury of thoſe and other ſuch mercileſs men of War, who, without any remorſe at all, indifferently ſlew and maſſacred all of them that came in their way; but eſpecially the poor and weak innocent People, who called upon the Almighty God for Remedy and Redreſs of theſe Evils which they ſuſtained, and cried out unto him for Revenge of their ſo great and cruel Wrongs. The high ways were every where ſo full of Thieves, that no man could travel from Place to Place, but that he was in great danger to be ſet upon, and ſpoiled. For the *Haiducks* (being men that live altogether by Prey, and roaming up and down the Countty) made good Priſe and Booty of whatſoever came in their way, ſparing neither Turks nor Chriſtians; inſomuch, that they hearing, how that the *Zecclers* with a good Convoy were bringing a number of Waggons laden with Victuals, and a great many of Oxen and other Cattel to *Claudianople*, although they were of the ſame Party, Belief, and Nation, yet they lay in wait for them to ſurpriſe them; againſt whom the *Zecclers* ſeeking to defend themſelves, were by them cruelly maſſacred, and their Waggons, with their Beeves and other Cattel, all carried quite away. But what ſhould we ſay? Hunger breaketh even the ſtone Walls, and forceth men unto all Extremities; and now the Famine in that Province was ſuch, as that the People were for the moſt part glad to live by feeding upon the Roots of Hearbs and Weeds, and ſuch other unwholeſome things, whereof great Mortality afterward enſued amongſt them; which was the cauſe that *Horwat*, Captain of theſe *Haiducks*, being reproved for the Outrages by them committed, and charged to take order, that no more ſuch like ſhould afterward be done; anſwered, That it was not poſſible to keep Souldiers in any order amidſt the extremity of Famine; for that the Belly was an inexorable Uſurer, which took pity upon nothing, but with great Rage exacting that which it thought due for the Nouriſhment of it ſelf.

1604 The miſerable eſtate of *Tranſilvania.*

Captain *Horwat's* Anſwer in excuſe of the *Haiducks.*

Amidſt theſe Troubles of *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*, there were two of the Turks Spies of *Buda* diſcovered and taken; who at *Vienna* had obſerved all the Actions and Proceedings of the Chriſtians, and to the uttermoſt of their Power had informed themſelves of their Deſigns, as alſo of their Preparations and Forces to be raiſed and levied for this years Wars; of which two Spies, the one was imployed, and the other kept in cloſe and ſtraight Priſon, until that further matter might be drawn out from him.

Two of the Turks Spies of *Buda* taken.

The Forces of the Chriſtians were now beginning to gather themſelves together, and to make an head in *Hungary*; a riſe report at that time going, That they would forthwith take the field; whereof the Baſſa of *Buda* underſtanding, and deſirous in what he might to hinder that their forwardneſs (whereof he doubted the Effects) thought it beſt to betake himſelf to his old and cunning Practiſe, for the treaty and concluding of a Peace with the Chriſtians, whereof he now made ſhew himſelf, together with the reſt of the Turks, to be very deſirous; ſo by putting the Chriſtians in hope thereof, to make them the more remiſs and negligent in their doings, and to gain time of them, until that the Turks great Army (then in preparing) might be

New Tumults in *Tranſilvania.*

The Rebels in *Tranſilvania* ſurpriſed and ſlain.

1604 brought down into *Hungary*. To which purpoſe, he in moſt friendly manner thus writ unto the Governour of *Strigonium*.

The Letters of the Baſſa of *Buda* to the Governour of *Strigonium*.

WE know right well (Noble Governour) that you are not ignorant, how that your Brother, the Governour of Strigonium *before you, hath moſt earneſtly embraced the Negotiation of Peace, in ſuch ſort, as that we cannot ſo much yield unto our ordinary Quarrels and Diſſention, but that we muſt give you to underſtand the Cauſes which have croſſed and hindered the concluding of ſo great a good the laſt year now paſſed. The firſt Let came by reaſon of the time, choſen too late to be imployed in that Treaty for Peace, when as now both the Armies were already on foot, and even in readineſs to joyn battel, and could not be then ſtayed by that Intreaty, nor be ſent back again without ſome exploit doing; each part had reſolved upon their proper Deſigns, and even choſen their Ground for Battel, and were then hardly to be turned from that whereupon they were before reſolved. And albeit, that during this laſt Winter, the Treaty for the Peace was again begun, and that the men of War on both ſides in hope thereof, reſted unarmed, and free from all Hoſtility; a moſt fit time to have begun and ended this Treaty of Peace, which hath been ſo much wiſhed for of our Sovereign Emperour, deſired of his Subjects, and requeſted by thoſe of your Emperours, with whom my dread Sovereign would confirm and contract a firm and continual Peace; yet for all that, ſince the departure of the Governour from* Strigonium, *we ſee three Months to have been paſſed without any Letters at all, or Meſſage by word of Mouth brought unto us concerning this matter; ſo that we have not any thing whereof to certifie our Sovereign Emperour. And foraſmuch as the courſe of time hath brought theſe two contrary Armies even unto the point of Battel, and that they are marching one of them to encounter with the other, and ſo enter into the liſts of Honour, we have thought good before to deſire to know of you, what we are to expect concerning the Peace: We therefore requeſt you as our very good Brother and Friend, in what we may to ſtay the coming of our Armies into this Kingdom, and to attend to that which may produce the concluſion of this Treaty, being on our part moſt ready to lend both our care and deſire to whatſoever ſhall be juſt and meet in this Treaty and neceſſary for the common good; beſeeching you to believe us in this Buſineſs, and not to doubt of our good Will, more affected to your good, than is yours to our welfare; whereof we in good time advertiſe you, for that our Army which is now before* Belgrade, *being once arrived here, and marching in Field, we cannot poſſibly cauſe it to return without ſomething doing, conſidering the great harms, which under the aſſurance of your Faith given, we have received from your People during the time of the Truce, which they have many ways violated. Which their evil dealing hath greatly incenſed us againſt your men in Captivity with us, and cauſed our Souldiers to ſhew great rigour againſt their Slaves; we therefore attend your Anſwer, and the return of your Brother, to the end we may together reſolve according unto Reaſon and Equity, of that which ſhall be needful to be done for the common good and welfare.*

Now for all this fair gloſing, it was no hard matter to gueſs at the Baſſaes ſecret meaning; for how deſirous ſoever he ſeemed to be of Peace, and willing to the furtherance thereof, yet nevertheleſs, true it is, that during the time of all theſe fair ſhews, the Turks, having aſſembled their Garriſons on all ſides, had by Night ſurpriſed the Caſtle of *Simnin* upon the Chriſtians, ſlain part of the Souldiers therein, carried away the reſt Priſoners, and moſt cruelly afterwards burnt the place; ſo manifeſting by their foul deeds the evil meaning of their fair and deceitful Words. But now leaving the Baſſa for a while unto his crafty Devices, and paſſing over many ſmall Skirmiſhes which happened in *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*, as not beſeeming the Gravity of an Hiſtory, let us now out of *Europe* look over into *Aſia*, to ſee how the Great Turks Affairs there in the mean time went. 1604

The Rebellion in *Aſia* was, by the coming over of *Zellaly* and his Followers, for a time ſomewhat weakened, but not ſuppreſſed, that peſtilent Humour of Diſloyalty having before infected the Minds of ſo many, as that in ſhort time after the Rebels were much ſtronger, and the Rebellion much more dangerous than before; for the appeaſing and repreſſing whereof, *Cicala Baſſa*, the old Renegade, a man of great Experience and Service, was as General ſent over with a great and mighty Army into *Aſia*, where he needed not long to ſeek for his Enemies, they being as ready as he, either to give or to accept of Battel; ſo that for men ſo on both ſides reſolved, it was no hard matter to bring them to the Tryal of Battel; which they with like deſire and equal hope joyning, there made a great and terrible fight, the Baſſa fighting for his Honour, and the Rebel for his Life. Howbeit, that at length the Baſſa, after much bloodſhed and great number on both ſides ſlain, being put to the worſe, fled with his Army altogether diſordered, and in rout, having in that ſo dangerous a confuſion of his People much ado to ſave himſelf. With which ſo ſhameful an overthrow given him by the Rebel, the Baſſa, who was more aſhamed than diſcouraged, again repaired his Army, joyning thereunto great and mighty Supplies, and ſo ſtrengthned, came now again the ſecond time to revenge himſelf of the great diſhonour which he had before received, and utterly to ſuppreſs the Rebels; who, now finding themſelves too weak to encounter with ſo great and mighty a Power, wiſely betime retired, praying Aid of the *Perſian* King, who ſent unto them his own Son with a great Army of good and valiant Souldiers; which might have given the Baſſa cauſe enough to have ſtayed his haſte, and to have been well adviſed how he joyned Battel with ſuch deſperate and reſolute Enemies, and now back'd with ſuch ſtrong Supplies; but he, being blinded with the Fury of his former loſs, and too much deſirous to be thereof revenged, with more haſte than good ſpeed came on, and joyned Battel with theſe his Enemies, now in readineſs and well provided to receive him. The two Armies were in number equal, but the Rebels of the two, more reſolute and careful of themſelves and of their welfare, as they which had repoſed all their Hope and Confidence in their own Arms and Valour, ſo that the Battel was with great Outcries and Fury begun both on the one ſide and on the other; in the beginning whereof the Turks right furiouſly charged the Rebels, and ſeemed ſomewhat to prevail upon them, until that the *Perſian* Kings Son with certain Troops of his moſt brave Horſemen charging them in the Rereward, and ſome other of the Rebels with like Fury aſſailing them upon their Flanks, their whole Army was ſo diſordered, that *Cicala* doing what he could to have put his men again in order, and ſo to have reſtored the battel, nothing therein prevailed, but was glad, together with the reſt of his Army, now all in rout, to betake himſelf to flight. In this Battel were 40000 Men on the one ſide and the other ſlain, whereof thirty thouſand were of the Baſſaes Army, and the reſt of the Rebels; who by this their ſo great a Victory, gained no leſs Honour and Reputation, than had the old Baſſa got of Contempt and Diſgrace. The

Cicala Baſſa with his Army overthrown by the Rebels in *Aſia*.

Cicala Baſſa again overthrown.

Perſian

1604 The Succeſs of the Perſian King.

Perſian King alſo after this diſcomfiture of the Turks, continuing his Conqueſts, took in the Country of *Siruan* (a matter of great importance) being now deſtitute of all relief by the overthrow of *Cicala Baſſa*, who, had he prevailed againſt the Rebels, ſhould have marched thither againſt the *Perſian* King, to have ſtayed the courſe of his Victories; who now victorious and out of fear, made head toward *Aruſta*, a very great and ſtrong Town, near whereunto the River *Tigris* diſchargeth it ſelf into the great River *Euphrates*, which City he at laſt won, with all the Places and Countries thereunto adjoyning; and hath ſince, as a moſt happy and victorious Prince, again recovered from the Turks whatſoever they had ſince the time of Sultan *Solyman* by force of Arms taken from the Perſian Kings his Predeceſſors, two or three ſtrong Places only excepted. Of which moſt notable Wars betwixt theſe two of the moſt mighty Eaſtern Princes, *viz.* the great Turk and the *Perſian* King, I can rather wiſh than hope to be better informed, and that, not ſo much for Curioſity (although that the Knowledge of ſuch matters yield unto ſuch as be deſirous thereof much Pleaſure, with no leſs Contentment) as for that they (though far off) in ſome ſort much concern the good and quiet of the Chriſtian Commonweal, the *Perſian* Wars being the only means whereby the fury of the Great Turkiſh Sultan hath been, and yet is, for a time averted from the Chriſtians in *Europe* upon the *Perſians* in *Aſia*; as it is greatly to be feared, that ſome one or other (if not more) of the Chriſtian Princes neareſt unto him, ſhall to their great coſt and harm feel, ſo ſoon as theſe two great Mahometan Princes ſhall be at Peace between themſelves. But leave we the Baſſa a while to grieve at his overthrows, and the *Perſian* King to triumph of theſe Victories, and ſee what the Great Sultan himſelf in the mean time doth.

Sultan *Achmat* ſick of the ſmall Pox.

This young Prince *Achmat*, now one of the greateſt Monarchs of the World, had not many Months reigned, but that he fell ſick of the ſmall Pox, wherewith, he having a groſs and full Body, was ſo fouly tormented for the ſpace of fourteen days; that oftentimes fainting, it was generally thought he would thereof have died; yea, divers of the great Baſſaes were in ſpeech concerning his younger Brother to be taken out of the Seraglio to ſucceed him; which was thought would have coſt the younger Brother his Life, after that the Sultan his elder Brother was again recovered; as no doubt it had, but that he was the only Heir that was then left of the *Othoman* Family, if that his Brother the Sultan ſhould have failed. But he again recovered of his foul and childiſh Diſeaſe, to ſhew unto the Janizaries and others (who doubted thereof) that he was ſo recovered, proudly mounted upon a goodly Horſe, moſt ſumptuouſly furniſhed, and in great State and Magnificence rid up and down through moſt of the chief Streets of the Imperial City, the People (as their accuſtomed manner is) in every Place as he went rejoycing to ſee him, and proſecuting him with their moſt joyful Acclamations, wiſhing unto him a moſt long and happy Reign. Neither is it to be marvelled, ſeeing that the Almighty God hath even in the Faces and Countenances of Princes ingraven ſome reſemblance of his own, if they become reſpectuous and admirable in the Eyes and ſight of the common People, who cannot but honour them with their Voices, whom God hath bleſſed with his Power, and other his extraordinary worldly Bleſſings.

This young Prince, ſo recovered of his Sickneſs, and having ſhewed himſelf unto his Subjects, began forthwith to give himſelf (according unto the heat of his youthful Spirit) immoderately unto the Pleaſures of the Field, and other ſuch violent Exerciſes, being in their moderate uſe wholeſome, but in their violences much hurtful, but eſpecially upon the new recovery of his late Sickneſs, the Griefs whereof came in haſte, but were to leave him at leiſure. Whereupon two of his Baſſaes, careful of his Health, were ſo bold, as out of their Love to reprove him for ſuch his violent and immoderate Exerciſes (the day not being long enough for them) and by effectual Reaſons to diſſwade him from the ſame. But ſo far off was he from hearkening unto their wholeſome Perſwaſions, as that to the contrary, he therewith inraged, thruſt them both out of their Places. So dangerous a thing it is, even in Zeal and Love to preſume to controul great Princes in their moſt vain Pleaſures; others, in the mean time not loving them at all, but only for their own profit attending upon their idle Appetites, enjoying the Preferments due unto their more faithful and loyal Subjects, and yet ſecretly in themſelves ſmiling at the Vanity of ſuch as by whom they be ſo unworthily honoured and promoted.

1604

Good Counſel taken in evil part by Sultan *Achmat*.

But as in the immoderate uſe of all things there is a ſociety which breedeth a diſliking and diſtaſte of them (Pleaſures being not by any means more commended, than by their novelties and ſeldom uſe) ſo this young Sultan *Achmat*, having glutted himſelf with his Pleaſures, began now to caſt his Eyes upon his other more neceſſary Affairs of State, but eſpecially upon his Wars both with the Chriſtian Emperour and the Mahometan *Perſian* King. Now he was not ignorant of the great Valour and Sufficiency of *Haſſan*, the Viſier Baſſa, for the managing of his Wars in *Hungary*, wherein he had of long time been exerciſed, and ſo therein beſt experienced. This old Captain pleaſed him beſt, whom, as an old, expert, and politick General, he reſolved to continue in his charge as Lieutenant General of his Wars in *Hungary*, and by the continuation of him in ſo great and honourable a place, to bind him to all loyal Services in thoſe Wars, even to the uttermoſt of his Power. This Great Baſſa was then at *Belgrade*, upon the frontier of his Government, in doubtful ſuſpence expecting the Reſolution of his Prince concerning this buſineſs, and yet in hope, longing after a ſecond charge; whoſe longing deſire *Achmat* quickly ſatisfied, by ſending unto him both a Commiſſion for the continuation of his Charge and Dignity, and certain honourable Preſents, in token of his extraordinary Favour towards him; which were, a Generals Enſign, with an *Hungarian* Mace of pure Gold. Now whether theſe Preſents, joyned unto the continuation of his Charge, were welcome unto him, or not, ambitious Minds (ſuch as was his) can eaſily tell; and he, to ſhew his Contentment therewith, gave thereof good Teſtimony by the publick Actions of Joy, cauſing all the great Ordnance of the Place in thundering wiſe to be oftentimes diſcharged, and the Trumpets and Drums to be moſt joyfully ſounded.

Haſſan Baſſa appointed Lieutenant General of the Turks Wars in *Hungary*.

In the mean time, News was brought unto *Conſtantinople*, how that the *Perſian* King, having muſtered his Men, was in the Field with above an hundred thouſand good Souldiers, and that *Bagages Baſſa*, one of the great Rebels in *Aſia*, had confederated himſelf with him, to the further troubling of the Turks Eſtate. Whereupon *Achmat*, although he had before given order unto *Haſſan*, the Viſier Baſſa his Lieutenant in *Hungary*, for the beſieging and taking of *Veradinum*, a ſtrong City in the upper *Hungary*; now by a Meſſenger ſent in haſte, commanded the ſame Baſſa, all other

1604

Haſſan Baſſa ſent for to come to *Conſtantinople.*

buſineſſes ſet apart, with all the power that he could make, forthwith to return to *Conſtantinople*, there with him and the reſt of the Baſſaes to conſult and reſolve upon the moſt neceſſary War, and of the readieſt means for the continuing of the ſame. For albeit that the Turks were moſt deſirous to have Wars with the Chriſtians, and ſo (if it were poſſible) to have conqueſted the remainders of *Hungary*; yet the danger of the *Perſian* Wars and of the Rebellion in *Aſia* daily more and more increaſing, ſuffered them not wholly to attend unto the Wars againſt the Chriſtians in *Hungary*, but drew them now into a doubtful Conſultation, which way firſt to turn their Forces. But the Baſſa being come to *Conſtantinople*, the Grand Seignior took the pains and did him the Honour to come unto his Houſe; whither, the Counſel for the State being aſſembled, it was there moſt proudly reſolved upon, even forthwith at one and the ſelf ſame time with equal Forces to make War both upon the Chriſtian Emperour in *Hungary*, and the *Perſian* King in *Aſia*, accounting themſelves ſtrong enough to ſubdue and bring under foot, both the one and the other, no Power upon Earth being, in their proud conceit of themſelves, able to encounter or to withſtand theirs. So for the managing of theſe Wars, and of their ſo proud a Reſolution to be performed in ſo remote Parts of the World, *Haſſan Baſſa* was continued in his charge, as General of the Army in *Hungary*; and *Cicala Baſſa* was appointed to have the command of the Army to be ſent againſt the *Perſian*; two moſt expert Captains, being to fight againſt their hereditary Enemies, *Haſſan* againſt the Chriſtians, and *Cicala* againſt the *Perſians*, by whom he had not long before been evil uſed. An ordinary Policy of the *Othoman* Emperours, not to commit the charge of their Armies againſt the Chriſtians, unto Renegades; for fear leſt they, touched with ſome remorſe of Conſcience, might betray the ſame, or otherwiſe deal unfaithfully in their charge; but ſtill to imploy them againſt the *Perſians*, of whom they have no further Knowledge, but as of their Enemies in the Field. But *Cicala Baſſa*, well acquainted both with the difficulty and the danger of the *Perſian* War, (the ſcars whereof he yet bare about with him) made ſhew as if he had been unwilling to take upon him the charge thereof; and ſo begun to excuſe himſelf, until that at length, upon promiſe made unto him, for the furniſhing of him with a ſufficient Army, and all things elſe neceſſary for ſo great a War, with a large and moſt honourable Entertainment for himſelf, and all the *Perſian* Priſoners being alſo given unto him in reward; he therewith contented, accepted of the honourable charge, whereof in his ambitious mind he was indeed moſt deſirous. And ſo receiving the Generals Enſign, with the other Marks and Cognizances of his Honour, cauſing the Drums to be ſtrucken up, and the Trumpets to be joyfully ſounded, he cheerfully prepared himſelf for that his ſo great an Expedition; expecting but the coming of his Son, who, at the requeſt of the *Venetians*, was gon forth with a fleet of Gallies, to ſcour the *Levant* Seas of the Pyrats, who then exceedingly troubled the Traffick of the *Venetian* Merchants.

Haſſan Baſſa continued General of the Turks Army againſt the Chriſtians, and *Cicala* appointed General of their Army againſt the *Perſians.*

Cicala Baſſa maketh ſhew as if he were unwilling to be General in the Wars againſt the *Perſians.*

Amidſt which the Turks ſo great Deſigns, the *Tartar Cham*, bound for his pay to ſerve the Great Turk in his Wars againſt the Chriſtians; by his Ambaſſador excuſed himſelf unto the Great Sultan; for that he could not himſelf in Perſon come this year with his Forces into *Hungary*, by reaſon that he was otherwiſe neceſſarily buſied with the moſt urgent Affairs of his own Eſtate; yet promiſing withal, inſtead of himſelf, to ſend his Son with a good power of men. Now whereas many men marvel, why the *Tartar Cham*, being ſo great a Prince, and not much in danger unto the Turk (being ſeparated from him by the black or *Euxine* Sea) ſhould be ſtill ſo ready at the Turks call, to do him ſervice in his Wars; the Cauſes thereof are divers, and thoſe not far to ſeek. Firſt, Their near Affinity (as both deſcended from the ſame beginning) by often Marriages ſtill confirmed; then, their likeneſs of Manners and Condition, no ſmall Bonds of Love and Friendſhip; And thirdly, For that the Turkiſh Empire, for want of Heirs males of the *Othoman* Family, is aſſured, and as it were, entailed unto the *Tartar Cham*; but moſt of all, for the yearly penſion and great pay which he, being a bare Prince, receiveth from the Turks; his rude and needy People being alſo ever ready, in hope of the ſpoil, to follow him into theſe Wars. But this his excuſe for not coming himſelf this year into *Hungary*, being by the Great Sultan accepted of, *Haſſan Baſſa*, reſolved upon his Expedition for *Hungary*, made great preparation for the good ſucceſs of the War there, gave great hope thereof unto the Great Sultan, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Lieutenant General of all the Great Sultans Forces againſt the Chriſtians; every man affording unto theſe good hopes a thouſand Wiſhes for his Health and Welfare; but eſpecially the Mahometan Prieſts aſſured him of their help, ſo that he would not fail to do the uttermoſt of his Indeavour againſt the Chriſtians their Enemies. For why, the Turks do account him the beſt and moſt zealous man, which can do the Chriſtians moſt harm. And ſo with theſe ſo great Acclamations of Joy and Honour, *Haſſan*, the Great Baſſa, ſet forward with his Army from *Conſtantinople* toward *Hungary*.

1604

The Reaſons why the *Tartar Cham* is ſo ready to ſerve the great Turk in his Wars againſt the Chriſtians.

Haſſan Baſſa ſetteth forward with his Army toward *Hungary.*

The Chriſtian Emperour, not ignorant of all theſe the Turks great Preparations and haughty Deſigns, ſought by all means how to reſiſt them, ſparing nothing that might any way ſerve or ſtand him in ſtead to that purpoſe. Experience had aſſured him of the Popes readineſs in contributing to this Action, what in his power was; having before received ſo many Teſtimonies of his good Will. Which cauſed him now to diſpatch alſo his Brother *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, a good and devout Prince, unto him, with expreſs charge in the Emperours Name to yield all Submiſſion unto his Holineſs, to move him to relieve the woful Eſtate of his diſtreſſed Affairs. *Maximilian*, ſetting forward about this buſineſs, arrived at *Venice*, where he was by that State right honourably entertained. From *Venice* he travelling towards *Rome*, and with a great retinue approaching the City, was there met by a great number of Noblemen, with their Followers, ſent from the Pope, and ſo by them with great Honour was brought into the *Vaticane* Palace, to the intent that ſo he might the oftener and with more eaſe have acceſs unto the Pope, who then lay there ſick of the Gout. The next day, he being brought into the Popes Preſence, and after uſual Reverence done, having audience given him, in the Preſence of all the Cardinals he began to deliver unto him the Cauſes of his coming; which (as he ſaid) were two; Firſt, to put his Holineſs in remembrance of the manifeſt peril and danger which hung over the heads of the Chriſtians in general, from the Turk, but eſpecially over them of *Italy*, being ſo near unto the Turkiſh Empire, and a great gap laid open for the Turks thereinto to enter, by the way of *Caniſia*, the Key of *Stiria*. And then in the Emperours behalf to requeſt him to ſtretch forth his helping hand againſt this his mortal Enemy, who was now drawing all his Power together into one head, to deſtroy him; having certain underſtanding of the great Prepa-

Maximilian the Arch-duke ſent Ambaſſador from the Emperour unto the Pope, to crave his Aid againſt the Turk.

ration

1604 ration by him made throughout all his Dominions, to thruſt him out of his, if in theſe Extremities he were not relieved by ſuch Princes as could not in the end themſelves avoid the laſt Violences of theſe harms, whereof he felt the firſt Aſſaults. Which his Holineſs conſidering, in the zeal of his Devotion, and by the increaſing of the danger, he was in hope to find of it the like Aſſiſtance in this his ſecond need, that he had before received in his former Affairs; the precious balm of his devout Charity being of greater Vertue than to ſerve but for one time, but being of ſufficient Power to ſerve for all Ages, and all times of Neceſſity. And that therefore he beſought his Holineſs to apply the ſame upon the preſent Wound, ſeeing that without his help he was more like to periſh than to live.

The Pope's Anſwer unto the Emperour's Demands.

Whereunto the Pope anſwered, That his former Actions already paſſed, ſpake enough for him in *this Action* to manifeſt his devout meaning; ſo that it was needleſs for him to uſe farther Words to expreſs the ſame: that the great Supplies both of Men and Money which he had ſent forth for the good of the Chriſtian Commonweal, were the ſure Teſtimonies of his carefulneſs for the ſame, And albeit that theſe evil Haps had ſo far prevailed in *Hungary*, yet that he for his part nevertheleſs had ſtill done what he might for the remedying of thoſe ſo great Evils. And that now by the Advice of his honourable Counſellors there preſent, he had appointed an hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns to be paid toward the maintenance of the Chriſtian Army in *Hungary* this Year; in hope to do more than that afterward for the Emperour in his Wars againſt the Turks; whom God had (as he ſaid) ſuffered to prevail upon the Chriſtians, not for any Goodneſs that was in them, but for the chaſtiſing of the Wickedneſs of the Chriſtians themſelves.

Which ſum of an hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns was afterward, according to a Decree made by the Pope and Cardinals, levied and paid of the Tenths of the Clergy throughout all *Italy*. And ſo *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, moſt magnificently entertained and feaſted by the Pope, and by him rewarded with four thouſand Crowns, having well diſpached the Buſineſs he came for, returned again unto the Emperour his Brother.

But as the Chriſtian Emperour was thus careful about his Proviſions for the withſtanding of the Turks, they were not any whit behind him in augmenting of their Forces for the invading of him. And now the *Tartars* in great number being about to come unto their Aid into *Hungary*, being denied Paſſage by the *Polonians*, had turned head towards *Valachia*, with a purpoſe by force and ſtrong hand to get that of theſe weak People which the Power of the ſtronger had embarred them of. And ſo, preſuming upon their number, they entered into the ſame Province, which they all over rifled and ſpoiled at their Pleaſure. Where, ſuch of the Country-people as could eſcape their Fury, fled into the Towns, leaving their Goods behind them unto their mercileſs Rage, not with any thing to be ſatisfied. *Rodolph*, the Vayvod himſelf, as a man with Fury diſmayed, fled to *Cronſtat* to *George Baſta*; where, he conſidering the danger he was now in, and that he was ſtill to expect the like ſo often as the *Tartars* were for the Service of the Turk to come into *Hungary*; before *Baſta* took a new Oath of Allegiance unto the Emperour, ſolemnly proteſting to dye and live in his Service; Neceſſity now inforcing him to acknowledge his Duty, and to ſeek for the Remedy of his Harms, which he had before oftentimes moſt proudly rejected. Upon which his ſo humble Submiſſion, *Baſta* received him and his Country into his Protection.

Valachia ſpoiled by the *Tartars*.

Rodolph the Vayvod ſubmitteth himſelf and his Country to the Emperour's Protection.

In the mean time, two Traitors were brought to *Claudinople*, who, having by wonderful Craft ſurpriſed a ſtrong Caſtle belonging unto a certain great Lady, a Widow, near unto a Burrough called *Caraſebe*, and rifled and ſacked the ſame, traiterouſly afterward ſold it unto the Turks, to the great hurt of the Emperour's Subjects near unto the place, and the no leſs advantage of the Turks. Whereof the *Haiducks* having gotten underſtanding, and cunning in ſuch matters, upon the ſudden ſurpriſed the Turks by the way, as they were coming to have taken Poſſeſſion of the Place; who ſeeing themſelves too weak to withſtand their Enemies, and out of hope to ſave themſelves by flight, were there, as men diſmayed and appointed to the Slaughter, moſt of them by the *Haiducks* cut in pieces, and the reſt taken Priſoners. The two Traitors being, according to their Deſerts, for their ſhameful Treachery, moſt cruelly put to Death, to the terror of others.

1604

The Turks ſurpriſed by the *Haiducks*.

The *Haiducks*, having no Houſes but the Fields, nor other Trade but their Arms, ſpoiled of the one by the Turks, and armed with the other by Neceſſity, are always in readineſs for Service. In hope of Profit, it is to them a Pleaſure to paſs over the Mountains of Ice, to travel through the Storms of Thunder and Lightning, to ſwim over the deep Rivers, and to thruſt themſelves into a thouſand Dangers; which, as it is no commendable kind of Life, ſo is the practiſe of it unjuſt. For as in this, ſo in other their Actions, they ſpare neither Friend nor Foe, all that comes in their way being ſubject, and as it were appointed to their Fury; but eſpecially when they want their Pay, which affordeth unto them a thouſand Excuſes for the robbing and ſpoiling of all men, without reſpect. With which manner of fury they were even at this time enraged for want of their Pay, in ſuch ſort, as that if their right-hands ſpoiled the Turks, their left-hands robbed the Chriſtians; as upon one and the ſelf-ſame day they took from the Turks of *Agria* a number of Beaſts and Cattel, and rifled divers Villages of the Chriſtians. And not content with theſe Outrages, meeting with an hundred, or ſix ſcore Waggons, laden with great ſtore of Victuals, going toward *Alba-Julia*, conducted by the *Zeclers*, ſet upon them, ſlew them that drave them, and carried away the Waggons with them. But theſe Wrongs, by Chriſtians done unto Chriſtians, even the mortal Enemies of the Chriſtians, the Turks themſelves revenged. For the Turks of *Teneſwar* having been abroad toward *Lippa*, and found good ſtore of Booty, meeting with theſe Sharkers, were by them charged, not ſo much for that they were their Enemies, or for the Zeal of Chriſtianity, or for the deſire of Honour, as for to have had from them their Prey and Booty. But the Turks, being in number twice as many as they, and withal well acquainted with ſuch Buſineſs, were not ſo eaſily ſpoiled; but knowing their own ſtrength, with their Number oppreſſed their Enemies, moſt of whom they ſlew, and took the reſt Priſoners. God being as juſt in his Puniſhments, as he is in Works powerful, puniſhing the Wicked by the Weapons of others as wicked, or rather worſe than they.

The *Haiducks*, what manner of men they be, and their outrageous Inſolency.

The Turks in the mean time, whilſt things thus paſſed, began again to fall to their old Practice, for the ſolliciting of a Peace; but ſuch Fantaſies were too ſtale and common for them any more to deceive the Chriſtians with: howbeit that they yet gave ſome ear thereunto, to diſcover in their Policy the Commodities and Inconveniences of the Peace by them in ſhew offered, with a thouſand Proteſtations in their Words, but far differing from their Thoughts and Deeds; who, during the time of the Parle, laboured in what they might

The Turks *in their Hearts meaning War, make* ſhew as if they were deſirous of Peace.

to

1604 to benefit themſelves, and to hurt us. For even in that ſame very time they fortified their Towns and Caſtles with Men and Victuals, but eſpecially the City of *Buda*, whereinto, by a Convoy of three thouſand Turks come from *Belgrade*, they put an exceeding quantity of all ſorts of neceſſary Proviſion, ſufficient to ſerve the ſame for a whole Year. Beſides that, it was certainly known, by certain Turks taken Priſoners and brought to *Poſconium*, that all this Parle and Treaty of Peace was but of purpoſe feigned to put the Chriſtians in ſecurity; for that the Baſſa of *Buda*, who was the chief Publiſher of the ſame, had no ſuch Commiſſion from the Great Sultan for the concluding of any Peace in the Abſence of the Viſier Baſſa, unto whom the Grand Seignior had given Charge, not to make any Peace with the Emperour, but upon Condition, That he ſhould firſt deliver unto him the City of *Strigonium*; which if he would not yield, that then he ſhould beſiege it, and by force take it from him; and after the winning thereof, to refuſe all other Treaty of Peace, it being the only Cauſe for which the Turks deſired Peace. Of all which their double dealing and crafty Deſigns the Emperour underſtanding, and wholly reſolved for War, preſently ſent County *Sultze* with Commiſſion to *Vienna*, and appointed *George Baſta* Lieutenant-General of his Army in *Hungary*; adviſing them carefully to look to their Charge, and not too much to truſt unto the gloſing and flattering Speeches of the Turks.

The Caſtle of Reovin ſurpriſed by the Haiducks.

The *Haiducks* in the mean time always in Arms, as having no other Inheritance whereon to live, ceaſed not ſtill to look abroad to find that was never loſt. Now it fortuned them, in roaming abroad toward *Belgrade*, to light upon *Reovin*, a ſtrong and fair Caſtle of the Turks, wherein eight hundred of the Turks Souldiers, and other of their Country people, had their Abode, together with the greateſt part of their Subſtance. In the Strength of which Caſtle the Turks truſting, and there lying in Security, without farther care of their Safety, were upon the ſudden, before they were aware, by theſe adventurous men ſurpriſed; who for haſte thruſting one another forward, at length carried the Place, ſlew the greateſt part of the Turks, and taking the reſt Priſoners, with a great and rich Booty returned to *Lippa*. The like Exploit they of the Garriſon of *Caniſia* attempted upon the Caſtle and Burrough of *Lambac*, which they took and ſpoiled, and afterwards ſet it on fire; the Flame whereof ſerved for a Signal unto the Troops of County *Serin*, which, paſſing that way, and lighting upon the Turks over-loaded with the Spoils they had there taken, cut them in pieces, and ſo recovered from them the Booty.

Petrinia in danger to have been betrayed unto the Turks.

About this time, certain of the Garriſon Souldiers of *Petrinia*, having ſecretly conſpired with the Turks (by whom they were before corrupted), to deliver unto them that ſtrong Caſtle: and being about to have betrayed the ſame, by a Mine which they were in making under a Stable near unto a Store-houſe wherein the Powder for the Store of the Caſtle lay, with a purpoſe by firing of the ſame to have given the Turks entrance by the Ruines thereof, who lay cloſe hidden in a Wood near unto the Place; it fortuned this their wicked Purpoſe to be perceived by certain Offenders then kept Priſoners in the ſame Stable near unto the Mine: who having diſcovered the Traitors whole Purpoſe, and in fear to be burned or blown up by the fury of the Mine ſo near unto them, diſcovered the ſame unto the Goaler, who made the Governour therewith acquainted; by whoſe Commandment they were forthwith apprehended; and being convicted of their ſo foul a Treaſon, were with exemplary Puniſhment executed.

Now as the Turks had oftentimes made ſhew as if they had been deſirous of Peace, ſo ceaſed they not yet with great earneſtneſs to ſollicite the ſame; ſo that the Emperour, although he knew it to be a thing rather to be wiſhed than hoped for, yet, leſt he ſhould ſeem careleſs of the common Quiet of his Subjects and People, and to refuſe ſo great a good ſo oftentimes offered him; now once again appointed certain Perſonages of great Place and Authority to attend the Propoſitions of Peace to be on the Turks behalf propounded. Of which Commiſſioners, *Cæſar Gallen*, Sheriff of *Strigonium*, an *Italian*, and a Man of great experience in matters of State, was one. Whom the Governour of *Strigonium* had of purpoſe ſent to *Peſth*, to conſider of ſome good means for the concluding of the Peace, whereof he himſelf in Perſon had laid the firſt Foundation; and underſtood the Turks Demands and Pretenſions, not much differing from thoſe which they had many times before demanded. Whereof the firſt was, That the Emperour ſhould for the time to come, well and truly pay unto the Great Sultan and his Succeſſors, all ſuch Tribute as he was wont to pay unto the Turkiſh Emperours, his Predeceſſors, during the time of his Leagues with them, and that without any Demand to be thereof made. The ſecond, That the Emperour ſhould always have his Ambaſſador Lieger at the Great Sultan's Court, with honourable Preſents, there to ſollicite the Continuation of his Love and Friendſhip toward the Emperour his Maſter. The third, That the Emperour ſhould deliver unto the Turks all the Towns and Caſtles which he had taken from them either by Force or by Surpriſe, during the time of this War, together with the Countries of *Tranſilvania* and *Valachia*. Upon which Demands granted, they promiſed to ſend a Meſſenger unto the Great Sultan, in their Names to entreat him to ſurrender *Caniſia* unto the Emperour, but not *Agria*, which (as they ſaid) they might in no wiſe deliver, except they were thereunto by force of Arms conſtrained.

1604

The inſolent and unreaſonable Demands of the Turks for the concluding of a Peace with the Chriſtians.

Unto which their ſo proud and unreaſonable Demands, the Commiſſioners for the Emperour anſwered, That the Emperour long before *this* time had made Peace with Sultan *Selym*, the Second of that Name, and with Sultan *Amurath* the Third, this Sultan *Achmat's* Predeceſſors. An aſſured Peace, ſworn unto and confirmed by all the juſt and ſolemn Oaths that could have been by any man deſired; and for the more aſſurance thereof, into writing conceived, and with the moſt authentick Seals of their Majeſties confirmed; whereby both Parties were moſt ſeverely and ſtraitly forbidden, one of them to attempt any thing againſt the other, or to incroach the one of them upon the other, during the time of ſuch their League: And if ſo be that contrary to the Tenor thereof, either part ſhould undertake to ſurpriſe any Place belonging to the other, and ſo become Maſters thereof, that upon the leaſt Requeſt of the Party ſo wronged, the Places ſurpriſed ſhould be again forthwith reſtored, as uſurped upon, contrary to the Publick Faith; and the Uſurpers to be ſeverely, for the ſame puniſhed. And that yet the Turks notwithſtanding, thruſting by heaps, beyond the Bars of this ſo ſtrong and holy a League, had violated and broken the ſame, by ſurpriſing a number of Places both in the high and lower Countries of *Hungary*, never giving ear unto any Speech or Requeſt that could be made unto them for the Reſtitution thereof. And yet not ſo contented, had alſo taken a number of Places from the Emperour in *Sclavonia*, between the Rivers of *Culpe* and *Unna*; which Places he had oftentimes by as juſt Right re-demanded, as they were by unjuſt

The Anſwer of the Emperour's Deputies unto the Turks proud Demands.

1604 unjuſt Forces uſurped, before the beginning of theſe Wars. Demands eſteemed juſt and reaſonable even by the Turks themſelves, and yet for all that altogether rejected by the Great Sultans themſelves; of which their ſo great Injuſtice the Emperour had oftentimes moſt juſtly complained, and ſo did even at this day, at the feeling of ſuch his Hurts and Harms. And that the Emperour having by ſo many perfidious dealings made proof of the Untruſtineſs of the Grand Seignior's Predeceſſors, what Aſſurance then can he conceive of his Fidelity? or upon what foundation of Faith can he build the ſure building of Peace, ſo much deſired of him? And yet if he might hope ſo much of the Faith of another Man, as he is aſſured of his own juſt meaning, differing much from that of the Grand Seignior's, which he knew to be never anſwerable unto his, that he for his part could be well content to embrace the Peace; provided always, That he might have *Canißa* and *Agria* delivered unto him; or, That if they would needs ſtill hold thoſe Places, that he might likewiſe in Peace hold the Places that he had before won in that War, the Reaſons being on both ſides alike. And that as concerning *Tranſilvania*, he could not deliver that without betraying of his own Right, and the Welfare of that Province; having obtained the ſame as well by Agreements and Covenants between him and the Son of the laſt Duke, *John*, as by the free and voluntary Releaſment which *Sigiſmund Bathor*, the laſt and immediate Prince thereof, had not long before made unto him: for the defence of which his Rights, he had ſpent many Men, and great Sums of Money, and all for the keeping of that Province by force of Arms, which by ſo good Right belonged unto him. And that for *Valachia*, he could be content to yield ſome part of his Right unto that Province, ſo that the Turks ſhould ceaſe from thenceforth to demand of him any yearly Tribute, or that he ſhould, as of ordinary Duty, ſend his Ambaſſadors with yearly Preſents to the Grand Seignior, not being able, without need, to conſent unto ſuch a needleſs Servitude; ſeeing that every Prince ought to be at liberty, at his own choice to ſend his Ambaſſadors, and not at the appointment of another Man.

The Turks ſcorn and deride the reaſonable Anſwer of the Emperour's Commiſſioners.

Which Anſwer of the Emperour's Commiſſioners, ſerved to no other purpoſe, but for the Turks to laugh and ſport at, how juſt and reaſonable ſoever they were: ſtill preſſing them to yield unto their unreaſonable Demands; or elſe threatning to advertiſe the Great Sultan thereof, who by force would take that from them, to their farther loſs, which they refuſed to grant him by fair means, to their own good. And ſo the Treaty was for that time broken off, without any thing concluded: which cauſed the Governour of *Strigonium* to retire himſelf back again unto his Charge; yet for all that, leaving *Cæſar Gallen* behind him, to entertain it in ſuch ſmall hope as was thereof yet left; who afterwards ſeeing it almoſt deſperate, making a great Feaſt unto certain of the chief of the Turks of *Buda*, and having in that Merriment drawn from them a Promiſe to live as Friends with them of the Garriſon of *Peſth*, and of other Places which lay near unto that Town, he retired himſelf afterwards unto *Strigonium* alſo.

The ſhameful Cowardiſe of *Jagenreuter*, Governour of *Peſth*.

Shortly after whoſe Departure, *Jagenreuter*, Governour of *Peſth*, notwithſtanding the late Promiſes of the Turks of *Buda*, for their living by him in Peace and Amity; and the aſſured Promiſe of *Cæſar Gallen*, at his laſt Departure, for the ſpeedy furniſhing of the Town both with Men and all things elſe neceſſary for the Defence thereof, which he ought with great Aſſurance to have expected, yet, diſmayed with the brute of the coming of *Haſſan Baſſa*, the Turks General, with his great Army, and that by the ſtrait Commandment of the great Sultan, he was to begin his Conqueſts in *Hungary* with the winning of *Peſth*; as a Man afraid of his own ſhadow, thought good betime to provide for himſelf; and upon that Reſolution, having yet ſeen no Enemy at all to force him, truſſing up his Baggage, the fifth of *September* forſook the Town, with five Companies of Footmen, and ſix Troops of Horſe-men, following him; a ſufficient number to have for a time defended the Town, and endured a Siege, eſpecially in ſo ſtrong a Place, and ſo well provided both of Victuals and Munition. All which, this moſt cowardly Governour (but unworthy that Name) left together with his Honour, for a Prey unto his Enemies; having yet before his Departure out of the Town, cauſed the principal Buildings thereof to be undermined, and Barrels of Gun-powder to be laid under them, wherewith they were ſhortly after all overthrown, and moſt part of the Town burnt. But being gone not paſt half a League from the Place, he met with four hundred *Haiducks*, all well armed, whom the Governour of *Strigonium* had ſent for the relief of *Peſth*, with a number of Boats loaded with Corn, Munition, and other Neceſſaries of all ſorts, for the better aſſurance of the Place, and the performing of the Promiſe before to that end made by the Governour of *Strigonium*: which *Hungarian Haiducks* meeting with theſe diſmayed Cowards upon the way, thought it not beſt to go any farther, as thinking themſelves not able to do that with their ſo ſmall a number, which the other durſt not to undertake with their far greater; and ſo joyning themſelves with the other fearful Fugitives, they with them returned to *Strigonium*, leaving their Veſſels and Munitions unto their Enemies, who immediately after ſeiſed upon them. 1604

Peſth moſt ſhamefully abandoned by the Chriſtians.

The next day after, the Mines having taken their effect, the Turks wondering to ſee ſo great and terrible a Fire in *Peſth*, which ſtill more and more increaſed, there being none that went about to quench it, adventured to come over the River from *Buda*, and to draw near unto the Town, now all on a light fire. Which they finding abandoned and forſaken by the Chriſtians, they with great diligence quenched, repaired the Ruines of the Town, and ſo without any loſs became Maſters of the ſame.

Peſth taken by the Turks.

Jagenreuter, the cowardly late Governour, with his fearful Troops, in the mean time coming to *Strigonium*, and by the Governour there examined of the Cauſes of his Flight, and of the ſo ſhameful leaving of his Charge, and being able to alledge no other Cauſe or Reaſon, but the great brute and report of the Viſier Baſſa's coming with his Army to beſiege the Town, was therefore committed to Priſon, and there reſerved to be afterward juſtly puniſhed for his Diſloyalty and Cowardiſe.

Jagenreuter for his Cowardiſe worthily committed to Priſon.

The Baſſa of *Buda*, by the Cowardiſe of the Governour, thus poſſeſſed of *Peſth*, by Letters excuſed himſelf unto the Governour of *Strigonium*, for the taking thereof, the Treaty of Peace being not as yet quite broken off; alledging for himſelf (as the truth was) That he had taken it as a Place by the Chriſtians upon a vain fear forſaken, and deſperately ſet on fire, without any ſuch cauſe given them ſo to do by the Turks, or on his behalf. And farther, offered unto the Governour, if he ſo pleaſed, to deal with him for the exchange of Priſoners on both ſides taken, offering to exchange one of them for another. And as for the concluding of the Peace ſo oftentimes treated of, and even yet in hand, that he for his part was wonderful deſirous that it might be fully concluded and ended, before

The Baſſa of *Buda* excuſeth himſelf for the taking of *Peſth*.

1604 before the Arrival of *Haſſan* the Viſier Baſſa with his Army in *Hungary*; for that he being once come, there would then be no time amidſt the noiſe of ſo many Weapons, and ſo many men of War, to talk of Peace.

Haſſan Baſſa cometh into *Hungary*.

Haſſan, the Viſier Baſſa, was now for all that already entered into *Hungary*, drawing after him a world of men, and was come towards *Sexart*; for the viewing of which Army, the Governour of *Pallantwar* going forth with an hundred Horſemen, by evil hap chanced, before he was aware, upon the ſudden to meet with five hundred Turks, by the Baſſa himſelf likewiſe ſent forth to diſcover the Country, and the Paſſages thereof: by whom he charged, and with the multitude of his Enemies oppreſſed, was himſelf taken Priſoner, moſt of his men being in that Conflict ſlain, ſome few of them that were left alive by ſpeedy flight hardly eſcaping. Which evil hap on the Chriſtians ſide, was forthwith recompenced with the better Succeſs of the County *Serin*, who falling upon three hundred Turks near unto *Sigeth*, being in number ſcarce half ſo many as they, yet ſet upon them with ſuch Courage, that giving them no leiſure to conſider of the Weakneſs of his Forces, they were by them overthrown and cut in pieces, before they were well aware of him.

But, together with the time of the Year, to come unto the main point of theſe preſent Wars in *Hungary*; The Turks, finding themſelves out of hope by any Capitulations or Treaties of Peace to regain the ſtrong Town of *Strigonium* out of the hands of the Chriſtians, were now reſolved to imploy the uttermoſt of their Forces for the obtaining of the ſame; with a thouſand Proteſtations, That if by force of Arms and ſtrong-hand they ſhould gain the Place, they would never more have Peace with the Chriſtians. At which their vain Threats and Speeches, the Chriſtians, before reſolutely ſet down for the defending of the Place by them ſo much deſired, and well acquainted with their great Brags, could not but with ſcorn ſmile, as men nothing therewith diſmayed, nor ſo to be removed: nevertheleſs, the Baſſa, conſtant in his Reſolution for the regaining *Strigonium*, with all his Forces came the eighteenth day of *September*, and laid Siege unto it. Now unto this Siege, the Turks, in hope of Spoil and Booty, came flocking from all Places, as it had been to ſome great Mart; and the Fields in all the Country thereabout were covered and ſwarmed with Arms, Men, Horſes, and Tents. They incamped near unto *Charles*'s Hill, taking up with their Tents half a League of the Country round about; and at their firſt coming moſt bravely advanced their Enſigns with their Half Moons, the Arms of their ſtill encreaſing Empire. Whom the Beſieged in this Action imitated, bravely advancing their Enſigns upon their Walls, as did the Turks in the Fields; and farther braving and provoking them with a thouſand thundring Shot, diſcharged out of the Town amongſt them. All the Walls round about the Town gliſtered with Arms and flames of Fire, out of which the deadly Bullets flew, carrying with them Death and Terror into the midſt of theſe new-come Enemies, for their Welcome. The Turks nevertheleſs came ſtill reſolutely on, and as men prodigal of their Lives even in the midſt of ſo many dangers, began to make their Approaches. Upon whom, the Chriſtians with great Courage ſallied forth, to diſturb them in their Works; and ſo for the ſpace of certain hours having had with them an hot and ſharp Skirmiſh, without any great hurt received, retired again into the Town, leaving unto their Enemies, by that they had done, a good Teſtimony of their Valour and Reſolution. The Turks for all that lodged themſelves, made their Trenches, and ſo incamped before the Mount of Saint *Thomas*, where, by the placing of their Cannon, they well declared their meaning for the battering of that Fort.

Strigonium beſieged by the Turks.

The Chriſtians ſally forth upon the Turks.

1604

Againſt which their Deſigns, *George Baſta*, Lieutenant-General of the Imperial Army, right reſolutely oppoſed himſelf, having near unto *Strigonium* caſt up a ſtrong Fort, well furniſhed with Men and great Artillery; from which, he greatly annoyed the Turks with his great Ordnance, and with the fury thereof inforced them to remove farther off with their Approaches; his Army upon the River of *Danubius*, in the mean time lying betwixt the Iſle of *Strigonium*, and the old Town of the *Raſcians*, to keep the Enemy from entring either into the one place or the other.

The careful Endeavours of *Baſta*, the Emperor's Lieutenant General, for the Preſervation of *Strigonium*.

County *Sultze*, Governour of the Place, alſo having taken a general Muſter of his Men, and with comfortable and cheerful Speeches encouraged his Souldiers, putting them in mind of their Duty, and of the honourableneſs of the Action now in hand, as undertaken for the Maintenance of the Chriſtian Religion, for the Service of the Emperour, and the Safeguard of their own Lives; perſuading them withal, not to put any Truſt or Confidence in the Turks Faith, or fair Promiſes, conſidering, that their Weapons were even yet wet with the Blood of their Chriſtian Brethren, moſt perfidiouſly by them of late maſſacred and ſlain at the taking of *Alba-Regalis*: encouraging them alſo with the Goodneſs of their Cauſe, with the carefulneſs of their Friends abroad for their Relief, with the regard of their own Valour, and Cowardiſe of their barbarous Enemies, whoſe only Hope and Truſt was in their Multitude: and withal comforting them, That holding out but ſome few Months, the very Elements themſelves, and the time of the Year, would as it were fight for them, and afford them Aid, their Enemies being not able with their great Army, in the Extremity of Winter Weather, without their irreparable loſſes to hold the Field. And that as for himſelf, his Honour, together with his Life, were ſo bound unto his Grave and Sepulchre, at the foot of the Walls of that Place, as that they could not be from the ſame ſeparated; having propoſed the Glory of the Preſervation of that Place, or elſe of an honourable Death, as the end of all his Actions, and conſummation of all his Hopes. And that therefore he moſt earneſtly beſought them to follow his ſo honourable a purpoſe, in aſſiſting him in that Action, ſo much concerning their Lives and Honour, and wholly depending on their Courage and Reſolution. And that for Teſtimony of his earneſt deſire to the furthering of this Service, he was willing to depart with a good part of his Subſtance and Treaſure, to be beſtowed upon them, amidſt theſe the Trophies of his Honour, having commanded them to have certain Months Pay payed before-hand unto them, which was accordingly done.

The comfortable Speech of County *Sultze*, Governour of *Strigonium*, to his Garriſon.

Now the Turks having a purpoſe eaſily to begin the Conqueſt of *Strigonium* by the taking of the ſtrong Fort of St. *Thomas*, came the 24*th* day of *September* to aſſault and batter the ſame; upon whom 500 Horſe-men and 2000 Foot-men ſallying out of the Fort, cauſed them, after a ſharp and bloody Conflict, and not without ſome loſs on both ſides, to retire back again, and to forſake the Mount whereupon they were incamped. But in purſuing of them too far, they fell into a great Ambuſh, before by the Turks for that purpoſe laid to intrap them; where, betwixt them was fought a moſt ſharp and bloody Fight; the Turks preſuming upon their Multitude, and the Chriſtians ſtand-

A notable Sally of the Chriſtians out of the Fort of St. *Thomas*.

The Chriſtians falling into an Ambuſh of the Turks, loſe one of their chief Commanders.

1604 ſtanding upon their Valour and Honour. Until that in fine, Valour by Number being oppreſſed, ſeven hundred of the Turks being ſlain, the Chriſtians were inforced to retire, having loſt about an hundred of their Men, and amongſt them the valiant County *Caſimir* of *Holenloth*; for whoſe Body there was a notable Fight betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, not much unlike unto that which the Poet *Homer* deſcribeth, to have been fought betwixt the *Trojans* and the *Greeks*, for the Body of *Patroclus*. Howbeit that at length the Chriſtians, being over-charged with the coming on of the whole Army of the Turks, were glad (as I ſaid) to retire, and ſo to leave the dead Body of the County *Caſimir* in the power of their mercileſs Enemies; who as Dogs which revenge themſelves upon the Stones which are caſt at them, being not able to bite the hands of them that threw them, ſo did they upon the Body of this gentle Knight, by cutting off his Noſe and Ears, and afterwards his Head. But within ſome few days after, this Body ſo disfigured was again delivered unto the Chriſtians for a Turk of good account, who was about that time by them taken Priſoner. At which time the Turks ſeemed to be very deſirous of Peace, moſt earneſtly requeſting County *Frederick* of *Holenloth* (the ſlain County's Brother) not to be an hinderer thereof. Howbeit that this was but one of their old Practices, depending ſtill upon unreaſonable Conditions, whereof the yielding up of *Strigonium* was one of the chiefeſt, as the Place by them moſt deſired.

More than beaſtly Cruelty exerciſed by the Turks upon the dead Body of County Holenloth.

But if this Siege of the Turks availed them not againſt the Place beſieged, yet was it profitable for them againſt another Place, by them not attempted, which was the ſtrong Town of *Hatwan*, more ſubject unto fear, without any danger, than was *Strigonium* unto the Bullets and Battery of the Turks, with juſt cauſe of diſtruſt. For the Souldiers which lay there in Garriſon, terrified with the Siege of *Strigonium*, and doubting leſt the Turks leaving that Siege, ſhould come and beſiege them, truſſing up their Bag and Baggage, the Nineteenth of *September* abandoned the Place, and carrying away with them the beſt of the Great Ordnance, left the reſt altogether with the Place, and great ſtore of Proviſion, unto the Enemy, not in hope of any ſuch matter.

Hatwan moſt ſhamefully forſaken by the Chriſtians.

The bruit of the Siege of *Strigonium* had called thither all the Forces of both Parties in *Hungary*, and the Countries thereabouts, on the one ſide for the winning thereof, and on the other for the defence of the ſame. Amongſt others, the County of *Tambier*, Governour of *Lippa*, was about to have gone thither with certain of his Troops to have aided his General for the Preſervation of the Place. But in the mean time, *Bethlin Habor*, chief of the Rebels in *Tranſilvania*, aſſiſted by *Beckheres Baſſa*, with four thouſand Turks entred into the Province to have made himſelf Maſter thereof, under the Protection of the Turk. Whereof the County having got knowledge, reſolved to go and meet him, and to encounter him at the very firſt Entrance of him into the Province. This old Rebel, knowing that *George Baſta* was, by the Emperour's Appointment, gone out of the Country with the beſt Troops of his Horſe-men, the greateſt Strength of the Province, came on in great Security, thinking of nothing but of Victory, and of performing his intended Exploit, without fear of any to let him: ſo that caſting no farther Peril, he was ſurpriſed by the County before he was aware, and put to flight. Neither was the Fight long betwixt men accuſtomed to vanquiſh, reſolutely ſet down, and well armed, againſt men diſmayed, half naked, and ſurpriſed. In which Conflict, above a thouſand of them being ſlain, and a thouſand of Horſes of Service taken, the reſt fled; amongſt whom, *Bethlin* himſelf, with his Baſſa flying, were glad by ſwimming to ſave themſelves amidſt a thouſand Chances and Dangers of their Lives. 1604

Bethlin Habor the Rebel ſurpriſed and overthrown by the County Tambier.

The Baſſa of *Temeſwar* advertiſed of this Overthrow by one of them that was fled from the ſame, preſently he ſent forth his Lieutenant with a good number of men, to relieve the vanquiſhed Turks: who, by the way underſtanding of the general Overthrow of them whom he was ſent forth to relieve, as alſo of the Strength of his Enemies, and that he was come too late to the relief of his Friends, retired as faſt as he could with his men back again homeward toward *Temeſmar*. But being in their Retreat diſcovered, and hotly purſued by theſe men, imbrued with the Blood of their Enemies, and yet breathing with Victory, they were by them overtaken even almoſt at the Gates of their City, and there (as men before overcome with fear, and overwhelmed with deſpair) cut in pieces, without any Fight or Reſiſtance by them made, beſeeming men of their ſort; the Lieutenant himſelf being there ſlain alſo.

Succours ſent to the Rebel by the Baſſa of Temeſwar, defeated by the County Tambier, and the Baſſa's Lieutenant ſlain.

After which Exploits done, the County turning towards *Jula*, chanced to light upon certain Companies of Turks loaded with Booty, which they had got in roaming abroad into the Country thereabout; whom he purſued even unto the Gates of the Town, which they found ſhut againſt them; for that they within the Town, ſeeing the Chriſtians even at the heels of their Companions, had ſhut their Gates, neither durſt now open the ſame, for fear leſt the Chriſtians ſhould, together with them, enter the Town, and ſo become Maſters thereof. Who, ſo ſhut out by their own Friends, were there all by the Chriſtians ſlain, even in the ſight of their Companions, not daring to let them in, nor able to relieve them. After which Maſſacre done, the Chriſtians not yet ſo contented, burnt the Suburbs of the Town, and ſo, loaded with the Spoils of their Enemies, departed. The County, after ſo many honourable Exploits in a ſmall time by him performed, returned to *Lippa*, where he arrived the five and twentieth of *September*, and from thence afterward advertiſing *Baſta*, the Emperour's Lieutenant General, of theſe his Exploits done, cauſed ten of the Turks Enſigns, all ſtained with their own Blood, to be preſented unto him, as the ſure Tokens of his good Service done.

The Viſier Baſſa ſeeketh to gain Strigonium by offering of the Chriſtians Peace.

But to return again unto the Siege of *Strigonium*, the greateſt Exploit by the Turks intended for this Year, from which we have from the occurrent of the ſame time a little ſtrayed. The Viſier Baſſa, perceiving by the valiant and reſolute Defence of our men, how little he prevailed in this Siege, and that it was like enough to tend at length to his Diſhonour, thought it good once again to prove, if he might by Compoſition gain that which he was now almoſt out of hope by Force to obtain. And to that purpoſe cauſed a motion to be made unto the beſieged, for a Treaty to be had concerning a Peace, and a Day appointed for the ſame. Unto which motion for Peace the Imperials (although they had no hope at all of any Peace to be concluded) eaſily yielded, leſt they might be thought obſtinately to have rejected the ſame. Whereupon, Commiſſioners were on both ſides appointed to meet together, to conferr of the matter. And ſo for the Emperour, *Althem* himſelf, with *Ferdinand Collonitz*, and *Frederick* of *Hohenlo*, County of *Rhene*, were appointed near unto the *Raſcian* Town to meet with the Turks Commiſſ-

Deputies appointed to entreat with the Turks of Peace.

1604 missioners, to hear what they would say. Howbeit, the Commissioners on both sides being met at the Place aforesaid, all their Conference was but vain and to no purpose; the Turks still urging the yielding up of *Strigonium*, and the Imperials as earnestly refusing the same. So that the Treaty for Peace being broken off, and the Commissioners departing, the Siege was more cruelly by the Turks continued than before.

The Treaty for Peace broken off.

The *Cossacks* depart out of the Turks Camp unto the Christians.

Now there were in the Turks Army lying at the Siege, certain Companies of *Cossacks*, Men for their Pay indifferent to serve any Prince, of what Religion soever. Which serviceable Men, in Number seven hundred, had agreed together the 28*th* of *September*, by night to forsake the Turks Camp, and to come unto the Christians. Of which their Purpose and Design, the Visier Bassa having, by some untrusty amongst them, got knowledge, caused the Foot-men of these Companies to be apprehended and slain; the Horse-men in the mean time making themselves way over the Bellies of such as would have stayed them, fled, and escaped, some of them to *Komara*, and some to *Dotis*. Threescore of these *Cossacks* being by the Turks hardly pursued, adventured to swim over *Danubius*, and so all naked came to *Colloni* z, by whom they were courteously entertained and apparelled. And within three days after, two hundred Horse-men more of the same *Cossacks* came unto *Collonitz* also; who, marching in good order unto the head of the Christian Camp, were there sworn unto the Emperour's Service; and in token of their Loyalty, there discharged their Pistols thrice. Which Horse-men *Collonitz* divided among the rest of his Troops, as having before time had good experience of the Courage and good Service of divers such others of their Fellows.

The Janizaries in Mutiny against the Visier Bassa. The Reason of the Mutiny of the Janizaries against the Bassa their General.

By these fugitive Souldiers it was understood, that the Janizaries, in great number up in Mutiny against the Visier Bassa, would have inforced him to have raised the Siege, and so to have departed. The cause of their so great Discontentment (as they pretended) was the manifest and assured danger of their Lives, with little or no hope at all for the gaining of the Place; they themselves being still exposed to the Dangers both of the Siege and of the Field, having the besieged on head of them armed with an assured Resolution, and the Christian Army at their Backs, of known Valour and Experience: besides that, the Place it self was (as they said) impregnable, being at all times to be relieved, by reason that it commanded over the *Danuby*, which might always relieve it both with Men and Victuals: and that therefore, after that they had satisfied their Honour, by giving of an Assault or two unto the Fort of St. *Thomas*, they had resolved to arise, and to be gone. And much about this time, *viz.* the Nine and twentieth of *September*, in the night time, was a most dreadful fiery Impression seen in fashion much like a Rain-bow, of a fiery red colour; which beginning over *Cockera*, and rising higher over *Strigonium*, at length vanished away over the Fort of St. *Thomas*. The sight whereof much troubled the Beholders thereof, as well the Christians as the Turks; such strange Meteors and Apparitions being oftentimes the Presages of the ruine of them to whom they appear.

In the mean time, whilst the Turks thus lay before *Strigonium*, at the Siege of Saint *Thomas*'s Fort, the Lord *Basta*, Lieutenant-General of the Emperour's Forces, to give the Turks to understand, How that he was always in readiness to attend upon their doings, and to take hold of all such Opportunities as should by them be offered, and so to keep them in suspence, came with seven thousand brave Horse-men, and shewed himself in the plain Field in order of Battel; so, as it were, braving the Turks even unto their own Trenches; where, having discharged their Pistols thrice, they returned as victorious, always keeping themselves in order, as men ready either to give or to accept of Battel. Howbeit, the Turks for the present keeping themselves close within their Trenches, moved not; but afterwards, being desirous to counter-brave this the Christians Presumption, the third day of *October* they came forth of their Trenches, and gave a second Assault unto Saint *Thomas* Fort, imploying the uttermost of their Power in this Action, whereupon they well knew a great part both of their Honour and of their Safety to depend. But in assailing the Fort, they met with them as resolutely set down for the Defence thereof, and for the Maintenance of their Honour, as were they for the winning of the same. So the Assault was begun with great Fury and Adventure, as was the other before; howbeit, that it endured not long, for that the Turks fought rather for the discharge of their Duty, and to have some just cause to raise their Siege, than for any hope they had to prevail, or to carry the Place. For it befell them according as they had expected, so that after that the Fight had endured little more than half an hour, amidst the Tempests of Arms and Fury, in fine, the Turks, out of hope to prevail, gave over the Siege, and retired, having in that Conflict lost five hundred of their best Souldiers. 1604

The Fort of St. *Thomas* the second time assaulted by the Turks.

The Governour of *Strigonium* had in the City under his charge six thousand *Haiducks*, who, attainted with Treason and Fear, all forsook the Place excepting five hundred, preferring their Lives, unworthy the saving, before their Duty, and the Life and Honour of their General. With which shameful Treason, and the Resolution of the Great Bassa for forcing of the Place, the *Germans* there left, seeing their Captains dismayed, gathered themselves together, promising, by their own Valour to supply what wanted by reason of the Treachery of the others; offering themselves to be sworn again unto the Service of the Emperour, and rather to dye all in the Place, than to yield it up unto the Turks, or to leave it unto their Enemies: where, by their general Consent, a solemn Decree was made, That whosoever he were which should speak or once make mention of yielding the Town, should forthwith therefore be hanged upon a Gibbet. The Turks, although they had now in two Assaults been twice repulsed, came yet forth once again the fifth day of *October*, and assaulted Saint *Thomas* Fort the third time; wherein, they failed not to do what they might, but were by the Christians therein so received, that despairing of the winning thereof, they with great Loss and Shame retired. Which Disgrace caused them to return to their old Practices, for the taking of Places by Policy. For having in many Places undermined the Walls, and filled them with Gun-powder, they were in hope by that means to have opened themselves a way unto their Conquest. Of which their hope, for all that, they were deceived; for the Christians, having perceived their meaning, did, by countermining, not only frustrate their Endeavour, but carried away the Powder also, which they had before layed in the Mines, reserving it to their own farther necessity and use. Wherefore the Turks seeing themselves of their hope deceived, returned again unto their old Practices, to come to a Parle for Peace. Of which their Motion the Christians nothing disliked. But the Commissioners on both sides being met together for that purpose, in a little Island beneath *Strigonium*, when as the Turks had offered unto the Christians the City of

The shameful Treason of the *Haiducks* of *Strigonium*.

The Fort of St. *Thomas* the third time assaulted by the Turks.

The Turks seeking to undermine the Fort of St. *Thomas*, disappointed of their purpose.

A Treaty for Peace

1604 of *Agria* for *Strigonium*; or if ſo be that that exchange pleaſed them not, but that they would needs keep the City of *Strigonium* ſtill, that then in conſideration of the Peace, they ſhould deliver unto them the ſtrong Towns of *Fileck*, Saint *Setſchin*, *Pallank*, and *Novigrade*; both of which demands were very unreaſonable; the Commiſſioners thereupon again departed without concluding of any thing.

The Treaty broken off, and nothing concluded.

Now the Army of the Turks was in it ſelf diverſly divided with quite contrary deſires, the Viſier Baſſa, with ſome other of the Commanders, ſtood ſtifly for the taking of the place, as men willing either to return from thence with Victory, or elſe there to end their days; but the Janizaries to the contrary, were as earneſt to be gon, and to raiſe the ſiege, deeming it impoſſible as then to prevail againſt a place ſo ſtrong, ſo well manned, and ſo eaſily to be ſtill relieved. With which their Reſolution ſo contrary unto his, the Baſſa enraged, and yet propoſing before his departure to prove the uttermoſt of his Forces againſt the Fort, now already by him thrice before aſſaulted, the tenth of *October* gave thereunto ſix great aſſaults, but with like ſucceſs as before, finding there ſtill the ſame Defendants, no whit diſcouraged, but armed with their accuſtomed Reſolution. For the Defendants, incouraged by their moſt valiant Commander, with ſuch fury repulſed the Turks, that they were glad to give over aſſault upon aſſault, and with great loſs of their men to retire. Their often retreats alſo being unto them no leſs hurtful than were their aſſaults, the deadly Bullets being out of the Fort diſcharged upon them like ſhowers of hail. So that the Baſſa now, after ſo many aſſaults, out of all hope to gain the Fort, and ſtill preſſed by the Janizaries for the raiſing of the ſiege, immediately after roſe with his Army, quitted his Trenches, and retired with his Camp near unto a Caſtle about a League diſtant from *Strigonium*. From whence the Turks, the better to cover their diſhonour, and to hinder the Chriſtians from purſuing of them in their retreat, the next day after came into the Field with a good part of their Army, and ſhewed themſelves before the *Raſcian* Town, and there skirmiſhed with the Chriſtian *Haiducks*: Which manner of skirmiſhing for all that, was more in ſhew than in effect, neither Party therein receiving any great loſs or hurt. In the mean time, the beſieged which were in *Strigonium*, having gotten certain knowledge, that the Enemy had already removed his Cannon and other Proviſion for the ſiege back again into *Buda*, in token of Joy diſcharged all their great Ordnance out of the City and the Fort; by the report thereof giving Knowledge unto the other Towns and Caſtles of the Chriſtians, of their deliverance. Of which ſo common a Joy every one of them were Partakers, as delivered from ſome part of the fear which the ſiege of ſo great a City as was *Strigonium*, had brought upon them. And ſo the ſiege of *Strigonium*, begun the eighteenth day of *September*, was by the Turks given over the thirteenth of *October*; the Janizaries inſolently threatning to have ſlain the great Baſſa their General, if he had there any longer ſtayed.

The Janizaries unwilling to continue the ſiege of *Strigonium*.

The Fort of Saint *Thomas* ſix times in one day aſſaulted by the Turks.

The ſiege of *Strigonium* given over by the Turks.

Baſſa, the Emperour's Lieutenant, in the mean time awaiting all Opportunities, failed not to take hold of ſo fit an Occaſion, but with his Horſemen following after the Turks Army, ſlew of them a great number, and took ſome other of them Priſoners. And afterward, returning unto their Camp, found it void of men, but full of Bullets, with certain pieces of great Ordnance, which the Turks had left there, having not time to remove the ſame to *Buda*. Upon this riſing of the Turks Army, the Commanders thereof were diverſly affected unto the ſervice that was further to be done, as they had before been in the time of the ſiege. Such of them as lay in *Hungary*, or near thereunto, deſiring ſtill to hold the field, in hope of the ſpoil of the Country; but they which dwelt farther off, eſpecially ſuch as were come out of *Aſia*, deſiring as much to be diſcharged, their Horſes being almoſt all dead with faintneſs and travel, and they themſelves weary of the ſervice.

Baſſa purſueth the Turks Army departing from the ſiege of *Strigonium*.

Shortly after the riſing of the Turks Army from *Strigonium*, two Fugitives of the Turks, moſt bravely mounted, came unto *Baſſa*, the Emperours Lieutenant, and preſenting him with a Ring of great value, and a moſt fair Turkiſh Enſign, told him, moſt part of the Turks Army to lye then incamped in the Country near unto *Peſth*; and the great Cham, a young Prince of about twenty years old, to be come thither with a great Power of *Tartars*, to aid the Baſſa; and that the Turks, by their coming incouraged, were determined yet to make a great excurſion for the ſpoiling of the Country. All which ſhortly after was certainly known to be true, the plain Country of the upper *Hungary* about *Palanka*, *Setſchin*, and *Villecamp*, being by them, but eſpecially by theſe new come *Tartars*, all ſpoiled and burnt. For remedy whereof, *Sigefride Collonitz* oppoſing himſelf with his *Hungarian* Horſemen, againſt theſe inſolent Forragers, ſo daunted them, that ceaſing further to ſpoil the Country, they departed, carrying away with them ſuch Priſoners and ſpoil as they had there taken, and leaving behind them a ſtrong Garriſon of three thouſand good Souldiers, for the repairing and keeping of *Peſth*, but a little before cowardly (as we ſaid) forſaken by the Chriſtians. But within ſome few days after, *viz.* the four and twentieth of *October*, the Viſier Baſſa, by his Letters written unto County *Althem*, Governour of *Strigonium*, made a mention for a Treaty of Peace to be had for the comfort of the diſtreſſed People of that ſpoiled Country, ſolemnly proteſting, moſt religiouſly on his part to keep the ſame, if it ſhould be once concluded; and yet in the mean time with Fire and Sword ſpoiling all the Country by the way as he departed out of *Hungary*.

The upper *Hungary* by the Turks and Tartars ſpoiled and burnt.

The Viſier Baſſa by his Letters maketh a motion for the Treaty of Peace.

But now, as this poor Country began to feel Relief by the departure of the great Baſſa with his Army out thereof, ſo the Country of *Tranſilvania* joyning thereunto, was at the ſame time as much with Rebellion and Diſcord diſtreſſed. *Bethlin Habor* the Rebel, with his Baſſa overthrown and driven out of *Tranſilvania* (as is aforeſaid) the Lord *Belgioſa*, *Baſta*'s Lieutenant in this Province, thinking all things now at quiet, was making himſelf ready with his Troops, to have gone to aid the Lord *Baſta*, his General, then incamped in the Plains of *Strigonium*, to hinder the Turks Deſigns for the taking of this Town. But as he was about ſo to have done, behold, even at the ſame time when he leaſt feared, a ſecond Rebel there ſtarted up, far worſe than the firſt, namely, the Lord *Iſtivan*, (otherwiſe ſirnamed *Botſcay*, or more truly * *Potſcay*) who, accompanied with great Troops of Men of War under the Protection of the Turk, and ſtiling himſelf by the Name of the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, entering that Province, miſerably burnt and ſpoiled the ſame. For the repreſſing of which ſo ſudden a Rebellion, *Belgioſa* with a thouſand Horſe, under the leading of *Roſcovitz* and *Peter Laſla*, marched toward *Veradin*; and with his Troop coming to *Ador*, a Country Village about a League diſtant from *Veradin*, and meaning thither to aſſemble together his Army, he ſent to *Petſie* Governour of *Veradin*, to put him in mind of his Duty, and to crave his aid. Which valiant Captain, always preſt and ready

New Rebellion in *Tranſilvania* raiſed by *Iſtivan*, ſirnamed *Botſcay*.

* He was in ſcorn called *Potſcay* (which in the *Bohemian* Language ſignifieth tarry or ſtay) of the long delayes he by way of diſgrace had before indured in the Emperours Court.

1604 ready to do his Prince Service, failed not now of his Duty, calling together ſix Companies of Footmen out of *Romoſa*, and joyning unto them four Companies out of *Veradin*, together with the *Sileſian* Horſe-men of *Schuet-Kenhut*'s Regiment (whom by reaſon of his Sickneſs he was not able to lead) and with them the *Haiducks* of County *Tambier*, came unto the Place of the Rendezvous, bringing with him all warlike Proviſion in token of his Fidelity. With this Army *Belgioſa* marched againſt the Rebels, who, as reſolute men, attended his coming; for why, *Botſcay* knowing the *Haiducks* of County *Tambier* ſecretly to favour him and his Rebellion more than they did *Belgioſa* and his juſt Quarrels, ſtood in no fear of them, but aſſured himſelf of them as of his Friends; who failed not of his hope and expectation, but even at the firſt joyning of the Battel turned themſelves to his part; with the going over of whom, the number of the Rebels was much increaſed, and *Belgioſa*'s Power both in Force and Courage much weakned, ſeeing themſelves at once expoſed both unto the force of their Enemies, and to the Treachery of their Fellows, who now with conjoyned Forces moſt fiercely aſſailed them; who finding themſelves now on all ſides invironed with ſo great a multitude, and not able, with ſo ſmall a number as was left, to withſtand the violence of their Enemies, and the Treaſon of their Companions; after they had to the uttermoſt of their Power performed all the parts of valiant and courageous men, were there almoſt all cut in pieces, and there buried in the Field of their Loyalty, honoured with their own Blood, and altogether embrued with the Blood of their Enemies. In this unlucky and diſloyal Fight were divers good and faithful Captains ſlain; *Petſie*, Governour of *Veradin*, and *Pallas Lippa*, both great Captains, and grievouſly wounded, were there taken Priſoners. The Lieutenant of *Petſie* alſo, having retired himſelf with ſome of his Troops into a place of good Strength, there ſo valiantly defended themſelves, that *Botſcay*, out of hope to overcome them by force, to get them into his Power, promiſed them upon his Oath, if they would yield themſelves, to ſuffer them in ſafety to depart. But what Truſt or Credit is to be given to him who hath before broken his Faith and Loyalty to his Prince, this Rebel well ſhewed, by the Death of theſe valiant and warlike men, who, after that they had upon his Faith and Promiſe yielded themſelves, were by his appointment cruelly ſlain and cut in pieces. The *Sileſian* Horſemen were there alſo all overthrown, and buried in the midſt of their Enemies; and as for *Belgioſa* himſelf, he ſtrangely eſcaped out of the Battel, and ſaved himſelf by flying to *Veradin*. The victorious Rebel after the Battel, inſtead of praiſing God, ſacrificed to the Devil, by ſending a great part of the Enſigns by him gained unto the Viſier Baſſa, with a thouſand Praiſes of his Glory, for ſupporting of him in his Rebellion; and vaunting much of this his Victory, gave him withal to underſtand, That he had ſlain above ſix thouſand of his Enemies.

Belgioſa goeth againſt the Rebels of *Tranſilvania*.

Belgioſa in a great Battel overthrown by *Botſcay* the Rebel.

Botſcay dealeth unfaithfully with ſuch as upon his faith given them yielded unto him.

This Victory gotten, together with the humble Submiſſion of *Botſcay*, obtained of the Great Sultan, That from thenceforth he ſhould be ſtiled by the Name of the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, with a farther Charge from him, to do the uttermoſt of his endeavour for the ſubduing unto his Obeiſance the reſt of *Tranſilvania*; promiſing, plentifully to ſupply his Wants both with Men and Money, and out of hand to ſend him three thouſand *Tartars* to his Aid. And indeed, this was a very great and bloody Battel, fought from the firſt break of the Day, until eleven a clock at Noon; but, whether ſo many were ſlain there or no, it cannot certainly be told, for that divers of them who were ſaid to be ſlain, and ſo accounted among the dead, had hid themſelves in the Wood there by, and ſome others of them by ſome other means eſcaped Death alſo. *Petſie* himſelf had with him when he was taken, two Monks, whom the Souldiers in deſpight cut into many pieces, and carried him faſt bound in Chains to *Derritza*, to be there cured of the dangerous Wounds by him in the Battel received.

Botſcay in his Rebellion countenanced by the Great Sultan, and called Prince of *Tranſilvania*.

1604

But as for *Pallas Lippa*, who, being wounded, was taken Priſoner with *Petſie*, he was afterwards by *Botſcay* appointed his Lieutenant General, and ſo by his Commandment was publickly proclaimed; as he which was deſirous to take upon him the defence of the reformed Religion, and of ſuch as were willing to profeſs the ſame; who forthwith made a general Proclamation, That all they which were deſirous of the liberty of Conſcience, and to live free from the Superſtitions of the *Roman* Church, ſhould repair unto him, as unto their Head and Chieftain, ready to entertain them, and to allow to every one of them five Dollars a Month for their Pay. Upon which Proclamation made, a great Multitude of Men upon the ſudden reſorted unto him; ſo that in a ſhort time he had following of him ten thouſand *Haiducks*, beſide a number of other of the common raſcal People; yea, almoſt all the Gentlemen of the Country repairing unto him, bound themſelves by Oath to him, and one of them to another, That as they would not take up Arms to fight againſt the Chriſtian Emperour, ſo they would not ſubmit themſelves unto the Turk, but only ſtand upon the defence of their Religion, and the liberty of Conſcience.

Pallas Lippa, *Botſcay*'s Lieutenant, pretendeth the defence of Religion for the ſtrengthening of *Botſcay* in his Rebellion.

The Rebel *Botſcay* thus wonderfully increaſed in Strength and Number, beſet almoſt all the Paſſages of the Country, and with the Sword of Rebellion in his hand, and his Souldiers following him, commanded the Cities ſtill as he went, to yield unto him: but, hearing that *Belgioſa* was after the late Overthrow gone from *Veradin* to *Caſſovia*, where his Wife lay; and being come thither, to have been by the Citizens rejected, who would not only not receive him into their City, but turned his Wife alſo out of the City unto him; he with a great Army coming thither, took the City without reſiſtance, the Citizens for the moſt part enclining unto him: of which City being poſſeſſed, he forthwith changed both the Religion and Civil Government thereof, ſlew part of ſuch as were of the *Romiſh* Religion, and thruſt the reſt out of the City, with all the Church-men; took the Biſhop and the Emperour's Treaſurer Priſoners, and ſo changed the whole Government of the Town up-ſide down. The only man he ſtood in fear of, was *Belgioſa*, for whom he laid wait by all means he could to have taken him, with a purpoſe to have uſed him moſt hardly if he had fallen into his hands.

The great City of *Caſſovia* yielded to the Rebel *Botſcay*.

Theſe things thus done in *Tranſilvania* and in *Hungary*, the Viſier Baſſa being about to return to *Conſtantinople*, to grace that little which he had done this Year in *Hungary*, and to avoid the ſuſpicion of his evil Succeſs in that Province, borrowed of *Botſcay* the reſt of the Enſigns, together with *Petſie* and other the noble Chriſtian Captives which he had taken in the late Battel with *Belgioſa*; which Enſigns and Priſoners he confidently afterwards cauſed to be preſented unto the Great Sultan *Achmat*, as taken by himſelf; and in recompence thereof, left three thouſand Turks and Tartars with the Rebel, to aid him in his Wars both in *Tranſilvania* and *Hungary*.

An impudent ſhift of the Viſier Baſſa for the ſaving of his Credit with the Great Sultan.

Baſſa,

1604

Baſta goeth with his Army againſt the Rebels in the upper *Hungary.*

Baſta, the Emperour's Lieutenant in *Hungary*, and Governour of *Tranſilvania*, hearing of the Stirs and Troubles of late raiſed in both thoſe Countries by *Botſcay* and his rebellious Followers, and having as he thought beſt ſet all things in order again at *Strigonium*, marched thence with his Army, being fourteen thouſand ſtrong, towards *Caſſovia*, with a purpoſe to have ſuppreſſed the Rebellion in the upper *Hungary*, before it ſhould have ſpread farther, to the endangering of the whole State of both thoſe Countries, as afterward it did. Howbeit, before he could come thither, the Rebels, after the taking of *Caſſovia*, being wonderfully increaſed both in Strength and Number, had taken in moſt of the ſtrong Towns and Places in the upper *Hungary*, the People almoſt generally now favouring their Quarrel, carrying with it the Face of Religion, with the ſuppreſſing of the *German* Government, both things unto them much pleaſing. And now hearing that *Belgioſa* (a man of them moſt hated, being, as we ſaid, ſhut out of *Caſſovia*) was fled into the Caſtle of *Zipze*, they by Letters required of *Turſon*, Captain of the Caſtle, to have him delivered unto them, to be according to his Deſerts puniſhed; promiſing withal, to do *Turſon* himſelf no harm, ſo that he would take part with them in the defence of their Religion, and of the liberty of Conſcience; which if he ſhould refuſe to do, yet that they would give him free liberty to depart whither he would, out of his Caſtle, and in ſafety to conduct him thither, ſo that he would forthwith reſolve what courſe he would take: but if he ſhould of this his Offer miſlike alſo, then they threatned to ſpoil his Country, to kill his People, to raze his Caſtle, and to make himſelf an Example unto others. Wherewith, for all that, he nothing moved, refuſed to deliver unto them *Belgioſa*, the Man whom they ſo much deſired, or yet to accept of any of their other Offers. Whereupon the Rebels with great labour repairing the broken way betwixt *Caſſovia* and the Caſtle, and bringing certain Pieces of great Ordnance from *Caſſovia*, in great number came and ſtraitly beſieged the Caſtle. With whoſe Attempts the valiant Captain nothing moved, with his thundring Shot out of the Caſtle ſo welcomed them, that having thereby received great harm, they thought it not their beſt courſe to ſtay any longer there with ſo great a Power, but with the greateſt part thereof to go to *Presburg*, to reform that City and ſome other Places by the way; perſuading themſelves, That the Captain of this Caſtle ſo ſhut up, and on every ſide beſet with his Enemies, would at length of himſelf yield up the Caſtle.

Belgioſa in the Caſtle of *Zipze* beſieged by the Rebels.

But while the Rebels thus lay at the Siege of this Caſtle, certain Companies of them went to have taken the Spoil of a Religious Houſe there by; but coming thither, and breaking open the Doors, and ſearching every ſecret Corner of the Houſe, they found therein nothing worth the reckoning of, but ſo returned almoſt empty handed; for the Prieſts had for fear of them before carried away with them all the beſt of their Goods and Subſtance into the beſieged Caſtle. And ſo likewiſe the rife Report of their coming to *Preſburg* flying abroad, almoſt all the Prieſts and Jeſuits in *Presburg* and the Country thereabout, leaving their Churches and Colledges, fled with their Subſtance to *Vienna*, ſcarcely accounting themſelves ſafe there, until that the Garriſon of that ſtrong City was increaſed with a new ſupply of ſix hundred good Souldiers.

The Prieſts and Jeſuits for fear of the *Haiducks* fly from *Presburg* to *Vienna.*

And now the Rebels, their Number ſtill more and more increaſing, and having ſet all the upper part of *Hungary* on a Broil, were beſieging divers other Caſtles and ſtrong Places, yet holden for the Emperour; when as *Baſta*, in the mean time coming from the Siege of *Strigonium*, came, and with his Army incamped about three miles from *Filek*. Of whoſe coming the Rebels hearing, and thereupon retiring, he forthwith followed after them toward *Budnoc*, which Caſtle they alſo left, and ſo near unto *Ramoſambat*, the place of their Rendezvous, gathered together in great number, with an intent to have given *Baſta* Battel: whereof *Baſta* having knowledge, to ſpare the effuſion of more Chriſtian-blood, by an Herald ſent unto them in friendly and courteous manner, adviſed them to change their Minds, and to return again unto their former Allegiance; but finding them obſtinately ſet down in their former purpoſe, for the maintaining of their Rebellion, and the giving of him Battel, he marching forward with his Army, with great Force charged certain Companies of the Rebels, appointed to keep the Paſſage of *Filek*; who at the firſt right valiantly received the Charge, and defended the Paſſage, until that at length with number oppreſſed, and above four hundred of them ſlain, they were put to the worſe, and inforced to fly; in which flight, amongſt others there taken Priſoners, *Blaſe Nemet* their Captain was taken alſo, whom *Baſta* cauſed to be hanged up by the heels, with the Enſigns ſet up about him which he had taken from the Rebels in the late Fight; and after he had for a time ſo hung, made him to be taken down, and his Head to be ſtruck off from his Shoulders. In this Conflict fifty of *Baſta's* Men were ſlain alſo, and many more hurt, and amongſt them *Collonitz*, hurt in his Shoulder and his Foot with a ſmall Shot.

Certain Companies of the Rebels diſcomfited, and overthrown by the Lord *Baſta.*

Blaſe Nemet, one of the Captains of the Rebels, taken and put to death.

Baſta, after this Victory, marching on with his Army, by the way met with certain other Companies of the rebellious *Haiducks*, as he was going to St. *Peters*, with whom he had many an hot Skirmiſh for the ſpace of three days together, being by them ſtill put to the worſe; inſomuch, that having burnt many of his Carriages, Tents, and other Luggage, he was of nothing more careful, than how well to get out of their hands. Nevertheleſs, ſeeing no other remedy, he with great Courage not only endured the often and fierce Aſſaults of his Enemies, ſtill more and more increaſing upon him, but the fourth day, after ſo many unfortunate Skirmiſhes, (being the eight and twentieth of *November*) putting his Men in order of Battel, right valiantly again charged the Rebels; who, by reaſon of the darkneſs of the Weather, it being then a very thick Miſt, being not able to perceive where the Enemies Attempts were moſt to be feared, or what way to turn their own Forces; as men diſmayed, were eaſily by them overthrown and put to flight; whom ſo flying, *Baſta* with his Souldiers fiercely purſuing, made of them a great Slaughter; ſo that in the ſpace of leſs than three hours, fifteen hundred of them were in this thick and dark Miſt ſlain, with ſome few alſo of *Baſta's* Souldiers, and amongſt them *Frederick* Earl of *Solmes*, and the County of *Erbach* wounded. Upon the report of which Overthrow, the Rebels which yet lay at the Siege of the Caſtle of *Zipze*, in hope there at length to have taken *Belgioſa*, forthwith roſe, and retired themſelves to *Leuſta*. But *Baſta*, after this Victory, removing to St. *Andrews*, and having recovered that Town from the Rebels, and thereinto put a new Garriſon, and ſo by this means ſomewhat daunted and repreſſed the Inſolency of the *Haiducks* in thoſe Quarters, and being not well able longer to keep the Field with his Army in ſo unſeaſonable a time of the Year, and ſo to maintain War as it were both againſt his Enemies, and the extremities of Nature, ſought by Letters to have

Baſta diſtreſſed by the Rebels.

The Rebels by *Baſta* overthrown.

1604

1604 reclaimed them of *Caſſovia* again unto their Obedience; offering unto them Pardon for all their Offences paſt, ſo that they would now at laſt acknowledge their fault, and receive into their Town a Garriſon of the Emperours. To which purpoſe he writ alſo to them of *Eperia*; in hope that if he might ſo have gained thoſe two ſtrong Towns, to have in them wintered in ſafety with his Army. But they of *Caſſovia*, having in the City a ſtrong Garriſon of ſix thouſand good Souldiers, and out of fear to be by *Baſta* beſieged at that time of the Year, and withal in hope (if need were) to be by *Botſcay* relieved, (who was then reported to be forty thouſand ſtrong) utterly refuſed to hearken unto *Baſta's* Motion for their Reconciliation, or at all to ſubmit themſelves again unto the Emperour. Which cauſed him with his Army to come neater unto the City, yet ſtill ſeeking rather by fair means to have perſuaded the Citizens to have returned unto their Loyalty, than by force to have conſtrained them. But finding them obſtinately ſet down, and by no Perſuaſions to be removed, but with their great Ordnance, in what they might, to trouble his Camp, he ſent before, the County *Hohenloh* and *Rotuitz*, with part of his Army to *Eperia*, to command them, upon their Allegiance to receive the Emperour's Souldiers into the City, and to relieve them with ſuch things as they were able; and within a few days after, *viz.* the fifth of *December*, followed himſelf with the reſt of his Army. But being come thither, after much Talk had with the chief Men of the City, it was at length, contrary to all Mens Expectation, agreed, That *Baſta*, aſſuring them of the free Exerciſe of their Religion, of the good Behaviour of the Souldiers towards them, and to defend them from the Injury and Incurſions of their Enemies, they ſhould open their Gates unto the Imperials, and relieve them with what they were able; and ſo as before to continue in their Allegiance and Obedience unto the Emperour. Of all which things when *Baſta* had, upon his Faith given, aſſured them, they opened their Gates, and received in the Souldiers; unto whom (now almoſt dead and ſtarved with Hunger) nothing could have happened more comfortable or welcome. *Leuſta*, *Barbeld*, and *Zebena*, famous Towns in thoſe Places, following the Example of *Eperia*, ſubmitted themſelves in like manner, and helped *Baſta's* Souldiers with Relief. Thither, with great danger, came unto *Baſta*, *Sigefrid Collonitz*, a Man of great Power and Authority in that part of *Hungary*, to conferr with him about the appeaſing of theſe Troubles: who afterward by his Letters unto the States and the reſt of the Nobility of *Hungary*, yea, and to *Botſcay* himſelf, in vain perſuaded them to lay down Arms, and to return again unto their wonted Obedience unto the Emperour.

The Citizens of Caſſovia refuſe to ſubmit themſelves, and to receive the Emperour's Souldiers into their City.

Eperia yielded unto Baſta.

There had been hitherto in the Imperial Camp great ſcarcity of Victuals and of other Neceſſaries, ſo that for want thereof, and for the extremity of the Cold, and other Miſeries, it was greatly feared, leſt the Camp ſhould have been broken up, to the irreparable loſs of his Imperial Majeſty, as the ſtate of things then ſtood in *Hungary*. For the remedy whereof, thirty Waggons loaded with Money and Cloth were ſent from *Vienna*, under the Conduct of County *Solmes*, Collonel *Starenberg*, the Treaſurer, and others; unto whom *Tanhuſar* joyned fifteen hundred *Huſſars* (*Hungarian* Horſe-men ſo called) to ſtrengthen the Convoy againſt the danger which was feared from the *Haiducks* which lay upon the way, and who indeed were now roaming about and ſeeking after Booty in every corner of the Country. Which *Huſſars*, being come with the reſt of the Convoy into a thick Wood, about two Miles from *Filek*, like Enemies ſet upon the Waggoners, whom they ſhould have conducted, and there made a great ſlaughter of ſuch as were about to reſiſt them; inſomuch, that the County *Solmes* had much ado to ſave himſelf, and to get out of their hands, leaving the Waggons as a Prey unto the treacherous *Huſſars*; who now become Maſters of them, drave them away to *Botſcay* the Rebel's Camp; *Tanhuſar* their Captain in vain purſuing after them, (with ſuch of his *Huſſars* as, more faithful than the reſt, had no hand in that ſo foul a Treachery) and recovering nothing but ten Waggons loaded with Cloth, which the Traitors had left behind them, having taken the Horſes out of them, and put them into the other Waggons wherein the Money was, (which was reported to be 130000 Florens) with the more ſpeed to bring them to *Botſcay*. Who, having upon the ſudden received ſo great a Sum of Money, by him not looked for, forthwith divided the ſame amongſt his Souldiers, the more to encourage them in their Rebellion againſt the Emperour.

1604 *The Huſſars traiterouſly ſpoil them whom they ſhould have conducted.*

The News of this ſo great a loſs being quickly ſpread thorow all the Emperour's Camp, at the firſt filled the Souldiers with Grief and Diſdain againſt the treacherous *Huſſars*, but afterwards, with Wrath and Indignation againſt their own Commanders, as deeming it to have been nothing but a falſe Report by them deviſed, and given out to deceive them, and to feed them with a vain hope. Which Perſuaſion, though not true, had now ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed their Minds, as that they were about all to have riſen up in Mutiny, and to have forſaken the Service, to the utter Peril of their Captains, and endangering of the whole Province, now upon point to have been for ever loſt. All which Miſchiefs *Baſta* foreſeeing, did firſt what he might with Words and fair Promiſes to have appeaſed them; which not ſerving, he, with certain thouſands of Duckats and Waggons of Cloth, taken up at *Leuſta* and other Towns there by, wiſely contented them, in ſome good meaſure furniſhing the old Souldiers, before half naked, both with Money and Apparel, the Souldiers greateſt Contentments.

Baſta wiſely appeaſeth his Souldiers, ready to forſake his Service.

Which Mutiny ſo again appeaſed, the Imperials ſhortly after ſurpriſing a Caſtle not far from *Eperia*, found therein a great many of *Hungarian* Gentlemen, whom they carried away with them Priſoners, to learn of them what they might concerning the Rebels Proceedings and farther Deſigns. In the mean time, the *Haiducks* on the other ſide beſieged the Caſtle of *Sedara*, which they, after many Aſſaults took, and put to the Sword all the Garriſon Souldiers therein; and departing thence, firſt rifled, and after burnt the Town of *Filek*. They alſo took the Caſtles of *Bolvar*, *Setſchin*, *Dregell*, *Burac*, *Holloc*, *Blavenſtein*, and the ſtrong Caſtle of *Cabragetia*, whither they of *Hatwan*, not long before, had carried their great Ordnance, at ſuch time as they for fear of the Turks, then lying at the Siege of *Strigonium*, had abandoned the Place; all Strong-Holds in the upper *Hungary*. After the taking of which Places, *Feremius Radius*, and *Charles Iſtuan*, (*Botſcay's* near Kinſman) and the chief Captains and Ring-leaders of the Rebels, exacted Contribution-Money of the Mineral Towns (as they call them) belonging unto the Emperour in the upper *Hungary*; but eſpecially of the City of *Newſol*, inforcing them alſo to ſwear to be in all things obedient to *Botſcay*, and to take his part againſt the Imperials, threatning with Fire and Sword to infeſt ſuch Places as ſhould refuſe to do the like. And to the intent that they ſhould not by *Collonitz* be encouraged or defended, who to that end was coming thither, the Rebels in great number went

Divers Places taken by the Haiducks.

to

1604 to meet him, and having belayed all the Paſſages, enforced him to retire himſelf unto his Caſtle of *Libentſia*; where, he lying in great danger with his Wife, then in Childbed, accompanied but with fifty *German* Souldiers only, for that he durſt not to truſt his *Hungarian* Coſſacks, now in heart altogether inclining unto the Rebels, was glad in poſt to ſend to *Vienna*, moſt humbly requeſting to have a new ſupply of *German* Souldiers ſent unto him for his relief, and the furtherance of the Emperours Service, in that ſo dangerous a time and wavering eſtate of that Country, being the beſt part of that the Emperour then held in *Hungary*.

Collonitz prayeth Aid from *Vienna*.

Now while *Baſta* thus lay with his Army at *Eperia*, and in the Country thereabout, he daily received great harm from the *Haiducks*, who were ſtill hovering about him, as Hawks over their Prey; his Souldiers by neceſſity inforced to fetch in Wood, and other things neceſſary into the Camp, being ſtill moſt miſerably ſlain and cut in pieces; yea, they were ſo bold, as oftentimes to trouble him in his Camp, and to aſſail his Souldiers where they lay quartered in their Trenches; as amongſt other times, they did in the latter end of *December*, to end the year withal; at which time, they by night breaking into the quarter where *Charles Collonitz*, with *Copel* and *Pettenger*, two Captains of *Auſtria*, with their Companies lay, they ſlew the ſaid *Copel*, with almoſt all his Souldiers, and burnt *Pettinger* in his Tent, *Collonitz* himſelf being at the ſame time in great danger, and hardly by them beſet alſo; until that incouraging his Men, by performing all the parts both of a good Captain and valiant Souldier, he by true Valour enforced them at length to retire back again into the Woods, from whence they came, having in this Conflict ſlain fourteen of them with his own hand.

Copel and *Pettinger* ſlain by the *Haiducks*.

About this time was a Spy taken in the Imperial Camp, one of *Botſcay's* chief men, diſcovered by one coming from *Caſſovia* to *Eperia*, which knew him; who, by *Baſta's* Commandment apprehended, and upon torture examined, and confeſſing what he had done, was for his good ſervice hanged, and afterward quartered, to the Terrour of others attempting the like.

A Spy taken.

The Turks this year were not much fortunate in their Wars, *Haſſan*, the Viſier Baſſa, and their General againſt the Chriſtians in *Hungary*, having in vain (as is before declared) beſieged *Strigonium*, and with all his Forces done nothing worth the remembrance; and *Cicala Baſſa*, their other General againſt the *Perſians* in the *Eaſt*, being with all his great Power by the *Perſian* King overthrown and put to flight, and the City of *Babylon*, now called *Bagdat*, taken; and was firſt at *Prague*, the two and twentieth of *October*, reported by the Secretary of the Vayvod of *Valachia*, ſent thither in Ambaſſage from his Maſter unto the Emperour, and afterward confirmed by an Ambaſſador ſent from the *Perſian* King himſelf unto the Emperour; who having audience, told his Majeſty how that the King his Maſter, was not ignorant of the great and difficult War by him now for many years maintained againſt the Turkiſh Sultan, with whom, although he for his part might have lived in Peace and Amity, yet, that moved with the Zeal which one Prince ought to have to the relief of another, he had taken up Arms againſt him, ſo to avert ſome part of that heavy War from his Majeſty, even upon himſelf; and that he had already obtained many great and notable Victories and Conqueſts againſt him; and recovered a great Territory, wrongfully before taken from the *Perſian* Kings, his Predeceſſors, by the Turkiſh Sultans; and that now he was of nothing more deſirous, than to joyn in a perpetual League and Amity with his Majeſty, that ſo, in a moſt ſtrong Confederation combined together, they might never afterward be diſſevered, or ever make Peace with the Sultan, without one anothers Knowledge and Conſent. And further, That for his part he was minded never to give over the War, ſo happily by him begun, until he had driven him even into his Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, ſo that his Majeſty would on his part do the like, by continuing of his preſent Wars; it being not poſſible for the Turks to hold out againſt them both, and the only means to abate his greatneſs, and to aſſure them in their Eſtates; requeſting him withal, to ſend back with him ſome grave man, his Ambaſſadour, with ſufficient Authority and Inſtructions to conferr about theſe Matters with him; that ſo knowing and underſtanding one anothers Mind, the League and Confederation betwixt them might the more eaſily and commodiouſly be made and concluded.

The evil Succeſs of *Cicala Baſſa* againſt the *Perſians*.

The effect of the Ambaſſage of the *Perſian* King unto the Emperour.

1604

Neither were the Turks buſied with theſe forreign Wars only, againſt theſe ſo great and mighty Princes, in Places ſo remote and far off, but unto theſe were joyned their own inteſtine and civil Wars and Troubles alſo; the Rebels being yet up in the leſſer *Aſia*, and the Baſſaes of *Aleppo* and *Damaſco*, two of the moſt famous Cities in *Syria*, and both of them men of great Place and Command, of late up in Arms one of them againſt the other; inſomuch, that they had brought the matter to be tryed by the Sword in the plain Field, where the Baſſa of *Aleppo*, in a great and bloody Battel overcome, and flying unto his own City, was by the Baſſa of *Damaſco* purſued thither, and ſo ſtraitly by him beſieged with an Army of thirty thouſand men, that in fine he was glad to reconcile himſelf unto him, and to make his Peace, by yielding unto whatſoever the other Baſſa his Enemy pleaſed to demand of him; as being thereunto driven by the Extremity of Famine, which then reigned in the City; as alſo for that he had loſt a great number of his Men, whom he had ſent ſecretly out of the City to ſeek for Victuals, being all ſlain by the Baſſa of *Damaſco's* Souldiers. With which ſo great matters, the Baſſaes of the Court (who had the managing of the State under the young Sultan) were much troubled, he himſelf (as was fitteſt for his years) in the mean time dilighting himſelf with the Pleaſures of the Court, and much rejoycing at the Birth of his firſt begotten Son, who was born about that time.

The Turks troubled with Civil Wars.

Sultan *Achmat's* firſt Son born.

1605

The Revolution of time had now thus brought this year to an end, the Troubles of *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania* yet ſtill more and more ſo increaſing, as if that thoſe moſt miſerable Countries had by the juſt and heavy Judgments of God been now appointed unto their laſt and utter Ruine and Deſtruction; the Cauſes of their ſo great Miſeries proceeding not ſo much from the Turks their Enemies, as from the natural Inhabitants themſelves; who, in Minds divided, both in Religion and Affection, ſome of them continuing in their Allegiance unto the Emperour, and otherſome following the Enſigns of the Rebel *Botſcay*, did both unto themſelves and to their Country more harme in a little time, than had the Turks in many years before. Of which ſo dangerous a Diſſention, and of the harms thereof inſuing, *Belioſa* left by *Baſta* as his Lieutenant, was reported to have been the firſt and chief Authour; For whereas the yeat before the Biſhops and other Clergy-men, in an aſſembly of them at *Poſſonium*, had, without the Knowledge of the Nobility and States of *Hungary*, publiſhed a decree by them there made, for the burning or perpetual baniſhing of all ſuch as were of the reformed Religion in

Civil Diſcord the Ruine of *Hungary*.

Belioſa Authour of the great Rebellion in *Hungary*.

1605 in *Hungary*; and that the States of that Kingdom underſtanding thereof, and ſolemnly proteſting againſt the ſame, under the Seal of the Lord *Palatine*, had publickly affirmed with juſt Arms to defend themſelves, if they ſhould for their Religion be called into queſtion, or troubled; and had again repeated the ſame their Proteſtation at *Galſet*. Yet *Belioioſa* nevertheleſs in the mean time by cunning ſeiſing upon the reformed Churches at *Caſſovia*, would not ſuffer the Citizens of the reformed Religion there to have any Sermons in their own private Houſes, or ſo much as to read on the holy Bible. Neither any whit moved with the former Proteſtations of the Nobility and States, had taken unto himſelf all the Lands and Goods of them of their Religion in *Caſſovia*, not ſuffering them to bury the Bodies of their dead within the City, near unto the Monaſteries. And requeſting to have borrowed of *Botſcay* certain thouſands of Crowns, and thereof by him denied, cauſed his Souldiers to ranſack two of his Caſtles, and to ſpoil him of all the Wealth and Treaſure he had therein. For which Indignities and Injuries *Botſcay* enraged, cauſed open Proclamation to be made, That he would give unto every *Haiduck* that would ſerve him, four Crowns a Month pay, with all the booty that they could get. Whereupon ſix thouſand *Haiducks*, which then ſerved under *Belioioſa*, forthwith revolted unto *Botſcay*, their number increaſing daily. But after that unto this extraordinary pay, *Pallas Lippa*, his Lieutenant, had alſo joyned the Protection of the reformed Religion, it is wonderful to ſay, how the *Haiducks* by heaps reſorted unto him, and how the People in all parts of *Hungary* generally favoured him and his Quarrel, being in all places whereas he came, ready to joyn hands with him againſt the Imperials. The Turks and Tartars alſo, both with Men and Money furthering him in all his doings, whoſe help he refuſed not. Whereof proceeded all the aforeſaid Miſeries both in *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*, with many other worſe than they, which, together with the beginning of this year, took their beginning and encreaſe alſo. Unto which ſo great Troubles, ſtill more and more encreaſing, *Baſta*, not able by force to give remedy, ſought by Lenity and fair Perſwaſions to have eaſed the ſame; by Letters oftentimes adviſing even *Botſcay*, the chief Rebel himſelf, to change his Mind, to lay down Arms, to disband his Forces, and to perſwade with the reſt of his ſeditious followers, to ſubmit themſelves unto the Emperour, and to return again unto their wonted Obedience. Whereunto he at length anſwered, That if the Government of all *Tranſilvania* might be left unto himſelf alone; if a natural *Hungarian* born might be ſtill choſen Lieutenant General in *Hungary*, if none but ſuch as were *Hungarians* born ſhould have the government and command of all the Garriſons in *Hungary*; if the *Wallon* and *French* Souldiers might be ſhut out of *Hungary*, if the natural *Hungarians* born, might from thenceforth be regarded and provided of their pay, if it might be lawful for every man to have the free Exerciſe of his Religion; if the Authours of theſe Troubles might be delivered unto the *Hungarians* to be puniſhed, if the Emperour himſelf in Perſon ſhould come and be preſent at the Parliament at *Presburg*, if the *German* Garriſon Souldiers ſhould ſtill keep themſelves within the Places whereunto they were appointed, without making of any Excurſions into the Towns or Villages near unto them, or hurting of the poor Country-men; he could then be content to come to ſuch a good Agreement for Peace. With which offer he ſent two of the Rebels, his Followers, unto *Baſta*, who not liking thereof, returned them back again, without concluding of any thing.

The chief Cauſes of Botſcay's Diſcontentment.

Botſcay's unreaſonable demands for to come to a Peace.

1605

But while things were thus in talk, ſome of the *Haiducks* in the mean time, with a number of *Tartars* joyned unto them, in ſeeking after Booty, ſurpriſed *Gokara*, a Town over againſt *Strigonium*; where, having ſlain certain *Germans* which had the keeping of the Place, and rifled the Town, as they were about to ſet it on fire, by the coming over of the Governour of *Strigonium* with his Garriſon, they were inforced to forſake the place, and again to retire. This loſs received at *Gokara*, was again by our men requited by the taking of *Palantwar*, a good Fortreſs of the Turks, after a long and cruel fight taken by Captain *Bathian*, (Commander of the Imperial Troops on this ſide of the River of *Danubius*) whereinto a number of the Turks being retired, were there together with the Garriſon Souldiers all ſlain, and amongſt them divers men of great account, who but ſome few days before were come thither. Which Fortreſs the Captain cauſed to be forthwith razed, becauſe it ſhould no more ſtand the Turks in ſtead for the annoying of the Chriſtians.

Gokara ſurpriſed by the Haiducks.

Palantwar taken by the Imperials.

The Turks about this time had a purpoſe to beſiege *Vacia*, a City not far from *Vicegrade*, on the other ſide of *Danubius*, a Place which ſtill did them great harm, and ſtood the Chriſtians in great ſtead. The Garriſon of which Place was part *Germans*, and part *Hungarians*, as the reſt of all the Garriſons in the Imperial Towns of *Hungary* were. Of which the Turks purpoſe for the ſiege, the treacherous *Haiducks* there in Garriſon having got underſtanding, conſpired to deliver unto them the Place; and yet not ſo contented, to joyn thereunto a Treaſon more bloody and treacherous than was the betraying of the Town; for finding themſelves by farr too ſtrong for the *Germans* in Garriſon in the Town with them, they fell upon them, fearing no ſuch matter, and ſlew moſt part of them, the reſt ſaving themſelves by ſpeedy flight to *Strigonium*; and ſo afterward, according to their former pretended Treaſon, delivered the Town unto the Turks, joyning with them and the *Tartars*, and directing them for the more eaſie ſpoiling of the Chriſtians and the Country thereabout.

Vacia moſt ſhamefully by the Haiducks betrayed, and delivered unto the Turks.

The taking of this City of *Vacia*, had in ſhort time called together great numbers of the *Turks* and *Tartars* out of all Places of the Realm; who, together with the *Haiducks*, made a great and puiſſant Army, to the Terrour of the *Chriſtians*, not then able to hold the field againſt them, and the incouraging of the Turks, thus holpen even by the Chriſtians themſelves, to the deſtroying of one another. With this Army they turned from *Vacia* to *Gokara*, with a purpoſe from thence to have paſſed over the *Danubius* upon the Ice, and to have ſurpriſed *Strigonium*. Which Exploit they had once before attempted againſt the baſe Town, being then by the Chriſtians repulſed and beaten back with their great and ſmall ſhot out of the Town, as now they were again. Howbeit, that ſeeing the number of their Enemies daily more and more to increaſe, they in *Strigonium* ſtood more in doubt of a ſecond ſiege, than they had done of the firſt, whereof we have before ſpoken.

Strigonium in vain attempted to have been ſurpriſed by the Turks and the Haiducks.

The Report of theſe ſo great Troubles, and of the general revolt of the diſcontented *Haiducks* in *Hungary*, much troubled and grieved the Chriſtian Emperour; who, both in reſpect of his Honour, and of the ſafety of his Eſtate, raiſed what Power he might out of his Provinces thereabout, and levied great ſums of Money from his Subjects, taking a Ducket upon every Houſe in *Auſtria*, being then in great fear of theſe Miſeries and Miſchiefs ſo faſt ſpreading, and ſtill more

and

1605 and more increaſing and approaching that way. Unto whoſe Forces already on foot, had the Aid promiſed from the King of *Spain*, the Pope, the Princes of *Italy* and *Germany*, with ſix thouſand Footmen, and two thouſand Horſe out of *Bohemia*, been in time joyned, they might have made a ſufficient Army under the Conduct of *Baſta*, the Emperours Lieutenant, to have repreſſed both the attempts of the Enemy, and the Inſolency of the rebellious *Haiducks*. All or moſt part of which Aid this year failing, and *Baſta* with his ſmall Forces much weakened with Wants and the Extremity of Winter, and not able to keep the Field, the Enemies ſtill increaſing both in number and ſtrength, and without fear of any to encounter them, at their Pleaſure roaming up and down, began now to draw near unto *Vicegrade* (a good and ſtrong Town of *Hungary* ſtanding upon the ſide of *Danubium*, about the mid way betwixt *Buda* and *Strigonium*) with a purpoſe to have beſieged the ſame. Of whoſe coming the *Germans* there in Garriſon hearing, and warned by the Treachery of the *Haiducks* of *Vacia*, what to fear from the *Haiducks* in Garriſon with them in *Vicegrade*, betime retired themſelves out of the Town into the Caſtle. In which doing they were well adviſed, being otherwiſe like enough to have run the ſame Fortune that the *Germans* their Fellows before had done at *Vacia*. For the *Turks* with the rebellious *Haiducks* were no ſooner come thither, but that the *Haiducks* in the Town, without more ado, opened the Gates of the Town unto them, as unto their Friends, directing them in beſt ſort they could, both for the beſieging and winning of the Caſtle. Which while the Turks hardly beſieged, and *Germans* therein notably defended, *Haſſan* the Vifier Baſſa, together with *Begedes Baſſa*, to perſwade them to yield up the Caſtle, writ unto them in this ſort.

The Town of *Vicegrade* by the *Haiducks* yielded unto the Turks.

The Letters of *Haſſan* the Vifier, and of *Begedes Baſſa*, unto the *German* Souldiers beſieged in the Caſtle.

'RIght worthy and valiant Friends, it is not to you unknown, the Caſtle of *Vicegrade*, of right to belong unto our moſt mighty and dread Sovereign, the Great Sultan. And therefore ſeeing that it is Reaſon that every man ſhould have that which of right belongeth unto him; we adverti ſe and requeſt you to yield up the ſame Caſtle unto our moſt mighty Emperour, and the honourable Lord *Stephen Botſcay*, Prince of *Hungary*; and with all your Subſtance to depart thence. Promiſing you upon our Faith and Honour, to ſuffer you quietly and in ſafety with your Wives and Children, Bag and Baggage, to depart thence; and to provide you ſufficient Shipping for the carrying away of your things to *Strigonium*. And if it ſhall pleaſe you to take part with us, we promiſe you the ſame pay from our Emperour, that you had from your own; and the ſame kind Entertainment which the *Wallons* have before had with us. But if that you upon an obſtinate Reſolution ſhall refuſe this our friendly Motion and Grace offered you, blame us not, if we ſhall by ſtrong hand and force of Arms ſeek to obtain our Right. In kindneſs we offer you our Friendſhip, and ſo with ſpeed expect your Anſwer.

But the *Germans*, hearkening not unto theſe Letters, as Men reſolved, valiantly ſtood upon the defence of themſelves, and of the Place, until that by extream Neceſſity forced thereunto, they yielded the ſame by Compoſition.

Baſta perplexed, publiſheth a general Pardon unto the Rebels.

Baſta in the mean time, with his Forces much diminiſhed, lying at *Eperia*, and in the Country thereabout, ſeeing the general revolt of the *Haiducks*, of late the Emperours greateſt ſtrength in *Hungary*, and *Botſcay* the Rebels ſtrength daily to increaſe more and more, with no poſſibility for himſelf with ſuch ſmall Forces as he then had, to repreſs the Rebels Inſolency, or to remedy theſe ſo far ſpreading Evils, but for want of great Strength he muſt lie ſtill as it were a man beſieged, was therewith exceedingly grieved, and as it were almoſt overwhelmed with the heavy burthen of ſo many great Miſeries at once beſetting him. To threaten without Power he knew to be but Folly; and to ſpeak fair, to be but vain. Nevertheleſs having procured from the Emperour a general Pardon for all ſuch as having taken part with the Rebels, were willing to return again to their allegiance; he, to aſſure all them whom it might concern, of the Emperors gracious Favour, and to put them all out of fear, cauſed Letters of general Pardon to be publiſhed, for all men to take knowledge of; the purport whereof was this.

1605

The Proclamation given out by *Baſta* for the appeaſing of the Rebellion in *Hungary*.

'WE *George Baſta*, County of *Haſt* and *Marmar*, Lord of *Sult*, Knight, Counſellor to his Imperial Majeſty, Governour of the Realm of *Tranſilvania*, and Lieutenant of the Chriſtian Armies of the Emperour, to all faithful, love and greeting. Whereas in this ſo troubleſome a State of things, ſome, as well of the Nobility as others, in theſe upper parts of *Hungary*, partly of their own accord, and partly for fear, have revolted from his Imperial Majeſty, and taken part with the traiterous *Haiducks* in their Rebellion, to the great prejudice of the Emperour's Service, and the ſtaining of their Faith; We, in the name of his Imperial and Royal Majeſty, whom we know to be greatly inclined, and ready to pardon his Subjects, even of his own natural Goodneſs and Clemency, have by vertue of the full Power and Authority, by his ſaid Imperial Majeſty granted unto us, given free Grace and Pardon to all them which have withdrawn themſelves from his Obeiſance, or forſaken the ſame, of what order, quality, or condition ſoever they be, whom we will receive into our Protection, as void of all Crime; and requeſt them, as much as in us is poſſible, to make their Profit of this Grace, and to return unto their former Duty and Obeyſance, under all aſſurance of Impunity for their forepaſſed Faults; and without any ſearch or inquiry to be of the ſame hereafter made, as well for matters of Religion, as of State; aſſuring them of their Lives, Goods, Fortunes, Dignities, Franchiſes, Priviledges, and Immunities whatſoever, as is more at large declared by his Majeſties Letters Patents which remain with us. And if any, letted either with their urgent Affairs, or with Sickneſs, cannot repair unto us within the day in the ſame Letters Patents nominated, we will accept of their juſt Excuſes. But if any, contrary to our hope, ſhall upon any indurate mind, or obſtinate Contumacy, fail to repent, and to make their appearance before us within the day limited, we denounce them to be Rebels, ſubject unto the Pain of Rebellion, and ſtained with the note of Infamy; pronouncing their Lives, their Goods, and Dignities to be confiſcate and devolved unto the Emperours Coffers; for which they ſhall by Us the Chieftrains, and Captains of his Armies, with all Rigour and Extremity be proſecuted. Proteſting before the Majeſty of God, before the Majeſty of the Emperour, and before all Chriſtendom, us not to be in any ſort culpable of the Evils, Calamities, and Miſeries, which ſhall enſue of the Wars and Diſaſters which ſuch their Rebellion ſhall cauſe; but to be there-from exempt and acquitted, the only Authors of theſe Diſorders having deſerved theſe Imprecations and Calamities; upon the heads of whom we juſtly from henceforth lay them, as upon the miſerable Authors thereof, by their Wickedneſs having refuſed ſo great Grace from the Emperour and us; unto all men made known by theſe Preſents.

This Proclamation ſolemnly by *Baſta* publiſhed with the ſound of many Drums and Trumpets, the ſixteenth of *January*, and ten days Liberty given

1605

for ſuch as would come in, and again ſubmit themſelves; divers Gentlemen of the Country near unto *Eperia*, where *Baſta* with his Army lay, for fear of being ſpoiled came in, and accepted of the Grace offered: other of the ſeditious, dwelling farther off, little or nothing at all regarding the ſame. Inſomuch, that the Rebels in number daily increaſing, and the Rebellion ſtill farther and farther ſpreading, *Botſcay* was now grown ſo ſtrong, that he diſmiſſed from him moſt part of the Turks, whoſe ſervice he had in all theſe troubles hitherto uſed; reſerving yet certain Janizaries, whom he mingled with the Garriſon of *Haiducks*, which he had put into *Caſſovia*.

Baſta's Proclamation little regarded.

Pallas Lippa, before by *Botſcay* taken Priſoner, and upon his Revolt from the Emperour, by *Botſcay* made his Lieutenant-General, and a great man amongſt the Rebels (as is before declared) was now of many thought to be a moſt fortunate and happy man. But in the midſt of ſuch his Happineſs, and the greatneſs of his Command, he was, by the malice of ſome, envying at his eſtate, accuſed to *Botſcay*, as if he had had a purpoſe to have made him away; and delivering the ſtrong City of *Caſſovia* unto *Baſta*, to have gone over again unto the Emperour, and to have followed his Enſigns. Upon which ſuſpicion, he was by the commandment of *Botſcay* beheaded, with five other men more, of good place, ſuſpected to have been Partakers of the Conſpiracy with *Lippa*. In whoſe Treaſure, after that he was executed, were found an hundred thouſand *Hungarian* Duckats, with ſeven hundred Chains of Gold; all which he had ſcraped together in that ſmall time wherein he had been *Botſcay's* Lieutenant amongſt the Rebels. With which money, *Botſcay* in his Rebellion confirmed, became therein more obſtinate and furious than before, not admitting any talk with *Baſta*, concerning Peace, but upon ſuch unreaſonable Conditions as beſt ſtood with his own good liking.

Pallas Lippa, Botſcay's Lieutenant, by his Commandment beheaded.

Now long and tedious it were to proſecute every particular exploit, with the divers woful events thereof, during this ſo great and dangerous a Rebellion in *Hungary*; which how heavy ſoever they were for the poor Chriſtians there dwelling to endure, as tending all to the ruine and Deſtruction both of themſelves and of their Country, (ſometime one of the moſt flouriſhing Kingdoms of Chriſtendom, but now become as it were a large Theatre, for all the World to behold moſt woful Tragedies and bloody Maſſacres acted in) yet for all that, unto ſome nothing is pleaſing but what is written of the greateſt Actions; as, of great and bloody Battels, of the Conqueſts of whole Kingdoms, and the ruine of moſt mighty and famous Princes; all other things elſe being unto them tedious. In ſome part to eaſe them of ſuch wearineſs, and to pleaſe their Appetites, I will briefly paſs over, and even lightly touch, ſuch things as for the moſt part of this year paſſed in this troubleſome Country, not ſtaying but upon matters of greateſt weight and importance. The *Haiducks* ſtill proceeding in their Rebellion, in the beginning of *February* beſieged the Caſtle of *Sacmar*, a place very fit for their purpoſe: which Caſtle the Souldiers there in Garriſon doubting to be able to hold out againſt them (being not paſt threeſcore ſound men left in it) and deſtitute alſo of their neceſſary Proviſion, covenanting to have their Lives ſpared, at length yielded unto them. But in going thence, meeting with certain other Companies of *Haiducks* near unto *Tokay*, they were by them moſt part of them ſlain, ſome few of them by ſpeedy flight eſcaping. The ſame *Haiducks* which had taken *Sacmar*, immediately after attempted to have ſurpriſed the Town and Caſtle of *Tokay* alſo, but the Governour of the Place, in good time advertiſed of their intent and purpoſe, cauſed the Ice wherewith the River was hard frozen, to be broken forty Paces over, near unto the Caſtle, and the ſame to be lightly covered over with Straw. Whither the *Haiducks* coming by night, and finding the Ice on the other ſide the River whereunto they firſt came ſtrong enough to bear them, by heaps thruſting one another forward, to have ſcaled the Caſtle, the Ice breaking under them, they there together by heaps moſt miſerably periſhed, many of the reſt which eſcaped that danger, being with ſhot out of the Caſtle ſlain alſo. In this Caſtle was no great ſtore of Victuals: whereof *Baſta* underſtanding, with his Army marched from *Eperia* toward *Bodac*, a Town holden by the Rebels, in hope with the ſpoil thereof to have relieved *Tokay*. But the Rebels hearing of his coming, having themſelves burnt the Town, had got themſelves, with that they had, into the Caſtle, and from thence with their great Ordnance ſo welcomed *Baſta* at his coming, that, diſappointed of his purpoſe, and having loſt ſome of his men, he was glad with all ſpeed (not having ſtayed above four hours) to return again to *Eperia*; certain of the Nobility of that Country, which took part with the Rebels, being reported, in his abſence, to have made a Road towards *Eperia*, to the endangering of that City. In which his Return towards *Eperia*, the Troops of County *Turon*, and of *Charles Collonitz*, by chance lighting upon 500 *Haiducks* in a Country Village, ſet the ſame on fire, and therein burnt moſt of the ſaid Rebels, and ſlew the reſt of them that remained, in ſeeking by flight to have ſaved themſelves.

The Caſtle of *Sacmar* yielded to the *Haiducks*.

Tokay in vain attempted to have been ſurpriſed by the *Haiducks*.

In the mean time, one of the great men amongſt the *Turks* came to *Caſſovia*, bringing with him a great ſum of money; which, being divided amongſt the Rebels there, much confirmed them both in their Rebellion and Devotion towards the Turks: which Rebellion they ſpared not for any coſt by all means to maintain, as more prevailing thereby than by the greateſt Forces they could uſe for the conquering of *Hungary*.

The Turks with money maintain the Rebellion in *Hungary*.

But *Baſta* was no ſooner with his Army returned again to *Eperia*, but that the Souldiers generally exclaiming, and calling upon him for their Pay, were about in a Mutiny to have forſaken him. For the appeaſing of which Tumult, he was glad preſently to make what ſhift he could for Money, wherewith he in ſome meaſure gave them contentment, and ſo with much ado agreed with them for ſix weeks ſervice longer; thereby delivering the Citizens of *Eperia* from a great fear, wherein they were, for being ſpoiled by thoſe mutinous Souldiers, of whom they ſtood in no leſs doubt than they did of their Enemies.

Baſta's Souldiers in mutiny for their Pay.

And now the ſeditious *Haiducks*, after their wonted manner ſtill roaming up and down the upper part of *Hungary*, the 2d. day of *March*, about ſeven of the clock in the morning, came to *Newſoll*, a Fair in that Country, and there by many Reaſons perſuading the Citizens to revolt, and to take part with them, had Parley with them until it was full twelve of the clock; but drawing ſtill nearer and nearer unto the Town: inſomuch, that *Turbelius*, Governour of the Place, perceiving a yielding Inclination in the Citizens, and doubting without their help to be able to defend ſo great a City againſt the *Haiducks* with ſo weak a Garriſon as he then had therein, he with his *Coſſacks*, for his more ſafety, retired himſelf into the Caſtle. Which done, the *Haiducks* forthwith breaking into the City with ſix Companies, ſummoned the Caſtle, requiring to have it delivered unto them. Of whom *Turbelius* ſlew divers with ſhot out of the Caſtle; and the ſame day, in the Evening, courageouſly ſallying out of the Caſtle, with certain Companies of Harquebuſiers, drave the *Haiducks* again out of the City; which he afterward better for-

Newſol ſurpriſed by the *Haiducks*, and again recovered from them.

1605 fortified againſt their like Attemps. And the next day underſtanding by a Country-man, That certain Companies of *Haiducks* and *Turks* togethet, were coming to *Turtzo*, a Town not far off, carrying with them a great number of Cattel, Women and Children, which they had got out of the Country Towns and Villages thereabout; he preſently ſent forth his Lieutenant againſt them, with his *Coſſacks* (a deſperate kind of Horſemen) who meeting with theſe *Haiducks* and *Turks*, ſlew of them about an hundred and fifty, and recovered from them all the Captives, the Cattel, with two hundred Horſes, and a Mule loaded with four thouſand *Hungarian* Duckats.

Filek yielded unto the *Haiducks*.

Now had *Filek* (a moſt beautiful Caſtle, and as it were the Key of that part of the upper *Hungary*, which the Chriſtian Emperour yet held againſt the Turks) for certain Months been hardly beſieged by the *Haiducks*; which although it was ſo well ſtored with Victuals, and other neceſſary Proviſion, as that it might have holden out three Months longer ſiege, yet the Souldiers there in Garriſon, for want of Water were inforced now at length to yield the ſame. For the keeping of which Caſtle *Redeius Ferentſius*, Captain of the *Haiducks* which had woon it, placed therein a Garriſon, part *Haiducks*, part *Turks*, as not daring to truſt either of them alone; the *Haiducks* for fear of their Treachery, nor the Turks, for that he knew them to be deſirous of the place, for the commodious Scituation thereof, as giving them a way to enter farther into the Territories of the Chriſtians; which *Redeius*, though a Rebel, would not yet in any ſort grant them.

This Caſtle of *Filek* ſo (as is before ſaid) beſieged, the valiant *Collonitz* had oftentimes in vain ſought to have relieved; all the ways being ſo beſet, and as it were, fortified with the infinite number of the *Turks*, *Tartars*, and Rebels, as that there was no coming unto it; and moſt part of his own Souldiers being *Haiducks* alſo, to whom he durſt not well truſt, for fear of being betrayed by them. Concerning which Matters, he ſhortly after writing to a certain Nobleman, after that he had ſhewed unto him, That he deſired nothing more of the Emperour, than to be diſcharged of *his Service, he thus* breaketh forth.

The Letters of *Collonitz* to a certain Nobleman, concerning the Troubles raiſed by the Rebels in *Hungary*.

I Cannot (ſaith he) *any more perform faithfull ſervice unto the Emperour; for being attended upon with very Traitours, I am enforced to hazard even mine honeſt Reputation. I would willingly ſerve with* German *Horſemen; and I could alſo wiſh, three thouſand* Coſſacks, *and two thouſand* Polonian Huſſars *to be again raiſed; who would do notable ſervice in purſuing of the Enemy; but every Month they muſt needs have their Wages pay'd them. The number of the Enemy increaſeth daily; and their ſtrength ſtill more and more; ſo that things cannot be in worſe ſtate than now they are. All Devices are directed to the hurt of the Emperour, neither is there any place quiet. What Courage am I of, which have loſt all my Wealth and Subſtance, is eaſie for any man to judge; all which, for all that, I could conceal and diſſemble, ſo that I might faithfully, and according to my deſire, ſerve the Emperour; which for all that, is not poſſible for me to do without a ſufficient ſtrength of* German *Souldiers. But this of all doth moſt comfort me, for that I know me to have done my Duty; for otherwiſe this Miſchief had ſpread further. Many were in hope that I would rather have revolted from the Emperour, than have loſt my Goods; and ſome there were, which doubted not to ſay ſo of me. The Enemies are now in my Dukedom of* Cleve, *and there made ſpoil of all.* Setchin, Jarmeta, Tregla, Palanka, Samoſchin, Blavenſtein, Rabenſtein, Vacia, Regiomont, Dillena, Pugantſa, Tabra, Libetna, Sirna, Dibina, Sacmaria, Sendra, Onoth, Diſgiora, Zatnar, Calo, Scharoſpotac, Budnoc, Nagibana, Filek, *and almoſt all* Tranſilvania, *are now ſubject to the Rebels; ſo that what will enſue thereof, except they ſpeedily be confronted, every many may right eaſily gheſs.*

Strong Towns and Places by the Turks and Rebels taken in the upper *Hungary*.

1605

Now if *Collonitz*, one of the greateſt and beſt Commanders of the Emperours Forces againſt the *Turks* in *Hungary*, was thus beſet, and ſpoiled of his Subſtance, by the Rebels, as he in theſe his Letters complaineth, and as indeed he was, having at one time received from them ſo great harm as was deemed to have amounted to an hundred thouſand Duckats; and not daring to truſt his own *Hungarian* Souldiers, whoſe Hearts he knew to be with the Rebels; In what State may the reſt of the People of that diſtreſſed Province, be thought to have been, being at the ſame time expoſed unto the ſame Rebels as a Prey and Spoil, and their Country lay'd open for the *Turks* and *Tartars* to forrage and over-run at their Pleaſure.

Wiglaſe in vain attempted to have been ſurpriſed by the *Haiducks*.

But in brief, to run along with the *Haiducks*, four thouſand of them attempting to have ſurpriſed *Wiglaſe*, were ſo from thence repulſed, as that many of them being there ſlain, five and thirty Wagons were ſcarce ſufficient to carry the reſt of the wounded over the Mountains, of whom an hundred died by the way. But going from thence, they brake into *Turſon's* Country, where, they having rifled all the Towns and Villages, commanded all the States of the Country, within three days next after, to ſubmit themſelves to *Botſcay*, and to ſwear unto him Fealty, or otherwiſe to expect all Extremities; who with fear diſmayed, all promiſed to ſubmit themſelves unto *Redeius*, *Botſcay's* Lieutenant.

Now for Remedy of theſe Evils, *Napragius* and *Forgatius*, two grave Counſellors, were ſent, in the Emperours Name, to intreat of the Peace with *Botſcay*; who, the ſeventh and twentieth of *March*, departing from *Eperia*, with fourſcore Harquebuſiers, towards *Caſſovia*, before they came thither, ſent before them an Herauld, to advertiſe *Botſcay* of their coming. Which Meſſenger, ſo ſoon as he was come into *Caſſovia*, the Turks ſo ſtraitly kept, as that no man might ſpeak with him but *Botſcay* himſelf; and not he alſo, but in open place, and that in the hearing of the *Turks*. Who at his firſt meeting with him, told him, That if the Ambaſſadours from whence he came, were ſent from the Nobility and States of *Hungary*, they ſhould be right welcome unto him, and have Audience; but if they came from the Emperour, as had *Rogatſius* and *Ctaccius* before ſent from *Baſta*, they ſhould then ſpare their Labour, and come no farther; for that all matters had with him been often enough talked upon; it being now more than time, that things ſo often conſulted upon, ſhould be no more talked of, but indeed performed. Which Meſſenger returning unto the Ambaſſadors, told them what *Botſcay* had ſaid, and that the *Haiducks* had in *Caſſovia* built a Bulwark of a wonderful height, beſet the Gates with ſtrong Guards, and ſo filled the Trenches with Souldiers, that a man could hardly enter into the City; howbeit that every man might ſafely come and go thither about his Trade and Buſineſs. He told them alſo, how that *Botſcay's* Lieutenant had called together all the Governours of the Places thereabout, and adviſed them, for the ſpace of fourteen days to beware of the Excurſions of the *Haiducks*, and in the mean time, for their more ſafety, to bring their Wives and Children, with ſuch other things as they made moſt reckoning of, into the City, for that he could not as yet (as he ſaid) re-

Botſcay refuſeth to receive the Emperours Ambaſſadours.

1605 preſs the unruly and head-ſtrong *Haiducks*, being yet in their Rage and Fury, as the manner of the diſcontented Multitude is. Of which *Haiducks*, ſome going forth toward *Newhuſe*, and bringing home a great Booty of Cattel, were by *Collonitz* and *Trautmanſtorf*, purſuing them with their Horſemen, overthrown, and all the Booty again recovered.

Botſcay, about this time, *viz.* the nine and twentieth day of *March*, ſummoned all the Nobility and States of *Hungary* unto an Aſſembly to be holden at *Serentium* the ſeventeenth day of *April*, writing unto them in this ſort:

Botſcay's Letters to the Nobility and States of Hungary, to call them together to Serents.

'YOU know (*ſaid he*) right worthy and valiant men, into what extream Miſeries our afflicted Country (all the ancient Priviledges and Immunities thereof being contemned and troden under foot) is by the coming in of Strangers brought; whoſe Inſolency is gone ſo far, that we cannot only not quietly poſſeſs our own Goods, but ſo much as enjoy the Liberty of our own Conſciences. For which cauſe, the Nobility of the whole Kingdom being the laſt Year ſent in Embaſſy, and as it were foreſeeing what was to come, the Aſſembly of the Empire being ended, openly proteſted before the whole Imperial Diet, and by their Letters oftentimes declared, That they ſhould of neceſſity be at length inforced to take upon themſelves the defence of their Priviledges and of their Religion: by which their Proteſtations for all that they ſo little prevailed, that forthwith after, ſuch an intolerable Edict was by the Emperour's Commandment publiſhed, as had expoſed us all, and every one of us, to moſt certain Death, had we not betime provided for our ſelves. All which things are unto you all moſt certainly known, both by the unlawful Acts themſelves, and the whole Proceeding of the Provoſt General. All which things conſidered, you met together at *Galeſt*, and from thence again openly ſignified unto the aforeſaid Provoſt General (unto whom his Imperial Majeſty had committed the ſhedding of our Blood, the aboliſhing of our Priviledges and Religion, *viz.* the execution of this cruel Edict) that if he proceeded to go forward in that Buſineſs, you would put into Execution what you had before publickly proteſted in the general Aſſembly of the whole Empire at *Presburg*. But what Anſwer you received from him, foraſmuch as it is not unto any of you unknown, it is not needful here to rehearſe. Wherefore, when as he, going about the execution of the aforeſaid Edict, did in forcible manner, with certain Pieces of great Ordnance, impugn the Army of his Imperial Majeſty, both in his and our dread Lord and Sovereign, and by force took from us ſome of our Caſtles, and beſieged ſome others; we found no other remedy againſt theſe ſo great Evils, but that which God himſelf even then ſhewed unto us, which was, by force of Arms to defend our ſelves ſo far as we might. In which our purpoſe, ſeeing that the Grace of God, and the good Succeſs which we have hitherto had, will us to continue, although we have ſuffered no little harm from the *Germans* and *Haiducks* (which for all that is, for the recovery of the liberty of our Country, patiently to be borne) to the intent that we, united with other our Brethren through *Hungary*, may the better withſtand our Enemies, and fight againſt them; it is moſt neceſſary that we ſhould meet together, and all matters ſet apart, enter into Conſultation, how hereafter to reſiſt our Enemies, and ſet our Country in Peace and Quietneſs. Wherefore, ſeeing that we have determin'd to hold an Aſſembly at *Serents* the Seventeenth day of *April*, we by theſe Preſents warn and requeſt you all, there at the aforeſaid Seventeenth day of *April* to make your perſonal Appearance, to joyn in Amity with us, and, after God's Name called upon, to conſult and conclude upon ſuch things as may be both acceptable and pleaſing unto God, and moſt profitable and neceſſary for the good of our afflicted Country in general. But if there ſhall be any, which upon a preſumptuous or careleſs Contempt ſhall not at the time appointed come, nor ſeem to regard ſuch things as ſo much concern the common Good and Welfare of their Native Country; let them aſſuredly know, Both themſelves to be therefore to be accounted for Enemies unto their Country, and their Goods alſo ſo to be diſpoſed of, as ſhall unto the Nobility and States then and there aſſembled, be thought meet and convenient.' 1605

A great Tumult and Fire in *Conſtantinople.*

Much about this time, a great Tumult was raiſed amongſt the Janizaries and other Souldiers of the Court at *Conſtantinople*; at which time a great Fire aroſe alſo in the City (as oft times the like hath before done through the Inſolency of the Janizaries, who in ſuch Confuſion of mens Minds uſe to make their own Gains) wherein many, both Men and Women, periſhed, with above five hundred Shops and Ware-houſes full of rich Merchandiſe, moſt part whereof belonged unto the *Jews*; of whom almoſt two hundred are ſaid to have been there burnt: the Deformity and Spoil made by which Fire in the City, remaining long after to be ſeen. Theſe Troubles brought a great fear upon the young Sultan, who firſt therewith half diſmayed, and ſeeing the like to ariſe in *Pera* alſo on the other ſide of the Haven, about a mile off from the Seraglio, could not otherwiſe think, but that the Souldiers were about ſome dangerous Treaſon. Which ſuſpicion, two Meſſengers, but a little before come from *Cicala Baſſa*, increaſed: who by the ſame Meſſengers deſired new Supplies to be forthwith ſent unto him; proteſting, that for as much as he had not long before in a great Battel loſt a number of his Men, if he were not with new Supplies ſpeedily relieved, he muſt of force retire, and leave all unto the *Perſian*. Howbeit, the Fire quenched, and the Janizaries and other Souldiers with the Spoil they had of the Loſſes of others gotten, ſatisfied, the Tumult was without much ado again quieted.

The Emperours Souldiers in mutiny for their Pay, threaten their General, and ſpoil the Country betwixt *Eperia* and *Presburg.*

Now beſide the aforeſaid Troubles from the Rebels in *Tranſilvania* and the upper *Hungary*, that nothing might be wanting unto the Miſery of thoſe ſo miſerable Countries, the Emperour's Souldiers which ſerved under *Baſta*, having of long from day to day in vain expected their Pay, and ſeeing neither Pay nor other Relief to come unto them, roſe up in Mutiny, and ſo in a great Rage brake into *Baſta*, the General's Lodging; where, having heaped upon him many unworthy and deſpightful Reproaches, with their Pieces bent againſt him, and taking the ſpoil of certain Carriages loaded with many rich Commodities, they departed from him; and ſo marching thorow the Country toward *Presbourg*, by the way uſed ſuch Inſolency and Cruelty, by rifling and ſpoiling whatſoever came in their way, as that they ſeemed unto the People as they went, worſe and more inhumane than the very Turks and Tartars themſelves; where, amongſt other the Prey by them taken, which were very great, they carried away with them toward *Presburg* above ten thouſand Oxen and two thouſand Horſes; threatning by the way as they went to burn the Suburbs of the City ſo ſoon as they came thither, if they were not forthwith payed their Pay: whereupon many of the Citizens for fear forſook their Dwellings, and removed to *Vienna*.

But

1605 *Newſol taken by the Haiducks.*

But the Rebels on the other ſide, having (as is before declared) in vain attempted to have taken *Newſol*, being forthwith driven out of it again, aſſembling themſelves in great number, came now again and beſieged it, and the ſixteenth day of *April* took it, to the great and incomparable Loſs of the Citizens; other of their Fellows in other Places having but the day before taken *Cibinium*, *Portfeld*, *Schemnitſe*, with ſome other Places alſo.

The miſerable eſtate of *Hungary* through civil diſcord.

Thus while the *Haiducks* at their Pleaſure on the one ſide ſpoil the upper part of *Hungary*, and the Emperour's Souldiers on the other ſide for want of Pay do therein no leſs harm than they, as Enemies rifling and ranſacking every corner of the Country as they went, the poor Husbandmen dwelling here and there diſperſed abroad in the Country, for fear leaving their homely Dwellings, with ſuch things as they had, fled ſome of them into *Polonia*, other ſome into the Mountains, where many of them periſhed with Hunger; the poor Husbandman not daring now to go forth to till his Land, neither the Shepheard to feed his Flock, all places being filled with Miſery, Mourning, and Heavineſs; the Turks and Tartars, the common Enemies of the Chriſtians, being not the Cauſers thereof, but even the Chriſtians themſelves, one of them even with greedineſs ſeeking the Ruine and Deſtruction of another; as commonly it falleth out in Kingdoms and States divided.

Moravia ſpoiled by the rebellious *Haiducks.*

Neither did theſe ſo great Troubles, the ground of ſo many Miſeries, contain themſelves within the Bounds of *Hungary* only, but brake out into other Countries and Provinces thereunto adjoyning alſo; but eſpecially into *Moravia*, into which Country the *Haiducks* breaking, miſerably ſpoiled the ſame, by force took certain Towns, which they robbed and rifled, carrying away with them even the very little Children, taken from their heavy Parents, to be ſold afterwards unto the Turks; a miſerable kind of Merchandiſe, and of all Chriſtians to be deteſted. For remedy of which Miſchiefs, by ſufferance ſtill more and more increaſing, *Lichtenſtein*, Governour of the Country, having raiſed all the Power that he was able for to make, went againſt them, and with much ado at length drave them out of the Country, with Fire and Sword now by them moſt grievouſly ſpoiled: they for all that carrying away with them a great part of the Wealth of that Country, with four thouſand Captives, all by them appointed unto the Turks ſlavery.

About this time alſo *Baſta*, lying at *Presburg*, and underſtanding that fourteen thouſand Turks and Tartars being come to *S. Georges*, ſix thouſand of them were gone over the *Danubius*, about a mile beneath *Presburg*, to the end that whilſt they were making a Road into *Auſtria*, the reſt in the mean time might prove their Forces upon *Presburg*; with his Horſe-men followed after them himſelf, to cut off ſuch ſtragling Companies of them as otherwiſe might have done great harm abroad in the Country, leaving behind him in *Presburg* but three hundred *Wallon* Horſe-men, with certain Companies of Foot-men for the keeping of the City. Which three hundred Horſe-men, being very good and expert Souldiers, and deſirous to be doing ſomething, by night made a Road out of the City toward *St. Georges*, where the reſt of the *Haiducks* and *Turks* in great ſecurity lay; upon whom theſe reſolute men upon the ſudden falling, brought a great fear upon the whole Camp, and having ſlain of them above five hundred before the reſt could arm themſelves, returned with a great Victory, though but with ſmall Prey, carrying with them ſome few Horſes of Service to *Presburg*; where, by that they had done, it was reaſonably thought that had they been but a thouſand ſtrong, they had diſcomfited the Enemies whole Camp.

A notable Exploit by a few performed.

1605

In the mean time, they of the Garriſon of *Comara* underſtanding that *Begedes Baſſa* was determined with a notable Convoy to go from *Buda* with ſeventeen Waggons loaded with Money and other things of great value, to *Botſcay* the Rebel, and the Tartar Cham's Son, who with certain thouſands of Tartars was come to *Solnock*, to the Aid of *Botſcay* and the Rebels: they, in hope of ſo great a Booty, lay in wait for him upon the way whereby he muſt needs paſs, and at his coming ſet upon him, and ſlew a number of his Men; amongſt whom it fortuned the Baſſa himſelf to be ſlain, ſhot in the Breaſt with a ſmall Shot whilſt he was mounting up his Horſe; whoſe dead Body the Turks about him having taken up, and therewith about to flee, were there ſome of them ſlain, and ſome of them taken Priſoners, the reſt by ſpeedy flight eſcaping. Here were alſo all the aforeſaid Waggons taken, with an exceeding rich Booty; all which the Garriſon Souldiers, well worthy thereof, carried away with them to *Comara*, together with the Baſſa's Head, ſtruck from his Body with his own Scimitar; which Scimitar, with the Baſſa's rich Coat, *Pogranus* the Governour of *Comara* afterward ſent as a Preſent to the Emperour at *Prague*. This Baſſa while he lived was a moſt crafty and ſubtil man, the chief Plotter and Author of all the late Troubles in *Hungary*, having before put all *Tranſilvania* into moſt dangerous Stirs and Tumults, and greatly confirmed *Botſcay* in his Rebellion: he ſpake the *Hungarian* Language naturally, and was therein very eloquent, which ſerved him to great purpoſe both for the raiſing and maintaining of the Rebellion both in *Tranſilvania* and in *Hungary*. Which ſo dangerous a man taken out of the way, many were in good hope of ſome good end to be made of theſe Civil Wars, more dangerous unto the ſtate of both theſe afflicted Countries, than were the great and puiſſant Armies of the Turks, which were almoſt every Year in the heart of the one or of the other of them to be ſeen.

Begedes Baſſa ſlain.

The Name of the *Germans* odious unto the *Hungarians.*

Now was the Rebellion grown ſo great in *Hungary*, and the Rebels ſo ſtrong, that even the very Name of the *Germans* was become unto the *Hungarians* both odious and contemptible; inſomuch, that *Baſta* offering to have put new Supplies of *German* Souldiers into the City of *Tyrna*, then in danger of the *Haiducks*; the Governours of the Place not only refuſed to receive them, but alſo to let them have any thing of them for their ready money, ſaying, That they had Citizens enough in the City to defend the ſame againſt their Enemies; and that therefore, as they needed not of the help of the *Germans*, ſo they would have nothing to do with them. And yet as ſoon as *Redeius*, *Botſcay's* Lieutenant, was with his Army come thither, they without more ado opened unto him the Gates of the City, and receiving him in, were about to have ſlain all the *Germans* there dwelling amongſt them, being well near a third part of the Inhabitants; and had ſo done, but that ſome, wiſer than the reſt, conſidering that the *Germans* having there long dwelt, were by often Marriages joyned in Affinity with the *Hungarians*, and the *Hungarians* with them, otherwiſe perſuaded them, leſt in ſo doing they might ſeem to be cruel againſt their own Blood. And ſo the matter being referred to *Redeius* himſelf, it was by him (by the Counſel of one of the greateſt men of the Turks) ordered, that the *Germans* ſhould be ſpared their Lives, ſo that from thenceforth they ſhould no more uſe the *German* but the *Hungarian* Apparel and Attire, only the *German* Attire being taken away for the *Germans* themſelves.

The *Germans* in *Tyrna* conſtrained to wear Garments like to the *Hungarians.*

But

1605

Great Towns taken and rifled by the Rebels in *Hungary*.

But to proceed with theſe Troubles according to the courſe of the time of the Year, about the twenty fourth of *May* the Turks and Tartars joyning their Forces with the Rebels, burnt fourteen Country Villages about the lake of *Neuſidler*, and as many more in other Places alſo towards *Neuſtat*, leaving behind them moſt lamentable Remembrances and Teſtimonies of their barbarous and inhumane Cruelty, having put moſt of the Women and Children to the Sword, and impaled divers upon Stakes, carrying the Men away with them as Captives, and the Beaſts and Cattel as a Prey; and ſo leaving the Country as they went almoſt deſolate, ſcarce any being therein left to bewail the Miſeries thereof. And about the end of this ſame Month the Rebels ſurpriſed *Simega*, *Grotta*, and *Capernacum*, and a little while after, *Ginſium*: all which Places they rifled and ſpoiled, as they did alſo *Hogengoa*, a great Town of the Lord *Lichtenſteins*: and *Niderſprunga*, a Town of *Collonitzes*, which they firſt rifled, and afterward burnt; and with the terror of this their dealing inforced all the Country thereabout, both far and near, to yield unto them; only *Altſol* and *Chremnicz*, who continued in their Loyalty, and ſtanding faſt for the Emperour, did the Rebels much harm.

The *Haiducks* and *Turks* overthrown at *Presburg* by the *Wallons*.

About the beginning of *June*, certain Companies of *Turks* and *Haiducks* mingled together, came again, as they had before done, to *Presburg*: of whoſe coming the Governour of the City having Advertiſement, with three Troops of *Wallon* Horſe-men, and certain Companies of Harquebuſiers, breaking out of the City, cauſed them forthwith to retire; which the *Wallon* Horſe-men ſeeing, to prevent them in their Retreat, fetching a Compaſs about, met with them when they thought themſelves paſt all danger; and falling upon them, ſlew of them five hundred, and drave the reſt into *Danubius*; ſo that of all thoſe *Turks* and *Haiducks* none eſcaped but only fourteen, amongſt whom three Turks and one fugitive Citizen of *Presburg*, were found: whom, together with a great Spoil, the Garriſon Souldiers carried back with them into the City.

Veſprinium yielded unto the Rebels.

At the ſelf-ſame time the Citizens of *Veſprinium* favouring the Proceedings of the *Haiducks*, roſe themſelves in Rebellion alſo, and taking the Captain of the Caſtle, together with his Lieutenant and the Keys of the Caſtle, cauſed them to be carried to *Redeius*, *Botſcay's* Lieutenant; yielding themſelves into his Protection. Of which Revolt of the City the Turks took exceeding Pleaſure, and forthwith ſent News thereof unto the Sultan, wiſhing him to haſte the coming of his Army, for that the Paſſages were now laid open unto his farther Conqueſt; and farther adviſing him ſtill more and more to encourage *Botſcay* in his Rebellion.

Stiria and *Auſtria* ſpoiled by the Rebels.

And now was *Hungary* too little, or elſe too bare, to contain and ſatisfie the ſtill increaſing Rebels, who in great number breaking into *Stiria* (as they had before done on the other ſide of *Hungary* into *Moravia*) did therein great harm, waſting and ſpoiling all before them as they went; inſomuch that County *Serin*, the Lord *Nadaſti*, and *Budian*, all right worthy men, and ſuch as heretofore had done great things againſt the Turks for the Chriſtian Commonweal, ſeeing themſelves, and all that they had, in danger to be ſpoiled, being themſelves not able to withſtand the Rebels, nor any other ſtay whereon to reſt, ſubmitted themſelves unto *Botſcay*, as did many other Noblemen of that Country alſo. Out of *Stiria* the Rebels made head into *Auſtria*, and there roaming up and down the Country, did like harm.

Thus was the State of *Auſtria* and *Hungary* at this time moſt miſerable, which for that it is ſo well ſet down in certain Letters by a grave and underſtanding Citizen of *Vienna*, who was himſelf an eye-witneſs of moſt part thereof, as that it cannot well better be expreſſed; I have thought it good to referr the Report thereof unto the Letters themſelves.

1605

The miſerable troubles of *Hungary* and *Auſtria* notably deſcribed by the Letters of a Citizen of *Vienna*.

'ALL *Auſtria* (*ſaith he*) *is* full of Miſery and 'Calamity. From out of the Caſtle and 'Bulwarks here at *Vienna*, a man may ſometime 'at once behold fifteen Towns and Villages all on 'fire in the Country hereabout, kindled partly by 'the Rebels and Turks, and partly by our own 'mutinous Souldiers. *Odenburg* is yet beſieged, and 'the *Haiducks* have forraged the Country as far as 'Hinberg; whom had not the Regiment of *Collonitz* repreſſed, theſe our Suburbs of *Vienna* had 'now been taken, ranſack'd, and burn'd. *Neuſtat* 'is on every ſide beſieged by the Enemy; all the 'Villages about *Vienna*, as far as *Dreſkirc*, are 'with Fire deſtroyed; they of *Neuſtat* went about 'to have cut off ſome part of the Enemies Forces, 'but with evil Succeſs, having loſt above fifty of 'their own men. *Brunna* and *Entzendorfe* are alſo 'with Fire conſumed. The *Wallons* lye incamped 'at *Miedling*, moſt miſerably ſpoiling the Country 'People of all that they had: The *Haiducks* having by night ſurpriſed the great Town of *Altenburg*, and from thence carrying a great Prey, 'have burn'd it; The Caſtle had endured the like 'fortune, had not an hundred Harquebuſiers, that 'were by chance come thither, holpen to defend 'it. Six thouſand of the Enemies lye about *Veſſelbourg*; but whether the *Wallons* will attempt any 'thing againſt them or no, it is greatly doubted. 'Presburg is alſo in great danger; for the Garriſon Souldiers there do threaten the cruel Spoil of 'the Citizens, and all Extremities, if by a certain 'Day they receive not their Pay; who if they 'ſhall depart thence, there is no doubt but that the 'Haiducks will forthwith ſucceed them in their 'Places. Theſe men indeed do pretend Religion; 'but what Lovers they be thereof, the late Example of a Miniſter by them moſt cruelly tormented, not far from *Cobbelſdorfe*, doth manifeſtly 'ſhew. The Report is, That the Vayvod of *Valachia* doth favour neither part; into which Province a great number of *Tartars* are come in the 'Aid of *Botſcay*. All the Market-Places and Streets 'here in this City, lye full of poor fugitive Creatures of all Sex and Ages; a moſt miſerable Sight 'to behold. Our own mutinous Souldiers beſet 'all the ways to the City, and exclude us from all 'manner of Victual: and not to uſe many words, 'in Cruelty and Hoſtility almoſt exceed the very 'Enemies. The *Hungarian* Rebels, who of late 'forraged *Auſtria*, have carried away with them 'above eight thouſand Head of Cattel, which, together with the Priſoners by them taken, they 'have ſent into *Turkey*. The little Boys and Children, which cannot by reaſon of their tender 'Years go, they carry along with them upon Horſes, whoſe pittiful Mourning and Lamentation 'might move even the very Stones; and yet are 'they (inhumane men) no whit moved: yea, 'many of theſe poor Souls are here and there by 'the way found daſhed againſt the Ground, with 'their Brains beaten out. And theſe Rebels in their 'Behaviour ſhew ſuch Cruelty, as whereat the very Turks themſelves were amazed. All things 'about *Iſenſtad* are by the Enemies taken and carried away. They of *Neuhuſe*, beſieged by thirty 'thouſand of their Enemies, have hitherto played 'the Men, and of late repulſed the ſecond Aſſault, 'with much ſlaughter of their Enemies. They 'ſay, That two thouſand Tartars, as many Rebels, and thirteen thouſand Turks, are to be yet

'ex-

1605 'expected to come unto the Camp at *Neuhuſe*; 'who, if they ſhall chance to come, it can ſcarce 'be, that they of *Neuhuſe* can long well hold out 'againſt them, eſpcially being not well appointed 'of neceſſary proviſion. The report is, that ha- 'ving taken *Neuhuſe*, they will remove to *Stri- 'gonium*. It is ſaid alſo, twelve thouſand Turks 'to have now paſſed over the Bridge at *Eſſec*; 'and great Supplies both of men and money to 'come to *Botſcay*, who lieth encamped about *Epe- 'ria*, and is ſaid to have made a Covenant with 'the Great Sultan, That what place ſoever either 'of them ſhould firſt take, he ſhould hold the 'ſame wholly unto himſelf. *Tanhuſer*, who of 'late was Governour of *Fidek*, is now (as the re- 'port goeth) of Counſel with *Botſcay*. *Germen- 'chius* hath put in three months Victual into *Huſt* 'in *Tranſilvania*. God in his mercy behold our 'poor afflicted and diſtreſſed Country.

Thus far he: Whereby, the Reader (as I ſuppoſe) may eaſily gather the miſerable eſtate of both the Countries of *Hungary* and *Auſtria*, the Chriſtians themſelves being the chief Authors thereof.

Odenburg beſieged by the Rebels, and by *Baſta* relieved.

The rebellious *Haiducks* had hitherto moſt ſtraightly beſieged the City of *Odenbourg*, having aſſaulted it in five ſundry places at once: upon whom, *Trautmanſtorfe*, General of the Garriſon there, cauſing part of his Horſe-men to ſally forth, skirmiſhed with them from eleven of the clock in the forenoon, untill two of the clock in the afternoon; at which time the *Haiducks* beginning to prevail, the Governour, with the reſt of his Horſe-men, certain Enſigns of Foot-men, with ſome of the Citizens, with three field-pieces, upon the ſudden breaking out of the Gate, diſcomfited the *Haiducks*, put them to flight, and ſlew many of them, having taken from them twelve Enſigns, with many Priſoners, whom he carried with him into the City: of which overthrow the *Haiducks* deſirous to be revenged, with their renewed Forces ſhortly after returned again unto the City, burnt the Suburbs of the ſame, and ſpoiled the Villages thereabout. But whilſt they thus lay about *Odenbourg*, *Baſta*, but with a ſmall power, drawing near unto them, they preſently roſe, and paſſing over the River *Drauus*, carried away with them two thouſand head of Cattel, with a great number of Chriſtian Captives.

The Turks ſeek to have *Caſſovia* delivered unto them by *Botſcay*.

The Turks being not to learn to make uſe of the diſcord of the Chriſtians among themſelves, had oftentimes been in hand with *Botſcay*, to deliver *Caſſovia* wholly into their hands: of which ſtrong City, being the beſt that the Chriſtians now held in the upper *Hungary*, the Turks were moſt deſirous, both for the commodious ſituation thereof, and alſo for that they deemed themſelves partly thereof already poſſeſſed, ſome good part of the Garriſon therein being Turks, as well Janizaries as others. The full poſſeſſion of which ſtrong City the better to obtain from *Botſcay*, and to get it into their own hands, they ſent unto him three Waggons loaded with money and other rich Commodities, for a Preſent, and to ſupply his wants, by a good Convoy of four hundred *Haiducks*, and ſome Turks joyned unto them. Which *Haiducks*, as they were by the way to *Caſſovia* to paſs by *Tockay*, a ſtrong Town holden by the Chriſtians, gave ſecret knowledge unto the Governour of the place, of their coming that way, and that if he would receive them into the Town, and ſo into his Protection, they would, with ſome ſmall help from him, deliver into his hands that ſo rich a booty, and ſo continue with him as his faithful and truſty Souldiers. Of whoſe offer the Governour well aſſured, forthwith ſent forth four hundred of the Souldiers of his own Garriſon to meet them; who, joyning with the aforeſaid *Haiducks* which came with the Convoy, ſet upon the Turks which came with them, and ſlew them every Mothers Son; and ſo with the rich Booty were by the Governour received into the Town, and by him courteouſly entertained: where they had not long lain, but that after their wonted manner looking abroad into the Country, they chanced to meet with certain Companies of *Botſcay's* men; with whom they encountering, and having ſlain of them near about five hundred, took from them ſeven Waggons loaded with good Proviſion, and thirty Horſes; beſide much other rich ſpoil.

The Turks with a rich Booty by 400 *Haiducks* betrayed to the Governour of *Tockay*.

1605

Totiſa yielded unto the Turks.

But the Rebels, notwithſtanding theſe and ſuch other loſſes, encreaſing both in number and power, ſtill more and more in all places prevailed, but eſpecially in the upper part of *Hungary*, the Towns there, one after another, daily revolting unto them, as amongſt the reſt the ſtrong Town of *Totiſa* did; whereinto the Rebels entring, ſent from thence part of the great Ordnance, together with *Relinger*, a German Captain, Governour of the Town, and certain other German Souldiers there taken, unto *Redeius*, *Botſcay's* Lieutenant, then lying with a great Army of thirty thouſand *Hungarian* Rebels and Turks, at the Siege of the ſtrong Town and Caſtle of *Newhuſe*: which, as it had oftentimes by him been ſharply aſſaulted, ſo was it by the Souldiers therein moſt notably defended, proteſting, never to yield the ſame, but to hold it out even to the laſt man therein to be left alive: which cauſed *Redeius*, for the encouraging of his Souldiers, (who had now lain there certain months at the Siege thereof) to promiſe unto them the whole ſpoil of the Town, and of all that therein was. And yet for all that, oft times kept back the Turks from aſſaulting the ſame, for fear leſt if they ſhould by force have taken it, they would by force alſo have holden it unto themſelves, as a Place for them moſt commodious for the conquering of that which remained of the upper part of *Hungary*: which he, though one of the greateſt Rebels, was yet loth to have it to fall into their hands; and yet himſelf, with the *Haiducks*, the *Hungarian* Rebels, afterward; *viz.* the 25*th.* of *July*, gave thereunto a moſt furious Aſſault, inſomuch that having advanced ten of their Enſigns to the top of the Rampiers, they were in great hope even preſently to have taken it, but yet were by the reſolute Valour of the Defendants notably repulſed, and inforced again to retire, leaving behind them above ſeven hundred of their moſt forward men dead in the Trenches: unto which Siege the Baſſa of *Agria* came alſo afterward with three thouſand Horſe-men and a Number of Janizaries; ſo that the beſieged, partly with Mines, partly with Shot and often Aſſaults diſtreſſed, were ſo waſted and wounded, that there were ſcarcely two hundred whole and ſound men left in the whole Garriſon; beſide that, both Victuals and Powder begun now to grow ſcarce alſo, ſo that they were brought unto ſuch extremity, as that well they could not be in a worſe caſe: and yet armed with a conſtant Reſolution, they ſeemed not to be any thing therewith daunted or diſcouraged, but ſtill valiantly held it out.

Newhuſe hardly aſſaulted and valiantly defended.

Newhuſe diſtreſſed.

The Rebels in the Iſle of *Shut* ſubmit themſelves again unto the Emperour.

The *Hungarians*, dwelling in the Iſle of *Shut* in the River of *Danubius*, having before ſubmitted themſelves unto the Rebels, did with their help much trouble the Paſſages unto the Towns of *Rab* and *Comara*, and the City of *Strigonium*; unto whom certain Meſſengers were ſent on the Emperour's behalf, to perſwade them to forſake the Rebels, and to return again unto their ancient Obedi-

1605 Obedience: Who ſo well uſed the matter with them, that taking a Truce for eight days, they in the mean time ſent five of the chief men amongſt them by Ship to *Presburg*, offering unto the Governour there, That if they might be ſecured of their Goods and Safety, and that the *Haiducks* that were with them might be entertained in Pay, they would be ready again to take the Oath of Allegiance, and faithfully to ſerve him as became his loyal Subjects and valiant Souldiers; and for the aſſurance thereof, to leave their Wives and Children as Pledges at *Presburg*. Which their Offer, was unto the Governour very acceptable and welcome, who yielding unto their Requeſt, in friendly ſort diſmiſſed them. But they being returned home, and having declared to the reſt of their Fellows what they had done, it was by general conſent agreed, That four thouſand of them ſhould joyn themſelves unto the Emperours Power under the Regiment of *Collonitz*, who, to be known from others, wore in their Creſts certain ſpecial Feathers; their Wives and Children being carried to *Presburg* as Pledges of their Faith: but this Agreement by them made with the Governour of *Preſburg* being once known, the reſt of the Rebels in the Country thereabout together aſſembled with the Turks, invaded the Iſle, in hope upon the ſudden to have ſurpriſed them; but, deceived of their Expectation, were by the Inhabitants of the Iſle, and by the help of certain *German* Troops, overthrown and put to flight, and three thouſand of them there ſlain.

About the beginning of *July*, certain Commiſſioners were ſent on the Emperour's behalf to *Caſſovia*, to intreat with *Botſcay* concerning a Pacification to be made, who being by him there honourably entertained, and having with him ſtayed almoſt a whole Month, were at length, the nine and twentieth of the ſame month, again diſmiſſed. Now the Articles which *Botſcay* propounded unto theſe Commiſſioners to be conſidered of for the making of a Peace, and which for the moſt part were agreed upon in the Peace afterward concluded betwixt the great Sultan and the Emperour, were theſe:

Articles by *Botſcay* propounded unto the Emperour's Commiſſioners for the appeaſing of the Tumults in the upper *Hungary*.

Firſt, that it ſhould be lawful, for all ſuch as would, to have the free exerciſe of the reformed Religion. For although (as he ſaid) he was not ignorant that there was an ancient Decree amongſt the *Hungarians*, whereby all that profeſſed not the Catholick Religion, or that revolted from the ſame, were to be burnt, and that he deſired not to have that Article repealed; yet that his Requeſt was, That the Emperour, having regard unto the Troubles of the preſent time, would promiſe and aſſure, That from thenceforth no man ſhould be troubled for his Religion, or called in queſtion for his Conſcience and Belief. Beſides that, he requeſted to have the Principality of *Tranſilvania* during his Life; yet with this Condition, That after his death it ſhould again return unto the Emperour, ſo that the Emperour in his Abſence ſhould appoint a natural *Hungarian* to govern the ſame, as alſo to have the chief Government in *Hungary*. That there ſhould no more Biſhops ſit in Council but one, and that he, if it ſhould be ſo thought meet, ſhould beat the Office of the Chancellor. That the Liberties and Priviledges of that Kingdom ſhould be kept whole and inviolate. That it ſhould be lawful for him only to make choice of the chief Palatine of the Kingdom. That Goods confiſcated for any offence committed, ſhould not be diſperſed or ſold, but given to men of deſert. That all Offenders againſt the State from thenceforth ſhould be judged by the Council of *Hungary*. That none ſhould be preferred to Biſhopricks in *Hungary*, but ſuch as were of the noble *Hungarian* Blood. That all Injuries heretofore done, 1605 ſhould be abſolutely pardoned, forgiven and forgotten. All which things, if they might be granted, he promiſed to labour to the uttermoſt of his power, upon the beſt Conditions he might, to procure a Peace betwixt the Great Sultan and the Emperour. Laſt of all he requeſted, That the Charters of Peace, containing theſe Articles thus agreed upon, might be ſubſcribed and confirmed by the Biſhop of *Rome*, the Emperour, the King of *Polonia*, and all the Imperial Kingdoms and Provinces.

The Great Sultan loth that *Botſcay* ſhould come to a Peace with the Emperour.

The Turkiſh Sultan underſtanding of this Treaty of Peace betwixt the Emperour and *Botſcay*, by a Meſſenger ſent in haſte to *Botſcay*, ſought by great Offers and Promiſes to hinder the ſame; putting him withall in remembrance, That a little before this Treaty made, he had not only by Words, but by Letters alſo, ſubſcribed with his own hand, promiſed unto *Botſcay*'s Ambaſſadors ſent to *Conſtantinople*, That he would bring to paſs, that *Botſcay*, rewarded with ſuch Priviledges as King *John* in former time enjoyed, ſhould in ſhort time be proclaimed and crowned King of *Hungary*, and that to that purpoſe he was even now ready to ſend a Scepter and a Crown, the Ornaments of a King, to *Alba Regalis*. But for the preſent, he by theſe Meſſengers ſent unto *Botſcay* two goodly Horſes, with Furniture of Gold, gliſtering with precious Stones. He ſent him alſo a rich Scimitar, a pair of golden Spurs, and a long Horſemans Coat garniſhed with Gold and precious Stones of great price; perſuading him valiantly to perſiſt in his former courſe and purpoſe. Which he failed not to do: for immediately after, he with a gallant Train went from *Caſſovia* into *Tranſilvania*, there to take of the Nobility of that Province the Oath of their Fidelity unto him; accounting no pains or labour great, which he took to turn the People from their Obedience unto the Emperour, and to ſtrengthen himſelf. At which time he alſo ſent *Redeius* his Chancellor, with ſome others, into *Polonia*, to renew the Confederation which was ſometime betwixt the *Polonians* and the *Hungarians*: who, being admitted unto the King's Preſence, and Audience given him, firſt declared the Cauſes of the Diſcord and Civil War that then was in *Hungary*, which he imputed chiefly unto the Oppreſſion of Religion, the free exerciſe thereof being forbidden them; and to the Inſolency of the *Germans*, who there at their pleaſure commanded over them. Upon which two Points he ſtood much, labouring with many Words to perſuade the King thereof; and afterwards requeſting him of his gracious Goodneſs, and of the care which he, together with other Chriſtian Princes, had for the common quiet of the Chriſtian Commonweal in general, and eſpecially of thoſe two diſtreſſed Countries, lying as it were even in the Enemies Mouth, to enter into Conſultation how the ſame Evils might be remedied, and thoſe ſo great Troubles again appeaſed, and to the effecting of ſo good a work to put to his helping hand. Whereunto the King anſwered, That the friendſhip wherein *Botſcay* offered to joyn with him being but the renewing of the ancient Amity betwixt the Countries of *Polonia* and *Hungary*, to be unto him pleaſing; howbeit, he could not for all that, (as he ſaid) well like of *Botſcay*'s Revolt from that Houſe and Family, whereunto he was himſelf ſo near adjoyned in Affinity; promiſing yet nevertheleſs, that he would propound the matter unto his Nobility, to be farther conſidered of: which when he had indeed done, it was by common conſent agreed, That no Aid ſhould be given out of *Polonia* unto *Botſcay* or the Rebels; and that whoſoever ſhould from thence afford him any Aid,

Botſcay goeth into *Tranſilvania*.

He ſendeth Ambaſſadors into *Polonia*, and is there denied Aid.

ſhould

1605

should therefore lose his Head. With which answer the Ambassadours returned to *Botscay* much discontented, being now with a great Power again returned out of *Transilvania* to *Cassovia*.

The Lord *Russworm* beheaded.

About this Time the Lord *Russworm* (sometimes General of the Emperours Army against the Turks in *Hungary*, a Man of great Note and Valour, and of whom we have before much spoken) at *Prague* falling into words, and from words to blows, with *Francis* Count *Belioiosa* his Brother, and their Men taking their parts on both sides, it fortuned the said *Francis*, the Earls Brother, being grievously wounded, to be there slain, *Belioiosa* himself being also in five places dangerously hurt; who so hardly prosecuted the Death of his Brother against the Lord *Russworm*, that within a while after he was therefore by the Emperour condemned, and at *Prague* beheaded, and divers of his Men hanged, with such Weapons hanging at their heels, as wherewith they had slain the said *Francis*, the Earls Brother.

The Turks Troubles against his Rebels and the *Persians* in the *East*, an ease unto the Christians in the *West*.

Now was the time of the year come, when as the Turks great Armies were wont to be seen even in the heart of *Hungary*; howbeit, such were their Troubles in *Asia*, both with the *Persian* and their own Rebels, that they were not at leisure now to send such great Forces as they had before used into *Hungary*; neither could the Christian Emperour on the other side now raise such a Power as he had in former times done to oppose against them, and to hinder their proceedings. The *Hungarians* themselves (his greatest strength in those Wars) were now generally revolted from him, and for most part followed the Ensigns of the Rebel *Botscay*. The Princes wont to send him aid both out of *Italy* and out of *Germany*, now afforded him little or none at all; and his mercinary Souldiers for want of pay were now almost every where up in Mutiny ready to forsake his Service, and to pay themselves with the spoil of his Countries, even unto the Gates of *Vienna*. So that had not the Turks been so busied in the *East*, but at leisure to have turned their whole Power into *Hungary*, as oftentimes they had before done, it is hardly to be imagined what should have letted them to have over-run, not only that which remained of *Hungary*, but even all *Austria*, with some good part of *Germany* also; the Emperours Preparations being then so small, and his Forces so weak, as that they were not able to hold the field against his own rebellious Subjects, much less against so puissant and dreadful an Enemy. But God, which with his Word hath set bounds unto the raging Sea, bevond which it cannot pass, and by whose Power Kings do reign, and Princes bear rule, had by other means averted the greatest part of the Turks Forces Eastwards; so that *Serdar Bassa*, Sultan *Achmat's* Lieutenant General for his Wars against the Christians, came this year but with a right small Army (in comparison of those which the Turkish Sultans were wont to send) into *Hungary*. Howbeit, with such Forces as he brought, and with such Supplies of the Rebels in *Hungary* as came unto him, he being grown fifty thousand strong, and out of fear of the Emperours Forces, came the nine and twentieth day of *August* to *Strigonium*, and with his Army (part *Turks*, part *Tartars*, and part disloyal Christians) encamped in the self same place where the Turks Army had but the year before lodged; having brought with him forty great pieces of Batter, with all things else necessary for the Siege. Neither were the Turks sooner encamped, but that the *Tartars* which came with them to the Siege (after their wonted manner) more desirous of Prey and Booty than of Honour and Victory, passing over the River of *Gran* into the Territory of the Christians, there spoiled and burnt all before them as they went.

Strigonium besieged by the Turks.

The Turks in the mean time to deprive the besieged of all relief to be sent unto them down the River of *Danubius*, made a great Bridge of Boats over the River, well fortified at both ends thereof on each side the River with a strong *Corps de guard* for the defence thereof, so that nothing could that way pass to or from the besieged City. Which things much dismaied them in the City, seeing no Preparations to be made on the other side for their Defence or Relief; yea *Basta* himself, General of such small Forces as the Emperour had then, seeing the Enemy so strong, and himself so weak, began greatly to doubt of the Event of this Siege; and yet nevertheless resolutely set down to employ both his Valour and his Wisdom for the safeguard of the Place, he, during the time of the Siege, failed not to the uttermost of his Power to shew the Effects both of the one and of the other.

1605

The Turks make a Bridge over the River of *Danubius*, to keep *Strigonium* from being relieved.

The Isle of *Strigonium* spoiled by the *Haiducks*.

And now the Turks, assisted with the *Hungarian* Rebels, had performed an Exploit upon the Isle of *Strigonium*, as well to take the same from the Imperials, as for the spoil and pillage thereof. The Inhabitants there had still remained faithful unto the Service of the Emperour, whom the Rebels for all that had oftentimes sought both by force and by perswasion to have removed from this their Loyalty and just devoir. Within this Ile were 200 *Haiducks*, returned again to the Emperours Service, who were joyned unto the Illanders, for the better defence both of them and of the Island. But the Rebels knowing well the Passages and Entrances into the Isle, upon the sudden surprised the same, and in it these poor *Haiducks*, whom they cut all in pieces; which loss caused *Basta* to resolve to send the *Wallons* he had in his Army into the Isle for the defence thereof. Which they of the Island understanding, made request unto the General, That he would not in any wise so do, for that they greatly feared lest the *Wallons*, being Men altogether given to the spoil, not finding the Rebels to prey upon, should after their wonted manner prey upon them, the Emperours faithful Subjects. At whose instance, the former purpose for the sending of the *Wallons* being changed, *Collonitz* himself was appointed unto that Service; with whom *Monsieur de Laual*, a Noble young Gentleman of *France* (who but a few days before was newly come unto the Camp, for the honourable desire he had to see Service, and to serve himself, with his Troop of Horsemen whom he had brought with him out of *France*) went over into the Island also; Whereinto when as the Rebels shortly after again entered, they were by *Collonitz* overthrown and driven out of the Isle, two hundred and fifty of them being slain, and above fifty more of them taken Prisoners. In which Conflict the noble young Gentleman *Laual* so bravely behaved himself, as that he gained unto himself much Honour and Renown, every mans Mouth being full of his Praises, and wondering to see so great Courage in so young years, he being then scarce nineteen years old. With which loss the Rebels rather enraged than discouraged, shortly after returned again, in greater number, and better resolved; where, betwixt them, and them that were left for the defence of the Island, was fought a more sharp and bloody fight than was the former; yet so, as that the Rebels were enforced again with loss to retire. In which so hot and bloody a Skirmish, *Monsieur Laual*, having most valiantly born himself against the Enemy, and done enough for his Honour, but not so contented, but carried away with the heat of Youth, and the desire of Glory, and not otherwise to be perswaded, but still adventurously pressing on the retiring Enemy, was there with a small shot slain, all they which knew him much lamenting his untimely Death.

The *Haiducks* invading the Isle of *Strigonium*, by *Collonitz* overthrown.

Monsieur Laual slain.

1605 But the Rebels not ſo diſcouraged, but ſtill in one place or other invading the Iſland, and threatning the Iſlanders with all Extremities, except they would take part with them; what by Force, what by Perſwaſion, ſo much prevailed with them, that the moſt part of them revolting from the Emperour, upon the ſudden ſet upon the Count of *Rhene*, being then in the Iſland, and having ſlain three hundred of his men, grievouſly wounded himſelf alſo. For the ſpeedy appeaſing of which Multitude, *Baſta* ſent over into the Iſland certain Companies of the *Ratzians* and *Wallons*, who not regarding that the Iſlanders were daily damnified by the Rebels, moſt miſerably ſpoiled them of whatſoever the Rebels had yet left them.

S. Thomas's Fort battered and aſſaulted by the Turks.

The Turks encamped before *Strigonium*, firſt planted their Battery againſt the ſtrong Fort, ſtanding aloft upon Saint *Thomas's* Hill; for that from thence they ſhould have received infinite harm, if they ſhould before the winning thereof have attempted to have won the City; it ſtanding on their Backs, and all the plain betwixt the Hill and the City wherein they were to plant their Battery being ſubject unto it. Which Fort, though very ſtrong, they with continual Battery by the ſpace of almoſt three weeks, having with infinite charge, and the loſs of a number of their Men, made aſſaultable, the four and twentieth day of *September* mounted the Hill to aſſault the ſame. Unto which aſſault they went up the Hill ſo thick, one thruſting another forward, that the Hill ſeemed now to be nothing but a mount or heap of armed Men, ſcarce any part of it being to be ſeen, it was ſo covered with them. Upon whom ſo ſwarming up, the Chriſtians in the Fort, having repoſed all the hope of their Welfare in their Valour, and reſolved thereby to die or live, courageouſly diſcharged their murthering ſhot, both great and ſmall, ſcarce any of their deadly Bullets falling in vain. Howbeit, the Turks, reſolutely ſet down for the performing of that they had taken in hand, without reſpect of Death or Danger, came ſtill deſperately on, until that they were come to the puſh of Pike, and ſo to handy blows even in the very Breaches, which the long Fury of the Turks Cannon had made very aſſaultable. Five hours this furious aſſault was by the Turks maintained, and by the Chriſtians with invincible Courage and Reſolution endured, many brave and valiant men falling on both ſides; and thrice the Turks repulſed, were enforced to retire, but were ſtill by their Commanders brought on again. The loſs was to both ſides common, many worthy Men there ending their Days, worthy of eternal Fame. The Chriſtians fell dead upon the Turks ſlain by their Valour, and the Turks upon the Chriſtians ſlain by their Multitude. But what ſhould we ſay? The Turks by numbers died, but not their Force, that being by their great numbers ſtill maintained even in deſpight of Death, and always living in their great Multitude yet left alive. Which was not ſo with the Defendants, but even quite contrary; who could not loſe one only man, without diminiſhing of their Forces, and means of reſiſtance; ſo that they ſtill loſt without hope of ſafeguard, and yet could not be in ſafety without continuing of their ſo great loſſes. But he that ſtill fighteth only for to ſave his Life, without hope of killing his Enemy, being too mighty for him to overcome, muſt needs at laſt die overcome, if it were but with very wearineſs. So in the end of this long and furious aſſault, nine hundred of the Chriſtians being ſlain, together with the Count *Oetingen*, their Chieftain, and his Lieutenant mortally wounded, and nothing now more left but a few ſore wounded men, and the dead Walls for the Turks to overcome, they entered the Place, ſlew thoſe few whom they found yet breathing, made booty of their Death, Blood, and Arms; and by the infinite price of their own Blood, gained that place which had now no more Blood or Life left in it. From whence they carried certain great pieces to help to batter the City withal, and to vanquiſh them, for whoſe defence they were but a little before appointed.

1605 *S. Thomas's Fort won by the Turks.*

The baſe Town of Strigonium battered.

The Turks having thus gained Saint *Thomas's* Fort, even as they were yet embrued with Blood, and prick'd forward with Fury, forthwith planted thirty great pieces of Battery againſt the baſe Town of *Strigonium*, ſtanding low by the ſide of *Danubius*, and commonly called the Water Town; which they with all their Force and Fury moſt terribly battered. This baſe Town was environed with a Palliſado of Wood, to defend it againſt all ſudden Surpriſes, as almoſt all the Towns of *Hungary* are; Whereunto the confuſed Multitude of the Turks carried a number of bruſh Faggots, ſtuffed with Gunpowder and Brimſtone, which being ſet on fire, preſently ſet fire upon the Palliſado alſo, and burnt it down to the Ground, making a way for the Turks to come even to the Walls of the City; which they with their great Ordnance both Night and Day inceſſantly moſt terribly battered, untill that by the Fury of the Cannon they had therein made a fair and large aſſaultable Breach. A great ſhame for our Men to ſuffer the ſame ſo to be made, and not again repaired; whereas the Turks before in the ſame place, had made it good againſt the great Army of the Archduke *Matthias*, being never to be driven and forced out of it by the Chriſtians Valour, until they were therein ſlain; and to be now by our men through their Cowardiſe not to be able to be made good. For why, it was even the ſame Place of battel, the ſame Men, the ſame Arms, and the ſame form of Fight, but not the ſame Courages. The Turks can very well learn of us that which is for them profitable, and make uſe thereof to their own advantage; whereas we can borrow nothing of them to ſerve us againſt them, and ſo profit our ſelves by their Example. Beſides that, the confidence they have in their Multitude carrieth them unto ſuch Advantages, as from which the deſpair of being ſeconded and relieved keepeth us; whoſe boldneſs alſo, firmly grounded upon a Reſolution to die, paſſeth our Reſolution far, in fighting only to ſave our Lives.

The baſe Town of Strigonium aſſaulted.

The Breach ſo made, the Turks in good order, ſtayed upon a firm Reſolution, came bravely marching on, one of them thruſting another, and as it were, ſtriving among themſelves who ſhould have the honour to give the firſt charge, their haughtineſs of Mind animating of them to ſeek for Honour even where Perils were riſeſt; ſo to have the honour to die amongſt the moſt forward and valient men of War, rather than to live among Cowards of no Reputation or Valour. During the heat of which their ſo great and firm Reſolution, they regarded not the ſhowers of deadly Bullets falling amongſt them as thick as hail, as too weak to daunt their haughty Courages; but thruſting one another amidſt theſe ſo great Dangers, came unto the breach, there to try the matter hand to hand with our men. The Janizaries were the men eſpecially appointed to this Service, and had taken the ſame upon them; who with their great Muſquets on their Reſts cruelly galled our men, expoſed to the danger of their deadly ſhot upon the brink as were of their own Graves. The Great Baſſa himſelf was there preſent at the aſſault, encouraging his Souldiers with Speeches full of Terror and of Comfort, as he ſaw Occaſion for either to be uſed; wherewith he ſtirred up their Valour as is a Ship with a fair or rough gale of Wind. Death it ſelf could not

A terrible aſſault.

The great Baſſa incourageth his Souldiers in the Time of the aſſault.

1605 not overcome these Miscreants, their number still repairing in a Moment what Death had taken away in an Hour; whereas our Men slew others but to be slain themselves; and fought not but to become Sacrifices unto Death themselves, and not by their resistance to carry away the Victory against inexorable Destiny. The fight was great and terrible, and the bullets still flew, few of them falling in vain amongst such a multitude and preasse of men. They of the high Town, who themselves expected the like danger wherein their Companions now floated betwixt Life and Death, stood above looking on, not daring to give them aid, or to remove out of their strength, but reserving themselves with all their Forces, for the sole safeguard of themselves, and for their own defence. Howbeit, all this while the Enemies Forces still increased, and the Christians diminished; for Death could not weaken theirs, whereas it still destroyed ours, who failed but in number, not in Valour, and gave place but unto the force of death, and not unto the force of men. All the deadly blows appointed to be given for the defence of a Breach, had been by our men given; all the Arms necessary for such a purpose had been employed, all resistance that could be desired had been made, and all the Duties of valiant and worthy men performed; so that nothing here wanted but number, and not valour.

Power and Valour the life of great Actions.

But in all such Actions there are two things necessary, the one for the helping of the other, for the correspondency of their Power; which both joyned in one Body, may do all things, but being divided, can neither of them do any thing against him which is possessed of both.

In fine, after four Attempts in this Assault, most of the Christian Defendants being slain, the Turks forced the rest, and gained the Breach, treading under foot the dead Bodies both of the Turks and of the Christians, to get into the City. This Place thus won, and those that were left put to the Sword, and the Town rifled; the Turks yet in breath, and all embrued in Blood, gave an Attempt unto the high Town, in some hope, even at that time, in so great a Confusion of the Defendants, to have carried the same also. Howbeit, the Defendants beholding their Weapons yet dropping with the Blood of their Friends and Companions, and ready to shed theirs also, for the present notably repulsed them: Who, so disappointed of their purpose, and desiring to gain the Place with the least loss they might, resolved to take the same by undermining of it, reposing more trust in the Spade and the Mattock, than in their Swords and Harquebuses, being by Experience of their former Sieges taught, how hard and dangerous a thing it was by Battery and Assault to obtain the same. This travel in the Mines took success according to their desire; for within a few days, the Mines, (with much labour) being brought to Perfection, and fire put unto them, they failed not to work their effect, but with their great Violence blew up the Walls, Rampiers, Men, and Munition, all together, casting forth such Smoaks and Flames as wherewith a number of the Defendants were smothered and burnt. Which Breaches so made, and the defences of the City blown up, in such sort, that the Christians lay open to the Enemies deadly shot, being not able any more to shew themselves without danger of their Lives, the Turks in order forthwith came to assault and force the same. Which the Captains of the Christians beholding, prepared themselves to withstand them, and to that purpose would have given order unto their Souldiers for the defence both of the Breach and of the Walls; whom they found such as *Eumenes* at his greatest need found his, not willing in any wise to fight, and in the most assured peril of Death, without Courage, either to vanquish their Enemies, or defend themselves; *in such sort, that* not one of them would put themselves in order, shew themselves upon the Breach, or come near the Walls. Lazy Cowards, chusing rather to attend an assured death in their Cowardise and want of Courage, than to adventure their Lives into the danger of Arms; well deserving to endure the same with dishonour, seeing that they refused by honourable resistance to preserve their Lives. The Captains, for all that, by fair speeches, and by threats, ceased not to stir them up; praying, exhorting, and sometime with Death threatening them, if they thus refused to do their Duty, and with their naked Swords in their hands, would have enforced them to the Breach. But all in vain; their dead Courages being not to be revived or stirred up in their so great a fear of Death; Which much dismayed the Captains, seeing their Lives and Honour, together with the Place, (through this Tumult and Cowardise of their Souldiers) to be in extream peril. During which time, the Turks coming on, had without any great resistance gained the foot of the Breach; whom the Souldiers now seeing so near unto them, and out of hope to be relieved, and destitute of Courage also, instead of trusting unto their Arms and Valour, betook themselves *unto the refuge of their shame and* Cowardise. For compassing in the Count *Dampierre*, Governour of the Place, they would by Reasons have perswaded him to have yielded, and by Threats have feared him from farther resisting of the Enemy. Their Fury emboldened them, proceeding not from their Valour, but from their Fear; storming against their General for not being a Coward, as they themselves were; trembling for fear of their Enemies, and insulting against him. They had but one man of him to fight against, which made them furious and hardy; hardy with cowardise against one, not daring to hold up their Weapons against their Enemies, being many. Howbeit, the Count, in the middle of these Fears enraged, continued firm in his Resolution, his Courage increasing in this storm of Mutiny, wishing rather to dye by the hands of his own Souldiers, *in the performing* of his Duty, than to be saved by the Turks in the bottom of his Dishonour. Which his so brave a Resolution caused him even in the midst of these furious and tumultuous Companies, to put them in mind of their Duties, and to perswade with them, That the Peril they so much feared, was greater through their own fear, than indeed it was; that only their fearful Apprehension made the danger, and not the Action that was by them to be performed; seeing, that it was impossible for the Enemy to overcome them, if they would but resolutely stand upon their Valour to resist him. That all things resting but in Opinion, were by themselves to be subdued, if they had but the desire to overcome them, and yet of power to overthrow them, if they will yield to their dishonour. That therefore they should propound unto themselves the Honour and the Shame that was to ensue unto them, by the different Deportment of themselves in this Action, how much the deformity of the one differed from the beauty of the other, and aspire unto the Honour which their Enemies had sometimes got in the same Place, and in the very same Action wherein they were now, for having with less appearance of their safety overcome the like danger, wherein their holding out had made them Victorious with Honour, without any great fight at all. That it should be an eternal Infamy unto them, That the Turks should surmount them by their Resolution,

1605 Great cowardise in the Garison Souldiers of *Strigonium.*

The Garrison Souldiers in mutiny against the Governour, would enforce him to yield up the City.

The brave Resolution of Count *Dampierre*, Governour of *Strigonium.*

His notable Remonstrances unto his discouraged Souldiers, to perswade them to hold out the Siege.

The base Town of *Strigonium* won by the Turks.

The upper Town of *Strigonium* in vain by the Turks Assaulted.

Strigonium undermined.

1605 in an *Action* wherein they ought to ſhew themſelves moſt valorous; and by their Cowardiſe become ſubject unto them, whom at other times they had accounted unworthy to be compared with them in Valour. That they ſhould lay their Hands upon their Hearts, and remember their Eſtate and Faith; bound unto the firſt by their Honour, and to the ſecond by their Duty. That they were Men of War, living by their Pay, which bound them to the Service of him from whom they received it, even unto Death; having before obliged their Lives unto their Pay; and that they were Chriſtian Subjects, bound to keep their Promiſe given by Oath before God. That forgetting either the one or the other of theſe things, they deprived themſelves of the Pay promiſed to them which performed their Service; and loſing their Renown in this World for their Cowardiſe, and in the World to come for breaking their Faith. That therefore they ſhould continue conſtant in the performance of their Duty, reſolving themſelves rather to endure an honourable Death, unto which belonged the recompence of an eternal Fame for their Valour and Fidelity, than to prolong a miſerable Life with perpetual Infamy for their Cowardiſe; whereof for all that, they could no more aſſure themſelves by the yielding up of the place, than by the defending thereof, for as much as the Turks were oft times even as cruel upon them that yielded, as thoſe that reſiſted; keeping no Faith with the Chriſtians, but as beſt ſtood with their Profit and their Pleaſure. And that therefore for his part he was reſolved, rather to die with Honour in the Place, than to be beholden to his Enemies for an infamous and miſerable Life. And that therefore he beſought them to follow him in this laſt Action of their devoir, which carried with it all the Trophies of their precedent Actions, wherein they had oftentimes aſſiſted him in many Actions of leſs worth, and of much greater Peril.

Moſt ſhameful Cowardiſe.

This Diſcourſe, grounded upon ſo good Reaſons, and proceeding from ſo great Valour, might have prevailed with any other generous Minds, except with theſe degenerate Souldiers, who by their Cowardiſe had hardened themſelves againſt all the points of Honour which might any way move them; in ſuch ſort, that they ſtood as faſt in their baſe Cowardiſe, as did their General in his valorous and conſtant Reſolution. They ſtood with their Hands behind them, without any Weapons in them, as was their Minds without any Courage at all; and as Men appointed to be ſacrificed upon the Altar of Death, attending without moving, but the Hands of them that ſhould ſacrifice them. Great and ſhameleſs Cowardiſe, not daring by reſiſtance to withſtand the Violence of their Enemies, for fear of hindering them in their deſires, being indeed ſuch as had vowed their Death to ſatisfie their own Fury. Mean while, ſome of theſe Souldiers ſeeing their Speeches to be but vain, and not able to move their Governour to ſatisfie their deſire, conceived the ſame their Requeſts, with the Reaſons thereof, into Writing, which they ſent unto him. Which the Governour having read, in their ſight tore their Letters in pieces, and trod the ſame under his Feet; rejecting as well their Demands by Letters, as he had done their Requeſts by Words. In brief, having forgotten nothing of the Duty of a worthy General, and valiant Captain, joyned now thereunto the Office of a ſimple Souldier, going himſelf unto the breach, with ſome few, to defend the ſame. But the more the Count ſtood upon this his ſo great Reſolution, the more theſe cowardly and mutinous Villains proceeded in their baſe Obſtinacy; in ſo much that they fell from Prayers to Fury and Rage, threatning to deliver him their Governour, together with the Place, unto the Enemy, to ſave their Lives, if he himſelf would not by Treaty ſave them from the imminent Perils. If theſe baſe Cowards were before deaf unto the juſt Remonſtrances of their Governour, which might have preſerved them from Death and Infamy, he was alſo as deaf as they, to conceive their Requeſts, or to be moved with their Threats; knowing that he had more Reaſon on his ſide, by conſtant Valour to withſtand the wicked and ſhameful Reſolution of his Souldiers, than they had with Diſhonour to enforce him, or to offer him Violence, to their eternal Shame and Infamy. 1605

Moſt horrible Inſolency of mutinous Souldiers againſt their Governour.

In the mean time, theſe obſtinate and enraged Cowards proceeded from *Words* to Deeds, and from Requeſts to Violence, as did oft times the diſloyal Souldiers of *Rome*, in ſlaying the good Emperours. For they in cruel manner, without Reverence, by force layed Hands upon the Governour, put him in Priſon, and afterwards craving Parley, fell to Treaty with the Great Baſſa about the delivery up of the Place. Wherewith the Baſſa well contented, ſent in unto them *Haly Baſſa*, to conclude the matter. Where, after ſome little Talk, it was agreed, That they ſhould deliver up the Place (which was not indeed theirs to diſpoſe of) and that the Baſſa ſhould therefore promiſe and ſuffer them with Bag and Baggage in ſafety to depart whither they would, with their Enſigns frilled up, and Fire in their Matches; leaving behind them their great Ordnance, with all their other Munition and Warlike Proviſion. *Which only Compoſition, by the perfidious Souldiers made in the abſence and in durance of their General*, was by the Turks faithfully kept, amongſt a thouſand others like before by them broken; whether it were in reſpect of the eaſie Conqueſt of the City, (being one of the chief and principal Places of all *Hungary*) or for that they being overjoyed with the gaining of that which they had ſo long deſired, and now ſo little hoped for, they forgot their wonted cruelty and breach of Faith, is doubted.

The Conditions whereupon *Strigonium* was to be delivered unto the Turks.

This City thus yielded the Third of *October*, and the Turks forgetting their wonted Cruelty, according to their Faith and Promiſe before given, in ſafety conducted theſe cowardly Souldiers within a League of *Comara*, helping them by the way to carry their ſick and wounded Men, together with their Fardles, which the Turks oft-times carried upon their own Shoulders. Theſe Cowards, which thus went out, with their Governour ſent out alſo with them, were in number a thouſand whole and ſound men, fitted, whilſt they were in the City, with all things neceſſary for their Honour and Defence of the Place; but themſelves deſtitute and void of all Honour and Courage. A thouſand, which all together were not worth their Governour alone, ſeeing that in him alone there remained more Valour, than in all that whole Multitude. Many of the Inhabitants which had there long dwelt, would not forſake the Place, but by the leave of the Turks there remained ſtill; the reſt which would not, having leave in ſafety to depart whither they would.

The extraordinary Courteſie of the Turks toward the Garriſon Souldiers of *Strigonium* at their departure thence.

Thus this famous City of *Strigonium*, one of the ſtrongeſt Bulwarks of Chriſtendom againſt the Turks, which the Chriſtians had now holden by the ſpace of ten Years and one Month, after that it was by Count *Charles Mansfelt* won from the Turks, when as it had long time before been in the Turks Poſſeſſion, won from the Chriſtians by Sultan *Solyman*, now again (as is before ſaid) fell into the Power of the Turks, with threeſcore and ten pieces of great Ordnance, and a wonderful deal of other Warlike Proviſion.

Theſe

1605 The Captains and chief authors of the Mutiny, and yielding up of *Strigonium*, imprisoned, condemned, and most shamefully, but worthily executed.

These base and cowardly Souldiers, together with the Count their Governour, being come to *Comara*, were justly despoiled both of their Honour and of their Arms, and sent back again to *Presburg*, where, cursed and detested of all the World, and especially of the *Hungarians* themselves; (who, although they were revolted from their Allegeance toward the Emperour, yet could they not but much detest their so shameful and notable Cowardise) were there the chief of them committed to Prison, where after they had for a certain time lain, and being brought to Judgement, and convicted of Treason, in delivering up the City of *Strigonium* unto the Turks, and in so doing, to have greatly damnified the Christian Commonweal, they were therefore Condemned, and according to the quality of their offences, diversly, in this manner Executed: Captain *Leonard Frederick Schleker* had his Judgement, first to have his right Hand cut off, and his Tongue drawn out behind his Neck, and both of them nail'd to the Gallows, and afterwards to be hanged; howbeit, through the Intercession of many of his Friends, he was not hanged, but beheaded: *John Michael Schorer*, *John Hopfi*, *Adam Lindawar*, *Philip Dur*, and *Caspar Lielharter*, all Captains, were adjudged to have their right Hands first cut off and nail'd to the Gallows, and afterward hanged, but through the Intercession of County *Mansfield*, they were hanged, and their Hands not cut off: *John Lautenberger*, was condemned to be quarter'd alive, but was at the Intercession of County *Mansfield*, first beheaded, and afterward quartered: *John Dischoff*, with eleven other, were only hanged: *Laurence Marshal*, was enjoyned to serve two Years against the Turks, as a common Souldier, without Pay, but through the Intercession of County *Mansfield*, had one Year pardon'd him: *Jeremy Strelin*, with divers others, which were either fled, or else remained still in *Strigonium*, were judged, their Names to be set upon the Gallows; and being afterwards caught, some of them to be quartered, and others their Hands to be cut off, and nail'd upon the Gallows, and afterward hanged. And thus these disloyal Captains, by shunning of an honourable Death in defence of *Strigonium*, and performing of *their Duty*; by neglecting the same, procured unto themselves a most shameful Death, attended upon with perpetual Infamy and Dishonour.

But, as the loss of this strong Place was unto the Christians heavy and grievous, so was it unto the Turks no less pleasing and joyful; it being the Place they had of long above all others desired, and whereat they had ever since the loss thereof, with their great Armies in *Hungary*, for the space of ten Years still aimed. Howbeit, this their Joy endured not long, their Prosperity being too hot to hold out without some cooling blast of adverse Fortune. For the same report of Fame, which with the right hand presented unto the Great Sultan, at *Constantinople*, the pleasing news of the winning of *Strigonium* in *Hungary*; even with the left hand delivered likewise unto him the melancholy report of the Overthrow of his great Armies in *Asia*, with the loss of *Damasco*, the greatest City of *Syria*. For, to begin with the greatest first: The King of *Persia*, invaded by *Cicala Bassa*, Sultan *Achmat*'s great Lieutenant in *Asia*; and hearing that the Bassa of *Caramania* had express charge, with all speed to come unto him with a great supply of Souldiers, to be taken up in *Caramania*, and the Countries thereabout; he then having a puissant Army on foot, before prepar'd for all Events, presently set forward against *Cicala*, whom he coming upon before he was ready to fight, by his unexpected coming, and sudden charge, overthrew his Army, and took from him all his great Ordnance; *Cicala* himself, with three hundred Souldiers, with much ado escaping, and retiring himself to *Adena*; which City, the *Persian* King, pursuing *Cicala*, shortly after straitly besieged. With which unlucky news, Sultan *Achmat* much troubled, forthwith writ unto the Bassa of *Trebezond*, with all speed to send aid unto *Cicala*; who, taking unto him some other of the Turks Commanders, with a great Army set forward on his Journey. Of whose coming, *Cicala* hearing, the better to direct the Bassa in his proceeding, caused himself, with ten of his Souldiers whom he best trusted, secretly by Night to be let down over the Walls of the City: And so coming to the Bassa, together with him kept on his way to joyn Battel with the King, as near unto the City as he could, for that he had taken order before he came out of the City, that so soon as they should perceive the Battel to be joyned, they should forthwith sally out upon the backs of the *Persians*, and so by holding of them with a doubtful Battel, to further the Victory: All which, the *Persian* King hearing of the Bassa's coming, wisely doubting, and not willing to forsake the Siege, divided his Army, and leaving one part thereof to continue the Siege, went himself with the other to meet the Bassa; wherein he used such Expedition and Speed, that with all his Power falling upon him before he could put his men in order, or range his Battel, he made of the Turks (now confusedly, and without all order, fighting more for the safeguard of their Lives, than for any hope they had of Victory) such an exceeding great Slaughter, that few of them escaped, but were there almost all slain; *Cicala* himself, but with two or three more, having much ado, by getting into a little Boat, and so by passing over the River, to escape the danger. After which Victory so easily gained, the King returning again to the Siege, after many sharp and great Assaults thereunto given, and many Men on both sides lost, had the same at length yielded unto his mercy.

Cicala Bassa with his Army overthrown by the *Persian* King.

The Bassa of *Trebezond* with his Army discomfited by the *Persian* King.

Now with this news of the loss of his Armies, and of the Victories of the *Persian* King, Sultan *Achmat* enraged, caused *Cicala* Bassa's House, at *Constantinople*, full of Treasure and Wealth, to be rifled; after the manner of the World, deeming of the doings of him so great a Captain, according to the event and evil success thereof, though not in his power to have been remedied; nevertheless, shortly after, he caused great sums of Money to be delivered out of his Treasures, and new Forces raised, for the renewing of the War against the *Persian* King. Unto which Service, (now become unto the Turks dreadful) when as many of the Janizaries were to be appointed, they, after their proud and insolent manner, all arising up in Mutiny, said flatly, That they would not stir one foot out of *Constantinople*, except they were both before hand payed, and assured also to have their Wages increased; complaining grievously withal, of the Bassa of *Damasco*, the Great Sultan's high Treasurer, that he, converting the Sultan's Treasures to his own use, did not pay the Souldiers their wages due. For the appeasing of which Mutiny and Tumult, the Sultan caused the same Bassa to be apprehended, and his Head strucken off, and so with the price of his Blood again appeased them.

The Janizaries Mutiny.

But leaving the *Persian* King triumphing in his Victories, and the Great Sultan grieving at his Losses, let us turn aside into *Syria*, to see the Troubles the Turks had even amongst themselves, to the weakning of their State, and the increasing of the Great Sultan's Cares and Grief. The two Bassaes of *Damasco* and *Aleppo*, had (as is before declared) been at great Discord and Variance betwixt themselves, and the Bassa of *Aleppo* in field

over-

1605 overthrown, and in his City beſieged, glad to make Peace with the other Baſſa, by yielding unto all ſuch things as it pleaſed him to demand. Which two Baſſaes for all that being diverſly affected unto the State, long agreed not, he of *Damaſco* continuing faithful in his Allegiance towards the Great Sultan, and the other of *Aleppo* ſecretly inclining unto Rebellion. Which the Baſſa of *Damaſco* perceiving, and joyning unto him the Baſſaes of *Tripolis* and *Gazara*, with their united Forces went againſt the Baſſa of *Aleppo*, leading with them 60000 good men, with purpoſe to have beſieged the Baſſa of *Aleppo*, his Enemy, in his City. But he betimes advertiſed of this his Deſign, and not unprovided for his coming, quickly called together his Forces, and had in very ſhort time raiſed an Army of thirty thouſand valiant men, whom he encouraging, and finding them willing to follow him whitherſoever he would lead them, marched directly towards his Enemies; with whom he meeting, readily joyned Battel with them, which was fought with ſuch fury and hideous noiſe, as if it had been two thunder-claps oppoſing each other in one Cloud, ſtriving of themſelves which ſhould burſt out firſt, being like People, like Arms, and like order of fight. The medley for a great time continued ſharp and furious, the number of the one ſide countervailing the valour of the other, and the others valour ballancing the others great number; howbeit in the end the one Baſſa overcame the other three, and the ſmaller number the greater, and putting them to flight, remained ſole Victors of the Field.

The Baſſa's of *Damaſco*, *Tripolis*, and *Gazare*, overthrown by the Baſſa of *Aleppo*.

Now the victorious Baſſa, as wiſe to uſe the Victory, as he was valiant to obtain the ſame, ſo eagerly purſued them, that without giving them leave to breath, he beſieged *Tripolis*, the Baſſa whereof at his coming abandoned the ſame, and carrying with him all his Treaſure, fled into *Cyprus*; which made the taking of the Place unto the victorious Baſſa eaſie, who rifled and ranſacked the ſame; and not content with this Conqueſt, forthwith beſieged the great and ſtrong City of *Damaſco*, reſolved to die in the Plains thereof, or to become victorious within the Walls of the ſame. During which Siege, the Baſſa of *Tripolis* had out of the Provinces and Countries of the Turks thereabouts, raiſed another great Army, and was coming to raiſe the Siege, and to reſcue the City.

The Baſſa of *Tripolis* the ſecond time overthrown by the Baſſa of *Aleppo*.

Whereof the Baſſa of *Aleppo* hearing, roſe with the greateſt part of his Army, and meeting with him, gave him battel, and therein the ſecond time overthrew him and put him to flight. Which misfortune ſo diſmayed the Minds of the beſieged, that deſpairing of all Succour and Relief, they, by conſent of their Governour, fell to Parley with the Enemies, and ſo upon certain Capitulations yielded unto him the Place.

Damaſco taken and rifled by the Baſſa of *Aleppo*.

Whereinto the Baſſa entring, found therein great Treaſure, raiſed of the Turks Tributes, whereupon he ſeiſed, and by the means thereof reſolved to make himſelf maſter of all *Syria*, the chief City whereof he had now in his own Power; whereunto he gave free Acceſs and Traffick unto all the Merchants of *Perſia*, and of the *Indies*.

The Beglerbeg of *Natolia*'s Lieutenant with his Army diſcomfited by the Baſſa of *Aleppo*.

Now in the time of this his Proſperity, News was brought him, That the *Beglerbeg* of *Natolia* had ſent his Lieutenant with a great Army againſt him; who, knowing that Diligence was the Spirit of Conqueſt, and that to conquer was to little purpoſe, without a vigilant care for the Preſervation thereof, reſted not upon his former good Fortune, but marched directly towards his Enemies. Wherein his Succeſs was anſwerable unto his Deſign, for within the ſpace of two days he had taken all the Paſſages which might give way unto his Enemies to diſtreſs him; and in the ſtraights of the Mountains, whereby the Enemy was to paſs, layed a great Ambuſh of two thouſand Harquebuſiers, and three thouſand Horſe, who the Enemies being paſſed, and he charging them a head, ſet upon them in the Rereward, and brought ſuch a feat upon them, that having made a great fight, in fine, they having loſt a number of Men, were glad to flie; and to leave the Victory to the Baſſa. And to the increaſing of his good haps, he intercepted a Ship, caſt by Weather upon that Coaſt, laded with great Treaſure, bound from *Alexandria* to *Conſtantinople*, with the Tributes of *Egypt*, belonging to the Great Sultan. Of all which things the *Perſian* King advertiſed, ſought to joyn with him in Amity, highly commending his valiant Acts, and ſending unto him honourable Preſents; to wit, a Piſtol, an Helmet, and a Targuet, all ſet with pretious Stones, eſteemed to be worth fifty thouſand Crowns. This Flame of Rebellion ſpred abroad out of *Syria* into *Caramania*, and ſo farther and farther into the leſſer *Aſia*. Which was the cauſe that the Great Sultan ſent with all ſpeed unto the Viſier Baſſa, then in *Hungary*; commanding him, now that *Strigonium* was taken, which before had hindered the concluding of Peace, he ſhould now upon reaſonable Conditions conclude the ſame, to the end, that his Affairs on this ſide of his Empire being ſet in quiet and ſecurity, he might forthwith after turn his Forces againſt the *Perſians* and the Rebels in *Aſia*.

But after all theſe great Troubles, to return again into *Hungary*. The Rebels there had of long beſieged the ſtrong Town of *Newhuſe*, as is before declared; which being hitherto valiantly defended by the *German* Garriſon therein, was now brought to ſuch Extremity, as that it was thought almoſt impoſſible to be longer defended, the Garriſon Souldiers therein being with often Aſſaults for the moſt part ſlain, and the reſt of them that were left grievouſly wounded. Of which ſtrong Town (being as it were the Key of that ſide of the Country) the Turks, which together with the Rebels beſieged the ſame, were, for the commodious Scituation thereof very deſirous; and the Rebels thereunto as unwilling, for that it being once in their hand, would hardly ever be again from them recovered. For which cauſe *Illiſhaſcius*, one of the Captains of the *Hungarian* Rebels, then at the Siege thereof, perceiving it could not long be kept, to the intent that the Turks ſhould not by force obtain the ſame, by Letters requeſted of *Baſta* the Emperours Lieutenant, though then his Enemy, That the Town might be delivered unto *Humanoius*, another Captain of the *Hungarian* Rebels, leſt the Turks ſhould by force obtain the ſame; aſſuring him upon the Peril of his own Life, and the Confiſcation of all his Goods to the Emperour, that upon a Reconciliation and Peace to be made betwixt the Emperour and the *Hungarians* his Subjects, he ſhould again deliver the ſame Town and Fortreſs into his Poſſeſſion. Whereupon by commandment of the Arch-duke, and of *Baſta*, the Town was yielded up the ſeventeenth day of the Month of *October*, unto the aforeſaid *Humanoius*, and the *Hungarians* only received into the Town; yet with this Condition, That the *German* Souldiers which were yet left, and who had valiantly thus long endured the Siege, might ſtill ſtay in the Town in Pay, and keep watch and ward together with the reſt of the *Hungarians*, *Humanoius* having command over them all.

Newhuſe yielded unto the *Hungarian* Rebels.

Wherefore the Turks, ſeeing themſelves diſappointed of their Purpoſe, for the obtaining of this ſtrong Town, riſing by Night, and not a little diſcontented with the *Hungarians*, marched towards *Strigonium*, at the Siege whereof the Viſier Baſſa lay. Howbeit within a few days after, the

Hunga-

1605 *Hungarians* not liking to have the *Germans* in Garriſon with them, turned them with their Captain *Strenius* out of the Town, and yet ſafely conducted them to *Comara*.

Altenſoll yielded to the *Hungarian* Rebels.

At the ſame time, they of *Altenſoll*, another ſtrong Town of the upper *Hungary*, not far from *Newhuſe*, having been long beſieged by the Rebels, and driven for want of Victual to eat their Horſes, for the ſpace of five Weeks; and having now eaten them all but ſeven, and nothing elſe left, yielded themſelves, together with their Town, to the Rebels; as did alſo they of *Wiglas*, *Shemnitz*, and *Cremnitz*.

In the mean time, *Botſcay*, with a very great Army of his *Hungarian* Rebels, came to *Tyirna*, a ſtrong Town, about ſixteen Miles diſtant from *Vienna*, attended upon with a Guard of an hundred tall Souldiers, gallantly apparelled all in blew; a little before whoſe coming, *Humanoius*, unto whom *Newhuſe* was a little before yielded, had ſummoned *Presburg*, requiring the ſame to be yielded unto him. Which thing, *Botſcay*, being now come, by Letters likewiſe required of the Citizens, threatning otherwiſe moſt ſtraitly to beſiege them. Whereupon, *Schonberg*, Governour of *Presburg*, doubting of the faithfulneſs of the Citizens, being almoſt all *Hungarians*, retired himſelf, with a good part of his Souldiers, into the Caſtle; with Proteſtation, to ſpend his Life, and all that he had, for the keeping and defence thereof. With whoſe Conſtancy the Citizens moved, continued firm in their Allegeance to the Emperour; which *Botſcay* perceiving, and that the City was not to be got by threats, forthwith removed and went to *Peſth*, where he was moſt honourably received by the Viſier Baſſa, and by him preſented with a Crown of curious workmanſhip, and threeſcore thouſand Duckets, with five and twenty moſt goodly Horſes; and there, having received from him full power to entreat of Peace, and to conclude the ſame with the Imperials, with *Haly* Baſſa, and certain other of the chief of the Turks, joyned in Commiſſion with him, again departed, and went to *Kyrpa*, unto an Aſſembly of the *Hungarians* there to be holden; whither but a little before *Sigiſmund Forgat* was come with the Emperour's Reſolution concerning the Negotiation of Peace, whenas in the mean time other Commiſſioners from the Emperour were come to *Comara* about the Treaty of Peace with the Turks, they themſelves ſo requiring. Howbeit, *Collonitz*, at the ſame time by Letters writ unto the Archduke, adviſing him that this Treaty of Peace might not, together and at one time, be taken in hand with the Turks and the Rebels; but that if it were poſſible, an Attonement ſhould be firſt made with the Rebels, and afterward a Peace concluded with the Turks; the common good of the Commonweal ſo requiring; for that he perceived the Turks indeed not to be deſirous of Peace at all, but only to go about, by keeping of the Chriſtians at variance among themſelves, and in ſuſpence between hope and fear, to do them harm, and themſelves good; which was afterward found to be ſo indeed.

Botſcay obtaineth leave of the Viſier Baſſa, to entreat of Peace with the Emperours Commiſſioners.

The *Perſian* King had ſome Months before ſent three Ambaſſadors unto his Imperial Majeſty, who being come at divers times one after another, were all with peculiar Letters diſmiſſed from *Prague*, the 29*th*. of *November*. Unto the firſt of which Ambaſſadors, Letters were given of this purport.

The Emperours Letters unto the *Perſian* King.

ZInel Chan Beg, *whom your Majeſty hath ſent Ambaſſador unto Us, we have willingly ſeen and received, and given him Audience, in declaring of ſuch things, as he had from you in charge. It is unto Us both acceptable and pleaſing, that your Majeſty hath regard, ſo friendly to ſalute Us, and ſo carefully to ſeek to joyn in Amity and Friendſhip with Us, whereby your Majeſty much bindeth Us unto the like deſire of mutual love and friendſhip; and that We again on our parts ſhould be ready to perform ſuch things as may be unto your Majeſty pleaſing; and that we ſhould wiſh for nothing more, than that our Friendſhip ſhould daily more and more be confirmed, and for the common Good of Us both, for many years preſerved: wherein We for our parts will not be wanting. Whereas your Majeſty with great Courage hath undertaken, and with ſo happy ſucceſs of Victories continued your Wars againſt the Turk, whereof you had ſo juſt cauſe, We from our hearts in your behalf rejoyce, as all other Chriſtians worthily do; and We our ſelves are thereby much animated valiantly and conſtantly to proceed in our Wars, which we now ſo many years have made with the ſame Enemy, nothing doubting, but that God, the revenger of wrong, will ſo proſper the honourable Endeavours of your Majeſty, as that you ſhall not only recover ſuch things as have been wrongfully taken from you, but alſo weaken and deſtroy the Power of that perfidious Enemy. Which, that it may the better be brought to paſs, We alſo renew our Wars, raiſe greater Forces, and by our Ambaſſadors and Letters, exhort and incite the greateſt Chriſtian Princes and Potentates to extend their Power againſt this our common Enemy; and thereby to give fitter opportunity and occaſion unto your Majeſty, for the better proceeding of your Affairs in* Aſia. *The courſe of our notable Victories, which we have in few years paſt obtained againſt the Turks, the Tumults and Troubles which the Turks have by ſecret devices raiſed in* Hungary, *have ſomewhat hindred; howbeit, we hope by Gods permiſſion, that all things ſhall ſhortly be again reſtored unto their former eſtate, ſo that we may wholly without let turn our ſelves with our Power againſt the Turks. Yet in the mean time, we have thus much prevailed with the King of* Spain, *as that he hath already ſet forth a Fleet unto the borders of his Territories, to diſtract his Forces; the proſperous Succeſs of which Fleet we daily expect. We have alſo moved the* Pope, *that he ſhould alſo give Aid in this common Cauſe, and excite other Princes alſo to do the like, which he with great Endeavour doth. But concerning ſuch things as ſhall hereafter happen, We ſhall by Letters and Ambaſſadors certifie your Majeſty as occaſion ſhall require; as at this preſent we had appointed to ſend unto you the Baron of* Dohna, *a famous and noble Gentleman, who (all things being ready for his Journey) ſuddenly dyed; and would now have ſent another, had not the unexpected change of the Affairs of the* Muſcovites *otherwiſe diſſuaded Us, we having no other way but that, at this time, to ſend into* Perſia. *For concerning this great Prince, who is now reported there to reign, what his mind is, or how he ſtandeth affected, we have as yet no Experience. In the mean time, We ſo deſire a perpetual and firm Friendſhip to be eſtabliſhed betwixt Us and your Majeſty, with a certain ſecure and free Commerce, that if your Majeſty (which We wiſh) ſhall extend your Victories unto the Sea, your Subjects may have free Acceſs and Traffick unto all our Kingdoms and Dominions. We alſo thank your Majeſty, That you ſo kindly entertain the Chriſtians into your Kingdoms, and grant to them to have the free exerciſe of their Religion; as alſo for that you have ſent your Ambaſſadors unto the King of* France, *although without wiſhed Succeſs, whereby We eaſily gather your Majeſties great Care and Circumſpection every way. As concerning them whom your Majeſty hath ſent unto Us, they have diligently and faithfully performed their Duty, ſo that they have deſerved Praiſe and Favour, both here and in* Perſia; *whom we much Commend unto your Majeſty, to whom in all things We offer our greateſt Love and Affection.*

Unto

1605 Unto the Second Ambaſſador were alſo given Letters from the Emperour, to this effect.

WHilſt We were yet buſied in the diſpatch of Zinel Chan Beg, *your Majeſties former Ambaſſador, in the mean time,* Methi Culi Beg, *another Ambaſſador of yours came unto Us, whom we have courteouſly entertained, and graciouſly heard; by whoſe Speech, as alſo by your Majeſties Letters, We have with exceeding great Pleaſure underſtood both your friendly Greeting of Us, as alſo of the happy Succeſs of your Affairs againſt the Turks, ſince the departure of your former Ambaſſador, together with your kind Affection towards the Chriſtians in thoſe Parts. One of the Servants alſo of our Ambaſſador which dyed by the way, hath reported unto Us, how courteouſly our ſaid Ambaſſador was by your Majeſty received; and how you have ſhewed your ſelf affected againſt the common Enemy, which was unto Us a thing both acceptable and pleaſing. Unto both which your Embaſſies the more ſolemnly to anſwer, We had appointed again to ſend an honourable Embaſſage unto your Majeſty, had not theſe Lets and Impediments hapned, which in our Letters given unto your former Ambaſſador are declared. But ſo ſoon, and as often as may be, We will endeavour, either by Letters, or by Ambaſſadors, more at large to manifeſt our Love and Affection towards you. Wherefore we greatly deſire that your Majeſty may continue in perfect Amity with Us, and valiantly proceed in ſubduing of the common Enemy; We on our part being ready to perform all things whereby we may teſtifie unto you the deſire we have for the preſervation of our mutual Love and Friendſhip; as alſo of our Endeavours in our Wars againſt him. God Almighty long preſerve your Majeſty in Health, and make you ſtill Victorious againſt the common Enemy.*

Unto the Third Ambaſſador were likewiſe Letters given from the Emperour, of this purport.

WHereas Jus Baſſi Haſſan Beg, *your Majeſties Ambaſſador unto the* French *King, came this way, at the ſame time that other two of your Ambaſſadors were here preſent with Us, we received him with the ſame Courteſie wherewith we received them, making ſtay of him, until that they might all three be together diſmiſſed. And becauſe that his Embaſſage was undertaken for the furtherance of the common Good, although it wanted the wiſhed ſucceſs, yet We have thought it good to give thanks unto your Majeſty therefore, and in moſt friendly manner to greet you by this your ſaid Ambaſſador, whom we highly commend unto you, for that for the time he here ſtayed in our Court, he ſo behaved himſelf, as that he well deſerved both our and your Majeſties Favour, whereof we wiſh him to be partaker. Almighty God bleſs your Majeſty with all Felicity, and long to his good Pleaſure preſerve the ſame.*

Theſe Ambaſſadors with theſe Letters thus diſmiſſed, one of them went into *Polonia*, and there declared unto the King the great Love and Affection of the *Perſian* King towards him, offering unto him all love and kindneſs; firſt requeſting him, That he would joyn with his Majeſty in all friendſhip and brotherly love; and then, that he would take up Arms againſt the Turk, their common Enemy; promiſing on his Maſters behalf, That he ſhould not lay down Arms until that Enemy were utterly brought to nought and deſtroyed, ſo that the Chriſtian Princes would on the other ſide likewiſe impugn him. This was a ſtrange Meſſage, and not before heard of in *Polonia*, where, for all that, the Meſſenger was courteouſly and bountifully entertained, and afterward with good words put in hope of obtaining what he had requeſted, was honourably diſmiſſed.

But leaving theſe Ambaſſadors unto their long Journey; to return again into *Hungary*. A great number of the Turks and *Hungarian* Rebels, meeting together at *Hidweg*, had a purpoſe ſecretly to have ſurpriſed and oppreſſed the Imperial Souldiers in their Camp. Of which their purpoſe they in good time advertiſed, and therefore keeping good Watch and Ward, ſo received the Turks and Rebels at their coming, contrary to their Expectation, as that after a ſmall fight, they cauſed them to betake themſelves to flight; whom the Imperials ſo hotly purſued towards *Caniſia*, that they ſlew of them above a thouſand, took about two hundred more of them Priſoners, with fifteen hundred Horſe, which they carried away with them, and ſo having left ſufficient Garriſons on that ſide of the Country towards *Caniſia*, returned themſelves towards *Vienna*. In the mean time, the Commiſſioners from the Emperour being met together at *Comara*, about the Treaty of Peace with the Turks and the *Hungarians*, the ſixth of *December*, receiving Letters from the Baſſa of *Buda*, certain of them, the next day after, went by water down the River of *Danubius* to *Buda*; whete, they being honourably received, and having much and long Talk with the Baſſa concerning a Peace, found little difficulty therein, but that the Turks ſaid they could nothing determine thereof without the preſence and conſent of the *Hungarians*. With which Anſwer, they, full of hope, returned back again to *Comara*, as did alſo *Sigiſmund Forgat*, with the like hope of Peace from *Botſcay*. At which time, *Botſcay* being about to depart from the Aſſembly of *Kirpay* back again to *Caſſovia*, gave Power and Authority to *Illiſhaſcius* for the farthering of the Treaty for Peace; who having received Letters of ſafe Conduct from the Arch-duke *Matthias*, about the end of *December*, together with his Wife went to *Vienna*; who being admitted unto the Arch-duke's preſence, and having had an hour and halfs Talk with him, and every day after conferred with the Counſellors, from eight a Clock to twelve, at length compoſed all Difficulties and Differences touching the Treaty of Peace, excepting five Articles onely concerning Religion, the free exerciſe whereof the *Hungarians* in any wiſe required; ſo that now men began to conceive ſome good hope of a Peace to be in time concluded.

1605 The Turks and *Hungarian* Rebels by the Imperials overthrown.

The Treaty of Peace with the Turks and Rebels begun.

This Year thus ending, with the beginning of the Treaty for Peace, the next Year begun with the wonted Troubles of War, the rebellious *Haiducks* in *Hungary* doing great harm in the upper *Hungary*, tyrannizing after their wonted manner upon men of all ſort and condition. Where giving divers Aſſaults unto divers Cities, they being valiantly repulſed, were conſtrained to retire, (the *Polonians* and *Coſſacks* defending the ſame) yet did they nevertheleſs no little harm unto the Country Inhabitants. Whereof complaint being made unto the King of *Polonia*, he by his Ambaſſador ſent to *Botſcay* at *Caſſovia*, obtained, that thoſe ſpoiling *Haiducks* ſhould be called back again out of theſe Parts.

1606 The *Haiducks* do great harm in the upper *Hungary*.

Now had *Illiſhaſcius*, the Negotiator for the Treaty for Peace to be made with the Rebels, ſo well dealt in that matter, as that the ſame in the latter end of *January* ſhould have been publiſhed at *Vienna*, but that certain of the chief of the Clergy could not be brought to conſent, that the free exerciſe of Religion ſhould indifferently be granted to all the People in general, but to the Nobility only. Whereupon *Illiſhaſcius*, with the reſt of the Commiſſioners for the *Hungarians*, with great diſcontentment being about to return home again without any thing at all concluded, the Deputies for the Emperour ſeeing that it could not be otherwiſe brought to paſs, at length agreed (although

The free exerciſe of Religion granted to the *Hungarians*.

1606 though never ſo much contrary to the liking of the Clergy-men) to ſatisfie the *Hungarians* in this their Requeſt, and that the free exerciſe as well of the Reformed, as of the Romiſh Religion, ſhould be permitted to all men throughout all *Hungary*, in ſuch ſort, as it had before been in the time of the Emperours *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*. Concerning which point for the Liberty of the Religion, Letters were delivered unto *Illiſhaſcius*; all the other points concerning the Peace being put off unto the next aſſembly of the States of *Hungary*, ſhortly after to be holden at *Presbourg*.

About the beginning of *March*, the *Spahi* at *Conſtantinople* had requeſted of the Viſier Baſſa, That it might be lawful for themſelves to take up their wonted Penſion of the Farmers and Husbandmen here and there in the Country; which although it were unto them by the Viſier Baſſa denied, who had commandment from the Great Sultan within a few days after, to give every one of them his preſent Pay in Money; yet they not ſo contented, but going out of the City, preſumptuouſly preſumed to trouble the Country-men, and to do the Farmers great harm. For which their Inſolency, the Great Sultan (the chief Captains and Leaders of them being again returned into the City) cauſed them, ſome to be beheaded, ſome to be hanged, and otherſome to be bound in Chains and drowned; whereby no ſmall fear was ſtruck into the reſt of the common Souldiers. But the Rebellion in *Aſia* ſtill increaſing, and the Rebels there ſecretly both favouring and furthering the Proceedings of the *Perſian* King, the Sultan forthwith ſent for the Viſier Baſſa, who the laſt year had ſerved in *Hungary*, to go into *Aſia*, to repreſs the Rebels there, and alſo to withſtand the Proceedings of the *Perſian* King; committing in the mean time the managing of the War in *Hungary* unto his Lieutenant.

The *Spahi* inſolently oppreſſing the Country People, juſtly puniſhed.

The Treaty of Peace both with the Turks and the Rebels, was yet in hand, whereunto how much the Turks were for their part inclined, the Garriſon Souldiers of *Rab* had good proof, for the eighteenth day of *March*, being the day at their requeſt appointed for the Treaty, and whereon the Commiſſioners on both parts there meeting together, ſhould have furthered the Negotiation of the Peace, not paſt fifty of the Turks coming to the Gate of the Town, required to be let in, as if they had come for that purpoſe. Whom our men nothing ſuſpecting, were about to receive them into the Town; when as a Sentinel without the Town, it being a thick miſt, perceived three thouſand more of the Turks lurking thereby, and forthwith giving an alarm to thoſe of the Town, bewrayed the Enemies Treachery, who thereupon retired, they of the Town diſcharging their great Ordnance after them. The next Month, about the beginning of *April*, certain Meſſengers came from *Eperia* (a City of the upper *Hungary*, yet holden for the Emperour) to *Vienna*, declaring the moſt miſerable ſtate of that City; which, although the way thereunto being three or four Weeks before opened, it had received ſome good ſtore of Victual, yet now (as they ſaid) was ſo on every ſide by the Rebels beſet, as that no Proviſion at all could more thereunto come; hoping by that means to bring to paſs, that the Citizens, pinched with hunger and want of things neceſſary, ſhould at length yield themſelves together with the City into their Power. By which means they but a little before had obtained the ſtrong Town of *Tokay*; wherein the Famine was ſo great, that the Souldiers had not only eaten their Shooes and Leather Jerkins, but had now alſo kill'd two Boys to eat, and ſome others of them had caſt Lots among themſelves, which ſhould be kill'd for the other to eat. By which Extremity, *Ruber*, the Governour of the Place, was enforced to yield; unto whom *Botſcay*, who then lay at *Caſſovia*, *is* ſaid to have offered a great ſum of Money, with many other good things, to have taken his part; all which he moſt conſtantly refuſed, proteſting even unto Death to continue faithful in his Obedience to the Emperour.

Rab attempted to have been by the Turks ſurpriſed.

Eperia by the Rebels diſtreſſed.

1606 *Tokay* by the Rebels taken.

About the ſame Time *Illiſhaſcius*, who had before not a little laboured about the furthering of the Peace in *Hungary*, writ Letters from *Caſſovia* unto a certain great Man at *Vienna*; whereby he declared, that *Botſcay* without the Conſent of the Eſtates of *Hungary* could of himſelf determine nothing concerning the Concluſion of the Peace; who had oft-times told him to his Face, that rather than they would again ſubmit themſelves to a foreign Governour, they would for ever put themſelves under the Turks Protection; and yet promiſed by the ſame Letters, that although he had got unto himſelf great Diſpleaſure thereby with the *Haiducks*, he would not for all that ceaſe by all means to draw the States of the Country in their next aſſembly unto his part, ſo that that which was before concluded at *Vienna* concerning Religion, ſhould not again be reverſed; for many of them (as he ſaid) were afraid that it would not be performed, which was there promiſed unto the States concerning the Exerciſe of their Religion. And that therefore they could not yet be perſwaded to put themſelves from under the Turks Protection, until they ſaw themſelves ſufficiently ſecured, both for the Liberty of their Religion, and the keeping of their antient Priviledges. And that they could not, nor would not endure a foreign Governour to rule over them, with whom they could not talk; nor yet ſuffer Clergy-men to have any Voices in their Civil Affairs. And therefore (he ſaid) he thought it very neceſſary that the Emperour ſhould not doubt in this point to gratifie the *Hungarians*. And that *Tranſilvania*, whereupon he had been hitherto enforced to beſtow ſo great coſt for the keeping thereof, being now left unto *Botſcay*, he ſhould appoint ſuch a Governour over *Hungary* as the States of that Country ſhould require. For that there was no hope of any Peace to be made with the Turks, except *Botſcay* and the States of *Hungary* ſhould undertake the Treaty thereof; ſeeing that they, but only ſeeking for a Peace in ſhew, were oftentimes diſcovered but to ſeek for their own Advantages and Profits.

The Letters of *Illiſhaſcius* ſent to a Noble man of *Vienna*.

But concerning *Illiſhaſcius* himſelf, the *Hungarian* Rebels ſeeing him ſo much to labour about the concluding of a Peace, in ſcorn called him by the by-name of *Cripeliſhacius*, as he that too much enclined unto the *Germans*; which by-name he took in ſo ill part, as that he departed ſtraight to *Eperia*, with a purpoſe not to have been preſent at the next aſſembly of the States; but being again pacified, and by *Botſcay* called back, he made ſuch a notable Speech unto the States in their next Aſſembly, that all men now began both to hope and wiſh more for Peace than they had before done.

Illiſhaſcius reproachfully uſed by the *Hungarians*.

In the mean time, the Turks in great numbers being gathered together to *Belgrade*, expected the end of this Treaty for Peace, and Letters from the Great Sultan to *Botſcay* were intercepted alſo; whereby he adviſeth him to proceed in his purpoſe, and joyning with his Powers, to ſeize upon *Auſtria*, *Bohemia*, and *Moravia*; for that he could be contented with *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*, and leave the reſt of the Provinces unto *Botſcay* as his Inheritance.

The *Tartars* about this Time were about to make a Road into *Polonia*; but when as they with

1606

The *Haiducks* incenſed againſt the *Turks* and *Tartars*, truſt neither of them.

their often Incurſions had not a little troubled the *Haiducks* alſo in the upper *Hungary*, they reſolved amongſt themſelves to joyn their Forces together, and to fight as well againſt the *Turks* as the *Tartars*, and from thenceforth neither to truſt the one nor the other.

Hereupon, whenas the *Turks* in great number came to aſſault *Lippa*, a Town of the *Haiducks*, they forſaking the Town, fortified the Caſtle with certain Companies of armed Men, and afterwards beſtowed many others here and there in Caves and Cellars in the Town, and laied great ſtore of Gun-powder in the Streets. Unto which Town the *Turks* coming, and finding the Gates open, and none to reſiſt them, haſted to have taken the Caſtle. But in the mean time, the Powder which the *Haiducks* had laied taking fire, blew up a number of them, and they which lay hid in the Caves and Cellars forthwith breaking out, ſlew of them whomſoever they met, and ſo made of the *Turks* a great ſlaughter, and again cleared the Town.

The Inhabitants of *Auſtria* provide to ſtand upon their own ſtrength for the defence of their Country.

The Eſtates of *Auſtria*, conſidering the great harms they had in theſe late Troubles received, as well from the *Hungarian* Rebels, as from the Emperours mutinous Souldiers; and by Experience taught how dangerous a thing it was for them to reſt upon other mens Protection, being unto them ſtrangers; reſolved now in a general Aſſembly of the Eſtates by them about this time holden, to take upon themſelves the defence of their Country, againſt ſuch ſudden Incurſions and Tumults of the mutinous Souldiers, and no more to rely upon foreign Protection, ſtill to ſeek when they had moſt need thereof. Wherefore, to aſſure themſelves in their own ſtrength, they, with a general conſent, agreed to have always in readineſs two thouſand Horſe-men, and eight thouſand Foot-men, to be maintained at the common Charge; fifty of the Country Peaſants ſtill finding of one of the ſaid Souldiers.

And much about this time, *viz.* the Third of *June*, *Illiſhaſcius*, a great Man amongſt the Rebels, and yet the greateſt furtherer of the Peace, (as appeared by his doings, and by that we have before of him written) having before obtained Letters of ſafe conduct from the Arch-duke, came now again with his Wife alſo to *Vienna*, there more at large to conferr upon the Articles for a Peace to be concluded, with ſuch as were on the Emperours behalf for that purpoſe deputed. Where, coming to conferr and talk upon the matter, he was ſo croſſed by *Nicholas* Biſhop of *Vienna*, who hitherto had been preſent in Council together with the reſt of the Commiſſioners, (a great enemy unto the Peace, in reſpect of the Article concerning the Liberty of Religion) he was, I ſay, by him ſo croſſed, as that there was no hope of any thing to be for the common quiet concluded, ſo long as he was there preſent. For which cauſe, he, on both ſides, and of all men deſirous of the Peace diſliked, was in the Arch-duke's name willed no more to come into the Council, for the diſturbing of the Peace. In which Negotiation for the concluding of the Peace, *Illiſhaſcius* had taken ſuch pains in travelling to and fro betwixt the Arch-duke then lying at *Vienna*, and *Botſcay* with the States of *Hungary* then lying at *Caſſovia*, and ſo debated the matter on both ſides, that all things being as good as agreed upon; for a full concluſion of all matters, he himſelf, together with *George Humanoius*, *Francis Magot*, *Sebaſtian Tockell*, *Staniſlaus Turſon*, and others, with two hundred Horſe, and two and thirty Waggons, in all, four hundred Perſons, the Seventh of *September* came to *Vienna*, with fifty *Huſſars* following of them: Shortly after whoſe coming, the Treaty for Peace was earneſtly begun with often Meſſengers paſſing to and fro betwixt *Vienna* and *Caſſovia* to *Botſcay*, lying then very dangerouſly ſick, untill that all the Articles of Peace were near about the Fourteenth of *September* fully on both parts agreed upon; moſt difference ariſing about the Article for the free Exercife of Religion. For although it was before declared, that men might have the free Exerciſe of Religion; yet the *Hungarians*, recalling that general word of Religion unto a particularity, would needs have it ſet down, that men might have the free Exerciſe of thoſe Religions, which are at this day called the *Lutheran*, *Calvinian*, and *Romiſh* Religion; neither would they conclude any Peace untill they were of their Requeſt in that point ſatisfied. Which Peace ſo concluded, the next day after, the Deputies for the *Hungarians* ſent an Ambaſſador to the Viſier Baſſa at *Buda*, to certifie him of all their Proceedings, and to requeſt him not as yet to attempt any thing for the diſturbing of the Peace; now the Articles whereupon the Peace was concluded, were theſe:

1606

A Peace concluded betwixt the Emperour and his diſcontented Subjects of the upper *Hungary*.

Firſt, That from thenceforth it ſhould be lawful for every Man throughout the Kingdom of Hungary, *to have the free Uſe of his Religion, and to believe what he would.*

2. *That if the* Hungarians *ſo thought good, they might chuſe a Palatine for their Governour, and that in the mean time the Arch-duke* Matthias *ſhould no more uſe the Title of a Governour, but of a Viceroy.*

3. *That the Crown of* Hungary *ſhould ſtill be left in the Emperours keeping.*

4. *That the Biſhops that were nobly deſcended in* Hungary, *and had Lands of their own, ſhould from thenceforth be admitted into the Council, but the other Biſhops not ſo to be received.*

5. *That* Botſcay, *for himſelf and his Heirs Male, ſhould for ever hold* Tranſilvania.

6. *That the ſame Country of* Tranſilvania *ſhould be ſtill ſubject unto the Kingdom of* Hungary.

7. *That for his Arms he ſhould bear three Royal Crowns and three open Helmets.*

8. *That he ſhould no more afterwards ſtile himſelf Prince, but Lord of part of the Kingdom of* Hungary.

9. *That they ſhould pay the* Haiducks *their Wages which had levied them.*

10. *That the Harms done on both ſides ſhould for ever be forgotten.*

11. *That* Bohemia, Moravia, Sileſia, Lauſniſium, *and* Auſtria, *ſhould not only with their Letters and Seals confirm the Articles, but alſo Swear at* Vienna *to keek the ſame ſo far as ſhould concern them.*

12. *That the* Hungarians *ſhould likewiſe ſend ſome to* Vienna, *who in their behalf ſhould with their Letters, Seals, and Oaths, confirm and ratifie theſe Articles.*

13. *That the Aſſembly of the Eſtates of* Hungary *ſhould be referred untill a more convenient time for them.*

14. *That all theſe things being done, this Agreement ſhould be publikely confirmed and enrolled in the Records of the Kingdom of* Hungary.

15. *That it ſhould be lawful for the* Hungarians *by their Ambaſſadors to invite the Princes of the Empire to the approving and confirming of theſe Articles.*

Which fifteen Articles were on the Emperours part ſubſcribed by *Trauſam*, *Mollart*, *Sigifrid*, *Pruner*, *Lichtenſtein* and *Kreuberge*; and on the part of the *Hungarians*, by *Illiſhaſcius*, *Peter Erkod*, *George Turſo*, and *Sigiſmund Forgat*, and others.

The Biſhop of *Vienna* a great enemy to the Peace to have been concluded betwixt the Emperour and his diſcontented Subjects.

The

1606 The twentieth of *September* following, the Ambaſſador for the *Hungarians* and of *Botſcay*, being admitted unto the Preſence of the Archduke *Matthias*, obtained of him Pardon for the forepaſſed Rebellion, and all that was therein done; unto whom Security for the ſame was afterward given by the Provinces; thereby alſo to aſſure them, that they ſhould not be therefore afterwards troubled. But yet for all that was before done, the Title of the Prince of *Tranſilvania* was left unto *Botſcay* for Term of his Life: who feeling his Sickneſs daily to increaſe, would oftentimes ſay, That he could willingly die, ſo that it might pleaſe God before his Death to give him leave to excuſe himſelf of his Rebellion before the whole Roman Empire. And ſo about the end of *September*, all the aforeſaid Ambaſſadors for the *Hungarians* and *Botſcay*, being aſſembled into the Caſtle of *Vienna*, together with the Emperours Council, and certain other Noblemen of the Provinces belonging unto the Emperour, received every one of them the Articles of the Peace copied out, and fair written in Parchment; which done, they returned every one to his own dwelling. But *Illiſhaſcius* went from thence to *Neuhuſe*, to be preſent at the Peace to be afterwards made with the Turks alſo; from whence he afterwards writ Letters unto the Viſier Baſſa, to requeſt him, not as yet to attempt any thing againſt the Emperours Provinces, but peaceably and quietly to expect his Commiſſioners, which were ſhortly to come unto him.

A great Fire at *Conſtantinople.*

But in the mean time whilſt this Peace was thus in concluding, certain *Tartars* at *Conſtantinople*, in their Inſolency, ſet fire upon a certain Jews Houſe, whereof aroſe ſuch a terrible Fire, as burnt not only many Houſes, but a great number of the Jews themſelves alſo; the harm there done being eſteemed at forty hundred thouſand Duckats. In which Tumult and Noiſe of the People runing too and fro, and quenching of the Fire, the Great Sultan having a fall from his Horſe, was thereof for a while ſick.

The Turks ſeeking to ſurpriſe others, themſelves ſurpriſed.

The Turks of *Caniſia* alſo having conſpired with the Captain of the leſſer *Comora*, came to have ſurpriſed the ſame. But the Garriſon Souldiers there, having before had a Suſpition thereof, ſuffered ſo many of the Turks as they knew they were able to overcome, to enter; and ſo ſhutting the Gates of the City, kill'd them every Mothers Son, the reſt which were without returning again to *Caniſia*.

The Commiſſioners for the Emperour, to intreat of Peace with the Turks, come to *Presburg.*

Peace thus (as is aforeſaid) concluded with the *Hungarians*, *George Turſon*, *Nicholas Iſthan*, *John Mollart*, and *Althem*, with ſome others, the Emperours Commiſſioners for a Peace to be made with the Turks, went to *Comora*; *Sigifrid Collonitz* and *Budian* following them with the Army; for as yet the ſaid Commiſſioners durſt not altogether truſt the Turks for intercepting of them by the way. Which Commiſſioners carried with them *Solyman* the Baſſa of *Buda*, who had now been ſeven years kept Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Vienna*, and *Aly Baſſa*, both bravely apparelled in blew Silk; ſix Waggons following of them, wherein were carried certain Preſents for the Great Sultan, to wit, a moſt curious Clock, certain fair pieces of Plate, an hundred thouſand Duckats, with divers other things of great value.

The Peace already concluded with the *Hungarians*, like enough to have again been broken off through the Inſolency of ſome few diſordered Perſons.

But whilſt they there ſtayed, expecting to hear from the Viſier Baſſa then at *Buda*, a ſudden inſolent Accident fell out, like enough to have broken off again the Peace already made with the *Hungarians*, as alſo to have utterly cut off the Treaty of Peace to be had with the Turks, and to have ſet them all together by the Ears again. For albeit that the firſt Article of the Peace made with the *Hungarians*, was, That every Man ſhould have the free Exerciſe of his Religion; yet the eighth day of *October*, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, when as a certain *Hungarian* Lutheran Preacher was in the Pulpit preaching to the People in a Church, in the Suburbs of *Comora*, *Buchem* and *Knevie*, two Captains, coming from Dinner with certain of their Servants, more than half drunk, with their Swords drawn, ruſh'd into the Church, and drave out thence the Preacher, upon whom Captain *Buchem*'s Trumpeter alſo diſcharged a Piſtol, and raiſed ſuch a Tumult in the Church, that divers Children were trodden to Death under foot, and the reſt put in great fear of their Lives. 1606

Which inſolent Fact ſo moved the *Hungarians*, that *Turſon* and *Budian*, there preſent, with the reſt of the Commiſſioners, ready to have gone about the Treaty of the Peace, would needs the next day have departed from *Comora*, and were hardly by *Mollart* and *Collonitz* intreated to ſtay; *Buchem* and *Knevie*, the two Captains, being bound to their appearance for the anſwering of the matter, and the Trumpeter with Irons on his heels clapt in Priſon. But the News hereof being carried to *Neuhuſel*, and (as the manner of Report is) by Fame made far greater than it was, as, That an hundred and fifty Perſons were ſlain in the Church, there aroſe ſuch a Tumult among the *Hungarians* there, as that *Illiſhaſcius*, with the reſt of the Captains, had much ado to quiet and appeaſe the ſame; who, joyning with the Turks of *Strigonium*, and the *Haiducks* of the Iſland, had determined now by Night to have invaded *Comora*, where the Outrage was committed, had not *Pograna* the elder, (a Man of great Gravity) coming from thence, declared unto *Illiſhaſcius* and the reſt of the Captains all the Matter as it was done; upon whoſe Relation the whole Tumult was again appeaſed. But for as much as the two aforeſaid Captains, bound to their Appearance, were by Night fled from *Comora* to *Vienna*, the *Hungarians* were very earneſt to have them ſeverely puniſhed, as breakers of the firſt Article of the Peace, concerning Religion. *Botſcay* in the mean time beheaded *Catayus* his Chancellor, who had gon about to have poiſoned him, in hope after his Death to have been Prince of *Tranſilvania* himſelf; placing *John Januſy* in his ſtead, and giving him *Catay*'s Lands.

Botſcay cauſeth his Chancellor to be beheaded.

Peace now made with the *Hungarians* (as is foreſaid) and Commiſſioners appointed for a Treaty of Peace to be had with the Turks alſo, (whereunto the Viſier Baſſa, then lying at *Buda*, was as forward as any, being ſo commanded from the Great Sultan his Maſter) there wanted but a Place Commodious for the ſaid Commiſſioners, without Suſpition of Danger, and indifferent for them all to meet in. Whereupon *Cæſar Gallen*, a Man of great Experience in ſuch Matters, with ſome other Captains, were appointed to find out ſome ſuch convenient Place for them to meet in; who having viewed many, at length made choice of one within half a League of *Comora*, ſo fit for that purpoſe, as if Nature had provided it for the ſame. The great River of *Danubius* being there divided into three parts, made therein three Iſlands, all compaſſed round with the Arms thereof, into which Iſlands the Commiſſioners for the Emperour, for the Turk, and for the *Hungarians*, might come without let one of another, to intreat of their Affairs, and ſo in little Boats prepared for that purpoſe, paſs over one to another, as their Occaſions required. Into this place, ſo commodious for all three parties, the Deputies for the Emperour the five and twentieth day of *October*, conducted by the

The Commiſſioners for the Emperor, the Turks, and the *Hungarians*, meet together to intreat of a Peace.

1606 Horſemen of *Mansfeld*, *Hohenlo*, and *Bonchimin*. After whom followed *Illiſhaſcius*, and the other Deputies for the *Hungarians*, aſſiſted with the Nobility of *Hungary*, all attending the coming of the Great Sultans Commiſſioners; who likewiſe immediately after came, being brought up the River in four and twenty brave Ships well appointed.

Theſe Commiſſioners being thus apart arrived in the Iſlands, began firſt to conſult by themſelves, every one of their ſeveral Affairs and Buſineſſes, and afterwards many times meeting together, with much Gravity conſulted and conferred of the beſt ways and means for the making of a good and aſſured Peace for the appeaſing of theſe Wars; which every one of them and all together, to that end employing the uttermoſt of their Endeavours, at laſt, the nineteenth of *November*, it was betwixt all the three Parties fully agreed upon and concluded, and Hoſtages on all parts given one to another, with Oaths and Promiſes ſolemnly on all ſides given and received, for the inviolate keeping and obſerving of the ſame; the Articles whereupon the ſaid Peace was concluded being theſe:

A Peace concluded between the Emperour and the great Sultan.

Articles of the Peace concluded betwixt the Emperour and the Great Sultan.

'FIrſt, That the Emperour and the Great Sultan, in all their Letters, Diſpatches, Inſtruments, and Embaſſages, ſhould not ſtile themſelves by any other Names or Additions, but by the Names of well beloved Father and Son; to wit, the Emperour calling the Great Sultan his Son, and the Great Sultan the Emperour (in reſpect of his years) his Father.

'That in the beginning of their Letters they ſhould take upon them the Name and Quality of Emperour, and not of King, reſpectively one of them to another.

'That theſe two Emperours ſhould take order, that the Realm of *Hungary* and the Archdukedom of *Auſtria*, might be in Reſt, Peace, and Tranquility, and altogether delivered and aſſured from all Incurſions, Oppreſſions, and Outrages of the Men of War on both Parties.

'That it ſhould be lawful for the King of *Spain*, if he ſo thought good, to enter into this Treaty of Peace, without the Oppoſition or let of one or of the other of both theſe Emperours in any ſort.

'That the *Tartars*, and all other People uſually wont to come in Arms into *Hungary*, ſhould be compriſed within this Treaty of the Peace, ſo to be diſarmed of all Power by their means to do harm within the Realm of *Hungary*, and they there aſſured from their Violences and Robberies.

'That every one, both on the one part and on the other, ſhould forbear from making Incurſions and Pillages, and Enterpriſes of War, and from all Acts of Hoſtility one againſt another; and yet every one nevertheleſs to have Power to purſue Thieves and Robbers, and ſuch others ſeeking after Booty, to the diſturbing of the Peace, and injuring of the Common-weal; whereof every man ſhould have Power to give knowledge, to the intent by common force to ſuppreſs them, and to cauſe them to recompence the Wrongs and Harms by them done.

'That all Places, Caſtles, Towns, and Forts, ſhould remain without attempt either on the one part or on the other, whether it were by Force, Surpriſe, or Treaſon, and ſo likewiſe the Goods, Families, and Cattel of the Country-men, which were of their Territories and Juriſdiction; *Botſcay* ſtill holding all that was lately to him granted by the Treaty of *Vienna*.

'That all Priſoners taken in the Wars ſhould be ſet at Liberty, but eſpecially ſuch as had been taken in Towns and Citadels, which by their Valour and Courage they ſought to have defended; and the other Priſoners to be delivered by Exchange and Ranſom, as ſhould be moſt expedient and eaſie for both Parties. 1606

'That all Controverſies happening, as well on this ſide as beyond the River of *Danubius*, ſhould be peaceably ended by the Judgment of the Governour of *Rab*, of the Baſſa of *Buda*, of the Governour of *Sclavonia*, and of the Governours of other Places; and that if they ſhould chance to be of ſuch important Weight and Conſequence, as that they could not by theſe Magiſtrates be determined and compoſed, that they ſhould in that caſe be reſerved to be decided by their Imperial Majeſties; and that it ſhould be lawful both for the one party and the other to repair and build the Places ruined, but not to build Places of New, which might prejudice either the one part or the other.

'That *Amurath* the Viſier Baſſa ſhould ſend his Meſſengers with Preſents to the Archduke *Matthias*, and that the Emperour ſhould diſpatch an Ambaſſador toward the Great Sultan with 200000 Duckats, and that the Great Sultan likewiſe ſhould ſend his Ambaſſador to *Prague* with great and rich Preſents to the Emperour.

'That this Peace ſhould begin in the year 1607, and continue for the ſpace of twenty years, and that one of the Emperours ſhould ſend unto the other every three years their Ambaſſadors with their honourable and rich Preſents, according to the Pleaſure and Power of their Majeſties.

'That all the Emperours Succeſſors, as alſo thoſe of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, ſhould be comprehended within this Agreement of Peace, together with all their Kinſmen, Allies and Confederates, as likewiſe thoſe of the Great Sultans alſo.

'That the Chriſtians ſhould again have the City of *Vachia*, which they ſhould at their Pleaſure keep and fortifie, and that *Strigonium*, with all the Villages thereto belonging, ſhould remain unto the Great Sultan; yet ſo, as that no man ſhould be with any new Tribute oppreſſed; and that ſuch as had been free from paying of Tribute, ſhould ſtill keep the ſame Priviledges.

'And that the Turks ſhould not exact their Tributes by the point of their Swords, but by the way of Juſtice, which they ſhould commit unto the Diſcretion of Judges and Receivers to that end appointed, that ſo it might be payd without oppreſſing of the People, except haply they which ſhould pay it, upon Preſumption ſhould deny it, or too long deferr the Payment of it; in which caſe it ſhould be lawful both for the one ſide and the other, to uſe ſuch means as ſhould ſeem unto them good for the obtaining thereof.

Theſe are the Articles of this Peace, which God turn to the Glory of his Name, and the benefit of the Chriſtian Common-weal; and for which all the Towns of *Hungary* made great Joy and Triumph, which they declared by the thundering of their Cannons, which they in great number diſcharged, with many other Solemnities and Triumphs. The Commiſſioners themſelves, in token of their conceived Joy, magnificently feaſted one another alſo; which the Turks firſt began; and not content to have made them great chear, gave unto our Commiſſioners great Preſents alſo; for the Baſſa of *Buda* gave unto *Mollart*, *Althem*, *Turſon*, *Iſtuan*, *Collonitz*, *Budian*, *Hendoe*, *Cæſar Gallen*, and *Eleſchin*, brave and courageous Horſes moſt gallantly furniſhed; and to the reſt exceeding rich Garments and Tapeſtry Hangings of great value. And as at the time of this Feaſt, the Troop of *Mansfeld* had by many Sallies and Vollies of ſhot given great Pleaſure unto the Turks as they ſat at the Table; *Alla Baſſa*, to declare the Contentment and Pleaſure

Great Joy and Triumph in *Hungary* for the Peace concluded with the Turk.

1606 ſure he had therein received, ſent to the Captain of this Troop two hundred Duckets, which he would not accept, requeſting in ſtead of them to have delivered unto him a certain Captain by the Turks then kept Priſoner; whom the Baſſa cauſed freely to be delivered unto him, and withal ſent back again the two hundred Duckets to be divided among the Souldiers; which for all that *Mansfeld* refuſed, ſending them back again unto the Baſſa. After which Actions of Joy and Peace, every man returned home well content and pleaſed.

The great Sultan giveth thanks to his Prophet *Mahomet*, for the Peace concluded with the Chriſtians.

Theſe things thus done, and the Peace confirmed, the Baſſa of *Buda* forthwith ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*, certifying the Great Sultan of the Peace now made with the Chriſtians; who thereof conceiving great Joy, with a number of Janizaries and others, in great Magnificence went to the Church, to give Thanks therefore unto his Prophet *Mahomet*, and ſpent the next day with great Sport and Pleaſure, purpoſing from thenceforth to turn all his Force and Power for the ſuppreſſing of his Rebels in *Aſia*, and the ſubduing of the *Perſian* King.

The *Haiducks* begin new ſtirs in *Hungary*.

Now albeit that there was a Peace of late concluded with the *Hungarians* at *Vienna*, (as is before declared) yet divers ſtirs and Tumults were nevertheleſs by the *Haiducks* in divers Places of the upper *Hungary* ſtill raiſed; inſomuch that about the end of *November*, the Inhabitants of the County of *Bocotſie* were through their Inſolencies enforced to joyn Battel with them, wherein a number on both ſides were ſlain, and three Country Villages burnt; ſo that it ſhould ſeem, no Peace can be ſo well and indifferently made, but that ſome will be ſtill troubling and impugning the ſame.

Botſcay calleth an Aſſembly of the States of *Hungary*, and inſtructeth them what to do at their next general Aſſembly.

Shortly after, *viz.* the Thirteenth of *December*, *Botſcay* calling together an Aſſembly of the Eſtates of *Hungary*, propounded to them to be conſidered of, firſt, That the late Revolt, almoſt generally made throughout all *Hungary*, with all the ſtirs and troubles thereby raiſed, had all been hitherto to no other end made, but for the defence of their Religion, and the maintenance of their ancient Liberty: Then, That whereas they by their general good liking had made choice of him for their Prince, and that hitherto he had done nothing without their knowledge and conſent; and that even now at this preſent he was by their conſent ready to depart from the Caſtles and free Cities in the upper *Hungary*; and had now ſent his Letters unto the Archduke *Matthias*, for the ſending of his Deputies to receive them; whether he ſhould from thenceforth relinquiſh the Title of a Prince, or not. And that for as much as no War could be made without great harm doing, that he would therefore, for the avoiding of farther troubles about ſuch matters, that a Decree ſhould be made, That all ſuch Wrongs and Injuries ſhould be forgiven and forgotten, and that every man ſhould ſtill hold all ſuch Goods, whether they were moveable or immoveable, during the time of this late War. He wiſhed them alſo in the next general Aſſembly of the States, with all their Power and Endeavour, to urge the repealing of the Article concerning the burning of Hereticks, with all other Articles contrary to their Religion; and not to remit any thing concerning the choice of their Palatine, as had in former time been uſed; neither in this next general Aſſembly of the Eſtates to neglect any thing which might ſeem to concern their Priviledges and Liberty. And that therefore they ſhould be careful to ſend thither Wiſe and powerful men, ſuch as ſhould not eaſily be overcome with the Clamours and Out-cries of the contrary Part. At length he wiſhed them to conſider of this alſo, how a true and ſincere Confederation might be made betwixt *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*, ſo that a ſafe and quiet Traffick and Commerce might in both Places be uſed. 1606

Botſcay dyeth at *Caſſovia*.

Theſe things thus done, *Botſcay's* ſickneſs ſtill more and more increaſing upon him, ſo at length prevailed, that it made an end of him, to the great ſorrow and grief of all the People in general, who had him in great Honour and Regard. He dyed at *Caſſovia* the Thirtieth of *December*, in the Year 1606. He was honourably deſcended, and a Man of great Spirit, Ambitious, Wiſe, and Politick, a great lover of his Country, but an extreme Enemy unto the *Germans*, and their Government in *Hungary*.

A little before his Death, he earneſtly perſwaded *John Januſie* his Chancellor, to continue in his Allegeance to the Emperour, and not to raiſe new ſtirs, or ſo much as in him was, not to ſuffer any to be raiſed. Nevertheleſs, ſuch his wholeſome Counſel not regarded, there were ſome, who immediately after his death, were about to have raiſed new Forces, for to have ſeized upon *Tranſilvania*, and ſo to have ſtirred up new Troubles. For preventing whereof, *Matthias* the Archduke forthwith ſent a Meſſenger unto the States of the upper *Hungary*; adviſing them, That the great harms and miſeries conſidered which that part of *Hungary* had of late felt and indured, almoſt to the utter ruine and deſtruction thereof, (which proceeded not ſo much from the Wars with the Turks, as from their own civil Tumults and Seditions) they ſhould from thenceforth give themſelves to Quietneſs and Peace, and not again inſolently to preſcribe unto the Emperour what to do, or how he was to diſpoſe of the Country of *Tranſilvania*; aſſuring them, that the Emperour would not hereafter wink at ſuch their rebellious Plots and Devices, but forthwith turn all his Power and Forces to the utter deſtruction and rooting out of ſuch rebellious and ſeditious Perſons, the diſturbers of the common Peace and Quiet. By which the Arch-duke's warning, ſome, otherwiſe ready enough to have raiſed new ſtirs and troubles, were not therein ſo forward as otherwiſe haply they would haue been, but kept themſelves quiet.

The Emperour not to be blamed for making Peace with the Turks.

Now many there were (and yet are) which much marvelled, that the Chriſtian Emperour would thus make Peace with the Great Sultan, (as is aforeſaid) he being then ſo much troubled with Wars, both againſt his own Rebels, and the *Perſian* King, in *Aſia*, moſt part of his Forces being turned that way; ſo that a fitter time, or of more advantage, could not have been wiſhed for the Emperour to have done great matters againſt him in, and not only to have holden his own (which he did not) in *Hungary*, but to have recovered ſome good part of his Loſſes there before received alſo. And indeed true it is, that the time then well ſerved for both; but what availeth opportunity without Power? And had the *Hungarians* (the greateſt ſtrength the Emperour hath hitherto had for the defence of that little which is yet left of that ſo great a Kingdom) been at quiet, and at his Command, and he himſelf a Prince which had reſted upon his own Strength and Power, ever at his pleaſure to have been raiſed, and, as need ſhould require, ſupplied, without depending upon his Friends and Allies; then haply it might have been in him accounted a great overſight to have omitted and overſlipped ſo fair an opportunity. But the *Hungarians*, being then not only revolted from him, but taking part with the Turks, and the Turks with them, and he of himſelf with his own Power not able to hold the Field againſt them, or well to maintain a defenſive War; and his Friends and Allies, his wonted and greateſt ſtays, then at his greateſt need failing of him alſo, what ſhould

he

1606 he in ſuch a caſe do but as he did? to accept of a reaſonable Peace whilſt he might have it; eſpecially againſt ſuch an Enemy, as whoſe whole Power being turned againſt him, might have eaſily endangered his whole Eſtate. For it is not reaſonably to be thought, how the Emperour ſhould of himſelf, without the great Aid of the other Chriſtian Princes, his Friends and Allies, be able to withſtand the huge and dreadful Power of the *Othoman* Emperour; as (without ominous Preſage be it ſpoken) it is to be feared it will too true appear, whenſoever his Wars and Troubles in the Eaſt being ended, he ſhall again turn his Forces this way toward the Weſt.

1607 Now *Botſcay* was no ſooner dead, but that ſome others of the Nobility, both of *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania* (happily no leſs ambitious than was he) began by divers means to ſeek after and to aſpire to that Principality. Of whom, though ſome, either with the weakneſs of their own means, or with the threats of *Matthias* the Archduke, deterred, ceaſed farther to ſeek after it; yet were there ſome others, who better ſupported, and nothing afraid of the Arch-duke's great Words, laboured under hand to have obtained it. For the croſſing of whom, and the avoiding of farther Troubles to be raiſed by theſe ambitious Competitors, certain of the Nobility of *Tranſilvania* gathered together at *Claudianople*, the Twelfth of *February*, made choice of *Sigiſmund Ragotſie* for their Governour, and their Prince of *Tranſilvania*, and the more to aſſure him of their love and affection towards him, bound themſelves unto him by the Oath of their Allegeance ſolemnly taken in the chief Church there. And afterward ſent Meſſengers to the Archduke *Matthias* at *Vienna*, to certifie him what they had done, and to excuſe themſelves thereof; who coming to *Presburg* the Twelfth of *March*, there openly proteſted this Election of *Ragotſie* for their Prince to have been made, not for that they were about to rebel, or to revolt from the Emperour, whom they would always acknowledge for their Sovereign Lord; but for that their neceſſity ſo required, many of the Nobility both of *Tranſilvania* and of *Hungary* gaping after this Principality, and going about for the obtaining thereof, to raiſe new ſtirs and troubles. Howbeit, the ſame *Ragotſie*, afterward doubting not to be able, without great trouble and danger, beſides the Emperours diſpleaſure, to hold the ſame Principality, of his own accord, about a year after, gave the ſame up again, and got himſelf out of the way to *Sarentum*, who was no ſooner gone, but that *Gabriel Bathor* was about to have ſtept into his Place; unto whom the States of *Tranſilvania* ſent word by two of the Noblemen, That the free Election of the Prince belonged to them, and that therefore he ſhould not ſeek by force to intrude himſelf into the Principality, but quietly to come unto the Election, and not to bring with him above a thouſand Horſe-men, and five hundred Foot.

Sigiſmund Ragotſie choſen Prince of *Tranſilvania*, afterward yieldeth up the ſame Principality again.

Newhuſe again delivered unto the Emperour.

About this time, the ſtrong Town of *Newhuſe* (otherwiſe called *Newheuſel*) the laſt year ſo hardly won by the *Hungarian* Rebels was again delivered to *Sigefrid Collonitz*, for the Emperour; who, ſhortly after coming to *Vienna*, brought news of a great number of the Turks to have riſen up in Rebellion at *Belgrade*, to have rifled the Town, and to have burnt another Town, called *Abiſchria*, down to the ground, and ſo with a great Prey to be gone over to the Rebels; and alſo *Redeius*, *Botſcay's* Lieutenant, in going to take Poſſeſſion of certain Lands given him by *Botſcay*, to have been by his own Tenants, lying in wait for him upon a ſtrait Paſſage, ſlain.

Amongſt the Articles of the Peace before concluded betwixt the Emperour and the Great Sultan, one was for the mutual ſending of Preſents one of them unto another; with which Preſents, when as the Ambaſſador, by the Emperour appointed for the carriage of the ſame to *Conſtantinople*, from day to day deferred to ſet forward, the Turks and *Tartars* began to doubt, or elſe ſeemed to doubt, of the good meaning of the Chriſtians, for the obſerving of the aforeſaid Peace; and thereupon began again not only to roam abroad into the Territories of the Chriſtians, but alſo cauſed the Pledges left at *Buda* for the obſerving of the Peace, to be hardly handled and clapt faſt in Priſon; whom, whenas the Baſſa of *Buda* ſhortly after ſuffered again a little to walk abroad, the proud Janiſaries were therewith ſo much offended, that riſing in a Tumult, they had almoſt ſlain the Baſſa with Stones, heaping upon him many reproachful Words, and unto his Face calling him Traytor and betrayer of his Prince and Country, one of which Pledges they grievouſly wounded alſo. Which their Inſolency the Baſſa in ſome ſort to chaſtiſe, and to deter them from doing the like again, cauſed certain of them the Night following to be ſecretly taken, and being bound, to be ſo caſt into the River of *Danubius*. And yet ſhortly after, they purpoſing to make a Road upon the Chriſtians, to colour ſuch harms as they ſhould therein do, and to lay all the blame thereof upon the Chriſtians, and ſo excuſe themſelves, they procured the Baſſa to write unto the Archduke *Matthias*, of great wrongs done unto the Turks by the Chriſtians, whenas there was no ſuch thing at all; the effect of which Letters were, That whereas it was in the Articles of Peace ſet down and agreed, that both Parties ſhould abſtain from Roads and Incurſions of each others Countries, yet that the Chriſtians for all that had above an hundred times ſince the concluſion of the Peace, made Roads into divers Territories of the Turks, and ſlain many of them; but eſpecially them of *Leoven* and *Serſchin*, who (as they ſaid) had ſlain divers Turkiſh Merchants of *Peſth*, and taken from them great ſums of Money, as they had alſo taken from them of *Potſen* a hundred and twenty Horſes, with divers other Cattel. Beſides that, there were (as he ſaid) four Turks more by the Chriſtians ſlain, near unto *Canißa*, and eight and twenty more taken Priſoners; and that in the mid-way betwixt *Hatwan* and *Buda* five and twenty Turks more were ſlain, and their Horſes, with all that they had beſide carried away. Which things, for that they tended to the breach of the Peace, he could not (as he ſaid) but advertiſe his Highneſs of, for that he thought the Chriſtian Captains upon the borders of their Territories to be men that hated Peace, and to ſeek by their Excurſions, as heretofore they had done, ſo now likewiſe alſo, to diſturb this good Work begun, and by all means to increaſe their own private Profit. And that therefore, ſeeing that he and the Turks on their part wiſhed not to attempt or go about any thing contrary to the Articles of the Peace, that ſo likewiſe the Chriſtians ſhould contain themſelves within their own bounds, and with all ſpeed by Letters to give him to underſtand whether they would keep the Peace or not.

1607

The Janizaries in Mutiny againſt the Baſſa of *Buda*.

The effect of the Letters of the Baſſa of *Buda* to the Archduke *Matthias*.

The Great Sultan (as is aforeſaid) having made Peace with the Chriſtian Emperour, and now purpoſing to turn all his Forces againſt his Rebels in *Aſia*, and the *Perſian* King, (as we have oftentimes ſaid) and deſirous to appeaſe thoſe his Troubles at home, before he had farther to do with the *Perſian*, he ſent a Meſſenger unto the Baſſa of *Aleppo*, to lay down Arms, and to deliver over his charge unto another, to whom he had appointed

1607 pointed the ſame; promiſing, that if he would ſhew himſelf obedient unto this his Command, he would not only pardon him all that was paſt, but receive him into his Grace and Favour alſo. Whereunto the Baſſa anſwered, That he had never taken up Arms againſt his Majeſty, but to be revenged on the Baſſaes of *Tripolis* and *Damaſco*, his ſworn Enemies; who once taken out of the way, he would not only yield himſelf unto his Majeſty, but re-deliver alſo the Tribute ſent him from *Caire* and *Alexandria*, by him before intercepted, and (if he ſo pleaſed to employ him) to bring great Forces in his Service againſt the *Perſian* King. With which anſwer, the Sultan not contented, ſhortly after ſent the Viſier Baſſa with a great Army againſt the Rebels into *Aſia*; who, by his Wiſdom and Diſcretion, more than by force of Arms, having appeaſed the Rebels in the leſſer *Aſia*, and received certain of the chiefeſt of them into his favour, with an Army of an hundred and thirty thouſand men marched directly towards *Aleppo* in *Syria*. Of whoſe coming, the Baſſa of *Aleppo* having intelligence, with an Army of forty thouſand men, moſt part of them Harquebuſiers, went againſt him, and in a place of advantage, not paſt two miles from the City, there encountred him, and in three notable Battels one after another, withſtood his whole Forces. But making himſelf ready to have encountred him the fourth time, underſtanding of great aid comming to the Viſier from the Baſſaes of *Damaſco* and *Tripolis*, he with ſpeed retired, and returning into the City, and having truſſed up his Treaſure, with ſuch things as he made moſt reckoning of, fled into the Mountains towards *Perſia*, with the greateſt part of his Army yet left ſtill following him. After which unfortunate Battel, the Viſier Baſſa with his Army coming unto the City, at length by force took the ſame, and there, to the terrour of the Inhabitants, put to the ſword all the Garriſon ſouldiers which the Baſſa had there left.

The Rebels in the leſſer *Aſia* by the Viſier Baſſa appeaſed.

The Baſſa of *Aleppo*, after three notable encounters with the Viſier, flyeth.

But the Baſſa, purpoſing with new Forces to have encountred with the Viſier, finding himſelf, together with his better Fortune, forſaken by many of his former Friends and Companions, did think it beſt at length to take his refuge unto the mercy of the Great Sultan; and ſo reſolved, by Letters requeſted the Viſier Baſſa to write in his behalf unto the Sultan; and ſo, if it were poſſible, to procure his peace. Which the Viſier having eaſily obtained, he was by Letters from the Great Sultan ſent for to *Conſtantinople*, with aſſured promiſe, that he ſhould be employed in ſervice againſt the *Perſian* King. Upon receit of which Letters, the Baſſa with an hundred horſe ſet forward; and coming to *Conſtantinople*, there, in the preſence of many other of the Baſſaes, humbled himſelf unto the Sultan; who not only kept his promiſe with him in pardoning of him, but alſo, in regard of the antient Family whereof he was deſcended, as alſo of his great valour and fair conditions, received him again into his favour, and cauſed all the goods taken from him in *Syria*, to be again reſtored unto him.

The Baſſa of *Aleppo* pardoned by the Great Sultan, and received again into favour.

Now in the mean time the great Sultan had, by the means of the great Cham of *Tartary*, endeavour'd to make peace with the *Perſian* King, but all in vain; for that he demanded the City of *Tauris*, with all the Provinces before taken from him by the *Perſians*, to be again reſtored unto him; which the *Perſian* King utterly denied, for as much as he had now by force of Arms recovered the ſame, and which in former time belonged unto his Anceſtors. At which time the ſaid *Perſian* King, the more to entangle the *Turk*, writ unto the King of *Spain*, for the turning of his Forces alſo againſt the *Turk*, their common Enemy; the Letters being to this effect: That though they were in Religion divided, yet that in Power and in common hatred againſt the *Othoman* Empire they were conjoyned: and that he, conſidering the greatneſs of his Power and Arms, whereby he was become his Neighbour in the Eaſt, could not but moſt entirely love and favour him; and that therefore he had commanded all his Provinces, as well in *India* as in other places thereabouts, that they ſhould ſhew unto his Subjects all manner of courteſie, and to demand of them no Tribute. And that he, having by force recovered the Fortreſs of *Aden*, which *Soliman* the Turkiſh *Sultan* had ſometime by Treaſon ſurprized, had appointed the ſame unto the ſervice of the *Spaniſh* Governour dwelling in *Goa*. And that his pleaſure was, That all the Chriſtians dwelling in his Kingdom ſhould enjoy the ſame liberty and priviledges which his own faithful Subjects had. And beſides declared, that he had now for ſeven years ſpace made continual Wars againſt the Turkiſh Sultan, who had by Treaſon taken from him the ſtrong Town of *Chiamon*, for the recovery whereof, he had now divers times overthrown his Armies. But for as much as he was determined to make no end of this War, until he had driven the Sultan out of thoſe parts of the Eaſt, and recovered the Seat of *Iſmael* and *Juchel*, his Anceſtors in *Babylon* and *Caire*, he therefore requeſted him, being a King of ſo great power, to joyn in League with him, and to ſend his dreadful Fleet into the Perſian Gulf; promiſing, that by ſuch means, the *Othoman* Power driven out, he could eaſily make himſelf Lord of *Syria* and of *Egypt*. Laſt of all, he reckoneth up the Preſents he ſent him, to wit, the Images of *Iſmael*, *Juchel*, and of *Jonas*, together with his own, caſt in gold, and ſet with moſt rich precious Stones and Pearls; a Perſian writing Table, garniſhed with fair precious Stones, four Dogs, by nature wonderfully ſpotted with red, yellow, and blue ſpots, two pieces of Arras, adorned with moſt precious Stones and Pearl, wherein the worthy Acts of him that great *Tamerlane* were lively to be ſeen: four Hunters horns very ſmooth and richly garniſhed; twelve moſt gallant Plumes of Feathers of divers colours: ſix Drinking-glaſſes which could not be broken, and Couch-beds ſo cunningly made, as that they were like unto Chairs, having wrought in them the antient Wars betwixt *Aſcanius* and *Chiuſa* King of the *Medes*.

The great Sultan ſeeketh in vain by the means of the *Tartar* to make peace with the *Perſian*.

The Letters of the *Perſian* King unto the King of *Spain*.

Now the Emperour, for the better appeaſing of all former troubles, and the preventing of new, and the better aſſurance of the State, had, about the middle of *Auguſt*, called an Aſſembly of the States of *Hungary* to *Presburg*; whither they being come, and having long in vain expected the coming of *Matthias* the Arch-duke, by the Emperour appointed to have been Preſident in that Aſſembly, were, in the beginning of *September*, about to have returned home, but that, requeſted by the Arch-biſhop to ſtay yet fifteen days longer, they were contented ſo to do; but yet upon condition, That if the Arch-duke then came not, they ſhould not be bound to ſtay any longer: For why, they, by Letters certified of the attempts of the *Tartars*, (who had requeſted to have a place in the Borders of *Hungary* appointed them to dwell in) were deſirous in any wiſe to have that Aſſembly of Parliament put off to a farther time, that ſo they might the better betime prevent and meet with ſuch the *Tartars* Deſigns, whom they were loth to have for their bad and troubleſom Neighbours. And now the Turks in the mean time, in hopes that the Peace betwixt them and

The States of *Hungary* about to depart from *Presburg*, by the perſuaſion of the Arch-biſhop there ſtaid.

1607

The *Turks* in great numbers repair to *Buda.*

and the Chriſtians would not long hold, were come to *Buda* in ſuch multitudes, that the houſes in the Town being not able to hold them, they were glad to ſet up Tents for them to lye in within the City; for that the Baſſa would not ſuffer them to ſet up any Tents abroad in the Fields, leſt the Chriſtians ſhould ſuſpect them to be about the raiſing of an Army, and ſo to diſturb the Peace.

The States of *Hungary* depart from *Presburg* without any thing doing.

But the States of *Hungary*, having ſtayed full fifteen days, as the Arch-biſhop had requeſted, and the Arch-duke not coming; made a ſolemn Proteſtation before the Chapter of the Cathedral Church at *Presburg*, that they departed from *Presburg*, and ſo returned home, not upon any diſcontentment or Contumacy, but for want of things neceſſary, and other their urgent Occaſions, (having above ſeven weeks expected the Arch-duke's coming, without whom nothing could be done) and yet, that if it ſhould pleaſe the Emperour by ſolemn Summons at any time after to call another Parliament, they would be ready upon any ſuch Summons given, to return again to *Presburg*, and there to conſult of all ſuch things as ſhould be for the good and welfare of the Common-weal; ſo that nothing were propounded contrary to the Articles they the year before agreed upon at *Vienna*, which they would have in all points kept whole and inviolate; ſo that if any man ſhould go about or attempt any thing in diſpoſing and ordering of the Publick Affairs contrary to that Agreement, they would not in any wiſe ratifie the ſame, altho it were by the Emperour himſelf allowed; which their Proteſtation they requeſted to have regiſtred, and ſealed with the Chapters Seal, and ſo, not having done any thing at all for which they came, again returned.

The *Haiducks* go about to raiſe new ſtirs in *Hungary.*

After whoſe departure from *Presburg*, the *Haiducks*, (Men uſed to live by their Swords, and not by their Labour) of all others moſt diſcontented with this general Peace, began now to raiſe new ſtirs and Tumults, and daily to grow ſtronger and ſtronger, craving Aid of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, and not of the other *Hungarians* their Countrymen, now again returned to their wonted Allegeance unto the Chriſtian Emperour; a number of which *Haiducks* flocking to *Buda*, the Baſſa there, with ſome other of the Turks Captains and Commanders, entred into Conſultation what to do with theſe ſo fit Inſtruments for the troubling of the Chriſtians, and the diſturbing of the Peace. To entertain them he durſt not, and to caſt them off he was loth; but yet purpoſing to uſe them, and to ſet them a work as occaſion ſhould ſerve, he, to prepare an entrance thereunto, by Letters threatned them of *Comora*, that except they better kept the Capitulations and Articles of the late Peace, they ſhould ſhortly hear of new matters. But in the mean time, Letters were ſent from the Great Sultan to the Baſſa of *Buda*, with charge, that although the Chriſtians were reported to increaſe their ſtrength, he ſhould yet keep himſelf within his bounds, and to attempt nothing againſt them, except they ſhould proceed to manifeſt force; in which caſe he ſhould not fail by all lawful means to revenge himſelf. Which the Sultan's mind once made known, the *Turks* again departed from *Buda*, moſt part of the great Ordnance that they brought with them being carried back again to *Sigeth.*

The Baſſa of *Buda* forbidden to make Wars upon the Chriſtians.

An Aſſembly of the States of the upper *Hungary*, and the decrees by them there made.

But the States of *Hungary*, being returned home from *Presburg*, and again Aſſembled, the Fourteenth day of *October*, by their general conſent, decreed, That *Tokay* ſhould again be joyned unto their Juriſdiction; and that the great Ordnance throughout all the free Cities ſhould be removed and carried home unto the Places whereunto they before belonged: That the Vayvod of *Tranſilvania* ſhould be admoniſhed not to ſeparate *Tranſilvania* from *Hungary*: That the Baſſa of *Buda* ſhould be warned to keep his *Turks* within their own bounds: And that the Nobility of *Hungary* ſhould betime be admoniſhed with all their force to repreſs the *Haiducks*, and all other their Enemies. Howbeit, the *Haiducks* proceeding in their inſolent Out-rages more than before, took certain Forts, and with Fire and Sword ſpoiled many Places of the Country, cauſing the People to ſwear to be Friends to them and the *Turks*, and Enemies unto the *Germans* and *Wallons*; and demanding of *Humanoius* the Crown wherewith *Boiſcay* had ſometime been rewarded from the Grand Seignior, had a purpoſe to have crowned him, or ſome other for their King; who for all that, by a Meſſenger ſent word unto them, that he would not at their hands accept that Dignity, but faithfully continue in his Allegiance toward the Emperour. But when the States of the upper *Hungary* were about to have gone againſt theſe ſeditious and rebellious People to have ſurpriſed them; they were from ſo doing deterred by the Baſſa of *Agria*, threatning with his *Turks* and *Tartars* to take their parts if they ſhould once take up Arms againſt them.

1607

The *Haiducks* conſpire againſt the *Germans.*

The *Turks* further the inſolent attempts of the *Haiducks.*

About the ſame time, ſix hundred *Haiducks* going to the Caſtle of Saint *Andrew*, and coming thither could not be let in by the Garriſon Souldiers, as they had deſired; and perceiving them to make no reckoning of their Service, could no longer hold, but openly profeſſed themſelves to become the Great Sultan's Servants; who from thence marching to *Budnok*, took it by force, and ranſack'd it; and ſo ſtill ſeeking after Booty, ran out towards *Tockay*, where by the way they were in a ſtrait by *Humanoius*, lying in wait for them, entrapped, and almoſt all ſlain; who afterward ſent two of the *Turks* Enſigns taken from them to *Vienna*, and to the terrour of others, empaled ſome of them upon Stakes, being brought Priſoners to *Caſſovia.* For which unfortunate Expedition, ſome other of the *Haiducks* lighting upon two of the Captains, who by chance had eſcaped out of *Humanoius*'s hands, put them both to death for the evil leading of their fellows, hanging up the one, and with their Swords hewing the other all to pieces. Now by the report of ſome of the Priſoners there taken, it was known this new Rebellion of the *Haiducks* to have been raiſed by the procurement of the Baſſaes of *Buda* and *Agria*, who by their Meſſengers had promiſed unto them all help. Which Report to have been true, the Event did ſhortly after confirm; for the 27*th* day of *November* almoſt fifteen thouſand of theſe *Haiducks*, having before received from the Great Sultan three hundred thouſand Duckets for Pay, came and moſt ſtraitly beſieged *Filek*, a ſtrong Caſtle, the *Turks* ſending them great Ordnance from *Agria*; unto whom theſe *Haiducks* had promiſed to deliver all ſuch Places as they ſhould win. Howbeit, the Event of this ſiege anſwered not their deſire; for *Thomas Boſnias*, Captain of *Filek*, with his Garriſon all of *German* Souldiers, ſo valiantly repulſed them, and the extremity of the Winter-weather ſo diſtreſſed them, that they were glad to raiſe their ſiege, and be gone.

Six hundred *Haiducks* intercepted by *Humanoius*

The *Haiducks* in their Rebellion ſupported by the Turks.

Now much about the ſame time, *viz.* about the beginning of *November*, a great Fire aroſe at *Conſtantinople*, wherein almoſt five hundred Shops of Wares, with many other fair Buildings were burnt, ſo that the harm there by fire done was eſteemed to amount to above two millions of Gold.

A great Fire at *Conſtantinople.*

At the ſame time that the Aſſembly of the States of *Hungary* ſhould have been holden at *Presburg*, (as is before declared) the Emperour had appointed

1607 An Assembly of the States of *Austria*, and the Emperors demands therein.

appointed also another Assembly of the Nobility and States of *Austria* to be holden at *Vienna*; where, after they were assembled, certain Articles were unto them on the Emperours behalf propounded for them in that Assembly then to consider of; as first, that for the keeping of the Frontiers of *Austria* in quiet, the Contribution by them granted among themselves the last year, should this year following be doubled. Then, that if it should fortune the Enemy to attempt any thing of new against that Province, that instead of the Horses and Money which they were wont to send unto the Wars, they should for the space of twelve Months, or of the greatest part thereof, as occasion should require, of their own costs maintain ten Companies of *German* Foot-men, every Company being three hundred strong; and as many Troops of *German* Horse-men, every Troop consisting of an hundred Horse. And, that if for the better defence of the Borders of *Austria* there should happily need a greater strength, the same should be raised in no other sort than was used in *Hungary*, nor at greater charges maintained. And, that if it should continue Peace, these charges should be converted to the payment of the Souldiers Wages: And that the States and other Subjects of that Province should so much as might be, be eased from the trouble of sending either of Horse or Foot for the defence of the Frontiers. Thirdly, that Commissaries should be maintained this year also to attend the Army, and certain skilful Captains appointed for the chusing of a fit General for the Army. That diligent regard and care should be had for the Provision of Corn and Victuals for the use of the People in General, as well in the time of Peace as of War. And that foralmuch as it much concerned the good of the Common-weal, to have the Frontiers of the Country toward *Canisia* diligently viewed, for fear of the Turks great Garrison there still lying, that therefore certain good and expert Souldiers, which knew those places well, should be chosen, who, together with the Deputies of the Emperour, *Hungarians*, and *Stirians*, riding about these Confines, should forthwith consider what were best to be done for the safety thereof. In brief, seeing that on the safety of *Rab*, the welfare of the City of *Vienna*, and of the Forts thereabouts depended, that for the repairing of the Fortifications thereof, and the better strengthning of the same, the sum of four thousand Florens should be appointed; and for the defence of the Frontiers of *Austria* from the incursion of the Turks Garrison of *Canisia*, five thousand; and for the furthering of the Buildings at *Nustorfe*, five thousand more should be paid; and that those who hitherto had been slack in paying of their Contribution Money, should forthwith be enforced to pay the same. And also that it might be considered of, how that too much inhaunсing of the value of Monies might be restrained; that good orders might be kept; all the Country cleared from the Robberies of the Souldiers, straggling here and there up and down the same; that the counterfeit *Hungarian* and *Polonian* Money should be prohibited, as not current; that good order might be taken for the staying of the Plague, which then began in many Places in *Austria*.

The Assembly broken up, and nothing concluded.

Concerning which Articles, when as the States there assembled complained, all that Country to be with the long Wars against the Turk, the Incursions of the Rebels, and the Outrages of the mutinous Souldiers, already almost exhausted, and miserably bared of Money; no resolution could then, according as the Necessity required, be made, but was unto a further time deferred, and the Assembly broken up.

1608 A Diet of the Empire by the Emperour appointed at *Ratisbone*.

The Emperour at the same time appointed a Diet of the Empire to be holden at *Ratisbone*; wherein he, having appointed *Ferdinand*, Arch-duke of *Austria*, to be chief in his place, he with a notable train of seven hundred Horse, and a gallant guard of Footmen, came thither the eight and twentieth of *November*, and was there by the Citizens honourably received. Unto which Assembly, when as the Deputies of the Electors, and of the other Princes and Cities of the Empire, were in great number come, at length, the twelfth of *January*, Divine Service being done in the Cathedral Church, *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke, with his Courtiers, the Emperours Counsellors, and other the Princes Deputies being there present, taking Horse before the Church, with a great company of the Nobility and Princes Deputies following of him, went to the Court; the Citizens in their Arms standing on both sides; where *Godfrey Ortelius*, the Emperours Secretary, having in a notable Oration set forth the Emperours Love and Affection towards the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire; and why, the Emperour himself could not be present at this Assembly, as willingly he would have been; he propounded in his Name five Articles for them in this their Assembly to be especially considered of. First, how the Empire might hereafter be preserved and defended against the Violence of the Turks, and the dangerous rebellions by their procurement stirred up in *Hungary*, to the endangering of the whole Empire; especially seeing that the Turks themselves (with whom the Peace was of late concluded) by their doings had heretofore more than sufficiently declared what trust or credit was to be given unto them; and seeing that it is most manifest, them therein to have sought for nothing else, than that having made or rather counterfeited a Peace with the Christians for a time, for the suppressing of the Rebels, and the repressing of the Invasions of the *Persians*, they might after such Victory against them obtained, come better provided and stronger to overcome the Christians. Which was easie to be seen; for that whilst they were yet intreating of Peace, they had taken *Strigonium*, and having concluded Peace, they ceased not as yet with their Counsel and Aid to help the Rebels in their rebellious Tumults; which was manifestly to be perceived by the *Haiducks* themselves, who were not ashamed openly to profess themselves to be the Great Sultans Servants, to require Cities and Fortresses to be yielded unto the Sultan, and to conspire against the very name of the *Germans*. For the speedy Remedy of which mischief, the Emperour had thought good, that consideration of this point should so be had, as that the Princes should either consent unto a certain standing and perpetual Contribution, whereby a sufficient strength might always be ready wherewith to withstand the Enemies attempts; or else that for certain years twenty thousand Foot men, and four thousand Horse might there be still in readiness, to be maintained at the common charges of the Empire; which the Emperour (need so requiring) might use against the common Enemy. Or, that if this were heavy or troublesome unto the States of the Empire, yet at least they should consent yearly to contribute such Money as might suffice for the sustaining of such a Power. Another point of this Conclusion was, about the correcting and reforming of the administration of Justice in the Imperial Chamber. For, seeing that in the former Assemblies and meetings this matter could not be fully decided, by reason of certain hinderances and impediments which then fell out, and that without the due Administration and Execution of Justice

The Articles by the Emperour propounded to be considered of in the Diet of the Empire at *Ratisbone*.

1608 no Empire could long ſtand or flouriſh, no more than the World could without the Sun; his Imperial Majeſty therefore would not have the Deliberation of this ſo neceſſary a point to be put off or referred unto any other Aſſembly, but to be done and concluded in this preſent Aſſembly. The third point to be conſidered of was, the War which hath been now ſo many years made in the Low-Countries, and the inconveniency thereof redounding unto the Empire. For whereas in the Treaty of Peace in the Low-Countries, (at which Treaty both he and the whole Empire ought to have been there preſent) for the better concluding and ending of the ſame, he had heard the confederate Princes to be now acknowledged for a free State, he could not now any longer (as he ſaid) forbear, but that (ſeeing the Low-Countries to be a member and Fee of the Empire, and by the antient Records of the Empire, and of the Emperours, and by many other Proofs it appeareth, the Governours of the Low-Countries to have been Vaſſals of the Empire) he ſhould by Letters which were written unto the King of *Spain*, the Arch-duke *Albertus*, and the States of the confederate Provinces, admoniſh them, That they ſhould not proceed to do or determine any thing in this matter, which might any way tend to the hurt or prejudice of the Emperour, of the Empire, and of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. And foraſmuch as that War in the Low-Countries had hitherto done no ſmall harm unto the Empire, if happily it could not be agreed upon between the Parties, and that it ſhould happen the ſame War to be any longer continued, or rather again renewed, it ſhould then be conſidered upon, how the Empire might be ſatisfied for the great harm it had until this preſent thereby received, and how it might be from the like harm hereafter kept and preſerved. The fourth point in this Conſultation, which was to be conſidered of, concerned the Coyn. For whereas it is manifeſt, that the value of the Mony to be daily more and more inhaunced and raiſed, and that thereby not only the Magiſtrates in the publick Recipt, but the Subjects alſo in general received great and manifeſt harm, foraſmuch as the price of ſuch neceſſary things which we muſt in this Life have ordinary uſe of, muſt of neceſſity be ſtill more and more increaſed, according to the value of the Money, the Emperour thought good with mature Deliberation to remedy this miſchief in this preſent Aſſembly of the Empire. The fifth and laſt point which was to be conſidered upon, was, the perfecting of the Matriculer of the Empire, for the giving unto every Man that which of due belongeth unto him; the perfecting of which Matriculer, the Emperour would have in this Aſſembly to be amongſt them conſidered of.

Which Articles thus propounded, there fell a great Controverſie amongſt the Deputies of the Princes concerning the manner of their proceeding in theſe matters: as whether they ſhould conſider of theſe Articles in ſuch order as they were propounded, or otherwiſe. And when as many thought it beſt firſt to conſider of the Article for the Reformation of Juſtice, being the ſecond Article propounded to be conſidered of, and afterwards to come unto the reſt of the Articles to be afterward conſulted of; when as the two and twentieth day of *January* they came again to Council, a Writing was by the Emperours command read unto them, whereby it was ſignified unto the States of the Empire, the rebellious Tumults by *Botſcay* and ſome others raiſed in *Hungary* to be yet by the *Haiducks* continued, the Sultan himſelf ſending of them Rewards, and furniſhing them with Ordnance and other things neceſſary for the Wars, by the Governour of *Agria*, and the Baſſa of *Buda*, threatning all Extremities unto them which ſhould go about to reſiſt them; and then augmenting the danger which thereby might enſue unto the Empire, and eſpecially unto the *German* Name, ſeeing that it was manifeſt thoſe rebellious *Haiducks* to have eſpecially conſpired the Deſtruction of the *Germans*, and to have confirmed that their League, by drinking of an Health: It was requeſted, that leaving off theſe Contentions for the manner of their Proceeding, they would turn their Conſultations unto the firſt Article, and reſolve how Remedy might in time be given unto this miſchief, and how Aid might be ſent unto the Emperour againſt his Enemies. 1608

The Deputies for the States of the Empire, in the Aſſembly at *Ratisbone*, at variance among themſelves.

But when as in their often meetings nothing could be concluded, by reaſon of the divers and different Opinions betwixt the Proteſtants and Catholicks, *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke again calling together the Deputies of the Electors, of the Princes, and of the Imperial Cities, cauſed it by Letters to be declared unto them, How that the Emperour, not without his great Grief and Sorrow had heard, That for certain diſſentions among them they could not yet come to conſult of the Articles propounded in that Aſſembly to be by them conſidered of, but to his great Grief to be from day to day protracted; and that therefore he requeſted them, That either they themſelves would quietly end thoſe Diſſentions amongſt themſelves, or elſe ſend their Differences, conceived in Writing, unto the Emperour to be decided, and ſo at length to come effectually to conſult of the propounded Articles. And indeed the Deputies aforeſaid had in Writing before exhibited their Minds concerning that point, for the manner of their Proceeding, unto the Arch-duke *Ferdinand*. But foraſmuch as that Writing was according to the manner of the Catholicks and the Proteſtants, of two different ſorts; the former thinking it meet to conſult of the aforeſaid Articles in ſuch order as they were propounded, and firſt of all, to conſider of the Contribution to be given againſt the Turks, and other Enemies in *Hungary*; but the other labouring, firſt for the Reformation of Juſtice, and the confirming of the Peace of Religion; and afterward to provide for Aid againſt the foreign Enemies, that ſo Remedy might firſt be provided for inward, than for outward Griefs; eſpecially ſeeing that they had no expreſs Commandment firſt to determine of the Contribution. Unto whom the Arch-duke by Writing again anſwered, That he had received no other Inſtruction from the Emperour, then that he ſhould conſult of the aforeſaid Articles, with the Deputies there preſent, in ſuch order as they were propounded: Neither that it was convenient, that the firſt Article concerning Contribution being neglected, they ſhould proceed unto the ſecond, ſeeing that the Enemies might eaſily, by the delay of putting off the ſame in effect take occaſion in the mean time to do the Chriſtians great harm. Beſides that, that he had ſufficiently proteſted, That Conſultation concerning the Reformation of Juſtice ſhould in this preſent Aſſembly be had alſo; neither that it was the Emperours mind to have it deferred unto any other Aſſembly. Wherefore he exhorted the Proteſtants, That they ſhould forthwith endeavour by their Letters unto the Electors & Princes, and other their Superiours, to obtain leave, that they might firſt determine ſome certainty about the firſt Article concerning Contribution; that ſo giving way to the Opinion of the other party, they might inſtantly prepare themſelves for the making of the Contribution. Howbeit, this his perſuaſion prevailed nothing,

by

1608 by reaſon of their Diſcord and Diſſention about the order of their Conſultation; the one part ſtill labouring for the Contribution to be firſt agreed upon, and the other part holding as hard for the Reformation of Juſtice; ſo that *Ferdinand* the Arch-duke, out of hope of concluding any thing that good was, not in vain to ſpend his coſt and time any longer, the fifth of *May* diſmiſſed the Aſſembly, and returned home, as did all the reſt of the Electors and Princes Deputies, no one Article that was propounded being ſo much as once reaſoned of, but all left undecided; ſo ſmall care was there of the common good, either for the raiſing of Money for the withſtanding of the Turks and Rebels, or for the Reformation of Juſtice; the Neceſſity of both, either on the one ſide or the other, ſo hardly urged, and yet in Concluſion be neither reſpected or regarded.

The Diet of the States of the Empire at *Ratisbone* broken off, and nothing concluded.

Whilſt the Diet to no purpoſe (as is aforeſaid) was by the Arch-duke *Ferdinand* holden at *Ratisbone*, *Matthias* the Arch-duke, with a grait Train following of him, came in the mean time to *Preſburg*, where he was with much Joy and Triumph received; the Garriſon Souldiers in order ſtanding on both ſides the way as he went unto the Caſtle: *Napragius* the Biſhop of *Rab*, with an eloquent Oration welcoming of him, in the preſence of certain of the *Hungarian* Nobility, who had gone out as far as *Hainburg* to meet him, and now alſo honourably welcomed him, much rejoycing at his coming. The next day the Arch-biſhop, and Cardinal of *Strigonium*, with a notable Train of *Hungarian* Gentlemen came to *Presburg*; who, forthwith received into the Caſtle, and having ſaluted the Arch-duke, conferred with him of many things in this Aſſembly to be conſulted of. In the mean time *Illiſhaſcius* (that Noble *Hungarian* of whom we have ſo often ſpoken) arrived there alſo with twelve Coaches, ninety Harquebuſiers, and forty *Hungarian* Horſemen going before him, and three hundred *Haiducks* which had attended upon him, being at the Gate diſmiſſed. So the chief of the *Hungarian* States being come, the Conſultation was begun the three and twentieth day of *January*; where, when as the Arch-duke had propounded unto the *Hungarian* Nobility, what things they were eſpecially to conſider of; it was by them anſwered, The *Haiducks*, before their coming out, to have determined, not one whit to depart from the Articles the year before propounded and agreed on at *Vienna*; nor to admit any limitation at all of them; ſo that for the appeaſing of the Tumults of the *Haiducks*, there was no need of any new Conſultation, but only to confirm ſuch things as was then and there conſulted and agreed upon. From which their Reſolution, when as the *Hungarians* were not to be removed, and being grieved with the ſcoffing at of certain of the Clergy (thereupon refuſing in any wiſe to make their appearance, as they were commanded, before the Cardinal in the Caſtle) were about again to depart, making a ſolemn Proteſtation, themſelves to be guiltleſs of ſuch harms as ſhould thereof afterwards enſue; it was at length on all parts agreed upon, That the whole matter ſhould be committed unto ten choſen out of the *Hungarian* Counſellors, and ten more of the Counſellors of *Auſtria*, to be conſulted and determined of. By whom, being met all together the eight and twentieth day of *January*, in the Houſe of *Illiſhaſcius*, it was concluded, That ſeeing that Peace and Quietneſs in thoſe Countries of *Hungary* and *Auſtria*, could not otherwiſe be made, that thoſe Articles and Conditions, concerning which no Agreement could the year before be made in the Treaty at *Vienna*, being quite left off and neglected, the reſt of the Articles which were there agreed upon, ſhould be ſtill entirely obſerved and kept; and that it ſhould be lawful for every man to have the free Exerciſe of his Religion. Which thing the Commiſſioners of *Auſtria* by a ſpecial Writing there confirmed unto the *Hungarians*. Whereby they declared themſelves, after long and mature deliberation, to have perceived, not only by the true relation and report of the *Hungarians*, but alſo by their own experience, unto how great Inconveniencies the whole Kingdom of *Hungary* hath of long been expoſed, as well for the Wars it hath had with the common Enemy of the Chriſtians, as for divers the civil Tumults and Seditions therein; and that therefore they, not willing that ſuch harms ſhould in thoſe Countries again increaſe and grow, to the infinite effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, after the Articles of Pacification agreed upon at *Vienna*, ſaw no other better Remedy for theſe ſo great Inconveniencies, than that all Parties ſhould ſtill hold themſelves contented with the ſame Articles of Pacification concluded and agreed upon in the ſaid Aſſembly at *Vienna*. And that therefore they had decreed, thoſe Articles to be ſincerely and inviolately kept; and promiſed unto the States of *Hungary*, to give their Aid for the defence of theſe Articles, againſt all their Enemies, being ready to give good reaſon thereof before God, the Church, the Emperour *Rodolph*, the Arch-duke *Matthias*, and his other Brethren, and all the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as the Neceſſity of thoſe Countries ſhould ſeem to require; hoping alſo that the States of *Hungary* would reſt themſelves likewiſe in that Pacification of *Vienna*, and the aſſurance thereof, in all points obſerving the ſame; and that they would always give their ready Help and Aid unto the Countries of *Auſtria* againſt their Enemies in like manner. All which things thus agreed upon and determined, Letters of Confederation were in the Name of *Matthias* the Arch-duke, and of all, as well the Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal States of *Hungary* and *Auſtria*, to this purpoſe written, That whereas, for the appeaſing and ſuppreſſing of the Tumults and Seditions, which the *Haiducks* by the Inſtigation of the *Turks* had of late not doubted to raiſe, for the concluding of Peace with the Great Sultan; they were met together at *Presburg*, and therein altogether buſied, to deviſe how the Kingdom of *Hungary*, with the Countries adjoyning, might from Deſtruction be delivered, in the Chriſtian Religion preſerved, and from waſting and ſpoyling, whereunto they had hitherto been expoſed, ſaved; upon mature Deliberation, had as well in the Name of them that were preſent, as of them that were abſent, made ſuch a Confederation and League, That if hereafter it ſhould fortune any detriment of War to be by any man made or done unto the *Hungarians*, or the Countries thereabout, for the aforeſaid Articles of Pacification, which they had determined religiouſly to keep, that they would forthwith with their united Forces come to Aid their Confederate Brethren, and together with them to live or die.

Matthias the Arch-duke cometh to *Presburg*.

Commiſſioners appointed for the appeaſing of the new Troubles in *Hungary*.

Letters of Confederation betwixt the States of *Auſtria* and *Hungary*, for the maintaining of the Articles of Pacification agreed upon at *Vienna*.

With theſe Letters ſigned and ſealed with the hand of the Arch-duke, and of the Noble Men there preſent, the firſt of *February*, *Illiſhaſcius*, with *George Turſon*, were ſent unto the Tumultuous *Haiducks* (who had now appointed their Meſſages to be ſent unto the Sultan and the Tartar Cham, to crave their Aid) to diſſwade them from ſuch their purpoſe, and to perſwade them to quietneſs; threatning them withal, That if they would not hearken unto ſuch honeſt Conditions, they ſhould all together, and at once, be ſet upon and oppreſſed by the whole Power of the States.

1608

The States of *Enſeric* commanded by the Archduke *Matthias* to be always in a readineſs againſt the *Haiducks*.

The Aſſembly at *Presburg* thus ended, *Matthias* the Archduke returning to *Vienna*, and forthwith calling together the States of *Enſeric*, declared unto them all that was done in the Aſſembly at *Presburg*. And for as much as that Aſſembly was chiefly to that end appointed, That the Kingdom of *Hungary* ſhould not altogether be pluck'd away from the Empire; and that after the revolt thereof, the greateſt harm to be done by the Incurſions and ſpoyling of the Enemies, would lie upon the Countries of *Auſtria*; he adviſed them ſo to look unto themſelves, and carefully to provide for the Common-weal, as that having Money always in readineſs to maintain an Army, they might with all convenient ſpeed go to meet with the *Haiducks*, if haply they would not conform themſelves unto the Articles of the Pacification, but again raiſe new Broils; that ſo they might defend and preſerve their Country from their Outrages.

The Prince of *Valachia* dieth, whoſe Widow notably preſerveth the Country for her Son.

About the beginning of this Spring, when as *Jerome* Prince of *Valachia* was dead, leaving behind him a Son but thirteen years old, the Emperour admitted him, as yet not capable of the Government, under Tutors, unto the Succeſſion of his Heritage. Which thing the *Valachians* being by no means willing to endure, and bearing themſelves upon the help of the Turks, went about to make choice of another inſtead of their Prince of late dead. For which cauſe, the Princeſs, Widow, by Letters certified *Pollofcie*, her Son in Law, of this Outrage and Injury of her Subjects; and having obtained of him a great ſum of Money, and therewith raiſed an Army of ten thouſand good Souldiers, went forth againſt the *Valachians*, and in open field overcame them, in ſo bloody and terrible a Battel, that having ſlain five thouſand of the *Valachians* and Turks, ſhe had over them a notable Victory, and by that means preſerved the Principality of that Country for her Son.

The Duke of *Florence* in vain requeſted by the Turks to ſpare their Gallies.

The Great Duke of *Florence* had hitherto done great harm with his Fleet unto the Turks in the *Mediterranean* Sea; for which cauſe, a Meſſenger about this time coming unto him in the Great Sultans Name, promiſed him great Matters, if he would from thenceforth forbear to hurt and purſue the Turks Gallies. Which his Requeſt ſerved the Turks to no other purpoſe, but as it were to put Oyl unto the Fire. For the Duke afterward cauſed new Gallies to be made, and his Fleet increaſed, and therewith did more harm than formerly he had done.

The *Haiducks* refuſe to admit of the Pacification made at *Vienna*.

Now although that after the ending of the Aſſembly at *Presburg*, *Illiſhaſcius* and *George Turſon* had delivered unto the *Haiducks* the Articles of the Pacification, and commanded them from thenceforth to keep themſelves quiet; yet for all that could they not yet be perſwaded to hearken unto ſuch their Counſel; for that they being Men ſtill accuſtomed to the Wars, and living by their Swords, could not endure to fall to Husbandry, and ſuch other Labours. For which cauſe, they of the Country about *Gymeric*, writ unto them which dwelt in the Country about *Nuſol*, Letters to this effect: That foraſmuch as they, being divers times certified of the miſerable eſtate of their Neighbours, had refuſed to come to aid them, they ſhould yet now remember how neceſſary a thing it were, with their conjoyned Minds and Forces to help one another; for that the *Haiducks*, having now paſſed the River of *Teiſe*, were broken into that Province, and were run as far as *Budnoc*; neither were they minded ſo to ſtay, but to rob and ſpoil all the Country before them, if they were not with ſpeed encountred. And the rather, for that but a few days before they had received thirty thouſand *Hungarian* Duckats from the Turks, whom they now acknowledged for their Lords, with Horſes and other Gifts, to be divided among their Leaders and Captains; and moreover, daily expected Aid from the *Tartars*, who in great Numbers lay about *Belgrade*. Wherefore ſeeing it could not be expreſſed what great harm and loſs was by the *Haiducks* done, as well unto the Noblemen themſelves, as to the common Country-men; that they ſhould therefore thereof give their Neighbours to underſtand, and with all ſpeed to take up Arms againſt the ſame rebellious *Haiducks*.

1608

Not long after, about the latter end of *March*, Proclamation was made by the Commandment of *Matthias* the Arch-duke, throughout all *Auſtria*, That every man ſhould provide himſelf to take up Arms. The cauſe whereof men diverſly ſuſpected; howbeit that unto this Proclamation was this Reaſon joyned, That the Arch-duke was determined himſelf to go about the fourteenth of *April* into *Moravia*, and there to gather together all his Power, as well *Hungarians*, as *Auſtrians* and *Haiducks*, for the War he was to take in hand. There were alſo Letters in the Arch-dukes name ſent unto the Vaſſals of *Auſtria*, to give them to underſtand, That whereas they were not ignorant, what, for the obtaining of Peace, and Defence of theſe Countries, had of late been decreed at *Presburg*; and that all the States of *Enſeric* had approved the report thereof received from their Deputies, and ſo promiſed their help and aid unto the Arch-duke, as if that he himſelf would take in hand any Expedition, they would joyn themſelves unto him, and together with him to live or dye; yet that there were ſome, which being more deſirous of War than Peace, did not only not reſt upon the former Pacification, but gathered an Army alſo in the Borders of *Moravia*, with a purpoſe to make an inroad as well into *Moravia*, as into *Auſtria* it ſelf. For which cauſe, the States of *Moravia* alſo were enforced, for defence of themſelves, to raiſe an Army, and to crave help from their Neighbours. And that therefore, ſeeing the Arch-duke, mindful of his promiſe for the common Defence of the Countrey, was reſolved to beſtow his Life and all his Fortunes, and in his own Perſon to undertake an Expedition unto thoſe Places from whence the greateſt danger was to be feared to fall upon thoſe Countreys; neceſſity then required, that the States themſelves alſo ſhould ſuffer nothing to be wanting on their behalf, but every one of them, together with their Servants, forthwith to joyn themſelves unto the Arch-duke, and, to the uttermoſt of their power, to endeavour themſelves to deliver them and theirs from death and deſtruction. That God, in whoſe name this Expedition was by them to be taken in hand, as by the lovers of Peace, might ſo in ſhort time make an end of all tumults, and grant unto thoſe Countries wiſhed Peace and quietneſs. And that therefore they were to be admoniſhed, That, according to the tenor of the Decree made at *Presburg*, they, with ſuch a number of Horſe and Foot as they could upon the ſudden raiſe at a day to be ſhortly after named unto them, ſhould joyn themſelves unto the Arch-duke, and not to ſuffer any thing to let them in ſo doing. So that if haply any chance or ſickneſs ſhould happen unto their General, yet notwithſtanding that they ſhould ſend their Power under the leading of ſome other man, ſeeing that the Arch-duke himſelf ſpared not to adventure his Life and Fortunes, and (if God ſhould ſee it ſo good) account it a great gain even to loſe the ſame, ſo that thereby he might do his Countrey good.

The States of *Auſtria* warned by the Arch-duke to prepare themſelves for an Expedition to be made into *Moravia*.

About the beginning of *April*, the Cardinal returning from *Prague* to *Vienna*, brought with him the Emperours Anſwer and Reſolution, *viz.* That he

1608 he did ratifie and confirm all things that were done and concluded with the *Hungarians* and *Turks*; but that his Will was, That the Confederation made betwixt the States of *Hungary* and *Austria* at *Presburg*, should be void, and of none effect. Which, the Arch-duke protesting that he could by no means like of, or suffer to be done, he, the fifteenth of *April* afterwards, with a great number of the Peers, Nobility, and Counsellors, and a multitude of good Souldiers, going out of *Vienna* towards the Monastery of *Neoburg*, set forward upon his Journey, carrying with him eight and twenty Pieces of Ordnance, there expecting his Souldiers in all places levied: by publick Letters protesting, That no man should from his Army receive any harm; or if that by chance any harm were done unto any man by his Army, assuring his Subjects it should be again unto them restored and recompensed.

The Arch-duke *Matthias* prepareth himself for his Expedition into *Moravia*.

But the rumour of this Expedition being brought into *Bohemia*, the Nobility of the Countrey began to assemble themselves the fifteenth day of *April*, whither, when as many of the Deputies of the other Countreys were assembled also, it being decreed, That the Nobility of the faithful States there present, should with all speed return home, and so provide themselves and their Subjects of necessary Arms; that, need so requiring, they should therewith be able to defend themselves and their Countrey, the Assembly was dismissed. Besides that, the Emperour himself, careful for all Events, caused many, both Horse and Foot, to be brought to *Prague*, and to be diversly billeted in the Citizens houses: and furthermore, the eighteenth of *April*, by Letters directed unto certain Princes of the Empire, and to certain Earls also, Citizens, and other Vassals of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, warned them with all speed to send Aid unto him at *Prague*.

The Nobility of *Bohemia* are by the Emperor commanded to be ready in Arms.

But *Matthias* the Arch-duke in the mean time marching forward with an Army of twenty thousand Horse and Foot, the twenty fourth day of *April* came to *Zname*, a City of *Moravia*; and was there, by the States of *Moravia* (who the day before were come thither also with four hundred Horse) honourably received and brought into the City. From thence, sending out Letters into the Territories of *Bohemia*, and to the City of *Prague*, he requested, That they would send out of every place two Deputies for them, unto the Assembly to be holden at *Zaslauia* the fourth day of *May*: promising withal, That he himself being there present, would yield unto their Deputies a reason of his doings, as also what he meant to do hereafter. Besides that, he, by Letters sent unto the Electors and other Princes of the Empire, declared the cause why he was enforced to make this Expedition; and withal sending unto them a Copy of the Agreement made at *Vienna* the five and twentieth day of *April* in the year 1606, by the common consent of the Arch-dukes; in most friendly manner requested them, That they would not intermeddle in this business, but rather with their Counsel and Aid to further the same.

The Arch-duke *Matthias* with an Army cometh to *Zname* in *Moravia*.

But the three and twentieth day of *April*, the Emperour sent the Popes Ambassadours, with the Ambassadours of divers other Princes and States, then lying at *Prague*, with sundry of the *Bohemian* Ministers, in Embassage to the Arch-duke *Matthias*, still lying at *Zname*; whom the Cardinal the next day after followed also, to make some good Pacification, if it were possible, with the Arch-duke. But the Emperour in the mean time calling unto him the Counsellors of the old and new Town of *Prague*, (contrary to his wonted manner) most courteously with his own hand received them, and giving them thanks for the faithful Duties by them hitherto performed; requested them, That hereafter they would continue in their like fidelity and Loyalty also; most liberally promising unto them all kindness, with the restitution of the Priviledges concerning the shutting of the Gates of the City; which Liberty they had before lost in the time of the Emperour *Ferdinand*. And not long after, a general Muster was taken, not only in the City of *Prague*, and the Towns thereabouts, but also throughout all the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and three hundred Musqueteers appointed for the guard and keeping of the Castle, under the command of Count *Solmes*, who had Commission for the raising of other Souldiers also.

The Emperour sendeth Ambassadours to the Arch-duke *Matthias* at *Zname*.

1608

At the very same time, it was from *Constantinople* certainly reported, the *Tartar* Cham to have dyed, and the Turkish Sultan having received news thereof, to have dismissed his Son, whom he hitherto had detained as a Pledge, and with divers Ships and Gallies, to have caused him to be transported over the black Sea, unto the Borders of *Tartary*, there to take possession of his Fathers Kingdom. It was also then reported, certain of the seditious *Turks*, making of a road to have surprized *Smyrna*, a rich City of *Asia*, and to have forraged all the Countrey about it far and near, and coming unto *Magnesia*, a chief City of that Countrey, to have had ten thousand Crowns by the Inhabitants offered, from thenceforth to spare the Countrey thereabouts. The Persian King also, at the same time notably to proceed in his Wars, and to do the *Turks* great harm, the *Turks* and *Tartars* seeking in vain to withstand him.

The *Tartar* Cham dieth.

The seditious Turks raise new strifes in the lesser *Asia*, and spoil *Smyrna* with the Countrey thereabouts.

In the mean time, Ambassadours coming unto *Prague* from the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, part of them, the ninth of *May*, went unto the Arch-duke *Matthias* to *Zaslavia*, who still lay there encamped with an Army of five and twenty thousand Men; of whom they requesting a Truce for the space of eight Days, for the making of a Pacification betwixt the Emperour and him, and for friendly ending of this business, easily obtained the same, especially seeing that those Princes Electors, being joyned and bound unto the Emperour in a double Confederation, as well for their Electorship, as in respect of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, could not, as they said, otherwise do, but send present Aid unto the Emperour, his Necessity so requiring; to which end they had now in readiness certain thousands of Souldiers in the Frontiers of their Countries, to be forthwith sent unto him: The other part of these Ambassadors in the mean time staying with the Emperour, where, after the *German* manner, they were well provided of good Cheer and Wine.

Ambassadours sent from the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* for the appeasing of the troubles betwixt the Emperour and *Matthias*.

About the seventeenth of *May*, *Matthias* the Arch-duke, with eighteen thousand Men, rose and marched towards *Prague*, *Collonitz* with the rest of the Army following him. And although that the Arch-duke had severely commanded his Souldiers to abstain from robbing, spoyling, and burning of the Country, and had divers times severely punished some Offenders therein, by hanging of some, and heading of others; yet could he by no means so restrain them, and keep them in, but that some of them would sometimes be straggling abroad, and doing harm, especially the *Hungarians*, who were still running out even as far as the Emperours Camp, and the new City of *Prague*: Whom for all that, the Emperours Souldiers (being then twenty thousand strong) would not meddle withal, being so commanded by the Emperour. Howbeit some of these Straglers going too far abroad into the Country, were by the Country-men cut off and slain.

Matthias the Arch-duke marcheth towards *Prague*.

The

1608 An Aſſembly of the States of *Bohemia*, holden at *Prague*, in the Preſence of the Emperour. The Requeſts of the Nobility and States of *Bohemia* unto the Emperor.

The three and twentieth day of *May*, an Aſſembly of the States of *Bohemia* was called at *Prague*, the Emperour himſelf being there preſent, *Adam Waldſteine* carrying the drawn Sword before him. In which Aſſembly, the Nobility and States of the Country with one conſent promiſed to ſpend their Goods and Lives in the Emperours quarrel; yet in the mean time requeſting theſe things following to be granted and confirmed unto them; *viz.* That Religion, according to the confeſſion of *Bohemia* and *Auguſta*, ſhould inviolately be kept, and that they which profeſſed the one, ſhould not therefore ſcoff or deſpiſe the other. That *Bohemians* only ſhould be preferred to Archbiſhopricks, Abbotſhips, and other ſpiritual Preferments. That the Archbiſhop ſhould not meddle with Civil and Political Affairs. That Eccleſiaſtical Offices ſhould be permitted unto the Proteſtant Miniſters, as in former time, the Catholicks in the mean time holding that they had. The Pontificial diſpenſation in cauſes of Matrimony, according to the Decree of the Aſſembly holden in the Year 1602, ſhould be abrogated and taken away. That it ſhould not be lawful for Prieſts and other Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to buy Lands or Territories, without the expreſs conſent of all the three States, but to hold themſelves contented with their Tyths and other their Revenues. That it ſhould be lawful for all men in their own Ground and Territories to build Churches for Religion, on both ſides. That Proteſtants and Patrons of the Univerſity of *Prague* ſhould be joyned to the Conſiſtory, as they were in the time of the Emperour *Ferdinand*. That one ſhould be choſen for *Burgrave* in this Aſſembly. That chief political Offices ſhould not be left void above a Month. That unto theſe political Offices men of both Religions ſhould be admitted; ſo that if the *Burgrave* were a Catholick, the chief Judge ſhould be a Proteſtant. That every man ſhould enjoy his Right, and that no Decree ſhould be publiſhed againſt the ſame; neither that they which were of the Order of Knights ſhould be raſhly ſued, or bound to any arreſt. That one of the *Bohemians* ſhould always be choſen into the ſecret Council, and made acquainted with the *Bohemian* Affairs. That every man might have acceſs to the Emperour, and not all things to be done by his Counſellors. That it ſhould be declared to all Men, what was to be underſtood by the Crime of Treaſon: That a difference ſhould be made betwixt Offences; and that no man ſhould for any light Offence, together with his Goods, loſe his Life and Reputation. That the Suits of Widows, Orphans, and others alſo, ſhould with Expedition be diſpatched, and not from day to day deferred. That from henceforth the Father ſhould not be bound to pay the Sons debt, which he was run into without his knowledge; neither yet the Son himſelf. That in political Offices Men ſhould not be too much grieved with too heavie Exactions. That Men ſued ſhould not be ſummoned but in good Terms, and that ſuch as were in any Reputation be bound unto any arreſt, without the hearing of their Cauſe, and much leſs to be impriſoned. That the Sword, upon frowardneſs or madneſs taken out of the Church of *Thine* certain years before, ſhould be again ſet in the former place. That Lawyers which pleaded mens Cauſes, ſhould be contented with ſuch Fees as were by common Decrees appointed them. And laſt of all to conclude, they in any wiſe requeſted the Emperour, that it would pleaſe him to eaſe the Nobility and States of *Bohemia* of theſe Griefs, before they were compelled to anſwer unto ſuch things as were to be propounded unto them on his behalf. Who eaſily granted unto moſt of theſe Articles, thoſe which concerned Religion only excepted, ſo that the Senators of the old Town of *Prague* obtained the deſired Sword to be again forthwith ſet in the wonted Place. But as for the buſineſs of Religion, it was altogether put off and deferred unto the next Aſſembly to be holden at the Feaſt of St. *Michael*.

1608

Matthias the Arch-dukes Ambaſſadors come to *Prague*.

About the end of *May*, the Arch-duke *Matthias*'s Ambaſſadors, having received ſafe Conduct from the Emperour and the Nobility of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, came to *Prague*; and being admitted into the Councel of the Nobility, *Charles* Count *Tiſeratin*, to whom that charge was given, having in the Archdukes Name firſt ſaluted the Nobility, cauſed what he and the reſt had in charge, to be before them out of a long Writing in the *Bohemian* Tongue read; which done, when as the Nobility ſo requiring, they were put aſide, and almoſt an hour after were called again, they received Anſwer, That the points of the Ambaſſage by them propounded, were greater, and of more weight, than that ſufficient Deliberation could thereof in ſo ſhort a time be had; and that therefore it was by the Nobility thought meet, that Commiſſioners on both ſides, meeting together in the open Field near unto *Debritſe*, ſhould there conſult of theſe Articles, and by the Conſent of the Emperour and the Arch-duke, to do what they might to end the matter; Unto which Anſwer the Arch-dukes Ambaſſadors conſenting, the ninth of *June* returned again unto the Camp. The Emperours Ambaſſadors within two days after with forty Coaches and an hundred Horſe following them unto the Place appointed; who oftentimes going to and fro, at length ſo wrought the matter on both ſides, that the Buſineſs quietly and friendly ended, they were again made Friends.

Commiſſioners appointed for the ending of the Troubles betwixt the Emperour and *Matthias* the Arch-duke.

The Articles of which Pacification and Agreement betwixt the Emperour and the Arch-duke were the ſeventeenth day of *June*, in the Caſtle of *Prague*, openly read in the *Bohemian* Tongue, *Lichtenſtein*, *Kintſkie*, and other Chieftains, the Arch-dukes Ambaſſadours, being there preſent, in order thus:

The Articles of Pacification betwixt the Emperour and the Arch-duke *Matthias*.

That the Emperour refuſed not, but that the Crown of *Hungary* ſhould be delivered into the Arch-duke *Matthias*'s Hands; and to yield unto him the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and to remit unto his Subjects the Oath of their Allegeance before given unto him, ſo that the Nobility and States of *Hungary* ſhould chuſe no other King but the Arch-duke. That in the next Diet of the Empire, he ſhould propound unto the States of the Empire to be conſidered of, what Contribution they ought to make unto the Archduke for the defence of their Frontiers, if happily longer War were to be made with the Turk. That he ſhould cauſe the Writings which concerned that Kingdom of *Hungary*, within the ſpace of two Months to be delivered unto the Arch-duke. That he ſhould likewiſe alſo ſurrender up the Arch-dukedom of *Auſtria*, by himſelf hitherto poſſeſſed, unto the Arch-duke: yet ſo as that the Arch-duke ſhould take upon himſelf all the Emperours Debt, as well in *Hungary* as in *Auſtria*, and within a year ſhould cauſe ſufficient Recognizance or Caution, ſealed with his own hand, to be delivered unto the Creditors. That he ſhould cauſe all the Letters and Writings, as well concerning the upper *Auſtria*, as the nether, within the ſame time to be delivered unto him, together with a Copy of the Priviledges therein, until that Deliberation might be had concerning them, to be transferred unto him alſo. That the Nobility and States of *Bohemia* ſhould in the Emperours Name ratifie and confirm the Treaty held at *Vienna*, for the making of the Peace betwixt the Emperour, the *Turks*, and

the

1608 the *Hungarians*. That they alſo ſhould not refuſe, at the Emperours requeſt, to promiſe unto the Arch-duke a certain Succeſſion into the Kingdom of *Bohemia*; but yet with condition, ſo that if it ſhould happen the Emperour to dye without Heirs Male, before the death of the Arch-duke his Brother; but if he ſhould have Heirs Male lawfully begotten and under age; that in that caſe he ſhould only have the Rule and Government of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, yet with certain *Bohemian* Counſellers joyned unto him. That the Arch-duke ſhould by writing confirm unto the Nobility and States of *Bohemia*, That he ſhould after the uſual manner and faſhion demand the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, being void of a King. That he ſhould take the uſual Oath of a King, and always have like regard of all their Priviledges as the other Kings his Predeceſſors had. That the States of *Bohemia* ſhould not gainſay, but that the Arch-duke might hereafter uſe the Title of the deſigned King of *Hungary*. That the Adminſtration of the Marquiſet of *Moravia* ſhould be granted unto the Arch-duke *Matthias* and his Heirs, together with the Title of a Marqueſs, until that after the death of the Emperour this Province was again to revert unto him which was to enjoy the Kingdom of *Bohemia*. But if it ſhould happen the Arch duke to dye before the Emperour, the States of *Bohemia* ſhould not refuſe, but that this Province ſeparate a-part, might (as ſhould ſeem good) chuſe unto it ſelf a Patron and Defender, unto the death of the Emperour. That the Biſhoprick of *Almits*, hitherto in Temporalities ſubject unto the King of *Bohemia*, ſhould from thenceforth acknowledge the Arch-duke *Matthias* to be the Governour thereof, leſt there ſhould be a confuſion of Suits in *Moravia*; the Biſhop in the mean time having regard unto his own Priviledges. That the Emperour at the requeſt of the Arch-duke ſhould maintain the Priviledges of them of *Sileſia*, and of the States of the ſix Cities, and augment them alſo with new Priviledges, being reaſonable and convenient. That for the defence of the borders againſt the Turks, the Nobility and States of *Bohemia* ſhould not contribute more than hitherto they were wont; yet ſaving unto the Arch-duke power and ability in the general Meetings and Aſſemblies of the Kingdom to entreat thereof, as the Emperour had hitherto had. That the Titles of all the Provinces which the Emperour did now ſurrender unto the Arch-duke *Matthias*, ſhould be ſtill unto him reſerved. That the Arch-duke *Matthias* ſhould utterly renounce the County of *Tirali*, and ſurrender his part thereof unto the Emperour. That in the Meetings and Aſſemblies to come, the Arch-duke ſhould by all means endeavour, that the Emperour ſhould receive a reaſonable yearly Contribution out of thoſe Provinces which he now departed with. That all offences hitherto committed, ſhould generally be forgiven and pardoned, all and every the Perſons on both Parties, onely *Verkavious* excepted, concerning whom, as alſo concerning his debt, the Nobility of *Moravia* had undertaken in their next Aſſembly to take order. And that Arms ſhould on both ſides be laid a part.

The Crown of *Hungary* delivered unto the Arch-duke *Matthias*.

Which Articles thus agreed upon, and on both parts accepted of, the Crown of *Hungary*, with the Ornaments thereto belonging, ſuch as are King *Stephen's* Sword, the Golden Apple, with the Croſs of the Kingdom upon it, two pair of rich Shooes, a very ancient Robe, with a Royal Scepter, were by the Emperour's chief Lieutenant carried into the Camp, and there in a broad and open Field delivered unto the Arch-duke *Matthias*; who, with his Army in order ranged, and ſixteen thouſand Horſe and Foot divided into three Battalions, after he had received theſe Royal Ornaments, commanded three great Vollies of ſhot to be diſcharged, and afterwards royally feaſted the Emperour's Ambaſſadors. Which Pacification thus made, many out of the Arch-duke's Camp, but eſpecially the *Hungarians*, went into the City of *Prague*, there to buy things neceſſary; and many came alſo out of the City to ſee the Arch-duke's Camp. But in the mean time, certain inſolent Souldiers having by night broken up certain Shops of the *Jews*, and carried out of them much rich Wares, were the cauſe of great ſtirs and Tumults in the City; inſomuch, that divers of the Souldiers were therefore caſt into Priſon. 1608

King *Matthias* departeth with his Army out of *Bohemia*.

The firſt of *July*, King *Matthias* riſing with his Army, departed from before *Prague*, taking his way with his chief Counſellors towards *Lintz*, and dividing his Army into three parts, that ſo they might the more eaſilier paſs through thoſe Countries home. After the riſing of which Army, a certain Noble *Bohemian*, and a good Souldier, called *Cottouits*, unto whom the *Hungarians* and *Haiducks* had in this Expedition done great harm, with ſix hundred Harquebuſiers, and a number of Country-men went forth to a Place called *Partauitſe*; where, having cut off the Paſſage, and cut down Trees croſs the ways, that none might that way conveniently paſs, he, with ſuch fury in a Place of advantage charged the *Hungarians*, coming that way, that having ſlain about nine hundred of them, ſome others were alſo carried away Priſoners, with a great booty of Horſes, Waggons, and other Goods. With which deed the *Hungarians* grieved, trod down the Corn as they went, and began to ſet fire on the Villages and Houſes in the Country thereabouts. But the news thereof being brought unto the King, he forthwith by *Herbenſtein*, General of the Horſe-men, commanded the *Hungarians* and *Haiducks* not onely to deſiſt from this their Inſolency, but themſelves alſo, upon a great Penalty, to help to quench the fires by them raiſed.

The *Hungarians* and *Haiducks* by *Croats* ſlain.

King *Matthias* entereth into *Hungary*, and is royally received into *Vienna*.

In the mean time, the coming of King *Matthias* being reported at *Vienna*, great preparation was there made for the receiving of him and bringing of him into the City, according to his Royal Dignity, who, the fourteenth of *July*, toward night, being come thither, with the Arch-duke *Maximilian* his Brother, and three thouſand Horſe, the Archbiſhop of *Hungary*, who, with Count *Trautſamius*, and many other the Emperour's Counſellors and Servants, went out of the City to meet him, and there amidſt eight Enſigns of *German* Souldiers, and fifteen hundred Horſe-men, as it were ſet in order of Battel, received him with a long and Eloquent Oration, as did afterwards *Trautſamius* in the name of the States of *Auſtria*; the Emperour's Counſellors alſo honourably welcoming him. Which done, mounting again to Horſe, the King, with the Arch-duke *Maximilian* his Brother, ſtaied until that two Troops of the Horſemen of *Vienna* (each of them conſiſting of two hundred Horſe) were all entred into the City; and afterward fifteen hundred of *Bucheime's* Horſemen, and the aforeſaid eight Enſigns of *Germans* going before, and the Emperour's Counſellors following them, the King himſelf with the Arch-duke his Brother, and all his Train, ſet forward, and paſſing over the Bridge, whereon three triumphal Arches were moſt ſumptuouſly erected, he was by three thouſand Citizens of *Vienna*, gallantly apparelled and armed, with much thundering of the great Ordnance and Vollies of ſmall ſhot, moſt magnificently received, divers other Triumphs and Sports, to manifeſt the Joy of the People, being there made alſo, which for brevity ſake we paſs over. But being gone a little farther, he was by the Senators of *Vienna* on Horſe-back received

1608 ceived under a rich Canopy, borne up by ſix of the ancienteſt of the ſaid Senators, and ſo brought to Saint *Stephen*'s Church; whither, he was no ſooner come, but that lighting from his Horſe, he was there received by the whole Clergy, and under a Canopy brought into the Church; where, after Service done, he was with like Triumph and Magnificence, through divers other triumphal Arches, brought to the Caſtle, the great Ordnance on all ſides ſtill thundering off from the Caſtle, the Walls, and Bulwarks of the Town.

But theſe Triumphs and Solemnities ended, ſhortly after, whenas they began to conſult about ſuch things as concerned the good Government of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and the crowning of the King, and that the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria* in many Places began to Exerciſe their Religion according to the manner of the Confeſſion of *Auguſta*, and that the Miniſters began openly to Preach in the Churches there, *Leopold*, the Arch-duke and Biſhop of *Paſſavia*, coming to *Vienna*, with *Melinus* the Popes *Nuntio*, (but a little before come to *Prague*) with Cardinal *Forgatſius*, and the Biſhop of *Vienna*, with earneſt and importunate ſolliciting of the King, obtained from him a Commandment, That that Exerciſe of Religion ſhould be again abrogated, the Churches ſhut, and publick Preaching forbidden. Which thing forthwith brought forth new ſtirs and troubles in *Auſtria*. For the Proteſtant States, forthwith calling a Counſel among themſelves, by general conſent refuſed by Oath of Loyalty and Allegeance to bind themſelves unto the new King, until they had of him obtained the liberty for the free Exerciſe of their Religion; and combining themſelves together, reſolved even with the loſs of their Lives and Goods to maintain the free preaching of the Word, and the Exerciſe of their Religion, according to the Confeſſion of *Auguſta*; and to that end commanded all their Subjects and Tenants to be ready in Arms, that, need to requiring, every thirtieth man, tenth, or fifth, might be preſs'd to come forth unto the Wars. But having ſent a Supplication unto the King, whereunto 180 of the Nobility had ſet their hands, and receiving no anſwer, but that they ſhould deſiſt from their purpoſe, and without delay to make their appearance to take the Oath of their Allegeance unto the King, they forthwith, the fourteenth of *September*, going to *Horne*, by Letters ſent unto the reſt of the *Roman* Catholick States, proteſted themſelves to be clear before God and the whole World of all the evils and miſchiefs that were afterward to enſue, if thoſe States, not regarding the appeaſing and ending of thoſe Troubles, or the ſafety of them their Country-men, ſhould take their Oath of Allegeance unto the King. And ſo forthwith raiſing an Army, leſt upon the ſudden they ſhould be at *Horne* oppreſſed, they began by all means to provide for their Affairs. But the report thereof coming unto the States of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, their Neighbours, they were from them given to underſtand, that they would become Interceſſors for them unto the King, and yet not to be wanting unto them at their need, as occaſion ſhould require.

In the mean time, Letters were brought from *Conſtantinople* to *Vienna*, declaring King *Matthias*'s Embaſſadors (having audience with the Great Sultan) to have in an Eloquent Oration on the King's behalf promiſed religiouſly to keep the Peace, of late made betwixt him, the *Othoman* Emperour, and the *Hungarians*; and afterward, in the King's name to have offered his Preſents unto the Sultan, which he, in the preſence of his chief Baſſaes, to have received them. But when he came to requeſt the Government of *Tranſilvania*, he would in no wiſe thereto conſent, but gave the ſame to *Gabriel Bathor*, with commandment unto the Baſſa of *Buda* for the eſtabliſhing of him in this Principality.

The Proteſtant States in *Auſtria* require to have the free Exerciſe of their Religion granted unto them.

The Proteſtant States of *Auſtria* refuſe to take their Oath of Allegeance unto the King until they might be ſecured of the free Exerciſe of their Religion.

Preſents ſent unto the Great Sultan from King *Matthias*.

1608

About the beginning of *October*, the Counties of *Trautſeme* and *Furtſenburg* were from King *Matthias* ſent unto the Proteſtant States at *Horne*, and ſhortly after them, *Maximilian* the Arch-duke followed alſo; who, although they with moſt glorious promiſes ſought to appeaſe them, and by all means to draw them to take the Oath of their Allegeance; yet could they with them no whit prevail, without granting of them the free Exerciſe of their Religion. But the ſixteenth of *October*, the Catholick States, not expecting the conſent of the Proteſtant States, at *Vienna* took the Oath of Allegeance unto *Matthias* the new King of *Hungary*, the great Ordnance in the mean time thundering off, with Drums and Trumpets in every place of the City ſounding, and the reſt of the day being with great Feaſting, Triumph, and Solemnity ſpent.

Matthias ſendeth unto the Proteſtant States at *Horne*.

The Catholick States take the Oath of Allegeance unto King *Matthias*.

King *Matthias*, having thus at *Vienna* received the Oath of Allegeance of the Catholicks, ſhortly after departing thence, the twenty ſecond of *October* coming to *Presburg*, was there by the Nobility of *Hungary* received, and brought into the City with ten thouſand Souldiers; which States afterwards, *viz.* the ſixth of *November*, offered in writing unto the King certain Articles, whereof they deſired to be by him aſſured; moſt of which Articles were drawn out of the Pacification made at *Vienna* the twenty third day of *Auguſt*, in the year 1606. the chief effect whereof was this: That the free Exerciſe of Religion ſhould be permitted unto all Men in all the Cities and Towns of *Hungary*, not ſo much as that City excepted wherein the King ſhould be reſident: That no *German* Captain ſhould be ſuffered in any the ſtrong Forts of *Hungary*, but that the ſtrong Towns of *Rab*, *Comora*, *Vivaria*, and others, ſhould be committed unto the Government of natural *Hungarians* born: That the Crown of *Hungary* ſhould ſtill be kept in *Hungary*, and committed to the keeping of temporal Men: That firſt, and before all other things, a Count Palatine ſhould be choſen: That the King himſelf ſhould always reſide in *Hungary*; or if not, that the Palatine ſhould in his abſence have full power, with the Counſellers of Eſtate of *Hungary*, to determine and conclude of all things, and that the King ſhould therewithal hold himſelf contented: That no publick Office ſhould be beſtowed upon any, but upon ſuch natural *Hungarians* as had of their Country well deſerved; nor permitted unto any for Money: That no Jeſuits ſhould be ſuffered in the Kingdom, neither that Eccleſiaſtical men ſhould be ſo much favoured as formerly they had been: That Officers ſhould not be bound to give account of the Adminiſtration of their Offices, but before the Treaſurers of *Presburg*, being natural *Hungarians* born: That from henceforth Money ſhould not be carried out of the Kingdom, as hitherto it had been: That the Palatine being dead, the King ſhould within a year chuſe another, the chief Juſtice in the mean time after the old manner ſupplying his room.

King *Matthias* goeth to *Presburg*.

Articles by the *Hungarians* preferred unto King *Matthias* at *Presburg*.

The Proteſtant States of *Auſtria* crave Aid of the Nobility and States of *Hungary*.

The Proteſtant States of *Auſtria* had a little before ſent their Ambaſſadors unto the Nobility and States of *Hungary*, then gathered together at *Presburg*; with requeſt, that foraſmuch as they could not by any intreaty obtain of the King the free Exerciſe of their Religion, as well within their Cities as without, and that very neceſſity had driven them by force of Arms to ſeek for the ſame, that they would, by ſending of them Men, afford them ſuch Aid as was unto them due by the former Pacification made at *Vienna* in the year 1606. Which troubles of *Auſtria*, the Nobility and States of *Hungary* deſiring to have appeaſed, ſent *George Turſon*, and ſome others, with Letters of Interceſſion in their behalf unto the Arch-duke *Maximilian*; which

when

1608 when they had delivered unto him, they received from him this anſwer, That King *Matthias* never thought to diſturb the common quiet of that Country, or to attempt any thing againſt the Priviledges thereof, granted by the Emperour *Maximilian* of happy Memory; but to grant unto the Cities the liberty of Religion, he could by no means, partly in reſpect of Conſcience, partly for the danger that might thereof enſue from the *Pope* and the King of *Spain*, and yet nevertheleſs, that he would promiſe to ſuffer and tollerate the free Exercise of Religion without the Cities, and in the beſtowing of publick Offices to have no reſpect of Religion; yet with this Condition, that they ſhould lay down Arms, ſubmit themſelves unto the King, acknowledge their Fault, and crave Pardon for the ſame; for that in ſo doing, the States ſhould haply prevail more than by force of Arms.

The Proteſtant States of Auſtria by the Hungarians adviſed to lay down Arms, and to ſubmit themſelves unto the King.

With which anſwer, ſeeing no better could be got, the *Hungarian* Ambaſſadors going unto the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria*, began by divers reaſons to perſwade them to ſubmit themſelves unto the King. If the *Hungarians* ſhould (as they ſaid) give aid unto them of *Auſtria*, they ſhould in ſo doing, inſtead of helping them, but do them more harm; for that the *Hungarian* Power could not be brought into *Auſtria*, but to the utter deſtruction thereof. That the League betwixt the *Hungarians* and them of *Auſtria* was a general League, and concerned as well the Catholicks as the Proteſtants. That the Chriſtian Religion was never with the Sword planted or defended, Chriſt himſelf ſaying, them to be happy which therefore ſuffer Perſecution, and commanding *Peter* to put up his Sword into his Scabbard. That it was an eaſie matter for every man to raiſe Stirs and Tumults, but that again to appeaſe them was a far harder matter. That by the taking up of Arms, the free exerciſe of Religion could not be furthered or provided for, it being rather dangerous, leſt the contrary part prevailing, it ſhould be utterly ſuppreſſed. That by this means, *Hungary* it ſelf ſhould be expoſed to many dangers, for that not only new Stirs might upon this occaſion by the Subjects thereof be raiſed, but other foreign Princes take up Arms againſt it alſo; the Emperour, by force of Arms, ſeeking for his Right, and the Turkiſh Sultan, by a new Invaſion, going about to bring the ſame under his Subjection; and telling them farther, the Arch-duke to have promiſed to take good order for all things, ſo that they would lay down Arms; and that the Clemency and Bounty of thoſe Princes being known, they were not to doubt but that they would indeed perform what they had in word promiſed; and that the *Hungarians* could not now do or attempt any thing againſt the King: but that if it ſhould happen theſe two Arch-dukes being dead without Heirs male, the Government of theſe two Provinces ſhould come unto the Arch-duke *Ferdinand*, that then they ſhould have more cauſe to help them of *Auſtria* againſt him. *Moravia* they ſaid to be a free Country, and yet the King to have thereunto given no more aſſurance for the liberty of Religion, more than his bare promiſe. Wherefore ſeeing that both the fortune and chance of War was doubtful, and that War was not without the great expence of Money to be maintained, that they were of opinion, it to be beſt for the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria* to lay down Arms, and by way of requeſt to ſollicite their cauſe with the King.

Illiſhaſchius choſen *Palatine* of *Hungary*. *Matthias* at *Presburg* crowned King of *Hungary*.

In the mean time, the Griefs whereof the *Hungarians* complained being taken away, and all Controverſies happily ended, *Illiſhaſcius* was, by a general conſent, choſen to be Palatine; and *Matthias*, the 14th of *November*, openly proclaimed King of *Hungary*; and the 19th of the ſame Month in St. *Martins* Church at *Presburg* in this manner crowned: firſt, the Royal Crown was in a ſtately Chariot carried out of the Caſtle unto the Church, with a great number of the Counſellers and Nobility of *Hungary* attending the ſame; in which Chariot were alſo carried ten Enſigns, with the Arms of the Kingdom in them frilled up, four of the *Hungarian* Counſellers taking it out of the Chariot in a little Cheſt covered with Cloth of Gold, and ſo carrying of it into the Chancel of the Church. After which, King *Matthias*, together with the Arch-duke *Maximilian* his Brother, followed on Horſe-back, both attired in *Hungarian* Apparel, and ſo going into the Chancel, there ſtayed about half an hour, until that he was by two Biſhops brought forth unto the Altar, before whom ten of the *Hungarian* Nobility carried the ten aforeſaid Enſigns; after whom followed the Palatine with the Crown, *Endeodius* with the Royal Scepter, *Forgatſie* with the Apple of the Kingdom, *Turſo* with King *Stephens* Sword, *Tſechius* carrying the Pax, as they call it; *Budian* the Croſs, the Cardinal *Forgatſie* ſaying Maſs, with divers Biſhops and Prelates helping of him, by whom the King was at the beginning of Service anointed with Oyl; where, while the Epiſtle and Goſpel were in reading, the Cardinal ſet the Crown upon the King's Head, all the People crying out, *Long live* Matthias, *the King of Hungary*. But the King, with the Crown upon his head, taking a drawn Sword out of *Sigefred Collonitz* the Marſhal's hand, thrice brandiſhed it a-croſs over the Clergy-mens heads, and received the Sacrament at the Cardinals hand. The Maſs being ended, he, by an high-way covered with Cloth, going in his royal Robes from *S. Martins* Church unto the Bare-foot Friers Church, as he went, cauſed money to be caſt abroad among the People. In which Church, after the firſt Chapter of the Goſpel of St. *John* being read, he made 28 Knights. From thence the King, with the Crown yet on his Head, and in his ſtately Robes, went out of the City at St. *Michael's* Gate, and there on Horſe-back was brought unto an high Stage covered with cloth, whereon he was ſworn unto the *Hungarians* as their King, and they unto him as his Subjects: and afterward thrice mounting up to Horſe upon a little Hill made for that purpoſe, and ſo down again, and thrice brandiſhing his Sword a-croſs, he returned back again into the Caſtle, where he with *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, Cardinal *Forgatſie*, the Pope's Nuntio, and the Palatine, ſat down at one Table, the reſt of the *Hungarian* Nobility, to the number of 70, ſitting down at ſix other Tables, and ſo dining with great mirth; the *Haiducks*, and common ſort of People, being there bountifully feaſted alſo: where many of them, in ſcrambling for the money that was caſt abroad, and in taking up of the Cloth from the Scaffold, having their hands and fingers cut off, and ſo lamed, carried from thence the woful remembrance of that was there then done.

1608

The Solemnity of this Coronation thus paſt, King *Matthias* thought it good for him yet for a time to ſtay at *Presburg*, untill that the new building in the Caſtle was ended, which the Nobility of *Hungary* had appointed for the keeping of the Crown of *Hungary*, to the intent that he himſelf might ſee the ſame, with other the Royal Ornaments put thereinto, and ſealed up with his own Seal; he in the mean while labouring to appeaſe divers Contentions, and to place fit men again in the great Offices of the Commonweal; for that the *Hungarians* would by no means ſuffer the *Germans* to enjoy any of the ſame: for which cauſe, many of the chief Officers, men of great Authority, were diſplaced; and amongſt them, *Sigifrid Collonitz* alſo, a man who had moſt well deſerved of the Kingdom of *Hungary*: howbeit, ſhortly after, he by the Counſel of *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, was by the

1608 *Hungarians* themſelves (repenting them of that they had done) not only reſtored unto his former Offices, but had by them (and that not without his juſt deſert) even greater Preferments offered him alſo; ſo mutable a thing the Judgement of the common People is. But *Illiſhaſchius*, now the Palatine of *Hungary*, the 28*th* day of *November*, talking with the King *Matthias* at large, and earneſtly intreated with him in the behalf of the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria*, eſpecially for that the other Proteſtant States of *Hungary* ſeemed now in their behalf to be much moved alſo; and the *Moravian* Ambaſſadors openly at the ſame time proteſting, that their States could in no wiſe forſake them their Friends, the States of *Auſtria*, if their need ſo required. And albeit that both the Elector of *Saxony*, and other Princes of the Empire, were become earneſt Interceſſors alſo unto the King for them, yet the Popes *Nuntio* ſo hardly withſtood them, as nothing could as then be granted.

Illiſhaſchius and others in vain intreat for the States of *Auſtria*.

About the beginning of *December*, the King returning again from *Presburg* to *Vienna*, about the ſixteenth of *December* the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria* at length ſent *Erneſtus* the free Baron of *Landau*, *Maximilian Polheime*, *Sebaſtian Grobner*, *Charles Forberger*, *Pilgram Siſſendorff*, and *Chriſtopher Buchner*, their Ambaſſadors unto the King, to bring them anſwer whereunto to truſt; who, the 27*th* of *December* received anſwer, That they ſhould hold themſelves contented with ſuch anſwer as they had before received, and to ſubmit themſelves to the Kings pleaſure, or elſe, to do what they themſelves ſaw good. With which anſwer they returning, the States forthwith began to levy new Forces, and to perſuade their Souldiers, that, mindful of their Oaths, they ſhould faithfully ſerve whitherſoever, and againſt whomſoever they were led.

The States prepare themſelves for War.

1609 And now a great Army of the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria* lay in the Villages about *Crembſa* and *Spaine*, ſo that thoſe two Towns were thought to be in great danger of them; for the ſtrengthning of which Places, *Bucheime* was by the King ſent thither with 1500 Horſe and certain pieces of great Ordnance, and an Edict withal publiſhed the 10*th* of *January*, charging the States to be preſent at *Vienna*, the 21*th* day of the ſame Month, to take the Oath of their Allegeance to the King. Howbeit, they moſt ſtifly ſtill refuſed ſo to do, or to remit any thing of that which they had before required; inſomuch, that *Maximilian* the Arch-duke, who, hitherto had not a little laboured in this cauſe, was quite out of hope to bring them to any Conformity, or make any good end thereof. In the mean time, certain of *Bucheime's* Horſe-men on the King's part being about to have taken up a Place, ſuch as they thought convenient for them for to lodge in, had like to have been diſappointed of the ſame by the Horſe-men of *Gerrane*, on the States ſide. About which matter, *Bucheime*, coming forth with ſeven Troops of Horſe-men, and *Gerrane* but with three Troops of Horſe, and three Companies of Foot, there was betwixt them a hot Skirmiſh for the time, fought the 13*th* of *January*; in which Skirmiſh an 100 of *Bucheime's* Horſe-men were ſlain, but of *Gerrane's* Men not ſo many, they having the advantage of the Ground, and ſo therewith in the Skirmiſh holpen both for the defence of themſelves and the annoying of their Enemies. Whereof the King having knowledge, and therewith much moved; beſide the aforeſaid Edict, cauſed another to be proclaimed at *Vienna*, againſt ſuch Souldiers as ſerved the Proteſtants; proſcribing them all, and pronouncing them Rebels, except before the 21*th* day of *January*, they laying down Arms, departed out of the Proteſtants Camp. Howbeit, the Proteſtant States were ſo far from diſmiſſing their Forces, as that they with new Supplies ſtrengthned the ſame;

An hot Skirmiſh.

and having taken an Hill not far from *Hallenbynne*, and from thence diſcharging three tire of 20 pieces of great Ordnance, ſtruck a great fear and terror into the Minds of the King's Souldiers within the Town. 1609

About this time alſo the States of *Moravia* (that nothing might on their part be wanting for the making of an Attonement betwixt the King and the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria*) ſent ſome of their Ambaſſadors unto thoſe States at *Horne*, and otherſome unto the King at *Vienna*; who, having acceſs unto the King, declared unto him, the States of *Moravia*, from whom they came, to be earneſtly importuned by the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria*, to ſend them Aid, according to the Agreement made with them the year before; and told him moreover, That this manner of his proceeding tended not unto Peace and Quietneſs, but rather unto the Trouble and Deſtruction both of the Kingdom, and of all the other Provinces to him belonging; all that Error, the ground of thoſe Troubles, they ſaid, to depend on a perverſe interpretation or miſconſtruing of words, rather than of the matter it ſelf; ſo that it might by Men deſirous of Peace eaſily be compoſed and ended. And that therefore their requeſt unto his Majeſty was, That he, having regard not only unto the good and welfare of his Provinces and Subjects, but even of himſelf, and of his Honour alſo, would of his Clemency and Goodneſs vouchſafe to give remedy unto the preſent danger, and avert the miſerable Calamities now hanging over them, and even ready to fall upon their heads. The Proteſtant States they ſaid to be content to put the Controverſie to be decided and compoſed by certain grave and wiſe Men, to be choſen Arbitrators on both parts; yet with this Condition, That for the ſpace of fourteen days, no Hoſtility ſhould on either ſide be uſed; that the Inhabitants, both above and beneath *Amiſum*, ſhould be compriſed within this Truce; that ſuch as were kept in durance for their Religion, ſhould be ſet at liberty; and that all High-ways and Paſſes ſhould be from all Ambuſhes, and other dangers cleared. Unto which their requeſt the King condeſcending, gave leave unto the States of *Moravia*, upon the moſt equal Conditions they could deviſe, to compoſe and end all matters; who ſo laboured in this buſineſs betwixt the King and the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria*, that at length, *viz.* the twelfth of *March*, a Pacification was made betwixt the King and them his Subjects; *Leopold* the Arch-duke, *Melinus* the *Popes Nuntio*, the Biſhop of *Vienna*, and other great Men of the contrary Religion and Faction, ſeeking in vain to have letted the ſame; the chief Articles and points of which Pacification were theſe: That the Nobility in their Caſtles and Towns, as alſo in their Houſes in the Cities, ſhould for themſelves and their People have the free Exerciſe of their Religion: That the free Exerciſe of Preaching might be uſed in the three Churches at *Iferſdore*, *Trihel-ſuincel*, and *Horne*: That the other Churches ſhut up, might again be opened by three of the *Romiſh* and three of the Reformed Religion, and the free Exerciſe of Religion in them uſed: That Counſellers and other publick Officers ſhould from thenceforth indifferently be choſen of men of both Religions; but that ſuch Offices as were hereditary ſhould ſo ſtill remain: That the Election of Magiſtrates and other publick Officers in Towns and Cities, ſhould from thenceforth be made by the Magiſtrates and Citizens themſelves, and not to be nominated from the Court as hitherto they had been: That no Church ſhould hereafter be ſhut againſt either part, but their own Churches to be left unto them both quietly to uſe: That the Towns-men and Citizens in their Towns and Cities ſhould from thenceforth have power to make choice of their Miniſters and Preachers, and that for them it ſhould

The States of *Moravia* make Interceſſion for the Proteſtant States of *Auſtria*.

The Articles of the Pacification in *Auſtria*.

1609 ſhould be lawful to viſit the Sick, and to adminiſter unto them the Lords Supper: That the Oath of Allegeance ſhould be taken of them of the Reformed Religion, in like manner as it had been betaken of them of the *Romiſh*, but yet not with the ſame Ceremonies of the *Romiſh* Church; all union and confederation with them to be had, to be taken away; that all grudging, hatred, and quarrel ſhould be on both ſides forgiven, and for ever forgotten; *Wolfgang* of *Hoffkirch*, *Voltſogius*, and others, removed and put from their Offices, for not taking the Oath of Allegeance, being again received into Favour, and reſtored into their Places: That it might be lawful for the Towns and Cities above *Amiſum*, to have the free Exerciſe of the Reformed Religion in their Suburbs and Hoſpitals.

The States of the reformed Religion in *Auſtria* take the Oath of Obedience unto King *Matthias*.

It was not long after this Pacification ſo made, but that King *Matthias*, the ſeventeenth of *May*, going to *Lintz* with three hundred Horſe, was there with eight Troops of Horſe-men, and fifteen Companies of Foot, by the States ſent forth to meet him, moſt honourably received, and by three triumphal Arches brought into the City; where he received of the States of the Religion, the Oath of their Obedience; which with much Joy, Triumph, and Feaſting performed, he, the ſeven and twentieth of the ſame Month again returned to *Vienna*. The aforeſaid States of *Auſtria* in the mean time with great zeal continuing the free Exerciſe of their Religion at *Horne*; a great multitude of People daily reſorting unto the Sermons there made; they of the *Romiſh* Religion much grieving and fretting thereat. The King himſelf alſo being come to *Vienna*, put divers *Romiſh* Catholicks out of their Offices, and placed thoſe of the Reformed Religion in their rooms, to the great diſcontentment of many.

The Turks ſeek ſecretly to encroach upon the Chriſtians, and the Chriſtians ſeek again to annoy them.

About this time, the Baſſa of *Agria*, notwithſtanding the Peace, had for the ſum of twenty thouſand Crowns before hand paid, ſecretly compacted with one *Andrew Drake*, to have the ſtrong Town of *Fileck* in the upper *Hungary* delivered unto him. Which the Traytor had intended (as he himſelf confeſſed) to have performed, by ſetting of the Houſe wherein he himſelf dwelt by night on fire; unto the quenching whereof the Garriſon Souldiers reſorting, his purpoſe was in the mean time to have ſecretly let in the Turks, and ſo to have delivered the Town into their Hands. But this his ſo wicked a purpoſe in good time diſcovered, and by him confeſſed, he was therefore, as he had well deſerved, alive cut in four pieces; a juſt reward for his foul intended Treaſon. The Baſſa of *Buda* alſo, contrary to the Treaty of Peace, about the ſame time went about to have exacted the Oath of Allegeance of above four hundred Country Villages of the Chriſtians, being not compriſed within the foreſaid Treaty. But as the Turks for their part were ſecretly plotting how to encroach upon the Chriſtians, and to do them harm; ſo the *Haiducks* on the other ſide in great numbers gathered together in the upper *Hungary*, began here and there to moleſt and trouble the Turks, until they were by their Superiours commanded to deſiſt from ſo doing, for diſturbing of the Peace.

Illiſhaſcius the Palatine of *Hungary* dieth.

Now about this time alſo, *Illiſhaſcius* the County Palatine of *Hungary* died at *Vienna*; a man much beloved of the *Hungarians*, his Countrymen, and now by them no leſs lamented for: whoſe dead Body was with great Honour afterward conveyed from *Vienna* unto his own Territory in *Hungary*, and there with all funeral Pomp buried with his Anceſtors. In whoſe ſtead *George Turſon* was afterward, by the general conſent of an hundred and fifty of the *Hungarian* Nobility, choſen County Palatine of *Hungary*, and ſo with the univerſal and ſolemn Acclamations of the People ſaluted.

1609

New Troubles for Religion ariſe in *Bohemia*.

And now the Troubles for Religion were ſcarcely well ended in *Auſtria* (as is aforeſaid) but that the like, or rather worſe, began forthwith, even for the ſame quarrel, to ariſe in *Bohemia*; the *Huſſites* (as they call them) moſt earneſtly importuning the Emperour for the free Exerciſe of their Religion, or rather for the taking away of certain grievances done to their Religion: and the Roman Catholicks even at the ſame time leaving nothing unattempted which might ſerve to bring them of the Religion into hatred with the Emperour, and others ſitting at the Helm of the Government of the Eſtate, and ſo to fruſtrate whatſoever the Emperour had in the general Aſſembly of the States the laſt year granted unto them of the Religion, for the free Exerciſe and Advancement thereof. The compoſing of which Controverſie, (tending unto the rending in ſunder of the whole Kingdom) when as the Emperour had referred unto certain of his chief Counſellors, and they altogether favouring the Roman Catholicks, would give them of the Religion no certain Anſwer whereon to reſt: they therewith much diſcontented, as out of hope to be by them relieved, and in great fear to be by their Adverſaries, as Enemies unto the State, oppreſſed, layd their heads together, and after good Deliberation taken, what were beſt for them to do, both for the ſafety of themſelves, their Wives, Children, and Religion; they, by a general conſent, of themſelves appointed the fourth of *May* to hold a general meeting of them of the Religion in the new Court at *Prague*, there to conſult of all matters concerning the buſineſs of Religion. And yet in the mean time openly in Parliament proteſting, by the Mouth of *Wentceſlaus Bodouitſius*, a Baron of *Bohemia*, Them to have appointed this Aſſembly for the Emperors good, and for the common quiet of the whole Realm; as alſo for the better informing of the Emperour of all Matters; and to provide that the Emperour and the Kingdom might not through the means and perſwaſions of thoſe his evil Counſellors be brought into extream Peril and Danger. Immediately after, the States of the Religion with all ſpeed diſpatched their Ambaſſadors unto King *Matthias*, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Duke of *Brunſwick*; to requeſt them, by their interceſſion to become Mediators for them unto the Emperour, for the obtaining of the free Exerciſe of their Religion, which in all points agreed with the Confeſſion of *Auguſta*, and which long before was exhibited unto *Maximilian* the Emperour, and by him allowed. Now in the mean time theſe the States of the Religion were by ſome for theſe their proceedings commended; but by other ſome not only blamed, but alſo accuſed of Rebellion againſt the Emperour and the State. But the matter being declared unto the Emperor, he complaining unto himſelf of the inconſiderateneſs of his Counſellors; to maintain his Authority, cauſed the Parliament then in hand to be prorogued; and to ſeem of himſelf to grant that which he could not well withſtand, commanded by a Decree, that ſame very day to be appointed for the concluding of that Article of Religion, on which the States themſelves had before appointed for their Aſſembly to be holden in the new Court at *Prague*. Notwithſtanding which Decree, many troubleſome Spirits publickly ſet forth other their Conceits in Writing, to far other purpoſe, grievouſly therein reprehending the States of the Religion, for that of themſelves they had appointed a day for their Aſſembly into the new Court at *Prague*; Which (as they ſaid) was nothing elſe but in a rebellious manner to riſe againſt the

1609

The States of the Religion appoint an Aſſembly of themſelves to be holden in the new Court at *Prague*.

The Emperour maketh fair weather with the States of the Religion in *Bohemia*.

1609 Laws of the Kingdom, and the Authority of their lawful Prince; and therefore adviſed them to forbear from making any ſuch Aſſembly as was by them appointed. Hereof aroſe great troubles, even under the Emperours noſe, in *Prague* the chief City of *Bohemia*, they of the Religion not daring to truſt the *Roman* Catholicks, neither they them; being ſtill ready upon every falſe report, or vain ſurmiſe, to go together by the ears; until that the Emperour, for the ſtaying of theſe Troubles, and the avoiding of farther danger, was glad to cauſe it to be openly proclaimed in the new Court at *Prague*, That his Imperial Majeſty, having received and underſtood the Apology of the States, now did abrogate that his Edict publiſhed againſt them but a few days before; and now by this his new Edict did account all the States of the Religion for his faithful and well beloved Subjects; and, as of them unto whom the right of the Kingdom, and the King's Oath belonged, as well as to all other States of the Kingdom. And that he alſo had thoſe the ſame States excuſed, in that they for the good of his Majeſty, and of the whole Kingdom, had appointed their Aſſembly in the new Court at *Prague*; and that therefore he denounced them in ſo doing, not in any thing to have done any thing contrary unto his Majeſty. And that he appointed the five and twentieth day of *May* for the general Aſſembly of Parliament to be holden in the Caſtle of *Prague*, for the ending of the Article concerning Religion, and the reforming of other the publick Grievances of the Common-weal: yet with this proviſo, That the ſaid States ſhould ſafely and quietly come unto the ſaid Parliament, without entertaining of any foreign Souldiers; as that his Majeſty ſhould alſo, not by himſelf nor any other, for pay entertain any, or ſuffer any foreign Souldiers to come into the Kingdom. Which the Emperours Edict being proclaimed, the States of the Religion having made their publick Prayers, and ſung certain Hymns and Pſalms unto the Glory of God, for the good ſucceſs of their buſineſs, left the new Court at *Prague*, and returned every man home to their own Houſes, to make themſelves ready to come unto the Parliament to be holden at the appointed day.

The States of *Bohemia* by writing declare unto the Emperour their purpoſe for the defence of their Religion.

But the day appointed for the Parliament being come, and the Emperour ſtill delaying the matter, the States of the Religion, weary of ſuch long delays, and in doubt to be therewith deluded, as having not received from the Emperour any ſuch anſwer as whereon to reſt, the third of *June* offered unto the Emperour a ſhort writing, concerning their Grief and farther purpoſe, to this effect. They had (as they ſaid) expected, and well hoped, that regard being had, not only of ſo many requeſts of ſo great and moſt noble Princes, made in their behalf; but even of the Emperour's promiſe alſo, made unto them, both in the general Aſſembly of the States the laſt year, and in the late Precept of the Emperour's alſo, they ſhould at length have received ſuch anſwer unto their Petition, concerning the free Exerciſe of their Religion, as whereon they might have ſafely reſted. Which, for that it had not been yet done, they referred the doing thereof unto God and future time; imputing the blame thereof, not unto his Imperial Majeſty, but unto the unquiet and troubleſome Natures of ſome as well the Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal Magiſtrates and Perſons. But foraſmuch as they meant not longer to be deluded by their Enemies, and much leſs to be defrauded of his Majeſties Royal Promiſe, which was now unto the World known, they had thought good to offer and preſent unto his Majeſty a Writing conceived in the *Bohemian* Tongue; according unto which they deſired to be ſecured, concerning the free Exerciſe of their Religion; moſt humbly requeſting his Majeſty to accept of the ſame, and at length to ſatisfie their requeſts. Which if it might not be granted, (the Emperour's Majeſty, having more reſpect unto the troubleſome Clergy-men, and ſome other his evil affected Counſellors, than to the faithful States and Subjects of his Kingdom) that then they would reſt themſelves upon the Decree made in the Aſſembly holden in the year 1608, and upon the laſt Edict of his Majeſty; yet with this ſolemn Proteſtation, That ſeeing they had by certain Information underſtood much Warlike Preparation (but eſpecially in *Bavaria*) to be made, and divers Conſultations in many Places to be holden againſt the States of the Religion, (his Imperial Majeſty, and the other his faithful Counſellors, thereof not knowing) which might tend unto the Ruine and Deſtruction both of his Majeſty and of the whole Kingdom; they themſelves would take upon them the defence thereof, and do their endeavour, that, furniſhed with Men and Arms, they might to the uttermoſt of their power defend him their Sovereign, together with themſelves, and the whole Kingdom, againſt the Force and Invaſion of their foreign Enemies. 1609

Ambaſſadors from the Duke of *Saxony* in the behalf of the States.

In the mean time, while theſe things were thus in doing, an Ambaſſador came from the Duke of *Saxony* to *Prague*, to intreat the Emperour for the States, and for the granting of them the free Exerciſe of their Religion; the Ambaſſadors of the States of *Sileſia* forthwith following of them alſo; who, in like manner requeſting alſo of the Emperour, to have the liberty for the free Exerciſe of their Religion by him confirmed unto them; promiſed their moſt ready help and aid unto the States of *Bohemia*, if need ſhould ſo require. But the States of *Bohemia*, having from day to day in vain expected anſwer from the Emperour, turning themſelves unto their former Reſolution for the defence of themſelves and of their Religion; forthwith raiſed a great number both of Horſe and Foot, whom, with their well-known Captains and Commanders, they brought even unto the City of *Prague*. Howbeit, at length, *viz.* the eleventh of *July*, the *Saxon* Ambaſſador earneſtly ſolliciting their Cauſe, and urging their requeſt, they, according to their deſire, received anſwer from the Emperour, by Letters from his Majeſty written to this effect.

The States of *Bohemia* raiſe their Forces.

The Emperours Letters unto the States of the Religion in *Bohemia*, for the free Exerciſe of their Religion.

He gave all Men (as he ſaid) to underſtand, and by theſe his Letters witneſſed to eternal Memory, That after that all the free States of his Kingdom of *Bohemia*, which, in the receiving of the Lord Supper, participate the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt under both kinds, his faithful Subjects, had in the Aſſembly holden in the Caſtle at *Prague* in the year 1608, in all humility requeſted, That it might be lawful for them to hold, and freely to Exerciſe their Religion, according to the Confeſſion of *Auguſta*, (as ſome call it) exhibited unto his Father *Maximilian* the Emperour of moſt happy Memory, and by him unto the ſaid States allowed; and that he then and at that time, by reaſon of other moſt weighty buſineſs, for which that Aſſembly was then called, and ſuch as could ſuffer no Procraſtination or delay, had thought it good to deferr the allowing and ratifying of this their Petition, unto this preſent Aſſembly of Parliament; and that the ſame States now again aſſembled, inceſſantly renewing this their former Petition and having thereunto joyned alſo the requeſt and Interceſſion of certain Noble Perſonages, had requeſted to be therein ſatisfied; and that he with his Counſellors would conſult how Proviſion might be made for his Subjects in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, as well Communicating under both kinds, as under one; now

at

1609 at length to have effected the ſame. Wherefore ſeeing that his Will and Deſire was, that both in theſe and future times, Peace and Quietneſs might for the increaſing of the Kingdom be preſerved and kept amongſt his Subjects of all the three Eſtates of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, communicating as well under the one, as under both kinds; that both parties might freely, and without any impediment or let, have the free Exercile of their Religion, whereby they were both in hope to obtain everlaſting Salvation. And to the intent that Accompliſhment and Satisfaction might in all points be made, as well according unto the breaking up of the Aſſembly of Parliament in the year 1608, as to the performance of his own Precept, of late publiſhed, (whereby he hath acknowledged, and even yet acknowledgeth, thoſe ſame Eſtates communicating under both kinds, and ſubſcribing to this Confeſſion, for his faithful and loyal Subjects, unto whom the Rights and Immunities of the Kingdom of *Bohemia* belonged) He by the common conſent of the Counſellors, and other Magiſtrates of the Kingdom did determine, That his Subjects, communicating both under one and both kinds, ſhould friendly and peaceably live together, without wronging or reviling of one another; and that upon the Pain and Penalty in the Law ſet down, to be inflicted upon them that ſhould otherwiſe do. And moreover, ſeeing that they which communicated but under one kind, enjoyed the free Exercile of their Religion in all points throughout the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, that he gave leave, and commanded, that they alſo which communicated under both kinds, *viz.* all the States of the Religion, with all ſuch as embraced the Confeſſion of *Bohemia*, ſometime exhibited to *Maximilian* the Emperour, his Father, in the Parliament holden in the year 1575, and now again to himſelf preſented, ſhould every where, and in all places of the Kingdom, have the free Exercile of their Religion, without the let or interruption of any; to retain the ſame, until a general Union of Religion, and an ending of all Diſſention and Controverſies might be made. Moreover, That He did grant unto the States of the Religion this Favour, That they ſhould have the lower Conſiſtory at *Prague*, with Power to conform the ſame according to their own Confeſſion. That they might lawfully make their Prieſts, as well in the *Bohemian* as *German* Tongue, and ſet them over their Churches, without any let of the Arch-biſhop of *Prague*. That he did alſo reſtore unto them the Univerſity of *Prague*, which for many years ago belonged unto the States of the Religion under both kinds; giving them Power again to open the ſame, to furniſh it with grave and learned Men of their own Confeſſion, to beautifie it with good Laws, and to appoint certain of their own Company and Profeſſion for Governours and Defenders as well of the Conſiſtory as of the Univerſity; whom, ſo by the States appointed and choſen, he without any ſtay or delay, or other inſtruction or information than they ſhould from the States receive, would confirm in that their Office, and pronounce them for the lawful Defenders; yet ſo, as that if he, being letted by other greater buſineſs, cannot perform the ſame within the ſpace of fourteen days, they ſhall nevertheleſs continue Defenders, and as well enjoy the charge of the Office committed unto them, as if they had been therein by him confirmed; and that one or other of their number being dead, it ſhall be lawful for the States to chuſe others in their Places. And if that, beſide the Churches which they now hold, they would build other more, or erect more Schools for the inſtructing of the Youth, it ſhall be lawful for them freely, and without any let ſo to do, as well in the Cities as in the Country Towns and Villages. And foraſmuch as in ſome of the Cities of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, Men of both Religions dwelt together, he therefore did will and command, That for the preſervation of Peace and Quietneſs, either part freely exerciſing their Religion, and obeying their Prieſts, ſhould by no means either hurt or trouble them on the other part; and much leſs to hinder them to bury their dead in their Churches or Church-yards, with the ringing or tolling of the Bells, or go about to turn any Man from his Religion, of what ſtate or condition ſoever he be, whether he dwell in the City, or in the Country Town or Village; or by force to draw them to their Opinion, or to take their part. For that he only reſpected, that Peace and Quietneſs might be kept, and that mutual Love might ſtill grow amongſt all the three States: Unto which end and purpoſe, that He for himſelf and his Heirs, and the Kings of *Bohemia* his Succeſſors, in the Faith and Word of a King, did grant and promiſe unto the States of the Religion, unto whom this common Peace of Religion (as they call it) belongeth, as to a principal member of the Empire, all theſe things to be for ever inviolably kept (the Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal Perſons whoſoever in vain reſiſting) ſo that no contrary Precept or Edict, ſhould either by himſelf, or any other his Heirs or Succeſſors be publiſhed againſt the States of the Religion; or being publiſhed by any, ſhould be accounted effectual and ſtrong; eſpecially, ſeeing that he by theſe his Letters, pronounceth all the Edicts hitherto publiſhed againſt theſe the States of the Religion, to be void, fruſtrate, and of none effect. Neither would that any thing of thoſe which were done by the States of the Religion, whilſt they ſought for the Confirmation of this Article concerning Religion, ſhould for ever be layd to their charge, or by any man by way of reproach objected unto them. And that therefore he ſtraightly charged and commanded all Magiſtrates, and ſuch as bare rule in *Bohemia*, to the uttermoſt of their Power to protect and defend all the three States, together with them of the Religion; and neither themſelves to trouble them, nor ſuffer them to be by any others for the Exercile of their Religion moleſted or troubled: For that he and other the Kings of *Bohemia*, his Succeſſors, would moſt ſeverely chaſtiſe all ſuch as ſhould offend againſt theſe his Majeſties Letters (which, to be for ever remembred, he would cauſe the ſame to be enrolled in the publick Records of Parliament) whether ſuch Offenders were Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal Men, to be ſharply puniſhed as the Troublers of the Common Peace. 1609

This was the ſum of his Majeſties Letters, which he cauſed to be publickly ſet up in the Caſtle of *Prague* the thirteenth of *July*, that it might be to all men known, this Article of Religion, which was the firſt of the Articles in this Parliament propounded, to be concluded and agreed upon according to the Mind of the States of the Religion, and ſo their Requeſts to be in all points ſatisfied. Who forthwith thereupon, the fifteenth day of *July*, cauſed the firſt publick Sermon according to the Confeſſion of *Auguſta*, to be preached in the *German* Tongue in a Church of them of the Religion, which had for a long time before been ſhut up. At which time, they alſo ſent unto the Elector of Saxony, to ſend unto them certain learned men, for the ſetting up of the Univerſity, and the governing of the Conſiſtory at *Prague*. And yet for all this, the Ambaſſadors for the States of *Sileſia*, ſtill earneſtly labouring with the Emperour for the Liberty of Religion to be granted

1609 granted to the ſaid States and the reſt of the Inhabitants of the Province; the States of *Bohemia* refuſed in any wiſe to diſmiſs their Souldiers whom they had muſtered near unto *Roggenſon*, until the *Sileſians* were of their requeſt in that point ſatisfied; offering alſo unto the Emperour a large Libel of the Griefs of them the ſaid States.

Now it may be that ſome having read ſo much as is before written concerning theſe late Troubles about the free Exerciſe of the Reformed Religion, but eſpecially in *Bohemia*, *Auſtria*, *Moravia*, and *Sileſia*, may deem the ſame both tedious and beſide our purpoſe; unto whom indeed it is not written; but rather unto ſuch, as who, together with my ſelf (the Wars betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks ended, and the Peace concluded as is aforeſaid) deſire yet to know in what ſtate thoſe frontier Countries ſtand; which being the greateſt Bulwarks on that ſide of Chriſtendom, and the chief Territories of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, are (the peace being either expired, or otherwiſe broken off) moſt ſubject unto the Fury of the puiſſant Enemy, as neareſt unto him, and ſo like ſooneſt to feel of his great Force and Power, prefixing unto it ſelf neither bounds nor meaſure, ſo long as there is any thing farther. Againſt whom the Chriſtian Emperour had no other Forces of his own to oppoſe, more than ſuch as he could raiſe out of the Reliques of *Hungary*, and the aforeſaid Frontier Countries. All together but weak helps againſt ſo puiſſant an Enemy, as never cometh into the field but with a world of Men following of him; but yet much weaker, being (as now of late they were) every one of them apart divided in themſelves about matters of Religion, the incurable malady of the Chriſtian Eſtates and Common-weals; the heavy and lamentable effect whereof too much of late appeared in the loſs of *Strigonium*, won by the Turks with a far leſs Army than ever the Grand Seigniors Lieutenant General was wont to come into *Hungary* withal; and yet the Chriſtian Emperour, by reaſon of the revolt of the *Hungarians*, (upon a diſcontentment about the Exerciſe of their Religion) not able of himſelf to relieve the diſtreſſed City of *Strigonium*, or yet to put an Army of any ſtrength into the Field, for the defence of the reſt of his Cities or Territories. So weak are even the greateſt Princes, their Subjects being among themſelves in Minds divided. 1609

The Turks Ambaſſadour cometh to *Vienna*, and from thence to *Prague*.

But not to ſtray farther, the Turks Ambaſſador in the mean time with a notable train of an hundred and fifty Turks coming from *Vienna* the one and twentieth of *September*; and there having ſaluted, and with great Gifts preſented the King, ſet forward toward *Prague*, where he was by the Citizens and certain Noblemen of the Emperours Council the twelfth of *October* honourably received; and the nineteenth of the ſame Month admitted unto the Emperours Preſence, firſt preſented unto him from the Great Sultan his Maſter, a rich Tent of divers colours, moſt curiouſly wrought with fair Orient Pearl of great value; and then four couragious Horſes, all furniſhed with moſt rich and ſumptuous furniture. He preſented unto him alſo certain Turkiſh Weapons ſet and garniſhed with pretious Stones, and a Princely Turks robe, ſuch as they uſe at their Marriages, gliſtering with Gold and precious Stones, with divers other rare things of leſs value; together with which he delivered unto him the Great Sultans Letters, and withal deſired the Confirmation of the Peace before made for twenty years, to be now again renewed. Unto which Ambaſſadour Letters were afterward delivered from the Emperour, together with certain other rich Preſents to be by him preſented unto the great Sultan: *viz.* certain Caroches lined within with Damask, and covered without with black Velvet; ſix fair and gallant Horſes moſt richly furniſhed; a Clock of wonderful Workmanſhip; two fair Desks to write upon of Ebony; with divers other like Preſents of no ſmall price. Who ſo charged with Preſents, and bountifully rewarded, and to his good liking anſwered, was afterward, in the beginning of *January*, with a train of two hundred Horſe from *Prague* honourably diſmiſſed.

HERE

A CONTINUATION OF THIS PRESENT HISTORY,

(Containing thoſe Occurrents which have happened to the *Turkiſh* Empire ſince the Year of our Lord, one thouſand ſix hundred and nine, unto the Year, one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventeen, *&c.*)

By EDWARD GRIMSTON, *Serjeant at Arms.*

1610 THE *Turkiſh* Emperour, having been freed ſome years from the care of Wars in *Hungary*, in regard that he had concluded a Truce for twenty years with the Emperour *Rodulphus*, he now bent all his Forces againſt his Rebels in *Aſia*, and the Sophie of *Perſia*, where he had no good Succeſs this year. For the *Perſians*, having formerly extended their Monarchy far into the Turkiſh Empire, and defeated *Cicala Baſſa*, and others in divers Battels; now they entered into the Province of *Babylon*, with a deſign to joyn it to *Perſia*. *Achmat*, to ſtay the courſe of their Proſperity, ſends a mighty Army thither, under the command of *Naſſut Baſſa*; but his fortune was no better than thoſe that went before him. The *Perſians* came to meet him, gave him battel, defeated him, and ſlew twenty thouſand of his Men. Theſe mournful News coming to Court, did much diſtemper the Sultans Mind; he could not endure it ſhould be ſaid, that the *Perſian* had defeated his mighty Armies thrice in open Battel; and much leſs that it ſhould be ſo, and that he ſhould ſeiſe upon his Countries: wherefore, to repaire this loſs, he levies new Forces to be commanded by *Gambolat Baſſa* of *Aleppo*, who had been the moſt powerful Rebel in *Aſia*, and was newly reconciled and brought into favour with the Grand Seignior. This man came to the Port to receive the Sultans Commandments, and to paſs his Army into *Aſia*; but, whether having ſome ſuſpition that he had intelligence with the *Perſians*, or that ſuch as envied his Greatneſs, had given ſome bad impreſſion of his Loyalty to the Sultan; within ſome few days after his arrival, *Achmat* cauſed him to be ſlain by his *Capigi*. Whereby we may well obſerve, that he that is a Rebel to his Prince, which hath ſo violently oppreſt his Subjects, and ſet his Countries on fire by Sedition, the which he hath been forced to quench with the blood of Innocents, cannot but end his days violently and miſerably, ſeeing that God revengeth the Blood of Innocents upon the guilty.

The Perſians enter into the Province of Babylon.

The Turks defeated.

The Turk makes Gambolat General of his Army.

He commands him to be ſlain.

The *Perſian*, ſeeing what advantage he had gotten of the Turk, laboured by the bruit of his Victories to draw the Chriſtian Princes unto his party, and with them wholly to ruine the *Othomans*; the which he had ſo happily begun. For the effecting whereof, he ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Emperour being at *Prague*, to perſwade him to break the Peace with the Turk, and to joyn with him. The Ambaſſadors arrived at *Prague* this year with rich and rare Preſents; firſt, a Croſs of Gold inrich'd with many precious ſtones; amongſt which there was one piece of Amber, whereon was ſeen the figure of the Virgin *Mary*, holding her young Babe in her Arms; the which was ſo artificially graven, as it might be thought the work of Nature; a Topas of exceeding greatneſs, given to the King of *Perſia* by an *Indian* King; two Knives of Damask, with hafts of Jaſper, and their ſheaths covered with Diamonds; a certain kind of *Indian* Wood of moſt excellent vertue, moſt ſovereign to cure the pains of the Breaſt, and to purge the Stomach; the gall of a Pellican, excellent to cure the Pleuriſie, Apoplexy, and Fever; two Topazes, the one white, and the other violet, this laſt was ſo big, as it was capable to make a Cup; an Amathiſt as big as a Hens Egg; a *Perſian* Bow inlaid with the Veins of a Cammel, and a rough Diamond exceeding great; a *white* ſtone of the colour of Water, which was a preſervative againſt the Plague, being hung about ones neck; three Oriental Pearls exceeding big; three rich Eſcarbuncles, and three marvellous fair Diamonds; and with all this a Serpents Horn, much eſteemed for the rare Vertues. All theſe Preſents were very well accepted, and the Ambaſſadors much honoured. But what appearance was there for the Emperour, who had ſo great Differences with his Brother *Matthias*, King of *Hungary*, who ſaw the greateſt part of his Subjects rebelled againſt him, his Provinces in diviſion, *Tranſilvania* in Combuſtion by the Conſpiracy which had been diſcovered againſt *Battory*, and finally a general Diſorder over all, to break the peace with the Turk, (who was at his Door, retained only with this Bar) and to allie himſelf with the *Perſian* ſo far from his Countries, from whom he could draw no Succours, but only that he might keep the *Othomans* buſie in *Aſia*? Thus the Ambaſſadors returned, carrying home nothing but good Words.

Ambaſſadors come from the Perſian to the Emperour.

1610 *Preſents ſent to the Emperor.*

His Affairs will not ſuffer him to joyn with the Perſian.

Since the Troubles which hapned in *Bohemia* made him ſee of what importance it was to entertain Peace with the Turk; for if he had broken it by the *Perſians* Perſwaſion, he had given his Enemy an aſſured means to ruine him; for the

The Proceedings of Leopold in Bohemia.

1610 the Arch-duke *Leopold* entred into *Bohemia* with an Army of nine thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe; he ſurpriſed petty *Prague*, attempted the old Town, and ſeeking to force it, he ſlew many which made reſiſtance. *Matthias* King of *Hungary* advertiſed of this Diſorder, parts from *Auſtria* with a powerful Army, and advanceth ſpeedily towards *Bohemia*. It was to be feared, that if *Matthias*'s Army and *Leopold*'s had met near unto *Prague*, it had been the loſs and overthrow of the one, and the deſolation and ruine of the Country. The Emperour foreſeeing this Danger, cauſed 300000 Florens to be delivered to *Romeo*, *Leopold*'s Lieutenant, for the payment of his Army, and ſo ſent him out of *Bohemia*. This diviſion betwixt the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, grew by the Practices of ſome of the Emperours Counſel, who being delegated Judges to compound the Differences of the *Bohemians* of divers Religions, inſtead of labouring to reconcile and unite thoſe People, for the good of the publick, they made themſelves Partiſans to the one, to oppreſs the other; and thereby they drew the Princes into a dangerous diviſion, for the ſupport of Parties. And moreover, the Arch-dukes *Ferdinand* and *Leopold*, practiſed to deprive *Matthias*, King of *Hungary*, of the Succeſſion which he pretended of *Bohemia*; leſt that being Maſter, he ſhould take revenge upon their Partiſans for the Troubles wherewith they had formerly afflicted the Country. Such was the Eſtate of Affairs in *Germany*, giving the Turk a fair Opportunity, if he could have embraced ſo rich an occaſion, to make his Profit of their Combuſtions. But the Confirmation of the Truce, and the Affairs of his Houſe, kept him in *Thrace*.

Cauſes of the Troubles of *Bohemia*.

The *Gallions* of *Malta* defeated by the Turks.

Let us ſee how the Turk ſpeeds at Sea; where he hath the Knights of *Malta*, the *Sicilians*, and *Neapolitans*, and the *Florentines*, vigilant and valiant Enemies, to annoy him, and croſs his Deſigns. The laſt year, which was 1609, the Chriſtians had no good Succeſs, loſs fell particularly upon the Knights of *Malta*; for he that fights often, can hardly vanquiſh always. The Gallion of the Order, commanded by *Chivalier Guidoti*, an *Italian*, had made two Voyages to Sea very fortunately, and brought to *Malta* three hundred Turkiſh ſlaves. The incouragement of this good Succeſs engaged many Knights to divers Enterpriſes. They armed certain Gallions, and made a Fleet of ten good Ships of War, as unfortunate in their Courſes as the Gallion of the Order had been before ſucceſsful; for, meeting with the Turks Fleet in the Seas of *Cyprus*, they were ſet upon, and moſt of them ſlain or made ſlaves. The Knight *Freſſinet* was ſlain, and the Red Gallion, wherein he commanded, taken by the Turks; but it was after a whole day Fight. *Ambuſon*, otherwiſe called *Fueillade*, another Knight, was made a Slave, and his Gallion taken; the Knight *Ouges* ran the ſame fortune, with the loſs of a Gallion. *Freſſinet* having brought a Pinnace with him to attend his Ship, after ſome fight near unto the Gallion, it eſcaped by night.

The Gallion of the Order ſets upon the Turks *Caravan*.

In this Voyage, unfortunate for them of *Malta*, the Gallion of the Order would needs ſeek ſome better adventure; the Knights of *Bailou* and *Rhodes*, did accompany him either of them with a ſmall Gallion. He ſet upon the Caravan of the Turks Fleet, near the Iſland of *Rhodes*, his ſucceſsful beginning of this Combat made him hope for Victory, and the number of the Enemies Veſſels for a rich Booty; for there were amongſt the reſt two great Gallions of the Sultans; theſe are Ships which belong to the great Seignior's Women, loaden commonly with great Riches; but twenty Gallies of *Rhodes* ſeeing this fight, came out of their Port to ſuccour them, and by the favour of a fair Wind, drew them into ſafety.

At *Malta* the bruit was, That the Turks Army conſiſting of fourſcore Gallies, ſhould go and beſiege the Iſle of *Goza*, whereas a Knight called *Saint-Liger* commanded. Whereupon, the Great Maſter had reſolved to fortifie the Caſtle of the Iſland, with a good Counterſcarfe, which he cauſed to be made, ſending thither two hundred Souldiers, and thirty Knights for ſupply, all brave Souldiers, who might have made a great reſiſtance, if the Turks had attempted it; but the Enemies Fleet paſſed on, and gave them time to reſt. 1610

But this Year 1610, *Vignancourt*, the Great Maſter of *Malta*, ſent the five Gallies of the Order into *Barbary*, towards the Port *Farino*; memorable, for that it was the Haven where Saint *Lewis* the French King ended the Navigation of his days, and at his return from *Hieruſalem* and *Paleſtina*, went to receive in Heaven the glorious palms of his holy Actions. The Gallies of *Biſerta* had been accuſtomed to fetch Palms there in that ſeaſon (which was in the Spring time,) whom the Gallies of *Malta* had a deſign to ſurpriſe. But the contrary Winds, and the tempeſtuous Seas overthrew that Enterpriſe; yet their Voyage was not altogether unprofitable; for returning toward *Malta*, being within the Channel which divides the Iſland from that of *Sicily*, they encountered with a great Gallion of *Tunes*, armed by a Turk called *Carouſman*, being in view of the Gallies of *Malta*: The *Raiſe* (who commanded) aſſured his Company, and (ſmiling) promiſed to free them from their Enemies. Being ſo tranſported with Vanity, as he ſpake confidently, that he would not fear twenty of the Gallies of *Malta*; but this his pride was ſoon abated with his ruine; for the five Gallies came cloſe under him, and plied him ſo furiouſly with their Cannon, as they ſunk him. The Gally wherein *Verdelli*, an *Italian* Knight, commanded, had like to have been loſt, for being grapled with the Gallion, if the diligence of *Verdelli* had not ſpeedily retired it. The Turks, after the loſs of their Veſſel, began to ſwim away, but they were all made Slaves to ſerve in the Gallies of *Malta*, who this year had no other Fruits of their generous Enterpriſes. 1610

The Gallies of *Malta* go to ſurpriſe them of *Biſerta*.

They ſink a Gallion of *Tunes*.

The Gallies of *Coſmo de Medicis*, Great Duke of *Tuskany*, parted from *Ligorn*, under the Conduct of the Commander and Admiral *Inghirami*, and running along the Coaſt of *Barbary*, they took a Turkiſh Ship in the ſight of *Algier*, laden with Merchandiſe, Arms, and Munition of War, freeing many Chriſtian Slaves which were in it. This happy beginning promiſed them better fortune. They paſs on, and ſome twenty five Leagues beyond *Algiers*, they go to ſurpriſe the Town of *Biſquerre*, a ſmall Town in Circuit, but ſtrong and well walled. *Inghirami* drawing near unto the Coaſt, took down his Maſts, leſt they ſhould diſcover his coming. In the mean time, he ſent two long Boats to find ſome place fit for their landing; the which being carefully obſerved, Collonel *Bindii* landed his Men, and about eleven a Clock at Night marched in good order towards the Town, and forced it. The Darkneſs of the Night kept them from ſpoiling it; being content only to ſet their Guards and Sentinels in the moſt important Places of the Wall; but day being come, the Souldiers made themſelves Maſters of the Town, which they ſacked and ſpoiled. Certain Moors and Turks, during the Obſcurity of the Night, had retired themſelves into a Moſque which they fortified: They were ſummoned to yield; but the fear of being Slaves, (which they could not avoid) made them reſolve to die in their own defence; ſo as the *Florentines* having forced the Place, put them all to the Sword; and then embarqued their Troops, having filled *Biſquerre* with

The Courſes of the Duke of *Tuſcany*'s Gallies.

They take a Turkiſh Ship.

Biſquerre taken by the *Florentines*.

1610 They take divers *Turkiſh* Veſſels.

with Fire and Blood. The Night following, being in the Gulph called the *Bad Woman*, they met with a Pinnace loaden with Corn, the which they took, and ſent to *Ligorne*, and then they paſt on to encreaſe their Conqueſt. Being upon the Coaſt of *Sardinia*, two Galliots of *Biſerta* did furniſh them with a fair Occaſion. *Inghirami* ſendeth his Gallies to purſue them, who having had them in chaſe threeſcore Leagues, took the one, wherein they had one hundred and twenty Slaves, and freed many poor Chriſtians from the Chain, who ſuffered the Tyranny of the Turkiſh Servitude. They alſo took a Turkiſh Gally within half a League of *Algier*, and ſpoiled it. And thus triumphing over their Enemies, they took their Courſe towards *Ligorn*, having taken four Turkiſh Veſſels, ſpoiled the Town of *Biſquerre*, and twice braved that of *Algier*.

The *Moriſques* or new Chriſtians chaſed out of *Spain*.

This year was fatal for the Moriſques or new Chriſtians in *Spain*, who being in number nine hundred thouſand Perſons, as the original writes, and had continued there from Father to Son, for the ſpace of almoſt nine hundred years, were now in an inſtant baniſhed, and made Vagabonds with the blaſt of the Kings Mouth: Men diſcourſed diverſly hereof. Some ſaid, that the King had reaſon to do it, for that they had ſecret Practices and Intelligence with the Turk, his capital Enemy. Others affirmed, that he did wiſely to prevent their Attempts againſt his Eſtate, which were to be feared, conſidering their Numbers were ſo great. And ſome ſaid plainly, that it was to have their Lands and Inheritances, which had continued ſo long in their Races. But the King declared his own intent by his Edict, the which he publiſhed in theſe Terms.

The King of *Spain*'s Edict.

The King: For that reaſon doth in Conſcience bind a good and Chriſtian Government, to expel out of all Realms and Common-weals thoſe things which breed ſcandal, and bring hurt to our good Subjects, and Danger to the Eſtate, but eſpecially which are offenſive to God, and prejudicial to his Service; for this cauſe, Experience having taught us, That the reſidence of the new Chriſtian Moriſques, and their abode in the Realms of *Granado*, *Murcia*, and *Andeloſia*, hath been the cauſe of all theſe Inconveniences: For that beſides the manner of their proceeding, which joyned in the Rebellion of *Granado*, the which began by cruel Murthers of all the Prieſts and old Chriſtians which lived amongſt them, calling the Turk in to their Aid; yet having drawn them out of the ſaid Country, and ſuffered them to live in our other Provinces, ſo as they would repent them of their Faults, and live faithfully and Chriſtian like, according to the Precepts and juſt Ordinances which were given them: They have not obſerved and kept them according to the ſtrict and direct Rules of our Holy Faith; but have always made ſhew to contemn it, and to have no fear to offend God; as hath been ſeen by the great numbers which have been puniſhed by the Inquiſition; and beſides, they have committed many Theſts and Murthers againſt the old Chriſtians. And not content herewith, they have conſpired againſt my Royal Crown and Realms, ſeeking Aid and Succours from the Turk, certain interpoſed Perſons being ſent to that effect, and doing the like with other Princes, promiſing unto themſelves Aid and Aſſiſtance, offering unto them their Perſons and Means. And ſeeing that during ſo many years, in which they have practiſed theſe Treaſons and Conſpiracies, not any one hath come to reveal them, but they have always covered, concealed, and denied them; it is a moſt apparent ſign that they have all been of one Mind and Will, againſt the Service of God and of me, and againſt the good of this Realm; yet they might have imitated many Knights of theirs, of generous extraction, who have done ſervice to God, to the Kings our Progenitors, and to us, like good Chriſtians, and moſt loyal Vaſſals. 1610

Wherefore conſidering all this, and how much I am bound to ſet down ſome good order, and to procure the preſervation and increaſe of my Realms and Subjects, and deſiring to provide for all; I have decreed, with the Advice and Counſel of many judicious learned men, and others, that are very religious, wiſe, and jealous of Gods Service and mine, to chaſe out of the ſaid Realms of *Granado*, *Murcia*, and *Andeloſia*, and out of the Town of *Hernache* (although it be not within the Limits of the ſaid Realms) all the new Chriſtians Moriſques, both Men, Women, and Children. For when as a great or deteſtable Crime is committed in any Colledge or Communalty, it is fit that Colledge or Communalty ſhould be ruined, and that the leſs for the greater, and one with another ſhould be puniſhed; and that ſuch as pervert the good and ſincere Life of Common-weals, and of their Towns and Cities, ſhould be baniſhed from other Inhabitants, leſt their Contagion infect them.

For this cauſe, by vertue of theſe Preſents, we ordain and command, That all the new Chriſtians Moriſques, without any exception of Age or Sex, of thoſe that live and reſide in the ſaid Realms, and in the Town of *Hernache*, except ſuch as be Slaves, ſhall within the ſpace of thirty days after the Publication hereof, depart out of all our Realms and Dominions of *Spain*, with their Wives, Children, Servants, and others of their Nation; and that they ſhall not preſume to return nor make any reſidence in them, in any ſort whatſoever; And we forbid them to depart by the Realms of *Valencia*, or *Aragon*, nor to enter into them, nor to ſtay in any of our Realms or Countries after the time prefixed, upon pain of Death, and confiſcation of all their Goods. And we command, that no Perſon within our Realms and Seigniories, of what Eſtate, Qualities, or Condition ſoever, ſhall preſume to receive, conceal, or defend publickly nor ſecretly any Moriſque Man or Woman after the ſaid term, upon pain to loſe all their Goods, Vaſſals, Forts, and Lands; and moreover to loſe all the Graces and Benefits which they have from me, to be applied to my Exchequer.

And though I may juſtly confiſcate all the Goods moveable and unmoveable of the ſaid Moriſques, as belonging to Traitors, and guilty of high Treaſon; yet uſing Clemency, I am content, that during the ſaid term of thirty days, they may diſpoſe of their moveable Goods, and carry them away, not in Gold, Silver, Jewels, nor Letters of Exchange, but in Merchandiſe, which is not prohibited, bought of the natural Subjects of this Realm, and not of others; or in the Commodities of the ſaid Country. And to the end they may during the time of thirty days diſpoſe thereof, and of their moveable Goods, and employ it in Merchandiſe, or in the Commodities of the Country, and tranſport what they ſhall buy; (for as for their Lands, that muſt be annexed to my Revenues, to be employed in the Service of God and the Common-weal, as I ſhall think moſt fit) I declare by theſe Preſents, that I take them into my Royal Protection, and aſſure them and their Goods, That during the ſaid time they may go and come, to ſell, exchange, and alienate all their moveable Goods, and to employ their Mony, Gold, Silver, and Jewels, in Merchandiſe not prohibited, or in the Commodities of the Country, and to tranſport the ſame freely, without any let or interruption, by

1610 Land or by Sea, paying uſual Cuſtoms; ſo as they carry no Gold or Silver coined, or to coin, nor any other thing prohibited by the Laws of my Realm. Yet we are content, they ſhall carry ſo much Money as ſhall be needful for their Paſſage by Land, and embarking by Sea; commanding all our Officers and loving Subjects to ſee this preſent Edict duely obſerved, *&c.* Signed, *I the King.*

After the Publication of this Edict, the term of thirty days was reſtrained to twenty, ſo as the *Moriſques* were haſtened to depart; and the Ships and Veſſels of what Country ſoever were ſtayed in all the Ports of *Spain*, to tranſport them whither they would go. Many paſſed from *Spain* into *Barbary*; but during this year there came above 150000 of theſe *Moriſques* into *France*; the King ſending Commiſſaries, to ſee them well uſed, and orderly tranſported away.

War in *Barbary.*

There was a War fallen out in *Barbary* betwixt *Muley Xequy*, King of *Fez*, and *Muley Sidan* his younger Brother, both Mahometans; in which War the younger forced the elder to flie his Country, and to come and crave Aid from *Philip* King of *Spain*; But the unfortunate loſs of *Don Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*, was a good Preſident for the *Spaniard* not to truſt in barbarous Kings, without good aſſurance; He treated with the *Barbarian*, and promiſed him Succours, with an hundred thouſand Duckats to return to *Alarache*, (a place which held for him) where by Money or other Practiſes, he ſhould draw unto him as many Souldiers as he could; and that for the ſafety of the Succours that he ſhould give him, he ſhould put *Alarache* or *Arrache* into his Hands.

Deſcription of the Town of *Arrache* or *Allarache.*

This *Arrache* is a ſtrong Town in the Realm of *Fez*, in the Province of *Algar*, ſeated upon the Ocean, at the Mouth of the River of *Lucus*, whereon part of it is built, and the other part upon the Ocean: It hath a goodly Port, and hard to take for, that it is defended by a Fort, in the which the Kings of *Fez* do uſually entertain a Gariſon of three hundred light Horſe, and three hundred Harquebuſiers; for that the *Portugals* and *Caſtilians* hold in a manner all the Sea Towns of the Provinces of *Habat*, and *Erif*, where they have great Gariſons. This Province is from the River of *Nocor* along the *Mediterranean* Sea, unto the ſtraight of *Gibralter*, the other is upon the Ocean from the ſaid ſtraight unto the River *Lucus*, in the which the King of *Spain* holdeth at this day the ſtrong Towns of *Tanger*, *Arzilla*, and others. According to the former accord, the *Barbarian* returned to *Arrache*, with his Money in one of the King of *Spain*'s Ships; to whom in a ſhort time repaired many of his Friends and Servants. The *Spaniard* in the mean time having prepared a Fleet of a great number of Gallies and Ships, and embarqued ten thouſand Souldiers therein, he gave the command thereof unto the Marqueſs of Saint *Germaine*, who arrived on the twentieth of *November* in the Evening at the Port of *Arrache*, and there rode at Anchor all the Night. The next day in the Morning, the Marqueſs, calling all the Captains to a Council, imparting unto them his Deſign for to force *Arrache*, in caſe that the Mooriſh King did not keep his Promiſe; they gave him aſſurance, that they would carry themſelves like unto brave and valiant Souldiers. But ſee what happened; The King of *Fez*, having no means to go from his word, ſeeing the Spaniard ſo ſtrong as he might well force it, many of his Followers and People, fearing to fall under the Power of *Spain*, they would have abandoned him; but having the Governour of the Caſtle at his Devotion, he thruſt out the Gariſon, and delivered the Keys himſelf unto the Marqueſs of Saint *Germain*. Upon the firſt bruit that the *Spaniards* were entred into the Caſtle, all the Inhabitants ran to Arms, and thinking to reſiſt them, after that many of them had ended their days valiantly, during three hours Combat, they were forced to yield unto the Marqueſs, who preſently planted the Croſs and Arms of *Caſtile* upon all the Towers and Steeples. Thus this ſtrong Town, which the *Caſtilians* and *Portugals* had ſo long deſired, and whereby the Inhabitants received a great ruine, is in the end fallen under the Domination of their King. The News of this Exploit being brought into *Spain*, pleaſed the King much, and the People made bone-fires for joy; theſe are the Alterations of times. The *Moors* in old time were wont to over-run *Spain*, and now the *Spaniards* take their Pleaſures in *Mauritania*.

1610 *Arrache* in *Barbary* taken by the *Spaniards.*

About the end of this year, News came to *Conſtantinople*, of the great Wars which had been between the Uncle and the Nephew, by the death of the Great Cham of the *Tartars*; the Son, who during his Fathers Life time had continued at *Conſtantinople* as an Hoſtage, and was now ſent back into his Country by the Sultan *Achmat*, thinking to enjoy his Fathers Eſtate; his Uncle, Brother to the deceaſed Cham, practiſed to ſeize upon the Crown; but either of them having drawn an Army of 60000 Men together, in the end, they joyned battel, whereas after the ſlaughter of 40000 Men upon the place, the Son had the Victory, and by that means obtained the Crown of *Tartaria*.

A great Battel in *Tartarie.*

I will conclude this year 1610, with the Relation of a particular Buſineſs, to ſhew the greedy deſire of the Turks to get by any unjuſt means whatſoever, and their Infidelity and Falſhood to ſay and ſwear any thing for Bribes. Some years before, one Maſter *Willoughby*, an Engliſh Gentleman, having rigged up a Ship for war into the *Levant*, he came into *Algier* in *Barbary* to ſell his prize, where at that time one *Solyman Catania* was Baſſa. This Ship was ſuddenly ſeiſed on, and rifled by the command of this Baſſa, upon no other Subject, but that the Baſſa pretended this Ship had burnt a Caramouſal of his, which in truth the Baſſa himſelf had cauſed to be ſet on Fire, that under colour thereof he might ſeiſe upon the Ship and Goods. Maſter *Willoughby* went to *Conſtantinople*, and there made his complaint to Sir *Henry Lillie*, then Ambaſſador for the Engliſh; but yet could get no ſatisfaction; whereupon he returned into *England*, and obtained Letters from his Majeſty to the Grand Seignior, and to Sir *Thomas Glover*, then Ambaſſador, reſiding at *Conſtantinople*; which having received, he went preſently to the Chimacham (who was Lieutenant to *Murath Baſſa* the Grand Viſier, he being then imployed in the Wars againſt the *Perſian.*) The Chimacham having read theſe Letters, would not ſuffer them to be delivered to the Grand Seignior; promiſing to do Juſtice upon *Solyman Catania*, whom he diſcharged from his Place, and ſent for him to *Conſtantinople*; who being come, and called in queſtion, he denied the Fact; Maſter *Willoughby* (having no certain proof of his loſs) ſuborned one *Oſiſh Baſſa* a Turk, who had been at *Mecha*, and was therefore held a very holy man, who ſet a Brother of his to procure falſe Witneſſes, upon promiſe to have the tenth part of what ſhould be recovered; The Witneſſes being ready to ſwear to his Aſſertion, *Solyman Catania* hearing their Oath, compounded with Maſter *Willoughby*, and gave him four or five thouſand Dollars; ſo the buſineſs ended. Which ſhews the Corruption of the Turks, and that the holieſt of them for Money will not ſtick to bear falſe Witneſs, and take falſe Oaths.

This

1610 A great Plague in *Conſtantinople.*

This year 1610, the City of *Conſtantinople* was wonderfully afflicted with the Plague, the which diſperſed it ſelf over all, and crept into the Grand Seignior's Seraglio, wherein one of his Sons died of that Infection; whereupon the Grand Seignior was forced to retire for his ſafety, and to paſs the remainder of the Summer in his Palace or Seraglio of *Darut Baſſa*, about a League and a half diſtant from the City; this violent Contagion did ſo rage in *Conſtantinople* for the ſpace of five Months, as there were numbred two hundred thouſand Perſons dead within the time, and they did commonly carry every day twelve or fifteen hundred Bodies to be buried. The greatneſs of this Mortality is not to be imputed ſo much to the Corruption of the Air, as to the wilful Negligence of the Turks, who would not vouchſafe to turn away from a Body dead of this Diſeaſe, when it goes to burial, nor to forbear to viſit their Friends being infected. The obſtinate belief they have of Predeſtination maketh them bruitiſhly contemn all ſorts of dangers: For, ſay they, aſſoon as man comes out of his Mothers Womb to injoy the Light of the World, God writes in his Forehead all the good or evil ſhall happen unto him, and particularly of what Death he ſhall dye, the neceſſity whereof no humane power can avoid. All is governed (ſay they) by Deſtiny, and therefore they regard not any Infection, but contrariwiſe when any one is dead, another takes his Clothes and wears them; which is the cauſe that *Conſtantinople* and the Grand *Caire* are ſeldom free; and whenas the Air is any thing diſpoſed to Contagion, there dyes ſuch multitudes of People, as they do not number them but by hundred thouſands.

200000 perſons died of the plague.

The *Turks* obſtinate belief touching predeſtination.

Before the beginning of this Plague, the Baron of *Salignac*, Ambaſſador for the *French* King at *Conſtantinople*, ended his Embaſſage with his Life. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſent the Baron of *Mole*, eldeſt Son to the Baron of *Sanſie*, to ſupply his Place. He arrived at *Pera* this Year in the beginning of *September*, and about the end of *October* the Sultan being returned to *Conſtantinople*; after that he had viſited the Muphti, (who is the chief of their Law) the Grand Viſier, the Deſtorda, (who is the Sultan's high Treaſurer) the *Boſtangi* Baſſa his chief Gardiner, with other great Men of the Port which were highly in Favour; in the end he was admitted to Audience, and to kiſs the Sultan's Hand. A Ceremony, which in mine opinion I owe unto the Hiſtory, to ſhew that the Majeſty of the Turkiſh Emperours is ſo great, as to approach near unto them the Ambaſſadors of foreign Princes are forced to diſguiſe themſelves, and leaving the Habits of their Nation, to attire themſelves and their Train after the Turkiſh manner. Thus the Ambaſſador of *France* parted from his Lodging at *Pera*, wearing upon his *French* Apparel a long Turkiſh Robe of Cloth of Gold curled, furred with Sables; his Gentlemen and Secretaries, to the number of ſixteen, had the like Robes, but of meaner ſtuff, wearing Caps of black Velvet; he had twenty Servants in long Caſſocks of Scarlet, called in Turkiſh, Ferrages, and upon them long Robes of the ſame ſtuff, with Caps of Taffata; the four Dragomans, or the Kings Interpreters, the Captains, Maſters of Ships, and other *French-men* attired all in long Robes, accompanied the Train. He paſt the Channel which doth ſeparate *Pera* from *Conſtantinople*; being come to the other ſide, he found many goodly Horſes for him and his Train, which ſome Turks, that were Friends to *France*, had ſent him to conduct him to the City; at the Gate whereof many Chiaus and Janizaries attended him to conduct him to the Seraglio; two Chiaus Baſſaes went of either ſide him, accompanying him thither, the reſt of the Turks going before.

Death of the *French* Ambaſſadour at *Conſtantinople.*

The Ceremony of Ambaſſadours at their firſt Audience.

1610

His arrival was no leſs honourable at the Palace Royal, than his coming to the Town: Two Capigi Baſſaes, or chief of the Porters, received him at the entry of a great Court, and conducted him to the Grand Viſier, who attended him at Dinner in the Hall, where he was feaſted, being accompanied only with one Dragoman or Interpreter; the reſt of his Train were conducted into a low Gallery, whereas Dinner was prepared for them after the Turkiſh manner: That is to ſay, a great Tapeſtry upon the Ground without Cloth or Napkins, and ſome Diſhes thin ſet. The Meat was Water-gruel with Sugar, and ſome Pottage with Pullets; there were two Men either of them holding a certain Inſtrument of ſodden Leather, in which there was a Beverage which they call Cerbet, made of the juyce of Lemons, Water and Sugar, and withall, they held a Cup of blanch'd Copper, giving to every one Drink, and going among the Diſhes to ſerve them more commodiouſly. From this Feaſt, diſtaſteful to them that had lived after the *French* faſhion, they paſs'd into another Gallery, whereas the Ambaſſador and ſixteen of his Company received each of them a Robe of Tinſel, the which having put on upon their other, they were conducted thorow a little Court paved with Marble, towards the Grand Seignior's Chamber, which was inriched on the out-ſide with many Pillars of Marble, and ſquare Stones of the ſame ſtuff, and beautified with two little Fountains on either ſide: The Chamber within was about ten paces ſquare, the Planchard was gilt, the Walls enamelled with flowers after the Turkiſh manner, and the Floor covered with Tapeſtry of Gold and Silk. At the entry of this Imperial Chamber ſtood ſix Capigi or Porters, whereof two of them took the Ambaſſador under the Arms, and led him to kiſs the Sultan's Hand, or rather his Robe; for having ſaluted him from the greateſt of Chriſtian Kings, he kiſt but his Robe, and then was led on the one ſide, going backwards, to the end he ſhould not turn his back to the Emperour. The *French* Gentlemen were conducted after the like manner to kiſs his Robe. But they could hardly ſee the Sultan, for his Face was turned towards a Window that was grated, before the which, during the Ceremony, there paſt 30 Capigi, every one carrying a piece of the Preſents which the Ambaſſador had brought; during the which, the *Frenchmen* could not ſee him but on the other ſide. This Salutation being ended, the Ambaſſador made a ſhort Speech, and preſented unto the Sultan the principal Letter of his Embaſſage, written in the Turkiſh Tongue.

The *Turks* feaſt the *French.*

The Sultans Chamber.

This paſt at *Conſtantinople*, whereas the Sultan did willingly ſee an Ambaſſadour, his Allie, whom he honoured above all others. But in *Tranſylvania* the Affairs went after another ſtrain; the combuſtions which ſeemed inſeparable to this miſerable Province, made it ſtill the Theatre of all diſorders. *Gabriel Battori*, who governed it ſince the ceſſion of *Ragotzi*, had put himſelf into the *Turks* Protection, againſt King *Matthias*, who pretended a Title, by reaſon of the ceſſion made by Prince *Sigiſmund* unto the Emperour, as King of *Hungary*, and had recovered *Hermſtad*, and chaſed *Raduille* Vayvod of *Valachia* out of his Countrey; where, having ſetled a new Governour, and filled the Garriſons with *Haiducks*, he returned toward *Tranſilvania*, to oppoſe himſelf againſt *Fortgatſie*, King *Matthias* his Lieutenant, who came with Troops out of high *Hungary*, and paſs'd the River of *Tibiſce*. The Vayvod *Raduille* had retired himſelf into *Moldavia* to Prince *Conſtantine*, whom he gave to underſtand, That *Battori* had an intent to ſeize upon his Country, and to make but one Monarchy of their three Provinces: whereupon they

Troubles in *Tranſilvania.*

The *Valachian* expelled his Countrey by *Battori.*

1610 joyned their Forces together, and in the end of *June* entered into *Valachia*, from whence they expelled *Battori* his Lieutenant with all the Garrisons. This Exploit made them to hope of a continuance in the Prosperity of their Arms; they entered into *Transilvania*, whereas they pursued *Battori* with such diligence, as they forced him to come to a Battel near unto *Cromstat*, the which he lost with part of his Troops, being constrained to save himself with his Horsemen in *Hermstad*, whereas some of the chief Inhabitants seeing him receive this Disgrace, attempted to submit themselves under the obedience of King *Matthias*: but the Practice being discovered by him, he did such Execution, as he purchased to himself the Name of Cruel.

Battori defeated by the *Valachian.*

Fortgatsie, Lieutenant to King *Matthias*, enters *Transilvania.*

In the mean time *Fortgatsie*, Lieutenant to King *Matthias*, maketh use of this defeat to seise upon *Transilvania*: he made an Accord with *Andrew Nage* (who had drawn high *Hungary* into Rebellion, and caused the *Haiducks* to revolt) so as being freed from that fear, he entereth into *Transilvania*; where, having taken some Towns and Castles, he layd siege to *Clausenburg*, the which he battered so furiously, as the Garrison and Inhabitants seeing themselves ready to be forced, yielded, and took the Oath of Allegiance to King *Matthias* the five and twentieth of *July*. But as these Prosperities of *Fortgatsie* were humane, so did they not long continue. *Battori* being shut up in *Hermstad*, conjures all his Friends to come unto him, and entreated the Bassaes of *Buda* and *Temeswar* to succour him, according to the commandment which they had received from the Grand Seignior; he practised with *Nage* (a man which did swim continually in the floats of Inconstancy) and makes him to revolt again in high *Hungary*, upon a surmise, That *Fortgatsie* had not kept promise with him; so as *Nage* took Arms again, seised upon the Fort of *Bayens*, and filled all High *Hungary* with Combustions; so as *Fortgatsie* could expect no Succours at his need from thence; then having received some Forces from the *Turks* and *Tartarians*, he went to field, pursuing *Fortgatsie* with such heat and fury, as he forced him to abandon all that he had taken in *Transilvania*, and to retire into *Valachia*. What Desolations did this War bring unto these Provinces by so many Prises and Reprises? *Battori* going with a thousand Horse to surprise *Tocai*, upon the Frontiers of *Valachia*, whereas they then held a great Fair, he found the Garrison so watchful upon their Guard, as having lost part of his Horsemen, he was forced to return into *Transilvania*.

Battori's Practises.

Fortgatsie expelled *Transilvania*, by *Battori.*

On the other side, *Fortgatsie* with his *Hungarians*, thinking from *Valachia* to recover High *Hungary* by the Country of the *Zeclerians*, could not effect his Design; for *Battori* being advertised thereof, stopped his Passage; and in like manner the Earls of *Bucheime* and *Dampier* had passed the River of *Tibisce* to meet him; so as *Battori* set such Guards in all the Passages and Streights, that *Fortgatsie* was forced to retire towards *Polonia* by the steep Mountains, and desart Places; whereas his Army was so oppress with Famine and all other Necessities, as they perished miserably, there remaining few alive; with the which he ended his Passage into *Polonia*, and from thence soon after he returned into *Hungary*, but with a very poor Equipage.

Fortgatsie's miserable retreat.

Thus the storm ceasing in *Transilvania* by the restraint of *Fortgatsie*, a more violent Tempest riseth in *Moldavia*, to the end that these unfortunate Regions should never be without some touch of Misery; For the Turk having understood, That *Constantine*, Prince of that Country, had relieved the *Valachian* against *Battori*, his Allie, or rather his Tributary, he sends a new Prince into *Moldavia*, the supposed Son of one *Thomas*, or *Aaron* as some write, who had in former time commanded there, and with him fifteen hundred Souldiers, with Letters of command to the *Turks* and *Tartarians* thereabouts, to assist him with their Forces. This new Prince was sometime in *France*, and afterwards detained Prisoner in the Fort of *Jaques* in *Spain*, within the *Pyrenean* Mountains. Thus two Princes contend for *Moldavia*, the one supported by the *Polonian*, and the other by the *Turk*. But behold, a third Prince cometh in and pretends a Title, being Son to one *Janicolo*, who had commanded there. This Man had been a Prisoner in the black Tower at *Constantinople*, to which he was committed by the Sultan *Amurath*, for that he had lost a Battel in the year 1601, against *Michael*, who then possest *Moldavia*; who escaping from thence, wandred through divers Countries, and at last coming into *England*, his Majesty of *Great Britain* pitying his miserable Estate, recommended him by Letters to Sir *Thomas Glover*, his Majesties Ambassador, then residing at *Constantinople*, with commandment to assist him, and to sollicite his Restitution with the Grand Seignior. Upon the receipt of which Letters, he retired this wandering Prince into his House at *Pera*, where he entertained him, with many of his Friends and Followers which repaired unto him, for a long time; and in the mean time, he sollicited the Grand Seignior for his Restitution, having good Access unto him, by reason that he spake the *Turkish* Tongue perfectly, and needed no Dragoman or Interpreter. To whom the Sultan still gave good Answers, but with Delays, that it was not yet time; but he should have satisfaction. His Competitor (who was in Possession of *Moldavia*) hearing of this Practice, made Friends at the Great Turk's Court, and corrupted some of the Bassaes by Bribes, (they being all by Nature very covetous) to the end he might cross his design, and make him away if it were possible; and among the rest, he had won *Murath Bassa*, the Grand Visier, a Man of great Power and Authority, who practised many means to get the *Moldavian* into his Hands. First, he sent word unto the Ambassador, That the Sultan, having a meaning to restore him, desired to see the man, if he were capable of the place or no; but being advertised of their intent, and well acquainted with their Practices, he refused to send him. After which, he wrote unto him, That it was the Grand Seignior's Pleasure, he should send the *Moldavian* unto him, that he might confer with him. To whom the Ambassador made answer, That unless he might see a Warrant under the Grand Seignior's own Hand, he would not deliver him. *Murath Bassa*, seeing that none of these Practices could prevail, resolved to fetch him out by force. For the effecting whereof he drew together two thousand Janizaries. The Ambassador hearing of his intent, fortified his House, and armed his People with the *Moldavians* which were with their Prince, meaning to stand upon his defence. *Murath Bassa*, desirous to know what the Ambassador did in his Lodging, disguised a Janizary like unto a Grecksish Shepheard; who entering into the Ambassadors House, found them all in Arms; then returning unto the Bassa, he told him that he had to do with a mad Man, and if he proceeded in his Enterprise, he would hazard the loss of many Janizaries; whereupon he gave it over. After which, the Ambassador being called home into *England*, the *Moldavian* despairing of Restitution from the *Turkish* Sultan, he turned Turk; and being presented to the Grand Seignior, was made Bey of *Bursia* in *Asia*; the which he enjoyed not long;

1610

Troubles in *Moldavia.*

Three Princes pretending to *Moldavia.*

The Negotiation of the Ambassador of *England*, for one of the Princes of *Moldavia.*

1610 long; for *Naſſuf* coming from the *Perſian* Wars, diſcharged him. Thus *Moldavia*, having many pretending Sovereigns, ſuffered many miſeries, and was a Prey to *Turk*, *Tartarians*, and *Polonians*, all Partiſans to theſe Sovereigns.

The Voyage of the Gallions of *Florence* againſt the Turks.

Theſe were the Troubles which the Turks cauſed at land for the Ruine of the Chriſtians. But behold what he ſuffered at Sea by the Gallies of *Florence*, *Malta*, and *Naples*: the *Florentines* made their Enterpriſe apart. The great Duke of *Tuſcany* being advertiſed, That the Caravan which tranſported the Tribute of *Ægypt* to *Conſtantinople*, prepared to put to Sea, he reſolved to divert this Tribute, and by the Valour of his Arms to bring it to *Legorn*: and for the effecting hereof, he ſpeedily armed four Gallions, under the Command of *Beauregard*, a French-man, who was Admiral. The firſt was called the new Gallion, in which the ſaid Admiral went; the ſecond, the Great *Legorn*, commanded by *Brandequedor*, General at Land, and allied to the Duke; and the other two were commanded by two French Captains. *Beauregard* having received Commandment to paſs with this Fleet into the *Levant*, to meet with the Caravan, he bent his courſe towards *Candy*, a fertile Iſland inhabited by the *Grecians*: Being arrived in the Port of *Caliſmene* to water, he continued there ſix days. Leaving this Iſland, he ſailed towards *Cyprus*, which is held by the Turks; and ſo coaſting *Syria*, they learned of a Ship of *Marſeilles*, that the Caravan was yet in the Port of *Alexandria*, where they prepared for their Voyage to *Conſtantinople*.

The Enterpriſe to take the Caravan of *Egypt*.

To attend them, the Admiral *Beauregard* went and caſt Anchor at the Fort of *Sidon*, called *Sarepta*, governed by *Emir*, or *Armil Facardin*, a Rebel to the Turk, and a great Friend to the *Florentines*, where he ſtayed twelve days, to take in Biſket, Fleſh, and other neceſſary Refreſhings. And having made a more ſtrict League of Friendſhip with *Facardin*, he honoured him with a Coffer full of Arms, whereby the *Florentines* Ships came as freely into thoſe parts, as into their own Country.

Beauregard, having well victualled and munitioned his Gallions, returned towards the Iſle of *Cyprus*, whereas he found a Chriſtians Ship, called the Flying Dragon, which came from *Damietta*, by whom he was aſſured that the Turks Army, conſiſting of a great number of Gallies, was gone out of the Port of *Rhodes*, and had taken a Flemiſh Ship.

The *Florentines* meet with the Turks Fleet.

Theſe News made him think that he ſhould meet the Fleet, and that he muſt of force defend himſelf. Wherefore he made all things ready, and preſcribed the Order which his Captains ſhould hold during the Fight; cauſing his Ordnance to be mounted as if they were to joyn. He had four as good Gallions, and as well furniſhed, as any in the Levant Seas, either of them being armed with forty Pieces of Ordnance, and four hundred good Souldiers. Betwixt the Iſland of *Cyprus* and *Caramania* they encountered this Turkiſh Fleet, conſiſting of forty Gallies and two Galliaſſes, under the Command of Baſſa *Muſtapha Grego*, who was General of this Fleet, which was in ſight of the *Florentines* Ships: the Galliaſſes advance to take view of them, and to find how far their Cannon would reach: and in the mean time the Gallies put themſelves into the form of a Croiſſant, ready for the Combat. *Beauregard*, an old Sea-Captain, and well practiſed in Sea-fights, would not make a ſhot againſt the Gallies, but attended until the whole Fleet came cloſe up to him; which being near, he ſaluted them ſo furiouſly with his Cannon, giving them the broad ſides, as the Turks (who expected no ſuch Reception) were all amazed, and making a ſtand, would proceed no farther. Their General having well obſerved the reſolute Countenance of the *Florentines*, divided his Gallies into two Squadrons, giving charge to the one to give an Aſſault to the *Florentines* Gallions, and in the mean time the reſt ſhould prepare themſelves to fight.

The Turks aſſail the Gallions of *Florence*.

Being thus divided, they came one after another to the Aſſault, the which continued for the ſpace of ſix hours, and yet could not board them; *Muſtapha* ſeeing five of his Gallies ſunk by the Enemies Cannon, with the loſs of all the men that were within them: but ſuddenly the Wind changed, and proved favourable to the *Florentines*, who embraced this Advantage, giving chaſe to the Turks Gallies, forcing them to ſeek their ſafety in the Haven of *Famaguſta*, the chief Fort of *Cyprus*; ſo of Aſſailants (being beaten) they became Runa-ways: ſo inconſtant are the accidents of War, and eſpecially at Sea, whereas the good or bad Succeſs many times dependeth of a little Wind.

Five Turkiſh Gallies ſunk.

The Turks put to flight.

This Turkiſh Fleet having loſt five Gallies, and recovered a Port in *Cyprus*, the Admiral *Beauregard* ſeeing his Deſign againſt the Caravan diſappointed, he reſolved to return towards *Legorn* with his Gallions. Being at Sea, he encountred a Turkiſh Veſſel called a Caramouſal, which came from *Rhodes*, to go unto *Cyprus*: they chaſed it, and in the end overtook it; which they preſt ſo with their Ordnance, as they ſlew one hundred and thirty Turks, and took three hundred Slaves. The Booty was very rich, being valued at fourteen hundred thouſand Crowns. After this Prize, their Victuals beginning to fail, having been ſo long at Sea, they bent their Courſe for *Legorn*: but the Wind falling contrary, they were forced to ſtay eight days in the Iſland of *Scarpante*, paſt the Bar of *Meſſina*; and having given chaſe to certain Gallies of *Tunis*, they arrived at *Legorn* the fifteenth of *June*, where there was great joy for their Return, and the Prize which they had brought, the which, according to the Cuſtom, was to be divided; one third to the Souldiers and Mariners, and the other two parts imployed for the Entertainment of the Ships, and the payment of the Captains.

The *Florentines* take a rich Ship of the Turks.

This Caravan, which goes from *Egypt* to *Conſtantinople*, is every Year attended for, not only by the Gallions and Gallies of *Florence*, but by thoſe of *Malta* and *Naples*, and by all the Pyrates of the *Mediterranean* Sea: like unto the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, who yearly lay in wait for the *Indian* Fleet before the concluſion of the Peace and Truce with the *Spaniard*. And although their principal Deſign was to take ſome part of the Caravan, yet they had other Enterpriſes upon the Turks Country, beſides the ſpoil of Merchants which they met by chance, which many times payd the charge of their Voyage; and ſometimes, they that thought to take, were taken, and loſt both their Ships and Lives.

The Exploits of the Gallies of *Malta* and *Naples*.

The Gallies of *Malta*, commanded by the Bailiff of *Venouge*, and thoſe of *Naples* by the Marqueſs of S. *Croix*, joyned together ſoon after, with a deſign to ſet upon the Caravan, which carried the Revenue and Tribute of *Egypt* to *Conſtantinople*, or elſe to put in execution the enterpriſe which they had long before projected, upon certain places of *Albania*, or to ſurpriſe or ſpoil ſome Iſland in the *Archipelague* which might pay their Charges. But the firſt failing, they met with a *Venetian* Ship laden with Merchandiſe, to the value of one hundred thouſand Crowns. The *Spaniards* who commanded in the Gallies of *Naples*, ſeiſed upon this Ship; but the General of *Malta* would by no means conſent unto it, nor ſuffer any of the Merchandiſe to be put into his Gallies, for that he would not unjuſtly violate the Friendſhip which was betwixt his Order and the State of *Venice*.

A *Venetian* Ship taken.

1610 *Venice.* This Example did touch the *Spaniards* Conſciences, ſo as within few days they ſent away the *Venetian* Ship, but in courteſie they had unladen all the merchandiſe.

The Chriſtians Gallies go to the Iſland of *Lango.*

After this Prey of a Chriſtian Ship, the Fleet diſcovered two Sails at Sea, ſending preſently after them, they were two Barks, the one coming from *Candia* laden with Wood, and the other from *Scarpante* charged with Wine, the which being brought unto the Generals, gave them to underſtand, that the Caravan of *Ægypt* was not yet paſt, being advertiſed that fifty Chriſtians Gallies attended them in their Paſſage. Upon this advice, the Chriſtian Generals, being out of hope to ſurpriſe the Caravan, preſently reſolved to undertake a more great and glorious Enterpriſe, and to ſurpriſe the Iſland and Caſtle of *Lango* in the *Archipelague*, upon the Coaſt of *Natolia*; and about ſeven of the Clock at Night they ſet Sail with a good Wind, but being changed in the Morning, they were forced to return to the Iſland of *Porcherne*; from whence they parted again at eight of the Clock at Night, and continuing their courſe, in the Morning they diſcovered three *Florentine* Ships, who told them, that they had entred into the Iſle of *Nigropont* with ſeven Gallies; but having been diſcovered, they could not effect any thing; and that their Gallies were ſeparated from them in the chace of four Galliots. The Chriſtian Fleet continuing their courſe, they arrived about eleven of the Clock in the Morning at *St. Jean de Seruaë*, where having caſt Anchor, there was a Council called in the Admiral; where they reſolved to Petard the Caſtle of *Lango*, toward the Sea; for the Execution whereof they ſhould land two hundred men, *viz.* thirty Knights and fifty Souldiers out of the Gallies of *Malta*, and one hundred and twenty *Spaniards* out of the Gallies of *Naples*; and that they ſhould carry two Petards with them, the one given in charge to Captain *Beaulaigue* in the Troop of them of *Malta*, and the other was conducted by the *Spaniards*; the reſt of their Men which they ſhould land, ſhould go and Aſſault the Town of *Lango*. With this Reſolution they parted from St. *Jean de Seruaë*, with a good Wind, and arrived at the Iſland of *Lango* on the ſixth of *June*, an hour after mid-night, whereas they landed three miles from the Town; they that were appointed for the Enterpriſe, march'd on with their Petards, according to direction; but the Night being very dark, the Troop of *Malta* ſtraied from their Guide, but their Valour brought them directly to the Walls of the Town; where, after many turnings and windings to find a fit place to plant the Petard, (notwithſtanding that they were diſcovered and much ſhot at) *Beaulaigue* ſet it to a Port next the Sea, well flanck'd with the Caſtle, the which he forced, and his Men entring with fury, went from Street to Street, and put all to the Sword that made reſiſtance. The *Spaniards* on the other ſide made another Breach with their Petard, and entred the Town; notwithſtanding that at their firſt approach, the Turks (having diſcovered them) plaid upon them with their great Ordnance and ſmall ſhot. The Troops being joyned together, having cut all the Turks in pieces they met with, they came to the place before the Caſtle, which they thought to ſurpriſe; but the Bridge was drawn, and they lay open at the mercy of their ſhot; ſo as there were fifteen Knights of *Malta* hurt, one ſlain, with a *Spaniſh* Captain, and ſome ſix and thirty Souldiers of the Gallies of *Naples*, and as many wounded. Day being come, the Bailiff of *Venouge*, General of the Gallies of *Malta*, came unto the Town with the foreward, wherein were 150 Knights, and 450 Souldiers; the Marquiſs of St. *Croix* followed him, with the two Sons of the Viceroy of *Naples*, and fifteen hundred *Spaniards*, who ſpoiled the Town and Suburbs, and took all that were living Captive; but the Caſtle being well fortified, they found it impoſſible to force; whereupon, embarking their Men and Spoil, they reſolved in their return to *Malta* and *Naples*, to make an Enterpriſe upon ſome Towns of *Albania*; but upon the way they were advertiſed, That the Turks had diſcovered the Intelligence which the *Spaniards* and Knights of *Malta* had with the *Grecians* of the Country; whereupon they took Revenge upon them, putting many of them to death, and amongſt others a Patriarch, who being accuſed to have practiſed the Chriſtians revolt againſt the Turks, was cruelly fleyd alive, and his Skin ſent to *Conſtantinople*. So dangerous a thing it is to ſeek for Liberty with this *Mahometan* Nation.

Lango forced by the Chriſtians.

1610

An Enterpriſe upon *Albania* diſcovered by the Turks.

A Patriarch of *Greece* fleyd alive.

The Caravan of *Ægypt* was ſtill in the Port of *Alexandria* attending a Paſſage, and to be freed from ſo many Chriſtian Gallies which lay in wait for it; and it ſtaid the longer by reaſon of the great Plague, wherewith *Conſtantinople* was afflicted. But in the end of *October*, *Mechmet* Baſſa of *Caire*, (who would conduct it in Perſon) having a Convoy of fifty Gallies well armed, put to Sea, and arrived at *Conſtantinople* without any Encounter. At his Landing, this Baſſa cauſed to march before him ſixty Mules, every one laden with 20000 Sequins in kind, being a whole years Tribute of the Kingdom of *Ægypt*, the which he cauſed to be carried to the Sultan's Serail. This Money was welcome to the Port: for the former Wars, both in *Hungary*, *Tranſilvania*, in *Aſia* againſt the Rebels, and in *Perſia*, had ſo waſted the Emperour's Treaſure, as it would hardly entertain one of his Armies. The Baſſa, who had gathered this Tribute together faithfully and with great diligence, was at his coming to the Sultan's Port honoured with the charge of Baſſa of the Sea, (he, who had it before, being advanced to the Dignity of Viſier) and moreover the Sultan promiſed him his Daughter in marriage, being but three years old.

The Caravan of *Ægypt* arrives at *Conſtantinople.*

The Baſſa's recompence that brought it.

News came to the Port, that certain Ships, Gallies, and Galliaſſes of the Chriſtians, to the number of fifty, came near unto the *Helleſpont*; which put the Turks in great fear: and complaints being brought unto the Grand Seignior, That certain *Caramouſals* had been taken by the Chriſtian Gallies; he ſent preſently for the Captain Baſſa, or Admiral of the Sea, demanding of him, Whether the Report of theſe loſſes were true or no? To whom he anſwered yes. Why are not you then at Sea, ſaith he? He anſwered, For that I can get neither Men nor Money. Whereupon the Deſtorda or Treaſurer was ſent for, who had loſt his head, had not the Aga of the Grand Seignior's Women intreated for him.

The Turks are in fear of the Chriſtians Gallies.

This Summer, *Conſtantinople* and the Country thereabouts was ſo plagued with ſuch clouds of Graſhoppers, as they did ſhadow the very Sun beams, and fell upon the City and Country round about. The Turks conſulted with their Wiſe-men, what it might portend: Who anſwered, That they did foreſhew great Plenty to follow: But indeed they left not a green Herb nor Leaf in all the Country adjoyning, nor in the City, where they entred into their very Chambers, and annoyed them much, being almoſt as big as Dormice, with red wings. And ſoon after there fell ſuch extraordinary great Hail in *Conſtantinople* and *Gallata* with ſuch abundance of Rain, as the violence of the Water did ſuddenly ſhut up one of the Gates of the City, and ſo rebounding, filled their Shops and Houſes, that very many were in great danger of drowning. Some Houſes fell down, and ſome People were ſlain; the pavements of the ſtreets were torn up, and the ſtones carried together into great heapes.

Graſhoppers at *Conſtantinople*, ſpoil the Country.

Violent Rain in the City.

We

1610 We have formerly made relation of the *Perſians* Victories, and of the defeat and death of *Cicala* General of the Turks Army, in the year 1605. And that the year following, the Sophy, having recovered whatſoever the Turks had taken from his Predeceſſors, had extended the bounds of his Empire unto the black Sea, from whence he ſent an Ambaſſador unto the Grand Seignior, to let him underſtand, that having recovered what had been unjuſtly uſurped from him, he would proceed no further, but deſired to live in Peace; the which might now be the better aſſured, the one holding nothing from the other. Moreover, this *Perſian* Ambaſſador, having remained ſeven Months at the Sultans Port, was in the end forced to retire into *Perſia* without audience. And laſtly, That *Amurath Serder* the Grand Viſier, was afterwards forced to convert his Arms againſt *Gambolat* and the Rebels of *Aſia*, and to neglect the War of *Perſia*.

1611 A *Perſian* Ambaſſador comes to *Conſtantinople*.

Notwithſtanding the *Perſian* War, there arrived this year at *Conſtantinople* an Ambaſſador from *Perſia*, who, according to the Turks manner, was attended on by a great Troop of *Chaoux* on Horſeback, Capigi's, Janizaries, and other Captains, ſent by the Sultan to conduct him to his lodging. Within few days after his arrival, there was a great ſhow made in *Conſtantinople*, by the ſeveral Trades of the City, every one marching by themſelves before the Grand Seigniors Serrail, and repreſenting unto him their manner of marching in the Wars, and the order of their Proviſion; ſome carrying on their Shoulders Sheep, others Lambs, Calves, Beef, &c. All which was done of Policy to daunt and diſhearten the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, and to encourage their own People; and withal, to let him know, that there ſhould be as great plenty in their Camps, as he ſaw at that preſent. And to abuſe him ſtill with the Imagination of their great Preparation, the Chimacham or Viſiers Lieutenant, ſent the next day for this *Perſian* Ambaſſador, and during their Conference had taken order, That the Emperour of *Tartaria*'s Brother (who was then in the Sultans Court) ſhould come in; at whoſe entrance the Chimacham aroſe from his Place; *Oh* (ſaid he) *I know for what you come, It is for Money for your Souldiers; you ſhall receive it at ſuch a Place.* Which words were heard by a Dragoman to the Engliſh Ambaſſador, being then preſent; the which was done to terrifie the *Perſian* Ambaſſador; and at the ſame time, and to the ſame end, they ſent over divers Troops of Souldiers to *Scudaret*, as if they had been ready to march with an Army.

The Turks Army againſt the *Perſians*.

The Turks great Armies are not raiſed in haſte, neither do they march in poſt; when as the *Spahi*'s, that is to ſay the Horſemen, which make the greateſt part of his Army, and have no other Pay or Entertainment than the Revenues of certain Land, are diſcharged, they muſt have a whole year to recover their Revenue, and to put themſelves in Equipage; and moreover, it is threeſcore days march for an Army, from *Conſtantinople* into *Perſia*.

Alſo in the year 1609, and 1610, the Turk had not attempted any thing againſt the *Perſian*, who ſtill ſollicited him for Peace. The greatneſs of the *Othoman* Empire could not reſolve to make a Peace, having receiv'd ſo great defeats; they would give it but as Victors, not as vanquiſhed. But this year *Achmat* reſolved to ſend a puiſſant Army of above 150000 men, againſt this antient Enemy of his Houſe, under the command of *Amurath Serder*, his Grand Viſier: But before the Army entred into *Perſia*, it was without a Commander, by the death of *Serder*, in the end of *July*, ſo as they were forced to ſtay and attend the Sultans pleaſure from *Conſtantinople*.

The Death of *Amurath Serder*.

1611 It was ſuſpected that he had been poiſoned by *Naſſuf Baſſa*, one that ſtood out in Rebellion againſt the Grand Seignior, and yet he had many Friends in the Turks Army; wherefore, to prevent all Mutinies, and conſequently, the overthrow of the whole Army, *Amurath Baſſa* in his Sickneſs adviſed the Grand Seignior (by Letters which he ſent unto him) to make *Naſſuf* General of the whole Army, and ſo by fair means to draw him home, and then to diſpoſe of him at his pleaſure. The Sultan with his Baſſaes approved well of this Advice, and choſe him Grand Viſier, and General of the Army; who having received the Seal and Authority, did forthwith put many of *Amurath*'s friends to death, and with their money paid all the Souldiers, which had wanted pay, whereof ſome had been without five years before: he alſo ſent unto the Grand Seignior threeſcore and ten Mules laden with money of *Amurath*'s treaſure, and threeſcore with goods; all which the Sultan gave to *Amurath*'s Wife and Children.

Severity of the Sultan.

It is ſtrange to read, how the Grand Seignior doth tyrannize over his Subjects, and how ſeverely he doth puniſh the leaſt omiſſion in any of his Officers: for I find it obſerved, that the ſeventh of *January* in the end of this year 1611, the Grand Seignior being abroad in the Snow, and not well provided for of fuel, he cauſed *Stambol Aga*, who had that charge, to be ſtrip't naked, and ſet in the Snow four or five hours. Indeed this Winter was very rigorous, and there fell abundance of Snow throughout all *Turkie*, with great Storms, many Houſes were beaten down; and amongſt others, the *French* Conſul at *Aleppo* was ſlain with the fall of his own houſe.

Naſſuff parted from *Aſia*, and marched with his Army unto the Frontiers of *Perſia*, where he committed ſuch Spoils, as the Sophy was conſtrained to draw all his Forces together, to prevent the ruine of his Countrey, being then about the midſt of *Auguſt*. But when they were come to a Battel, the *Perſian*, finding the Party unequal for him, and dangerous, offered Conditions of Peace, and promiſed to give the *Turk* a quantity of Silk which ſhould make the charge of two hundred Camels, for a yearly Tribute, in acknowledgment of ſome Countreys which he had conquered from the *Othomans*. Theſe offers were accepted at *Conſtantinople*, but there was added, that the *Perſian*'s Son ſhould be called *Baſſa* of *Tauris*, and that the Magiſtrate and Judge of that City, called the *Cady*, ſhould be ſent from *Conſtantinople*. We ſhall ſee in the following year the Effects of theſe Propoſitions, by the Ambaſſadour of *Perſia*, whom *Naſſuff* ſhall bring to *Conſtantinople*; in the mean time, let us return to the *Mediterranean* Sea, to take a ſurvey of the valiant Exploits of the Knights of *Malta* againſt the *Turks*.

The *Perſian* offers Conditions of Peace, and a Tribute.

The falſehood of a Turk puniſhed by the Juſtice of God.

On the twenty ſixth day of *April*, a Turk, having lent a good Sum of Money to a Chriſtian, to be paid at a certain day; he came before the appointed day with another Turk, and willed the Chriſtian to pay the Money to that other Turk when the day came; which the Chriſtian promiſed to do, and performed it accordingly: but the Turk denied the receit thereof; whereupon he to whom the Money was properly due, came and demanded it: to whom the Chriſtian anſwered, that he had paid it to that Party to whom he had aſſign'd it: whereunto the Turk replied, that if it were ſo, he was ſatisfied: but yet the other *Turk* denied it: whereupon the matter was brought before the Judge, and the Turk who had received the Money, taking an Oath to the contrary, the Chriſtian, according to the Turkiſh Juſtice, was

1611 was enforced to pay the Money again; the which he did, but withal, he praid God to ſhew ſome publick ſign which of them had done the wrong. And thereupon, the Turk going forth to repair home to his Houſe, fell down dead in the Street.

The Great Maſter *Vignancourt*, continuing his generous Deſigns to ruine the Turk, had an Enterpriſe againſt *Navarrin*, a place importing this common Enemy of Chriſtians; for the Execution whereof, he ſent the five Gallies of his Order, under the charge of *Vaqueras*, great Commander of the Order, and chief of the Nation of *Provence*. They came within ſome miles of the Shore, but found their landing very difficult, for that they had been diſcovered by one of the Caſtles of *Navarrin*, which had given the alarm unto the whole Country, ſo as they were forced to paſs on to ſome more eaſie Conqueſt, to the end their Voyage might not prove unprofitable; wherefore they ſailed into the *Archipelague*, and came near to the Coaſt of *Morea*, ten Leagues from *Corinth*, where in the Night they landed 800 Men under the Conduct of the Commander of *Cremeaux*, General at Land; this Troop marched towards *Corinth*, and an hour before day were at the Town Gates to force them. Some Turks took Arms, but their weak reſiſtance could not ſtay the Knights from entering with their Troops; they ſack'd the Town, and having taken what ſpoil was portable, they carried away with them 500 Slaves. After this Triumph, the Chriſtians made a happy retreat, and in good order, notwithſtanding all the attempts of the Turks Horſe and Foot, who were drawn together in great numbers, making 10000 Souldiers, for the Country is very populous; in view of whom they imbarked their Spoil and Slaves. Hereby it appears, that this was one of the moſt deſperate Enterpriſes that hath been of long time ſeen. For to attempt a Place ſo far from their retreat, in ſo populous a Country, which upon the leaſt alarm may draw together ten or twelve thouſand Turks, and to make their retreat with ſo ſmall a number, againſt ſuch great Troops which purſued them; doubtleſs we muſt confeſs, that as they ſhewed great Valour, and had good Fortune, ſo they undertook a very dangerous Enterpriſe. Thus the Knights of *Malta* vanquiſhed, whom we might term the Maſters of the *Mediterranean* Sea, if the Revenues of their Order would ſuffer them to ſet forth Shipping and Forces equal to their Valour.

Corinth taken and ſpoiled by the Knights of *Malta*.

But to follow the variable courſe of the Hiſtory, let us obſerve the different Occupations of Chriſtians. At *Prague* the *Germans* entertained themſelves with the conſideration of a Crown which appeared in the Firmament, over that City about the midſt of *October*, giving a very great Light, and about it Armies of Men fighting who ſhould have it. At that time the Emperour *Rodulphus* was upon the *Weſt*, or declining of his days, and *Matthias* who ſucceeded him in the Empire, then King of *Hungary*, was upon the Sunriſing of his Triumphs. Many expounded this heavenly Apparition, as a Preſage of Happineſs and good Fortune to *Matthias*; he enjoyed the Crown of *Hungary* already, and by Deſignation that of *Bohemia*, and now they did prognoſticate unto him that of the *Romans*. Doubtleſs men which aſpire after great Fortunes, do rather adorn the Sun-riſing, than the ſetting; and Mans Life when it declines, taſts of the Lees. The flouriſhing Glory of *Matthias*, his Age, and his Actions in the Wars, did add nothing to the Authority of other Men in the Country, but did mightily ſettle his own. Three Suns which were ſeen in the Firmament, over *Vienna*, the chief City of *Auſtria*, confirmed the *Germans* more in this their hope, that he ſhould have the third Crown of the *Romans*. This laſt Apparition happened the year following. 1611

About the end of the year, ſome of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors Men entering into quarrel with certain *Jamoglans* of the next *Serail*; from words they fell to blows; during which tumult one of the Ambaſſadors Men threw a Stone, and ſmote a *Jamoglan* on the Fore-head, whereof he died within few hours after. The *Aga* of the Serail complained hereof to the Grand Viſier, who preſently ſent the Subbaſſa of *Galata* to make inquiry of the Fact; the Ambaſſador went himſelf to the Serail, and ſent for his Men which had been in the quarrel, willing the Turks to deſign the party which had thrown the Stone; who all with one ſhout ran upon one *Simon Dibbins*, a man that was newly come from *Candy*, where he had ſerved in the *Venetian* Garriſons, and was now entertained into the Ambaſſadors Service. This *Simon* was not he that threw the Stone; notwithſtanding the Turks would none but him; on him they laid hands, and dragged him away. The Ambaſſador interpoſing himſelf, and offering to pledge for him, was thruſt away by them, his Men beaten, and one of his Pages wounded; whereupon he complained to the Grand Viſier, but prevailed little; for to Priſon they dragged this *Simon*, and there kept him a whole Month; neither could he be releaſed, albeit the *Engliſh* Nation offered great Sums to ranſom his Life; for the Turks would needs have Blood for Blood. The day of Execution being appointed, the Ambaſſador ſent his Chaplain to the Priſon where this *Simon* was, to prepare him for Death; unto whom (examining him how he had formerly lived) he confeſſed, that in *England* ſome few years before he had killed a Man, for which fact he fled thence into *Candy*; from whence he came to *Conſtantinople*, where he was to ſuffer for that which he did not; the juſt Judgment of God purſuing him to the ſhedding of his Blood in *Conſtantinople* among Turks undeſervedly, for the Blood which he had ſhed in *England* wilfully. He was hanged at the Ambaſſadors Gates, his Head and Heels the next Night were ſtolen away by the Turks, as it was thought, to uſe in ſome kind of Sorcery; the other parts of his Body they had leave to take down and bury.

This year 1612 they did celebrate at *Conſtantinople* a double Nuptial Feaſt; for the Marriages of Baſſa *Mehemet*, Son to the deceaſed *Cicala*, with the Sultans Siſter; and of Baſſa *Mechmet*, Admiral at Sea, he whom we have ſeen lately return from *Egypt*, and bring to *Conſtantinople* the Revenues of that rich Kingdom, with the eldeſt Daughter of his Emperour. For the Feaſts of young *Cicala*, the *Spahi* made Courſes on Horſeback with Battle-axes and Bars, in the open place near unto the Serail, where they made divers fireworks of very great charge, but of ſmall Invention; and they gave Preſents to above 20000 Perſons, beſides the charge of the banquetting ſtuff which amounted to above 20000 Crowns. The Pomp was double; for the Sultans Women did celebrate that day with the greateſt Ladies of the Port, and the Men ſeparated in other Places did ſolemnize it in like manner. But the magnificence of the Marriage of the Baſſa Admiral at Sea with *Achmats* eldeſt Daughter, had far more luſtre at the Port. The Ceremony was performed on the thirtieth of *June*, twenty days after the other; and the order of this Pomp, as well as ſome other which we have deſcribed in this Hiſtory, requires a particular Relation. 1612

The Ceremonies of the Daughters Marriage.

The day before the Conſummation of the Marriage, they ſent the Brides moveables and Jewels, from

1612. The Order of the Brides truſs or moveables.

from the Serail to the Bridegrooms Lodging, with this Order and State as followeth; Firſt, there marched 500 Janizaries on foot, being followed with the Grand Provoſt of *Conſtantinople*, and the general Serveiour, both on Horſeback, and attired in Cloth of Gold; the Aga, or Collonel of the Janizaries, very proudly adorned, and environed with ſome Janizaries, marched alone on Horſeback; after theſe two hundred men of Quality well mounted, and richly attired, followed with a ſlow pace. The laſt which march'd in this Pomp or Ceremony, were the Taliſmans, Centons, Emirs, and other Miniſters of *Mahomets* Clergy. And preſently followed after the Baſſa *Achmat*, Defterda, or High Treaſurer, who conducted the moveables, as choſen by the Sultan to be Godfather or Sagois to the Bride, being environed with twelve Footmen attired in long Robes of Gold. After him followed the moveables, Apparel, and Jewels, which made the Brides truſs, having in the Head excellent Muſick after the Turkiſh manner, of Hoboyes and Kettle-drums on Horſe-back.

Wherein the Brides moveables conſiſted.

Theſe Moveables, or this Truſs, conſiſted of twenty ſeven Preſents. The firſt was a little Hat all of Gold, covered with precious Stones, and with Pantofles or Womens Shoes, after the Turkiſh faſhion, of pure Gold, enrich'd with Turquoiſes and Rubies; a Book of *Mahomets* Law, the covering whereof was of Maſſie Gold, all ſet with Diamonds, many Bracelets, and other rare Devices for Women, of pure Gold, with many precious Stones; a little Coffer a Cubit long, and half as broad, all of Chriſtal of the Rock, having the corners of Gold, in the which were to be ſeen great Diamonds and huge Pearls, to the value of 80000 pounds ſterling: after this precious Coffer, were carried many Smocks embroidered with Gold and Pearl, and Head-bands for the Fore-head, with many Robes of Cloth of Gold. All this was diſtributed into twenty ſeven Preſents, as we have ſaid, and carried with great Pomp by twenty ſeven Men on foot.

The Brides Slaves.

After theſe Preſents followed eleven Caroches full of young Maidens, Slaves to ſerve the Bride; theſe Caroches were covered and ſhut, and either of them attended by two Eunuchs *Moors*; and after theſe followed twenty eight Virgin Slaves, attired in Cloth of Gold, and accompanied by twenty eight black Eunuchs all on Horſeback, and richly clad: After which were ſeen 240 Mules, loaden with Tents of Tapeſtry, Cloth of Gold, Satin, Velvet, with the ground of Gold, with many Cuſhions, which are the Chairs the Ladies of *Turkie* uſe; with many other rich and ſumptuous Moveables. Such was the Truſs which this young Princeſs brought to her Spouſes Houſe. Doubtleſs this Equipage was ſtately, and did well become the Pomp and Greatneſs of the *Othoman* Houſe, from whence ſhe had iſſued, the mightieſt and richeſt of all the Royal Houſes in *Europe*, yea, I dare boldly ſay, of all the World.

The Order of the Brides conducting to her Husband.

The Marriage day being come, the Bride was conducted to her Husbands lodging with no leſs Pomp and State than her Moveables. The Janizaries marched firſt, as they had formerly done, being followed by the Grand Provoſt, the Surveior, their Aga, and many other Officers of the Port. The Emirs (who are deſcended from *Mahomet*, and alone carry green Turbants) marched after to the number of eighty; this Name of Emir is as much as to ſay Lord. They which wear them anſwer not, and obey none but their Chief, called *Mirabachi*, and their Voice in Judgment ſtands for two; they were followed by the Taliſmans or Prieſts of *Mahomets* Law, and by a great number which ſtudy it, and which aſpire to the Offices of

Emirs and their Priviledges.

Cadies or Judges, of Cadileſquiers or Mufti. The Viſiers or ſupream Judges of the Turks Eſtate, who judge of all Affairs in Council, came after with the Grand Viſier, who is Lieutenant General to the Turkiſh Emperor throughout his whole Empire, and keeps the Seals of his Empire. He had on his left hand (which is the moſt honourable rank in *Turkie*) the Grand Mufti, or ſupream Biſhop of their Law. The Muſick followed after on Horſeback, conſiſting of thirty Men with Drums and Hoboys, being followed by eight *Egyptians*, which carried *Biſcain* Tabors, and did a thouſand Apiſh Tricks. Theſe were followed by forty Muſicians, marching two and two, ſome playing on Citerns, others on Harps, and ſome on Lutes after the Turkiſh manner. A Fool (held for a Saint amongſt them) being muffled with a Cap and a Cloak covered with Mutton bones, danced and ſung with theſe Inſtruments; fifty of the chief Officers of the Arſenal march'd after them, and thirty Men with Hammers and other Iron Inſtruments, to break down whatſoever advanced too far in the Streets, and might hinder the free Paſſage of two Trees of an immenſe height, laden with divers ſorts of Fruits all of Wax, carried by many Men, and ſupported from the top and the midſt with Ropes. After theſe Trees came twenty Officers belonging to *Achmat Baſſa* the high Treaſurer, Godfather to the Bride. And he himſelf alone richly attired, and proudly mounted; after whom came two great Torches light, carried by many Slaves, and then a third torch of a wonderful bigneſs, all covered with plates of Gold, and ſhining more with precious Stones than the Flame which burnt. The *Raiſſer Aga* with fifty of the Princeſs's Officers, followed theſe Lights, and after them was carried a great Canopy of Crimſon Velvet, and after it another greater, covered with plates of Gold, whoſe Curtains being ſhut on all ſides, hung down to the Ground. Under this Canopy was the Princeſs on Horſeback, with ſome of her black Eunuchs, her Caroch followed covered with Cloth of Gold, and drawn by four great white Horſes, wonderful beautiful. Then followed eight other Caroches, in which were a great number of the Brides Maids, with many Negroes gelt; and finally, twenty five Virgin ſlaves, choſen amongſt the faireſt, all on Horſe-back, having their Hair confuſedly hanging upon their Shoulders. Such was the Pomp of this Marriage; but many times the Nuptial Feaſt is intermixt with Funeral mourning. For not many days after, the Sultans ſecond Daughter, promiſed to *Naſſuf Baſſa*, was carried to her Grave without any Pomp or Honour; for the Turks make no great eſteem of Women.

The Death of the Sultans Daughter.

The day after the marriage, the Grand Seignior did cruelly beat his Sultana, the Mother of this Daughter; whom he had married to the Captain Baſſa; he ſtabbed her with his Hand-jar or Dagger through the Cheek, and trod her under his Feet. The reaſon was, becauſe ſhe had ſtrangled a Favorite of his, which was one of his Siſters Slaves, whom the Grand Seignior having ſeen, and being enamoured with her, ſent for her. The Sultana hearing thereof, cauſed her to be brought to her lodging, where ſhe ſtript her of her Apparel, ſtrangled her, and put her Cloths upon one of her own Slaves, whom ſhe ſent to the Sultan inſtead of the other, and at her return ſtrangled her alſo; as ſhe had done many others when they once appeared to be with Child by the Grand Seignior.

The Grand Seignior beats his Sultana.

A great Plague at *Conſtantinople*.

The Plague beginning furiouſly to ſpoil the City of *Conſtantinople*, the Sultan was forced to return to his Country Palace, called the Serail of *Darut Baſſa*, to avoid the danger of this violent Contagion; the which makes me think, that the Turkiſh Emperours for their own profit diſpenſe

1612 with ſome Articles of their Faith; for, as we have ſaid before, The Turks are ſo obſtinately tied to the belief of Predeſtination, as they will not vouchſafe to turn from a peſtiferous Body, when it is carried to the Grave, and much leſs forbear to viſit his Friends being ſick of the Plague, for that (ſay they) if we muſt needs die of this Contagion, it is in vain to flie it, for it will find us whereſoever; if not, our Health ſhall never be empaired, altho' we converſe with thoſe that are ſick of this Diſeaſe. But their Sultans know well how to flie the danger; yea, and to cauſe them to be led under the Arms that come to kiſs his Hand, leſt they ſhould offer him ſome violence. Thus we ſee the defect of falſe Religions, when as we ſee this mark of Univerſality in the Faith taken away; for there every Man believes according to his private intereſt, as well among many others which have ſeparated themſelves from the Truth, to canton themſelves in their Errors, where we do often try the diverſity of their belief.

A *Deruis* ſeeketh to kill the Emperor.

Sultan *Achmat*, being in his Palace of *Darut Baſſa*, and going to viſit a ſtately Moſque which he cauſed to be built there, a *Deruis* or religious Turk, thruſt on by ſome deviliſh Fury, caſt a great Stone at him to beat him down; but the blow of this deteſtable Traitor, fell upon his Shoulder, and hurt him but lightly. *Achmat* commanded they ſhould draw from this wretch the Confeſſion of his Confederates: but the Officers of the Port cauſed him to be executed the next day, ſomewhat too ſuddenly, and by a Death too honourable for a Crime ſo full of Abomination, for they cauſed his Head to be cut off. A *Deruis* of the ſame Order had in former times ſought to murther the Emperor *Mahomet* the Second.

The Funeral of the Lady *Glover*, the Ambaſſador's Wife.

On the fourteenth of *April*, the Lady *Ann Glover*, Wife to Sir *Thomas Glover*, Ambaſſador reſiding at *Conſtantinople* for the *Engliſh*, was buried with very great Solemnity, the like had not been ſeen in the Country ſince the Turks conquered *Conſtantinople*. There were preſent at this Funeral of moſt Nations in the World; the Sermon was preached in a large Garden under a Cypreſs Tree; and although but few of thoſe preſent did underſtand it, yet it wrought this effect, that whereas the Jeſuits and Friers had formerly poſſeſt both Turks, Jews, and other People, that the *Engliſh* Nation ſince the change of their Religion, had neither Churches, nor any form of divine Service; hereby they perceived, that they had both, and ſerved God far more decently and devoutly than they themſelves; inſomuch that the Jeſuits, being aſhamed of their Impoſtures, and ſlanderous Untruth, durſt not for a while after walk the Streets for fear of the Turks, who threatned them for ſo much belying the *Engliſh*. The Sermon being ended, the Body was carried from *Pera* unto the *Engliſh* Graves, which were almoſt a mile from the Place; it was cloſed in Lead, and laid in a Caroch covered over with black Velvet, and the Horſes with black Cloth. The *Dutch* Ambaſſador, the *Hungarian* Agent, the *French* Colonel, with a great number of all Nations both Men and Women followed her to her Grave. The Tomb was of fair Marble built four ſquare almoſt the height of a Man, having an Epitaph engraven thereon.

The Caſtle of *Lango* taken by the *Florentines*.

We have ſeen the year before, the Iſland and Town of *Lango* ſpoiled by the Gallies of *Malta* and *Naples*, but the Caſtle was ſaved from Ruine by the reſiſtance it made againſt the Chriſtians Attempts; but this year, in *June*, the great Duke of *Tuſcans* Gallies running over the Archepelague, aſſailed it ſo furiouſly, as they forced and ſpoiled it, carrying away twelve hundred Priſoners. *Mechmet Baſſa*, Admiral at Sea, whom we ſaw even now buſied at his Nuptial Pomp with the Emperours eldeſt Daughter, being advertiſed of theſe Spoils of the *Florentines*, by the daily complaints of the Turks which loſt their Shipping, and of many other Enterpriſes attempted upon his Maſters Countries lying near the Sea ſhore; he departed from *Conſtantinople* in *Auguſt* with three and thirty great Gallies, having commanded all the Beyes of the Iſlands and Towns in the Archipelague to joyn with him, with as many Gallies as they could make, to ſtop the Chriſtians Courſes in the *Weſt*. But whilſt that he is buſied in thoſe Seas, the Pirats of *Ruſcia* deſcending into the Euxine Sea, by the Mouths of thoſe Rivers which diſcharged their Waters into the Sea, over-ran and ſpoiled the Turks Coaſts in thoſe parts. 1612

Courſes of the *Ruſſians* and *Tartars* upon the Turks.

At the firm Land *Conſtantine*, one of the pretending Princes in *Moldavia*, annoyed all that had any dependance upon the Turk. A part of that great Army of the King of *Polands*, which had mutinied for their Pay, ſpoiled *Podolia*; and a Prince of the *Tartarians*, diſcontent for that *Achmat* had preferred a Couſin of his before him in the Inveſtiture of the Realm of the *Tartars Precopians*, with 5000 Souldiers ſpoiled the Rivers of *Moldavia* under the Turks Dominion, and he did the like in the Gulph of *Nicopolis*.

Troubles in *Moldavia*.

This was at ſuch time when as miſerable *Moldavia* was the Theatre whereas the *Turks*, *Tartarians*, and *Moldavians* acted a bloody Tragedy at the Coſts and Charges of the poor Country-men. For *Tomſho*, having been choſen Vayvod or Prince of that Province by the Turk, *Conſtantine*, who could not endure that he ſhould reign, armed the Country, over-ran it, ſpoiled it, and made havock of all, detaining two Capigi Priſoners, whom the Sultan had ſent unto him, with commandment to obey his Will, and a prohibition not to trouble *Tomſho* in the Poſſeſſion of his Province. But this was a Meſſage of hard Digeſtion to *Conſtantine*; he could not with Patience yield to this Ceſſion of *Moldavia*: and inſtead of ſending theſe Meſſengers back to the Turk with an Anſwer, he carried them with him into *Polonia*, whither he went to demand Succors, and cauſed them to be guarded as Priſoners. In the mean time, by the Support and Aid of *Potosky*, Governour of *Velin*, his Brother-in-Law, he obtained from the King of *Poland*, that he ſhould be ſupported againſt Prince *Tomſho*, his Competitor, whom the Turk had advanced; and to make his entry into *Moldavia* more eaſie, they reſolved to ſend an Ambaſſador unto *Conſtantinople*, to entreat *Achmat* to call back *Tomſho* to his Port, that *Conſtantine* might quietly enjoy *Moldavia*, and to acquaint him with the right and intereſt the *Polonians* had by their Capitulations with the Turks, to name a Vayvod or Prince in that Province, to the end no wrong might be done unto them.

A *Polonian* Ambaſſador arreſted at *Conſtantinople*.

This Polonian Ambaſſador being arrived at *Conſtantinople* (thinking to be preſently diſpatched, either by a grant or denial of his demand, and not to ſtay above fifteen or twenty days) being viſited at his arrival by all the Ambaſſadors of Chriſtian Kings and Princes which remained there: but inſtead of Audience, after ſix weeks attendance, he was arreſted and detained Priſoner: underſtanding from the Turks, that he ſhould have no Liberty until that the two Capigi, whom Prince *Conſtantine* carried into *Poland* were releaſed.

The Troubles and Diviſions among Chriſtians, Neighbours to the Turk, have always ſerved as a Bridge for this Infidel to invade them, and by this Advantage to uſurp ſuch Towns and Countries as lie fit for him. Now that *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, yea and *Tranſilvania*, are toſt and turmoil'd with continual Diſorders and Combuſtions; the Sultan ſeems to embrace this Occaſion, to make himſelf Sovereign of theſe Provinces, and to get Poſſeſſion

1612 The Turk arms to invade *Moldavia.*

Poſſeſſion of all that lies betwixt the River of *Danow*, the Mountains of *Sarmatia*, the River of *Tibiſcus*, and the *Euxine* Sea. He employs all his Thoughts and Inventions upon this Subject, to bring his Deſigns to effect. He arms and draws Forces about *Belgrade*, under the Conduct of Baſſa *Mahomet Belzergi*; He commands the *Tartarians* to enter into *Moldavia*, and he ſent a Naval Army towards the Mouth of the River *Danow*, which made the Frigots of *Ruſſia* to diſlodge, the which had continually made Inrodes and Spoils upon his Lands. *Battori*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, was at that time before the Town of *Cromſtad*, which he had beſieged, but the tediouſneſs of this Siege made him reſolve to ſend an Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, to demand Succours from the Grand Seignior, to the end he might be able to continue this Siege, and to take the Town; he gave this charge to *Andrew Giezy*, and ſent him to the Sultans Port; but inſtead of ſerving his Maſter faithfully, he practiſed a deteſtable Treaſon againſt him, to put the Turk in full Poſſeſſion of *Tranſilvania*, and to make him abſolute Sovereign. The practice was concluded after this manner, That the Baſſa *Mahomet Belzergi* ſhould enter the Province with his Army, and that *Giezi* ſhould joyn with him with certain Troops, and ſhould deliver unto him *Veradin*, *Lippa*, and ſome other ſtrong and important Places, and for recompence he ſhould inveſt him in the Principality of *Tranſilvania*, in the place of *Battori*, and under the Authority of *Achmat*.

Cromſtad beſieged by *Battori.*

He demands Succours from the Turk, and is betray'd.

This Treaſon might have drawn this miſerable Province into Ruine, and it may be the reſt near adjacent, if it had taken the Effect which the Treachery of *Giezi* had promiſed unto himſelf. But the Baſſa of *Buda*, underſtanding that *Battori* had ſome vent of the Practice at the Port, and that being now in great fear and Perturbation, he had raiſed the ſiege from before *Cromſtad*, and was ready to caſt himſelf into the Arms of the Palatine of *Hungary*, and to crave relief from him; the craſty Baſſa knowing that this courſe would be prejudicial for the Sultan, and finding that the depoſing of *Battori* would be more difficult than they expected, he diverted *Mahomet Baſſa* from attempting any thing againſt *Battori* or *Tranſilvania*. This act ſhews ſufficiently, that Chriſtian Princes which think to ſhelter themſelves under the ſhadow of the Turkiſh Creſcent, are very ill aſſured; for he never fails to ſtir up Enemies againſt them, to make them ſue for Succours, and himſelf Neceſſary; Then in the end he expels them, and becomes abſolute Maſter of their Countries. It was alſo ſaid, That the Baſſa *Mahomet* would not attempt any thing in *Tranſilvania*, by reaſon of the Election of the Emperour *Matthias*, whereof the Baſſa of *Buda* was aſſured by the Ambaſſador which the ſaid Emperour ſent to *Conſtantinople*, to carry the Preſents unto the Sultan; which Ambaſſador was honourably entertained at *Buda* by the ſaid Baſſa, and from thence conducted ſafely to *Conſtantinople*.

But not to keep theſe *Turkiſh* Troops idle, *Mahomet Baſſa*, being advertiſed that *Conſtantine*, the pretending Prince in *Moldavia*, had been in *Poland* to crave ſome aſſiſtance from thence, he reſolved to employ his Forces that way, to diſpoſſeſs him and ſettle another.

But the better to underſtand the beginning and ſucceſs of theſe *Moldavian* Wars, we muſt make a Repetition of that which paſt ſome years before. In the year 1608, *Jeremy Mobyla*, Prince or Vaivod of *Moldavia* died; committing the Government to his Brother *Simeon*, during the Minority of his three Sons, *Conſtantine*, *Alexander*, and *Bougdan*, the eldeſt being but eight years old. He left three Daughters, married to three generous Princes of *Polonia*, *Potosky*, *Viſinousky*, and *Corresky*. Prince *Simeon* continued in the Government until the year 1611; after whoſe deceaſe the young Prince *Conſtantine*, by the Perſwaſion of his Mother, that he might ſafely take upon him the Government of *Moldavia*, and not attend any Confirmation from the Sultan, for that Prince *Simeon*, who had been confirmed by the Turk which then reigned, was but Tutor to his Nephew; entred the Government. At this time there remained at *Conſtantinople*, one *Stephano* or *Tomſho*, who had of a long time practiſed the favour of one of the Viſiers called *Mehemet*, an Eunuch of *Georgia* (who was then Chimacham, or Lieutenant to the Grand Viſier) and of ſome other Baſſaes, as well by Money as by other Practices, ſuggeſting falſely that he was Son to Prince *Aaron*, who had been Vaivod of *Moldavia* before the deceaſed *Jeremy*; and he prevailed ſo by his Practices and Corruption (whereunto the Turks are more ſubject than any Nation in the World) as he was admitted to the Principality by the Grand Seignior, and having given him to underſtand by the Viſier, that *Conſtantine* had thruſt himſelf raſhly into the Government, and that he would not acknowledge him for his Lord and Sovereign, nor pay the yearly Tribute, which was 40000 Chequines, he ſent *Fouſſeyen Aga* with 20000 *Turks* and *Tartarians* to ſettle *Stephen* or *Tomſho* in *Moldavia*, and to expel Prince *Conſtantine*. Which Army marched ſo ſecretly, as they had in a manner ſurpriſed him; yet drawing together a head of 10000 Men, he reſolved to attend the event. The Aga ſent to acquaint him with his Commiſſion, and among other things threatned him, that if he would not ſuffer him to proclaim *Stephen* Vayvod of *Moldavia*, and yield him the City of *Yas* free, he would cut him in pieces. Whereunto *Conſtantine* made anſwer, by the advice of the Prince *Potosky* his Brother-in-Law, That the Grand Seignior had been abuſed; for if he had underſtood, that his Predeceſſor had granted unto the deceaſed Prince *Jeremy* his Father, and to Prince *Simeon* his Uncle, That he ſhould ſucceed his ſaid Father in the Government; it was not credible that he would ſeek to diſpoſſeſs him by force, without hearing, and inſtall in his place an unknown Perſon, who had falſely ſuppoſed himſelf to be the Son of a Prince of *Moldavia*; neither ſhould they find, that he had refuſed to acknowledge the Sultan for his Sovereign Prince, or denied to continue the ſame Tribute which his Father and Uncle had paid; but if the Aga would proceed without any reſpect of his Offers, he did hope that the true God of Battel would maintain him in his juſt defence, and would not ſuffer an Uſurper to prevail over a lawful Prince. *Fouſſeyen Aga*, who had no will to capitulate with Prince *Conſtantine*, being corrupted by *Stephen* with Preſents and Promiſes, advanced with his Army, ſo as the next day they joyned battel; but the *Moldavians*, oppreſt with Multitudes of *Turks*, *Tartarians*, and *Valachians*, could not make it good. Wherefore *Potosky* entreated Prince *Conſtantine* to ſave himſelf, and to ſuffer him to finiſh the Battel; but he could by no means perſwade him, ſtill reſolving to attend the event. Whereupon they went both again to the charge with ſuch Troops as they had left, and defeated many of the *Turks* Forces; but being oppreſſed with a new ſupply of 2000 Horſe which the *Aga* ſent by *Stephen*, they were conſtrained to yield themſelves to the Mercy of their Enemies. Prince *Conſtantine* fell to the *Tartarians* ſhare, either for that he had been taken Priſoner by ſome of them, or elſe was given them by *Fouſſeyen Aga*, to draw a ranſom from him, and be inſtead of their Pay.

1612 *Conſtantine* Son to *Jeremy* enters the Government.

Stephen made Vayvod of *Moldavia* by the Turk.

Conſtantine's Anſwer to the Turks *Aga.*

Conſtantine and *Potosky* taken Priſoners.

1612 But they made no great uſe of him; for as they led him away, paſſing the River of *Nieſtre*, he leapt into it, thinking either to ſave himſelf by ſwimming, or unwilling to ſurvive his Diſgrace. And as for Prince *Potosky*, he was carried to *Conſtantinople*, and was put into the black Tower, which is a Priſon appointed for Men of Quality, where he continued until the year 1616. The loſs of this Battel by *Conſtantine*, gave an eaſie entrance to *Stephen* into *Moldavia*, no Man daring oppoſe himſelf againſt the Turks Forces; ſo as *Fouſſeyen Aga* cauſed *Stephen* to be proclaimed Prince of *Moldavia* in the City of *Yas*, and then diſmiſſed his Army, and returned to *Conſtantinople*. Such was the Fortune of the Prince of *Moldavia*, ruined by the Turks, and ſuch was the Diſorder and Confuſion of his miſerable Country.

Stephen proclaimed Prince of *Moldavia*.

This Summer *Conſtantinople* and the Country round about, was annoyed with abundance of Graſhoppers, as it had been in the former year; but to free themſelves from this devouring Vermin, about the midſt of *July*, the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* and *Alexandria*, with divers other Biſhops, and Calloires attired in their Copes and other Ornaments, went forth in ſolemn manner at the Gate of *Adrianople*, being the *North* Gate of the City. Whereupon (ſaid the *Greeks*) they all periſhed; and indeed about this time infinite heaps of them were found dead; but not by reaſon of their Curſe, for moſt were dead before they curſed them, and were to be ſeen dead upon every buſh and twig of a Tree before their curſe, and many lived after their Curſe, and continued until the next Summer. The cold dews which fell this Summer (being extraordinary) were thought to be the natural cauſe thereof; God cauſing thoſe dews to fall, to free the Country from theſe devouring Creatures.

Conſtantinople afflicted with *Graſhoppers*.

Let us now deſcribe the Miſeries of the *Tranſilvanian*, and of his Province, a Table ſo often repreſented in this Hiſtory. *Gabriel Battori*, who governed *Tranſilvania*, as lawfully deſcended from the Sovereign Princes thereof, having made himſelf a Tributary unto the Turk, and by his impious Actions mingled *Mahomets* Impiety with the Chriſtian Religion; and moreover, exceeding in his Cruelty, became a memorable Example to all Poſterity, that Princes which carry the glorious Name of Chriſtians, when they have once laid aſide all fear of the Sovereign of Princes, cannot attend, but a miſerable end in their Reign, conformable to the courſe of their Enormities. So *Gabriel Battori*, holding it a Law of State to ſettle his Affairs with the ruin of Religion, allies himſelf with the Turk, and with him afflicts the Chriſtian Provinces. But ſeeing many Factions made againſt him, as well by the deſcendents of *Botſcay*, as by *Giezi*, *Bethlem Gabor*, and ſome other, he ſupports himſelf with the Forces of *Andrew Nage*, the head of the Rebels in *High Hungary*, who came unto him to the ſiege before *Cromſtad* to aſſiſt him in his Affairs. *Battori* entertained him with all ſhews of Courteſie, invited him to dinner in his Tent; and for a greater Demonſtration of Friendſhip, after Dinner they two went to take the Air on Horſeback. *Nage* had drunk after the *Hungarian* manner; *Battori* entreated him to run his Horſe a carreer, and he refuſed it; the which *Battori* taking for an Offence, ſpake many words of contempt unto him, and he anſwered him in the ſame manner, being more inflamed with Wine, than governed by Reaſon. *Battori* being wonderfully offended, that a Man of no ſort, being but a poor Souldier of Fortune, crept up to ſome Authority among the Souldiers but by Degrees of Rebellion, ſhould give him ſuch words of Indignity, gave him three blows on the Head with a Battle-axe which he held in his Hand, and ſlew him. Thus *Nage* ſwims juſtly in his own Blood, having wickedly and to the ruine of his Country floted in the ways of Inconſtancy, and popular Tumults; and ſo he died as he had lived.

The Troubles of *Tranſilvania*.

1612 *Battori* kills *Nage*.

But *Battori* found himſelf daily oppreſt with many Affairs, which drave him inſenſibly to his Ruin. *Peter Decaci*, Kinſman to the deceaſed *Botſcay*, annoyed him on the one ſide with Troops of Souldiers. *Andrew Giezi* (who had betrayed him in his Embaſſay to *Conſtantinople*) levied Forces to proſecute him; and *Bethlem Gabor*, a Nobleman of *Tranſilvania*, and aſſiſted by the Turk, took many Places from him, after that *Giezi* had forced him to raiſe his ſiege at *Cromſtad*, and generally all *Tranſilvania* revolted againſt this Prince. To ſee more plainly in the Obſcurity of theſe confuſed Diſorders, you muſt underſtand, that this Province is peopled by three ſeveral Nations, the *Sicules*, *Saxons*, and *Hungarians*. The *Sicules* (deſcended from the *Scithians*) came with *Attila* King of the *Hunnes*, in *Pannonia*, now called *Hungary*, and taking their way towards their Country, they inhabited that part of *Tranſilvania* which lies next to *Moldavia*, and dividing themſelves into ſeven Colonies, they built the Towns of *Kiſdi*, *Orbai*, *Scipſi*, *Cykuduarheh*, *Aranios*, and *Maros*. The *Saxons* (mutinying againſt the Government of the Emperour *Charlemaigne* King of *France*, for certain Impoſitions wherewith he had charged them) retired into *Tranſilvania*, and by force ſeiſed on that part of the Country which confineth upon *Valachia*, where they built the Towns of *Hermenſtad*, (otherwiſe called *Cibin*) *Cromſtad*, *Nezen* (or *Biſtric*) *Meduviſch*, *Sciefpourg*, *Clauſenbourg*, and *Alba-Julia*. The *Hungarians* inhabited this Province from the time of Saint *Stephen* King of *Hungary*; and having maſtered the other Nations, they obtained ſuch Preheminence among them, as ſince their Succeſſors have cauſed themſelves to be called Nobles of *Tranſilvania*, and the Vayvods or Princes of the Country have been taken from among them. The Towns of *Varradin*, *Dever*, *Zilahi*, *Gela*, and ſome others, owe their beginnings unto them. The greateſt part of theſe three Nations which inhabit *Tranſilvania* were revolted againſt *Battori*; but particularly the *Saxons* had taken Arms againſt him, his great Cruelty having forced them to this extream Remedy.

Parties againſt *Battori*.

Diviſion of the People of *Tranſilvania*.

All the three Nations againſt *Battori*.

Battori being thus abandoned by his Subjects, proſecuted by his Nobility, and forſaken of all the World, knowing not whither to flie for Succour, and not daring to truſt unto the Turk, who openly favoured *Gabor*; he reſolved to try if he could by Preſents draw the Emperour *Matthias* to give him any Aſſiſtance. Wherefore he ſent Ambaſſadors unto him, to promiſe all Subjection and Obedience; and he ſent for Preſents, a long Robe or ſacerdotal Cloak of Gold, ſet with Pearl and precious Stones, certain Plumes of black Herons, adorned with precious Stones, a Turkiſh Sword, the Scabberd being of Silver richly ſet with Jewels, ten black Horſes with rich furniture embroidered with Gold and Silver, and a Turkiſh Horſe, having half the Body and Legs of the colour of Gold, with his Furniture of Crimſon richly embroidered. He laboured to have the Emperour give notice to the Baſſa of *Buda*, That this Attempt of the Turks againſt *Tranſilvania*, was againſt the Articles of Peace; but the Baſſa made anſwer, That his Emperour was not to be blamed if he ſeiſed upon that Province, which did immediately belong unto him, and kept it quiet from the Practices of others. But *Battori*, relying not wholly upon this ſupport, but deſiring to have more ſtrings to his Bow, ſent Ambaſſadors to the Sultan,

Battori ſends an Ambaſſador to the Emperour *Matthias*.

1612 Sultan, with rare and rich Preſents, who had ſecret Treaties and Councils with the Baſſa's; the which *Negronius*, the Emperours Ambaſſador reſiding at *Conſtantinople*, diſcovering, he ſent word unto the Emperour, that he entertained a Monſter among Men.

Cruelty of Battori.

About the ſame time there came Ambaſſadors from the *Saxon* Towns of *Tranſilvania*, complaining much of the Cruelty and Tyranny of *Battori*. The *Saxons* (ſaid they) living many years in *Tranſilvania*, had beautified the Provinces with Towns, Villages, and Markets, and had by their vertue obtained many Priviledges from former Emperours; but *Battori*, againſt his promiſed Faith, and the Oath which he had taken, had deprived them of their Priviledges, and afflicted them in ſuch ſort, as they were in a manner ruined; that from his firſt entrance he had ſought to root out the antient Family of the *Saxons*; that he had afflicted them with Impriſonments and miſerable Servitude, and had detained *John Benner* three years in Priſon, for no other cauſe, but for that he knew he had brought a great Eſtate out of *Germany*; he had deprived honeſt Widows of their Eſtates, and had oppreſt others with unjuſt Exactions; he had ſurpriſed *Hermſtad*, the chief City of the *Saxons*, and ſuffered the *Haiducks* to ſpoil it, and to commit all ſorts of Inſolencies. That he had expelled the Magiſtrate, baniſhed honeſt Citizens, raviſhed Women, ſlain the Parents, to deprive the Children of their Inheritance, and committed all the barbarous Cruelties that could be deviſed. That he had ſent three hundred Captives to the Sultan for a Preſent; many he cut into ſmall pieces, ſome he had thrown down from the tops of Mountains and Towers; ſome he had hung up by the Feet, others he had drawn in pieces with Horſes and Trees, and to conclude, he had practiſed all kinds of barbarous Cruelties. That having expelled Religious Princes out of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, he had made them ſubject to the Turk, for no other end, but getting an occaſion to circumvent the Chriſtians, he might waſte all with Fire and Sword, having Multitudes of *Barbarians* to ſecond him; and for a Concluſion of his notable Cruelty, having freed the Town of *Gaudin*, he made choice of twenty of the principal Inhabitants, and delivering to every one of them a Pike, he forced them in his Preſence to kill one another in the midſt of the Market-Place.

Gabor and the Turk preſs *Battori.*

But God revengeth his Exceſs by his Ruine, whereinto we ſhall preſently ſee him run headlong miſerably; for, *Bethlem Gabor*, his capital Enemy, having joyned his Forces with thoſe of Baſſa *Serder*, they both entered together into *Tranſilvania*, forced *Lugaſti*, took *Deve*, and ſtruck a great Terror into the whole Country. *Ogli Baſſa* on the other ſide ſurmounts the difficulty of the ways, and lodgeth with his Troops in the Suburbs of *Cromſtad*, and from thence went and camped over all the Tract of *Barry* or *Barſac*. Thus *Battori* ſees himſelf oppreſt by an Enemy from whom he can expect nothing but his Miſery and Ruine; he attended Succours from the Emperor, under the Conduct of the Palatine of *Hungary* and *Forigatſie*; they came, but not ſuch as were able to reſiſt the Turk. This made him write to *Trinau* for the levying of Souldiers; but the hatred they bare him generally, deceived his hopes, no man would march under his Enſigns. This refuſal makes him diſtruſtful, he dares not confer with any man touching the Affairs of the War. A treaty of Peace ſeems more fit for his Affairs; he makes an overture to his moſt familiar Friends, and tells them, that he holds it neceſſary to purchaſe his Peace with *Serder Baſſa* at what price

The Miſeries and Deſpair of Battori.

ſoever; yea, were it in delivering into his hands the Places of greateſt Importance. But he receives no other Anſwers from them, but that they had rather die than adviſe him to it. Thus he ſees himſelf void of all hope of ſafety in his Affairs; he wanted Money, his Subjects, yea, even his Souldiers hated him, as a Prince abandoned to all Cruelty; and for his laſt Remedy, and the moſt ordinary in baſe and cowardly Minds, he fell into deſpair, intreating one of his Servants to kill him; but the other refuſed him that honour, ſuffering him to draw on his miſerable Life, till that within ſome few days after, going forth to view where his Troops were lodged, being in an open Chariot, accompanied only with two Gentlemen, fifty of his Souldiers (which attended him in an ambuſh) ſhot at him, ſlew him, and hurt thoſe that did accompany him. It is true, this accident hapned in the year 1613, when as this unfortunate *Battori* went to give an account unto God of the bad Government of his Eſtate. 1612

Battori ſlain by his own Souldiers.

Some few days after, *Bethlem Gabor* was declared Prince of *Tranſilvania* by Baſſa *Serder*, who gave him this adviſement at his Introduction; *Battori ſhall ſerve for an Example to bad Princes; I do not think that you will follow his Steps. Beware you attempt not any thing without the Privity of my Maſter; Maintain Peace with your Neighbours, and make Men of Experience and Honeſty your Council. Tranſilvania* did yet fear the continuance of a ſtorm of a fatal War, when as in leſs than forty days it ſaw it ſelf ſettled in the calm of ſweet Peace, by the acknowledgment which all the Towns made unto *Bethlem Gabor*, and the Oath of Fidelity which they took unto him, as to their elected Prince; notwithſtanding that the Emperour Employed all his Credit to hinder it. But the deſire of Peace, and the fear of the Turks Armies, drew all the Governours of Towns to acknowledge *Gabor*; ſuch were the Affairs of *Tranſilvania*, diſordered by the Turk. Let us now make an end of the remainder of the year 1612, the which we have deferred, for that we would not interrupt the relation of the Affairs of this Province.

Bethlem Gabor made Prince of *Tranſilvania* by the Turk.

We have ſaid elſewhere, That the King of *Perſia* had offered Conditions of Peace to Sultan *Achmat*, much to his Advantage, ſeeing that he yielded himſelf the Turks Tributary, in regard of certain Lands which he had conquered from them. Now the Viſier *Naſſuf*, General of the Army againſt the Perſian, brings his Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, to conclude this Peace. *Naſſuf* arrived with his Army and the *Perſian* Ambaſſador at *Scudaret*, right over againſt *Conſtantinople*, whither moſt of the Baſſaes of the Port went to ſalute him, and then returned. But the Grand Viſier ſtayed there two days; on the third he paſt over to *Conſtantinople*, where he was entertained at the water ſide by all the Baſſaes which accompanied him; an infinite number of Janizaries going before with their Pieces, and ſome of them in Armour, after whom followed their Aga on Horſeback; then came a great number of *Jamoglans*, and the Emirs or Kindred of *Mahomet* with their green Turbants, with many blind men ſhouting aloud; theſe holy men carried the banner (as they ſay) of *Mahomet*, and the People ſtanding by kiſſed it with great Devotion as they paſt; after them came the Chaoux on Horſeback, the Baſſaes, then the chief Muphti, and laſt of all *Naſſuf Baſſa* himſelf; after whom followed the Treaſure which he brought with him for the Emperour, being two hundred thirty four Moyles laden with Gold and Silver. The Viſier, as he paſt by the Sultans Window, bowed himſelf very low unto him, from whom he had a nod with

A *Perſian* Ambaſſador comes to *Conſtantinople.*

his

1612 his Head, and ſo ſet Spurs to his Horſe and rode away faſt, as the manner of the Turks is when they ſalute a greater man than themſelves, preſently to run or ride away apace. The Viſier being come to the Serail, went in to the Sultan to kiſs his Hand, where he continued a whole hour, the reſt of the Baſſa's attending without. There were preſent at this days Pomp the Emperours Ambaſſador, the *French*, the *Engliſh*, *Polonian*, *Low-Countries*, and *Venetian*; the *Perſian* remaining ſtill at *Scudaret*. The Grand Viſier, as he paſt by the Emperours Ambaſſador, put off his Hat and ſaluted him, but not the reſt. The ſame day *Tomſho*, who had been lately made Prince of *Moldavia* by the Grand Seignior, ſent many *Polonians* to *Conſtantinople*, whom he had taken in the Wars. All which (notwithſtanding they threw down their Caps and offered to turn Turks) were put to death. And within few days after, the Viſier *Naſſuf*, ſitting in the publick Divano, had three Robes ſent him from the Grand Seignior to grace him.

Achmat, having a Will to let the *Perſian* ſee the Magnificence of his Court, went out of *Conſtantinople*; and under a pretext to go take the Air at his Country Palace, called *Darut Baſſa*, he takes occaſion at his return to make a ſtately entry at his Imperial City. The general Surveyour being advertiſed of his will, cauſed the ways from his Palace of *Darut* unto the City, to be covered with Sand; the which contains two *French* Leagues, or four *Engliſh* Miles. This done, the Emperour parted from his retinue, and entered in Pomp into *Conſtantinople*: The order of his entry was in this manner: A great number of Men at Arms marched firſt on Horſeback, and after them ſome Troops of Foot, the Cadis of *Conſtantinople*, or Men of Juſtice, and all the Taliſmans, or thoſe of *Mahomets* Law, in very great numbers followed after, and after theſe march'd the Viſiers and Baſſaes in great Pomp; after whom followed the Sultans Houſhold, that is to ſay, ten Men leading in their Hands ten goodly Horſes richly capariſoned, the laſt of which had the Bridle and Saddle all covered with precious Stones; the Sultans Targuet was made faſt unto the Saddle, and upon it did hang even to the Ground a great taſſel of Pearls; and over all this, a long Horſe-cloth or covering for a Horſe, the which was embroidered ſo thick with Pearl, as the ground could not be diſcerned; after which followed the reſt of the Emperours Houſehold in divers Troops; firſt, fifty Janizaries on foot, every one leading Dogs in Leaſhes, Maſtiffs, or *Iriſh* Grey-hounds, the goodlieſt of all were thoſe which the *French* Ambaſſador had preſented unto the Sultan. Secondly, the Grand Seignior's Footmen called *Peiks*, *Perſians* by Nation, all well attired, wearing on their Heads Bonnets of Silver, and gilt, in form of Pots. Thirdly, threeſcore Archers on foot, in the midſt of which the Sultan came, attired in a rich Robe of Cloth of Gold imbroidered with Pearls and Diamonds, his ſlaves were enrich'd after the ſame manner; his Turbant covered with five Plumes of black Herons Feathers inrich'd with great Diamonds, and a Chain of the ſame Stones about the lower part of his Turbant; upon his little Finger he had a Diamond of a large bigneſs and eſtimable price, the which gave a marvellous great Light; he was proudly mounted upon a goodly Horſe richly capariſoned, Emperour like, the Saddle was embroidered with Gold, Pearl, and Diamonds, the Stirrups of pure Gold ſet with many Diamonds, and from the Horſe Neck did hang a great taſſel of Pearl, the which were ſo great, as they were eſteemed very rich and pretious. Fourthly, After the Grand Seignior followed three Men on Horſeback, carrying in their Hands, the one his Arms, the other his Cloak, and the third his Imperial Turbant, and theſe were attended on by certain Eſquires and Gentlemen all on Horſeback. Fifthly, Then came the Muſick after the *Turkiſh* manner, conſiſting of threeſcore Men on Horſeback, which played upon Phiefs, Clerons, and Trumpets. Sixthly, There followed an hundred Pages of the Sultans, bravely mounted, and followed by many Eunuchs, fifty of which Pages carried every one a Faulcon upon his fiſt, having their Heads enrich'd with Diamonds, and theſe were followed by thirty Guards of the Port. Seventhly, Fifty Faulconers and Huntſmen richly attired and well mounted; four whereof had either of them before him upon his ſaddle bow, a Leopard covered with Cloth of Gold. Eighthly, A great number of other Pages, fairer than the Pictures of *Adonis* or Love, choſen amongſt the Infants of the Tribute, and unfortunately appointed for the filthy and unnatural Pleaſures of their Maſter, whoſe Garments after the Turkiſh manner were pretious, and made of rich Cloth of Gold curled. They were followed by a great Troop of young men plainly attired in Cloth, having upon their Heads yellow Caps pointed in form of a Sugar-loaf, and theſe were ordained to ſerve the Sultans Pages.

1612

Pages choſen amongſt the faireſt for the Sultans Pleaſure.

There were moreover attending the Sultan in this Pomp divers Beglerbegs, as of *Boſna*, *Buda*, *Romania*, *Natolia*, and others; every Company going diſtinct, both of Horſe and Foot, with the Baſſaes Servants all gallantly attired and well mounted; and after them followed *Naſſuf's* Attendants, being five hundred in number richly armed; there were alſo the Kings Fire-men, Calkers, Azappes, the Rices or Officers of Gallies with Spears in their Hands; all that belonged to the Arcenal, the Carters which governed the Carts going to War, and their Captains: then the ſhotmen with their Banner, and the Armourers all in Armour, with their Banner. There were alſo the Banners of the Grand Seignior *Mahomet*, and of the Grand Viſier, every one in his order before the Grand Seignior, and after all followed the Capigies and Officers of his Kitchen. The number of all ſorts of Attendants in this Pomp was ſo great, as it was eſteemed to amount to the number of forty thouſand Perſons.

The Sultan enters in ſtate into *Conſtantinople*.

The Order how his Houſhold marched.

The *Perſian* Ambaſſador, for whoſe ſake the Emperour *Achmat* had made this ſtately ſhew, to the end he might carry back into his Country a pattern of the *Othoman* State and Greatneſs, cauſed to be caſt out before his Lodging when as the Sultan paſſed by, an hundred pieces of Silk, the which were gathered up by the Archers of his Guard, whereof they made good purchaſe. All theſe Magnificencies, added to thoſe which we have formerly related at the Marriages of the Sultans Siſter and Daughter, with other Pomp celebrated in *France*, *Spain*, *Naples*, and *Germany*, for the Marriages of *Lewis* the Thirteenth, King of *France*, with *Ann* of *Auſtria*, Infant of *Spain*; and of the Prince of *Spain* with the Lady *Elizabeth* of *Bourbon*, the Kings eldeſt Siſter, and for the Coronation of the Empreſs, and the Emperours entry into *Nuremberg*, may give unto this year 1612, the Title of magnifique or ſtately.

A largeſs of the *Perſian* Ambaſſador when as the Sultan paſt.

Four days after Sultan *Achmats* entry into his Imperial City, the *Perſian* Ambaſſador had audience, and was received to kiſs his Hands; he preſented unto his Majeſty in the behalf of the King of *Perſia* his Maſter, four hundred balls of Silk, a Beſonard Stone as big as a mans fiſt, with ſome others that were leſs; nine bags of Leather full of Turquoiſes, the which were a foot and an half long, and above four fingers broad, a great number of Tapeſtries of Wool, Silk, Cloth of Gold and

The *Perſians* Preſents to the Turk.

1612 and Silver, with many other things of great price, and very rare. The Complements being ended, they began to treat ſeriouſly of a Peace betwixt two great and antient Enemies, the *Turk* and the *Perſian*; the which, after ſome Difficulties, was concluded upon theſe Conditions: That the *Perſian* King ſhould pay yearly unto the *Turkiſh* Emperor, by way of Tribute, a quantity of Silk to the burthen of two hundred Camels; that the King of *Perſia*'s Son ſhould be called Baſſa of *Tauris*, and that the Cadi or Sovereign Judge of that Town ſhould be ſent from *Conſtantinople*. This Peace thus concluded to the *Turks* Advantage, the *Perſian* Ambaſſador returned to his Maſter, having left moſt of his Train dead of the Plague at *Conſtantinople*. Being arrived at *Tauris*, the King of *Perſia* ſeeing this Peace to be ſo diſhonourable and burthenſome for him, he cauſed his Ambaſſador's Head to be cut off; and ſent back the Chiaux, who was come from *Conſtantinople* to ſee him ſwear the Peace. Some write that he did him ſome Indignities, which made theſe two great Monarchs return again to Arms.

The Chimacham put from his Place.

The Grand Viſier *Naſſuf*, after his return to *Conſtantinople*, to ſhew his Great Power and Authority, procured means to have the Chimacham (who had formerly ſupplied the Place of the Grand Viſier in the abſence of *Amurath Baſſa*, and until the return of *Naſſuf*) to be deprived of his Baſſaes Place, and ſent preſently over unto *Scudaret*, under pretence of preferring him to a Government near unto *Trebizond* in the Confines of *Turkey*, but with an intent to deprive him of his Head. The Friends of this Chimacham, (who were many, and great in Court) ſeeing him ſo diſgracefully ſent away, and doubting *Naſſuf*'s purpoſe, procured leave from the Grand Seignior to have him ſent for back again, for that he was an old Man, and might from thenceforth live at home in quiet; and for his former Services a thouſand Aſpers a day allowed him for his Entertainment; which *Naſſuf* took very diſcontentedly.

During the *Perſian* Ambaſſador's abode at *Conſtantinople*, the Emperor *Matthias* (Succeſſor to *Rodulphus* his Brother) ſent an Ambaſſador to the Sultan, to complain of the Enterpriſes which were made daily upon *Tranſilvania*, a Province which he ſaid belonged unto him, as a dependance of his Realm of *Hungary*. This Ambaſſador, called *Negroni*, was received at the Court, and admitted to kiſs the Sultans Hand; but his Preſents were little eſteemed, for that they were of leſs value than thoſe which they had lately received from the *Perſian*. His demands to have the Province of *Tranſilvania*, were grounded upon an Article inſerted among thoſe of the Peace betwixt the Emperor and *Botskay*, at that time choſen Prince of *Tranſilvania*; that is to ſay, *That* Botskay *dying without Iſſue Male*, Tranſilvania *ſhould remain at the Diſpoſition of his Imperial Majeſty*. This Article being read by *Negroni* in the Turks Council, whither he had been admitted; the Muphti or Sovereign Prieſt of *Mahomets* Law, anſwered, That it was contrary to his Law; ſo the Demands of this Ambaſſador touching *Tranſilvania* were rejected, ſeeing that *Botskay* had no Power from the Sultan (ſaid the Grand Viſier) to treat with the Emperour, and to give him *Tranſilvania* after his Death. *Negroni* grounded this Gift of *Botſcay* (mentioned in the ſaid Article) upon the eighth Article of the Peace betwixt the Turk and the Emperour, concluded in the Iſle of *Danow*, by *Amurath* Viſier, and the Deputies of his Imperial Majeſty, in theſe words: *That all which had been granted in the Treaty of Peace made at* Vienna, *to* Botskay, *ſhould be duely and faithfully obſerved.* *Naſſuf*, the Grand Viſier, replied, That the Baſſa *Amurath* being then Viſier, might err in ſigning theſe Articles of the Peace upon the *Danow*; and at the ſame inſtant he ſhewed forth ſome other Articles whereas that was not inſerted; ſaying, That the Sultan would faithfully perform thoſe and no others, preſſing the Ambaſſador *Negroni* to ſign them; the which he refuſed to do; ſo as *Naſſuf* uſed ſome Threats to terrifie him; but *Negroni* replied, That he was in their Power, and that in this caſe he had rather loſe his Life, and die gloriouſly for the good of his Maſters Affairs, than to have it taken from him at his return to *Vienna*, with Shame and Infamy, having ſigned thoſe Articles. Finally, he promiſed to advertiſe his Imperial Majeſty, and to certifie them of his Pleaſure: which promiſe for this time ended the Contention.

1612 The Emperor *Matthias* ſends an Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*.

In the beginning of this year, Sultan *Achmat*, after the Reception of the *Perſian* Ambaſſador, and the ſtately entry he made into *Conſtantinople*, went to lie at *Adrianople*, where his Janizaries and Spahies began to mutiny, ſpurning at their Bread and Rice which was given them for their daily Entertainment: and being demanded the Reaſon of this their Inſolency, they anſwered, that no Emperor before him had ſo carried out his Men in the depth of Winter: which anſwer did much incenſe *Naſſuf Baſſa*. This Viſier was in ſuch Credit with the Grand Seignior, as during his abode at *Adrianople* he came three times in Perſon privately to viſit him, who grew ſo powerful over his Maſters Affections, as he obtained a priviledge, That it might not be lawful for any Man to ſpeak with the Grand Seignior privately, but himſelf. Being returned to *Conſtantinople*, there happened a great Fire, in which there were five hundred Houſes burnt. The Viſier *Naſſuf* coming to ſee it quenched, and finding ſome Janizaries more careful to break open Locks, and rifle Shops, than to do any good Service, he ſtruck out the Brains of one of them with his Mace, and brake the Arm of another.

The malice and falſhood of the Turks.

It had been an ancient Cuſtom in *Conſtantinople*, that the owner of the Houſe with all his Family where the Fire began, ſhould be put to death for their Negligence: but it happening that the Emperours own Serail, in the time of *Mahomet*, Father to *Achmat*, being ſet on fire, *Cicala Baſſa* preſented a Petition unto him, that this Cuſtom might be aboliſhed, holding it unjuſt that other Men ſhould be put to death, and the ſame let paſs in the Emperours own Houſe: whereunto he yielded, holding it reaſonable. And ſoon after there happened another great Fire, at which the Viſier cauſed many of the Janizaries to be hanged: finding them too buſie in rifling Houſes: and he went up and down the Streets with his Scimitar in one Hand, and a Janizaries Head in the other, which he had cut off. The Grand Seignior ſent Holy Water unto the Viſier, wherein he had dipt a piece of *Mahomets* Garment, the which being poured into the Fire, the Turks ſaid it ceaſed preſently; yet by the Report of viſible Witneſſes, it burned four hours after. The Grand Viſier *Naſſuf* was a cruel Enemy to the Janizaries, of whom he ſent ſixteen thouſand away into *Aſia*, and would not ſuffer any more to be made, but only Spahies: and over ſuch Janizaries as remained he made his own Servants to be Churbagies, and Agaes or Captains over fifties and hundreds; fortifying himſelf by all the means he could deviſe againſt the future time, to prevent his ſudden Ruine; but all this could not preſerve him from a ſhameful fall, as you ſhall hereafter hear.

In the mean time let us paſs unto *Affrick*, to obſerve the Troubles which fell in the Realms

of

1612 of *Fez* and *Morocco*; the Quarrels betwixt Prince *Xerif Muley Cidan*, and the *Xerif Muley Achmet*, *Ben-Abdalla* his Nephew, and the Victories of *Cidan* againſt *Abdalla*. The Family of the *Xerifs*, Princes of *Fez* and *Morocco*, took its beginning ſome hundred and four years ſince, from *Mahomet Xerif*, born at *Tigumedet* in *Dara*, at this preſent one of the Provinces of *Morocco*: he was Alfaqui or Preacher of *Mahomet*'s Law, who, ſeeing the Diviſions betwixt the Sovereign Princes of thoſe Realms, and that the *Portugals* had ſeized of the chief Forts of *Morocco*, he began with three of his Sons, *Abdalla*, *Hamet*, and *Mahomet*, to lay the Foundation of a new Monarchy, ſupported by three Pillars: that is to ſay, by a counterfeit Piety and diſguiſed Religion; upon a godly Pretext to make War againſt the *Portugals* Chriſtians which were in *Affrick*, and upon a paſſionate deſire to retire the *Mahometan Moors* which were in their Pay, to the end they might by that means weaken them, and chaſe them with more eaſe out of the Territories of *Morocco*. The King, who at that time held the Scepter of *Fez*, (ſeeing nothing but the out-ſide of the *Xerifs* Deſigns) ſuffered his three Sons to diſplay their Standard againſt the Chriſtian *Portugals* in the Realm of *Morocco*: Innovations and Novelties are commonly pleaſing to the common People. At this beginning, theſe three Leaders were followed by a great number of Souldiers: they vanquiſhed in many Encounters; and the bruit of their new Victories flying into the Realm of *Morocco*, retired the *Moors* from the *Portugals* Service, whom they defeated ſoon after, with their Commander *Lopes Bariga*. True it is, that it was to their loſs; for *Abdalla*, the eldeſt of theſe three Brethren, loſt his Life in this Combate. But they ſeiſed upon the great Town of *Taradente* in the Province of *Sus*, and of the Provinces of *Herra*, *Idevaca*, *Vbidevaca*, *Cus*, *Guzule*, and in a manner of the whole Country betwixt *Morocco* and Mount *Atlas*, ſettling their Principality in *Taradente*, whereas the *Xerif* their Father carried the Name of the Governour of the Province of *Sus*.

The Children of the Xerif grow potent.

The King of *Morocco*, fearing the Greatneſs of theſe new Conquerours, diſſembled the deſire he had to bring them under, aſſuring himſelf that Time would preſent him ſome good occaſion; ſo ſuffered them to enter into *Morocco*: but they prevented him; they took away his Life by Poyſon, and ſeiſed upon his Realm. The King of *Fez*, who had by an indiſcreet Simplicity ſuffered them to take Arms, and by that means to open the way to a great Fortune, he ſaw a far off the Tempeſt of theſe unjuſt Spoilers to fall upon *Morocco* and other Places. The fear of the like Calamity did much afflict his Mind: but the *Xerifs* entertained this idle Prince with fair ſhews; they abuſed his Bounty, and with the fourth part of the rich Spoils which they had taken in ſo many Towns and Provinces, they lull his diſtruſt aſleep; moreover, they ſend him the Tribute due for the Realm of *Morocco*. *Hamet* takes upon him the Name of King of *Morocco*; *Mahomet* that of King of *Sus*, in the Town of *Taradente*; and by a good Intelligence betwixt them, they make themſelves fearful to all thoſe Countries; ſo as they have nothing more to fear, than the Threats and Vengeance of Heaven. They then began to contemn the King of *Fez*, and plainly to deny the Tribute of *Morocco*, pretending for their Reaſon, that they were iſſued from the Line of *Mahomet*. This Contempt made the King of *Fez* to open his Eyes: he finds the Faults paſt, by the Intereſt of the preſent: he ſees the *Xerifs* had abuſed the Liberty which he had given them: whereupon, he went to Field with an Army of eighteen thouſand men, and planted his Siege before *Morocco*; but, as his Enemies Party was ſtronger than his, ſo he was chaſed away, and his Army defeated at the Paſſage of a River. Thus the *Xerifs* became peaceable Poſſeſſors of *Morocco*. The Peace of the Country made theſe men idle, and Idleneſs drew the two Brethren into Quarrel: they muſtered up their Forces and came to fight; where, after two bloody Battels, *Mahomet* being Victor, he took his eldeſt Brother *Hamet*, deprived him of his Realm and Liberty, and made him end his days miſerably in Priſon. Thus God doth puniſh the unjuſt Spoiler of another mans Good. We ſhall ſee in their Poſterity the continuance of the ſame Quarrel.

They kill the King of Morocco.

The King of Fez begins to fear them.

The King of Fez beſiegeth Morocco, and is defeated.

1612

Quarrels betwixt the *Xerifs*, and the eldeſt taken by his Brother.

Mahomet, ſettled Sovereign in *Morocco* by Blood and Fratricide, *as monſtrous in Ambition as in Cruelty, he turned the ſame Arms wherewith he had beaten and vanquiſhed his Eldeſt Brother* againſt the King of *Fez*, (whoſe Improvidence had ſuffered *Mahomet* and his Brethren to take Arms, under the deceitful Title and Pretence of making War againſt the Chriſtian *Portugals*) he aſſaulted him with great Forces, vanquiſhed him, took him Priſoner, and deprived him both of Realm and Life. Thus the *Xerifs*, in the Perſon of this *Mahomet*, became Sovereign Princes of *Fez* and *Morocco*. The Victory ſo happily gotten of ſo many Nations, made him fearful; but by his Cruelty he drew upon his Deſcendants the juſt Judgment of him who puniſheth the exceſs and enormity of Crimes unto the fourth Generation. His Poſterity was miſerable, the unjuſt deſire of Reign, (one ruining another) entertained the Brethren in perpetual Diſcord: for *Cidan*, now King of Fez and *Morocco*, was lately expelled by his Brother *Kequi*; but afterwards, Fortune changing her inconſtant Favour, *Kequi* was purſued by *Cidan*, defeated, and forced in the Year 1610 to ſave his Life in *Algarbe* in *Portugal*. *Abdalla*, the Son of *Kequi*, ſeeing his Fathers Affairs thus deſolate, retires himſelf towards the Mountains in the Province of *Sus*; where, finding opportunity to annoy his Uncle *Cidan*, he made daily Incurſions upon his Territories, with ſome Troops of *Arabians*, who had joyned with him, being two hundred Horſe and two hundred Foot. But finding this to be a long courſe to attain unto the Conqueſt of the Realm from whence he had been expelled, he bethought himſelf, that ſome certain counterfeit Fictions in Religion, had in former times brought in his Grand-father, and made him abſolute Lord of a great Country; wherefore he made uſe of a Prophecy, forged in his ambitious Spirit: and to work an Impreſſion in the Peoples Minds (eaſie to be moved with a Paſſion of Religion) he ſent certain religious Mahometans through the Country, with a ſhew of holy Simplicity, who went preaching from place to place, That one *Falquere*, a Man of holy Life, had given unto a Son of his a Drum of an admirable power and vertue, commanding him expreſly, to keep it carefully, untill that a Prince called *Abdalla* ſhould come into *Morocco*, being expelled by the Injuſtice of his own Blood; and that then he ſhould beat his Drum, and that the People at the ſound thereof might go to the War with all ſafety; that it ſhould be helpful to them, give Peace to the Realm, and ſettle all the Cuſtoms and ancient Laws to their common content. Thus they preached this Prophecy, the which they ſaid was now accompliſhed, ſeeing that this Prophetical Drum had been found, that *Abdalla*, the eldeſt Prince of the Houſe of the *Xerifs*, had cauſed it to be beaten, exhorting all men to follow the War for the common good of the Country.

The *Xerifs* aſſault the King of *Fez*.

Cidan and *Kequi*, Brethren, expell one another.

A Prophecy invented by *Kequi*, and preached by religious Turks.

Theſe Vanities being preached by theſe ignorant and malicious religious Turks, increaſed the Number of *Abdalla*'s Party: whereof *Cydan* being advertiſed, he ſent a great Army againſt him into the

1612 the Province of *Sus*, under the command of *Alcas Elmye*, to hinder the progreſs of his Deſigns: But *Abdalla* finding theſe Forces to approach, retired himſelf towards the Mountains, from whence he might charge the Enemies Army; the which he did ſo happily, as within few dayes he cut off five thouſand of his men. This ſucceſs did ſo advance his Affairs, as his Troops increaſed daily, ſo as *Cydan* was forced to go with new Forces to fight with him, the which was the cauſe of his ruin: for at this time he was inveſted, and notwithſtanding the good ſucceſs of his falſe Propheſies, lightly grounded upon the ſound of a Drum, he was defeated, and ſlain in this year one thouſand ſix hundred and twelve.

Abdalla defeated and ſlain notwithſtanding his falſe Propheſies.

The miraculous King of *Mauritania*.

Gotardus, diſcourſing of this miraculous King of *Mauritania*, whom he calls *Muley Hamet*, writeth, that he was charmed with deviliſh Incantations, and freed from all outward force, carrying himſelf for a Divine Prophet; That with one hundred and eighty Horſe, and two hundred Foot, he went to make Head againſt *Cidan* King of *Morocco*, having forty thouſand men; That his Souldiers, (who were ſo few in number) being ready to flye, he perſuaded them with a cunning ſpeech to prepare to fight; That comming near to *Cidan*'s Camp, they might ſee a great Army of Enemies fighting againſt them, in which there were five thouſand of *Cydan*'s Army overthrown, and the reſt in great diſorder put to flight, and yet *Muley Hamet* had not advanced with his Troops; That within a few dayes after, comming with his Troops tired to a River ſide, he commanded them not to drink, nor waſh in that River, which if they did they would die: but ſome neglecting his command, thinking to quench their thirſt, died ſuddenly. He took many places in thoſe mountainous Regions, which no man had formerly ſubdued; his Forces increaſing daily, having five and twenty thouſand men; and vowing to go againſt the Chriſtians, more came unto him; ſo as he went againſt *Cidan* with a good Army, who likewiſe attended him, *Hamet* perſuaded his Souldiers that no ſhot could hurt them; ſo as they aſſaulted *Cydan*'s Camp with ſuch fury, as within leſs than an hours ſpace they had ſlain above ſix thouſand men, and put the reſt to flight. They write, that *Hamet* loſt not above four or five, and that ſuch as were ſtruck with any Bullet, ſhewed Marks but no Wounds; and that the great Ordnance either ſhot over them, or the Powder vented out at the Touch-hole, and wrought no effect. *Cydan*, having loſt his Brother in the Fight, fled with all his Treaſure, to recover new Forces, and in the mean time *Hamet* made himſelf Maſter of the whole Country. There were certain *Hollanders* admitted unto him, whom they found ſitting upon a Carpet made of the Bark of Trees, having a white Shirt, and a long Garment upon it, a red Cap on his Head, bare Thighs and red Shooes, a Bag about his Neck, and in it he hid his Alcoran, a ſhort crooked Sword and a Dagger hanging by him. Being ſaluted by the *Hollanders*, he willed them to ſit down by him, telling them that he was ſent from Heaven, to purge the World from evil, and to prepare the Law of God; to expel *Cydan* out of his Kingdom, and to reſtore Peace unto the World: wherefore he adviſed them not to have any commerce with *Cydan*, nor to aſſiſt him in any ſort. They obſerved many marks upon his body; he had one blue Tooth, all the reſt being white. Hair upon either Shoulder, a red Circle in the Palm of his right-hand, and the proportion of a Spur upon his right foot. Having gotten ſome Victories againſt *Cydan*, and taken the Town of *Morocco*, in the end his deviliſh Art failing him, he was ſlain, as you have heard. Such were the Affairs of *Africk*, in the Realms of *Fez* and *Morocco*.

Cydan, King of *Fez*, overthrown.

1612

A great Drought and Sterility at *Algier*.

But in *Algier* a wonderful drought had cauſed cruel Combuſtions; it had ſo devoured the fruits of the Earth before their Maturity, as there followed a wonderful Famine throughout the whole Land. The Turks attributed the cauſe of their Miſery ſometimes to their Sins; then to the coming of the *Moors*, who had been expelled out of *Spain*, as a pernicious Vermin; and ſometimes to the licentiouſneſs of Chriſtians, which lived in thoſe Places. Wherefore in the beginning of *May* this Year, the Judge of the Town ordained, That all the Turks ſhould make their devout Prayers to *Mahomet* their Prophet, to obtain Rain, ſo neceſſary in that Country; that the *Moors* ſhould depart the Town within three days upon pain of death; and that all the Chriſtians, as well free as bond ſlaves, ſhould cauſe their Heads and their Beards to be ſhaven: this was ſpeedily executed; for the Turks Decrees require a prompt Obedience. But the miſerable *Moors*, which could not get out of *Algier* within their three days prefixed, detained either by Sickneſs, or ſome other Impediment, were all cut in pieces. For thirteen days, there was nothing ſeen within the Town but Proceſſions of Turks without Turbants, crying and howling, after their manner, to obtain Rain from their falſe Prophet: but he which commands Sovereignty over times, from whoſe hand proceeds fair Weather and Rain, and which makes the Earth fruitful, held the Pipes of Heaven yet ſtopped, to open them at more religious and holy Vows than the ſuperſtitious Clamours of theſe Infidels. For *Bernard Murroy*, of the Order of the Redemption of Captives, hearing that the Turks meant to revenge their Miſeries upon them, and to ruine a little Chappel which the Chriſtian Slaves had in the Priſon, for the pious Exerciſes of their Religion, obtained (by the means of *Bius*, Conſul of the French in *Algier*) permiſſion from the Dovan, or Turkiſh Judge, to make Proceſſions, and to pray unto God to ſend them the dew of Heaven, which was ſo neceſſary for them. All the Chriſtian Slaves which were Priſoners continued their Devotions for the ſpace of five days: but on the fourth day, being the Eighth of *May*, there fell ſuch abundance of Rain upon *Algier*, as theſe poor Chriſtians, ſeeing their Prayers heard in the midſt of the Enemies of their Faith, gave infinite Thanks unto God for his great Mercy and Grace.

Proceſſions of the Turks.

The devout Prayers of the Chriſtians obtain rain.

Theſe miſerable Chriſtian Slaves were ſtill detained in Irons and cruel Servitude, by this Accident. This *Murroy*, of the Order of the Redemption of Captives, accompanied with two others of the ſame Order, had redeemed to the number of one hundred thirty and ſix: but when he was ready to embarque them, their evil Fortune would have it, that the Gallies of *Genoa* running along that Coaſt, landed ſome men near unto *Algier*, where they took the Baſſa's Son of that Town, with many other Turks, and amongſt this number a Virgin of *Algier*, of a very noble Family, and of as rare a Beauty, for the miſery of theſe Slaves: for that when as the Baſſa's Son and the others were redeemed by a Frigot which the Father had ſent, the fair *Algerian* Virgin was ſtill detained by a Captain of the *Genowayes*, who had retired to *Caly*, an Iſland adjoyning, there to ſatisfie his Deſires with more eaſe, upon the frail and fading perfection of this fair Slave, which had deprived him of his Liberty. In the mean time the Baſſa of *Algier*, ſeeing his Son returned with the other Turks, and not the *Algerian* Virgin, commanded that the hundred thirty and ſix

1612 Slaves ſhould be put again into Irons, with the three religious men which had redeemed them. Thus this feminine Beauty, or rather, the Paſſion of this *Genowayes*, who holds the Poſſeſſion ſo dear, makes a great number of Chriſtian Souls to ſuffer by inſupportable Servitude, howſoever they of his Nation (flattering his diſordered luſt) ſay, that his Deſire to win her to God, and to make her a Chriſtian, cauſed him to keep her ſo carefully.

A Capuchen of *Florence* in captivity at *Tunes*.

Theſe ſuffered in *Algier* the loſs of their Liberty; but a *Capuchen* Friar, a *Florentine* by Nation, endured at *Tunes* the loſs of his Life, by the Cruelty of the *Moors* chaſed out of *Spain*, and retired into thoſe Countries. This religious Man, being a Slave among the Turks, attended daily from *Florence*, or from ſome other place, money to redeem his Liberty: but it happened, one day diſputing in a Barbers Houſe with a Moriſque concerning Chriſtian Religion, the Zeal of his Faith tranſported him ſo far, as to ſay among divers Turks, That his Religion was better than that of *Mahomet's*. Theſe Words, took criminouſly in that place, were reported by the Moriſques to the Cadi, or Judge of the Town, whom they preſt with ſuch horrible Clamours and Cries, as he pronounced Sentence of Death againſt this *Capuchen*. He was delivered unto them, and they ſtripped him naked, leading him with Infamy through *Tunes*, ſome ſpitting in his Face, others caſting Dirt at him, and ſo they led him out of the Town, where they tied him unto a Poſt; and they, being cruelly incenſed by a Speech which a Morrabour or religious Turk ſaid unto them, *That he among them that gave him not one Blow with a Stone, ſhould be no good Turk*, ſtoned him to death, where afterwards they burnt his Body, and threw the Aſhes into the Wind.

He dies gloriouſly for the Faith.

The Martyrdom of this *Capuchen* was followed by the conſtant Confeſſion (amidſt the violence of Torments) of a penitent Renegado, a *Florentine* by Nation, and Captain of the chief Gally of *Chio*: Four French-men being Slaves in the Iſland of *Chio*, in the Patron or chief Gally, belonging to the Bey or Governour of the Iſland, they reſolved to recover their Liberty with the hazard of their Lives, to return into *France*, and carry into ſome Port of Chriſtendome that Gally, being the beſt appointed in the whole Haven. They drew unto their Party the Captain which commanded, being a *Florentine* Renegado. Their Enterpriſe ſhould have been executed when as they ſhould go to Land to cut Wood. But whether that the Scribe were treacherous to his Companions, or tranſported with ſome raſh Indiſcretion, being on Land, he ſpake theſe Words aloud, the which overthrew both the deſign, and them that projected it; *Ho, we ſhall return into Chriſtendom.* A Turk which was near, taking hold of theſe words, reported them unto the Patron; who preſently laid hold upon the Scribe, and drew from him the confeſſion of all the Enterpriſe. He preſently ſends an hundred Men towards the Gally, to ſeiſe upon the four *French* Slaves and the Captain. But theſe five made ſuch a generous reſiſtance, as if the other Slaves, who were for the moſt part *Moldavians*, or of the Provinces which border upon the black Sea, had had the Courage to fight for their Liberty, without doubt the *French-mens* Enterpriſe had ſucceeded happily. But what could five Men do againſt an hundred? yet they ſlew fifteen, and wounded many: the four *French-men* were all ſlain, and the *Florentine* Captain was taken alive, and reſerved to the rigour of a cruel Death. For they continued him ſix hours together in moſt violent Torments, he ſtill calling upon the holy and ſacred name of *Jeſus Chriſt*, even to the laſt gaſp, and deteſting the Errours and falſhood of the Law of *Mahomet*. This happened in *October* this Year.

They enterprize of ſlaves.

They are diſcover'd.

They defend themſelves, and kill many.

The Captain cruelly executed.

1612

The United Eſtates ſend an Ambaſſadour to *Conſtantinople*.

A little before, the Eſtates of the united Provinces, and Count *Maurice*, ſeeing the loſſes which the Ships of *Holland* ſuffered in the *Mediterranean* Sea, many of them being taken by the Turkiſh Gallies, and a great number of their men made ſlaves; to the end they might be freed from that danger, and have a ſafe Paſſage for their Ships, and procure liberty for their Captives, they reſolved to make a League with the Turk. Wherefore they ſent *Cornelius Hage* to *Conſtantinople*; who, not only willingly accepted of that Embaſſy, but performed it with ſuch diſcretion, as he purchaſed great credit and commendation to himſelf, and much profit to the Provinces. He had reſolved at firſt to paſs through *Hungary*; but he found ſo many croſſes and obſtacles, by ſome that were Creatures to the Pope and *Spaniard*, as he was forced to turn out of the way, and fetch a great Circuit. Firſt of all, he fell into the hands of the Arch-duke *Ferdinand*, who cauſed him to be examined, and admoniſhed to deſiſt from his purpoſe: After which he was toſt at Sea, and in the end, having ſurmounted all dangers, he recovered *Conſtantinople* the firſt of *May*. He had expreſs charge from the United Eſtates to labour for three things: The firſt was, to treat of the deliverance of the *Hollanders* that were Slaves. The ſecond, to make a League with the Turk. And the third, to obtain from him a free Navigation for the *Hollanders* throughout all the Seas and Ports of his Empire.

Preſents ſent from the United Eſtates to the *Turk*.

This Ambaſſador was brought to kiſs the Sultan's hands, and was favourably received; he preſented unto his Majeſty in the name of the Eſtates of the United Provinces, his Letters of Embaſſy, with the Preſents which follow: Three Birds of Paradice, of rare and precious Plumes, wonderful goodly to behold, and valued at eight hundred pound ſterling; two Veſſels of Chriſtal, wonderful rich and beautiful; four other Veſſels made of Fiſhes Bones, whereas the art ſeemed miraculous in the graving; forty pieces of Cloth of Gold of divers colours; five pieces of Silk, five of Damask, five of Silk watered, and five plain; a Staff of an Elephants Tooth graven with admirable induſtry; a Parrat ſhut in a Cage of Chriſtal, ſo artificially done, as no man could diſcern the entry; and many fair and rich Table-cloths of *Holland* Cloth, moſt part powdred with flowers to the Life, and wrought in their lively colours. The which the Sultan did accept with admiration. All theſe things ſhew ſufficiently, That the Eſtates from the beginning, or ſoon after, have raiſed Handy-works as well as Traffick and Navigation to the higheſt point of Perfection.

A League betwixt the Turk and the Hollanders.

The ſixth of *July* following, the League was ſworn betwixt the *Othoman* Emperour and the United Provinces of the Low-Countries, by the which *Achmat* promiſed to cauſe to be ſet at liberty all the *Hollanders* that were detained ſlaves within his Empire. That the Traffick ſhould be free for the *Hollanders* Ships throughout all his Seas and Havens; and moreover he granted, That the Eſtates ſhould have an Ambaſſador reſiding at his Port. This alliance with the Turk, for the which they have ſo often, and with little reaſon blamed the *French*, hath been affected and ſought by the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards*, as we have ſaid elſewhere; and now by the *Hollanders*, whoſe Eſtates proceed in all their Affairs with ſuch weight and meaſure, as it ſeems they do nothing but with great Reaſon, and to good purpoſe.

About

1612 The Moriſques chaſt the Jews out of *Pera.*

About the end of this Year, the Jews, whoſe long Slavery throughout the World reproacheth their wretched and miſerable Obſtinacy, received at *Pera*, near *Conſtantinople*, the weight of a furious Tempeſt which fell upon them, ſtirred up againſt them by the malice of the *Moriſques Granadines* chaſed out of *Spain*, and retired into the *Levant*. Theſe, having by Preſents won the favour of the Cadi, or Judge of the Place, who was a Negro, newly ſettled in that Charge by the Grand Viſier *Naſſuf*; they obtained Power from him to thruſt all the Jews out of *Pera*, and to ruine their Synagogues. This Power they executed with all violence: And yet theſe miſerable Jews durſt not make their Complaints unto the Magiſtrate, except one of their Sect which dwelt in the Iſle of *Chio*; who, being then at *Conſtantinople*, and ſuppoſing he had more credit than the reſt, went to complain to this Cadi Negro, who preſently cauſed to be given unto him five hundred Blows with a Cudgel, inſtead of doing him Juſtice; ſo dangerous a thing it is to have to do with ſuch unjuſt Magiſtrates.

The Practices of the Moriſques againſt the Chriſtians of *Pera.*

The Inſolencies of the Moriſques tranſported them farther; for after they had expelled the Jews out of their Dwellings, they threatned to do unto the Chriſtians at *Pera* as much as had been done unto them in *Spain*; and they bragged, That they would ſeiſe upon their Churches, and eſpecially on that of the Franciſcan Friars, the which was reaſonable fair for the Place. But the *French* Ambaſſador, having made his Complaint to the chief Viſier, he prohibited them to make any attempt againſt the Chriſtians, upon pain of rigorous Puniſhment. This Prohibition ſtayed their fury; but they did not forbear in all other occaſions to ſhew the cruel Hatred they owe unto Chriſtians: ſo as through all the *Levant*, in all Encounters where they came, they did a thouſand times more miſchief than the Turks themſelves.

The Turks Army for *Tranſilvania.*

At the ſame time the Sultan *Achmat* had drawn together a mighty Army to go into *Tranſilvania*; he cauſed it to camp in Tents near unto *Conſtantinople*, about his Palace, called *Darut Baſſa*, whither the People of *Conſtantinople* went to walk, and to ſee his Forces; within few days after, he went to *Adrianople*, meaning from thence to proceed in his Voyage, carrying with him all the chief Men of his Port, except the Baſſa of the Sea, or Admiral, who remained at *Conſtantinople*, to have a care of the City. And, for the greater ſafety thereof, this Baſſa cauſed an Edict to be publiſhed, That no man ſhould go out of his Houſe, nor keep any Light in it after the ordinary Cry, which is made an hour within night, when as the *Taliſmans* crying from the tops of their Moſques, invite the People to make the Sala, or Prayer. After the Publication of this Ordinance, he ſent certain Chaoux to intreat all the Ambaſſadors reſiding at the Port, not to ſuffer their People to go out by night, to the end that their liberty might not ſerve as a dangerous Example to others. But notwithſtanding all the Baſſa's Entreaties and Prohibitions, three Engliſh-men of the Ambaſſador's Train went out by night into the Street, where they were met by the Provoſt of *Pera*, who took them, and preſently (without reſpect of the quality) cauſed either of them to have an hundred and fifty blows with a Cudgel; and then committed them to Priſon, the doors whereof are never opened but with a ſilver Key; ſo ſtrictly do they obſerve in *Turkey* the orders of the Princes Lieutenants, without exception of Perſons.

A Queſtion for the Patriarchſhip of *Conſtantinople.*

About the end of the Year, the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* (by reaſon of divers Complaints made againſt him, was deprived by the Grand Viſier, and one *Cyrillus*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, (a learned and religious Biſhop) was (much againſt his Will) preferred to the place. The former Patriarch hereupon excommunicated all ſuch as had wrought his Overthrow, but he himſelf was baniſhed into the Iſle of *Rhodes*. In his Paſſage, the Bark wherein he went was caſt upon *Mytilene*, in which Place he renounced all Right and Claim to the Patriarchſhip before the Biſhop of that Place, and reſigned it to the Biſhop of *Patras*: whereupon the Biſhop came from *Patras* to *Conſtantinople*, and laboured with the Viſier *Naſſuf* for the place; who, upon promiſe to pay him fifteen thouſand Chequines (which is ten thouſand more than they were wont to pay) made him a Grant thereof: which *Cyrillus*, the late elected Patriarch, underſtanding, he came with all the *Grecians* to expoſtulate the Buſineſs with the Grand Viſier; who anſwered, That he was to do what he could for the Emperour's Profit, and nothing againſt it; wherefore, if they would give ſo much as the other had promiſed, *Cyrillus* ſhould continue in the Place: which the People were very willing to perform, but *Cyrillus* refuſed it; and ſo the other was made Patriarch; who preſently ſent for the old Patriarch to come from *Rhodes* to make Peace with him, for that they held not his Excommunication juſt, being not deprived by a Council, but only by the King. About the ſame time, *Naſſuf* the Grand Viſier, ſent for the four Ambaſſadors, of *England*, *France*, *Venice*, and the States of the Low-Countries; and the reaſon why he ſent for them, was, to raiſe their Cuſtom One in the Hundred more than the Merchants had formerly paid.

1612

The Enterpriſe of the Great Duke of *Tuſcany* upon *Agliman.*

Whilſt that the Sultan *Achmat's* Army drew near to *Tranſilvania*, and fortified the Places which he held in thoſe Countries, *Coſmo de Medicis*, Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, bent his generous Deſigns againſt the Fort of *Agliman* in *Caramania*, in old time called *Cilicia*, a Province, which in the Writings of Antients, hath been honoured with two famous Cities, that is to ſay, *Tharſis*, the Country of *St. Paul*, and *Seleucia*, the Fort and Port whereof is called *Agliman*, a Haven which in old time hath contained within its boſome the fearful Forces of the Pyrates of thoſe days; from thence, in former times, hath come forth a powerful Army of Pyrates with a thouſand Sail, ſo proudly rigged, as many of them had their Sails of Purple, the Tackling of Gold Thread, and the Oars garniſhed with Silver, marks of the Spoils of above four hundred Cities ruined by thoſe Pyrates, who ſtruck a terror even to the *Romans*, and forced them, to avoid their Fury, to ſet to Sea that great Fleet whereof *Pompey* the Great was General.

1613.

The number of the Dukes Gallies, and the Commanders.

The Trophy, erected upon the Walls of *Agliman*, of the Heads of forty *Florentines*, loſt in a Ship called the Proſper, by the ignorance of the Captain which commanded in it, made the Great Duke to ſtudy to have his Revenge for this Affront; and his deſire to abate the Pride of the common Enemy, elevated his Mind to generous Enterpriſes. In the end of *March*, this preſent Year 1613, he armed ſix Gallies, under the Command of the Admiral *Inghirami*, the which he manned with ſix Companies of Foot, commanded by *Julio de Conty*, called *Montano*, General at Land, beſides forty Knights of the Order of S. *Stephen*, and a good number of Gentlemen Adventurers, among the which was *Don Petro de Medicis*. This Fleet parted from *Ligorne*, and came to *Civith Vecchia*. In the beginning of *April* they took in many Noblemen and Gentlemen of *France*, which attended them, and would be Partakers in the Enterpriſe; the which were, the Earl of *Candale*, eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Eſpernon*, *Cipierre*, *Themines*, *De Vic*, *Monterrault*, *De la Tour*, and his Brother *Boiſſiere*, *Villandre*, *Verneuge*, *Du pleſſis*, *De la*

1613 *Motte magnus*, *Avenes*, *Del Tour*, *Sainct Cyre*, *Monplaiſir*, and *Loyres*. About mid *April* the Gallies landed in the night near unto a little Town in *Aſia* the Leſs, called *Jeronda*, held for that *Geronda* of the Antients: but their Deſcent was fruitleſs, they found it deſart by the flight of the Inhabitants, who had prevented all Surpriſes. They returned again to their Gallies, and ſailing towards the Eaſt, they encountred three Veſſels like unto their Caramouſals, the which they ſet upon and took; and about the Fifteenth of *May*, having ſcoured the *Levant* Seas, they reſolved to attempt *Agliman*. Upon the way they took a Veſſel called *Grippe*, which inſtructed them of the Eſtate of the Fortreſs. They underſtood there were two Gallies of *Cyprus* in the Port, that the Place was well furniſhed with all things neceſſary, and guarded without by a good number of Horſe-men, and that within few days after, one of the ſaid Gallies ſhould come out of the Port of *Agliman*, and go to the Iſland of *Pappadula*, to fetch a new Maſt. *Inghirami* thought to prevent it, carrying his whole Fleet thither, the which he laid cloſe in the Iſland to ſurpriſe the Turkiſh Galley; but it having diſcovered his Fleet, put out to Sea, and with ſpeed returned to the Port of *Agliman*; to give the alarm unto the Country. Notwithſtanding the Chriſtians reſolved to aſſault it, they went with their Fleet to the Port *Cavalier*, twelve miles from *Agliman*, from whence they ſent a Long-boat to diſcover; the which brings them word, that the whole Country was in Arms. Theſe News might well have daunted the Courages of ſome that had been leſs generous; yet they paſs on, and about three of the Clock in the Morning they came near the Shore, being covered with the ſilence of the Night, ſo as before ſix of the Clock they had made their Landing about a mile and a half from the Port. The Seignior of *Montano*; and the Earl of *Candale*, with ſome few choice men, landed firſt, to diſcover: a mile from the ſhore they encountered the Turkiſh Horſe-men, yet notwithſtanding *Montano* commanded they ſhould finiſh their landing, leaving twenty men for the Guard of every Gally.

They land at *Jeronda*.

The ſtate of the Fort of *Agliman*.

The Chriſtians land at *Agliman*.

This Fort of *Agliman* is ſeated upon a little pleaſant Hill, which looks towards the South. It extends from the Hill unto the Sea-ſhore: the form is oval: that part which is next to the Sea is altogether Meridional, and the other, which riſeth upon the top of the Hill, looks towards the North. The Walls are built of good Stone and Lime, the which are five Fathom high, and one broad. Within there was a Wall drawn from the Eaſt to the Weſt, which divides it into two unequal parts, the which they enter by a Port ſet in the midſt. The Circuit of the Wall is fortified with eight Towers, whereof five be whole, and three are but half Towers; thoſe which be whole are of a ſquare form, and have five fathom in breadth on either ſide; the half Towers have the ſame greatneſs on the one ſide, and half as much on the other: their height exceeds not the Wall, unleſs it be that which is built on the top of the Hill, which is raiſed about eight foot above the Wall. Within the place were above three hundred fighting men, with ſtore of Victuals, Munitions for War, and many pieces of Ordnance; without, there were an hundred Horſe ſcouring up and down for the Guard of the Place; and within the Port there were two Gallies, a Caramouſal, and a Greek Brigandine, with ſome hundred and fifty fighting men. The Order of the Combate was divided after this manner, by the Seignior *Montano*, General at Land. For the principal Port, and that of the Retreat, he ſent two Companies of Foot, which were thoſe of the Admiral's Gally,

The Deſcription of *Agliman*.

The Fortifications of the place.

The Order given to aſſault the Fort.

of the Captains Gally, and of S. *Stephen*, with the Petards, all under the charge of the Earl of *Candale*, who leading this forward, diſcovered a *Corps de gard* of Turks, Horſe and Foot together; whereof he preſently advertiſed the General, ſending him word, That he would march on towards the Fort, and if the Turks came to charge him, he would cut them all in pieces. Many adviſed him to return to the Gallies: but *Montano* allowed the Reſolution of the Earl of *Candale*, who paſt on without Charge untill he came within one hundred and twenty Paces of the Wall, where he was charged before by the Musket-ſhot of the Fort, behind by the Gallies, and in flank by them of the Mountain, with ſuch horrible howling and crying out, as the Marriners which carried the Petards being wonderfully amazed and terrified, let them fall to the Ground, and fled away. The Baron of *Mont Terault*, and *Tiel*, a Souldier of *Languеza*, took them up. They continued their way untill they came within fifteen Paces of the Walls, whenas twenty Turks ſallied forth, with a ſhew to make Head againſt the Earl of *Candale's* Troops: but ſeeing themſelves too weak, they fled preſently again back to the Town. The Earl advanced to enter with them, but the Port was ſo ſoon ſhut as they were in; wherefore they muſt of force ſet the Petard to work. But whilſt they were making it faſt unto the Gate, there fell a ſhower of great Stones upon the Troop, wherewith *Don Pedro de Medicis* (who would needs be preſent) was overthrown and half ſlain; *Callonge*, *Mont-terault*, *La Tour*, *Davanes*, and *Deltour*, had taken upon them the Charge of the Petard, every one carrying a part, to put it ſpeedily in Execution.

1613

Whilſt they were thus buſied to force the Port, the Serjeant-Major came unto the Earl of *Candale*, and told him, that there was a Troop of three hundred Muſqueteers come to charge him: theſe were two Beys which came out of the Gallies with their Troops, by reaſon of the bad Guard which the two Companies that *Montano* had left to hinder their Landing, had kept. The Earl of *Candale* had left part of his Troop with the Petard, and turned Head with the reſt againſt theſe Beys, to charge them; but they had no meaning to fight, but only to make a ſhew; and ſeeing they ſhould be forced, if they ſtaid longer, they took their way towards the Mountain, and in their Retreat made many ſhot. The Chriſtians purſued them not, holding it fitter to return to the Petard, the which played ſo happily, as it made a Breach capable for three men to enter in front.

The Turks come from their Gallies to charge the Chriſtians.

The Squadron of the Knights of S. *Stephen*, commanded by the Commiſſary *Lenzoni*, and the Company of the Gallies of S. *Mary Magdalen*, with two Ladders were to aſſault the High Tower. The Company of the Admiral-Gally, with one Ladder, had Charge to force the Port of the Retreat; and the Company of the Gally of S. *Jean* was to fight with the Gallies and Veſſels in the Haven: all theſe Troops (being led by the General *Montano*, and by Captain *Alexander* of *Tarentum*, Serjeant-Major) marched in order towards the Fort. But the Petard, having effected, as we have ſaid, the Earl of *Candale* entered firſt with all his Troop, and ſuddenly ran unto the Port of the Retreat, there to apply a Petard, the which alſo very fortunately made a Breach. The Turks, amazed at the noiſe and forcing of their Gates, fled unto their Walls; ſome retiring into their Towers, and others into the Barricadoes which they had made in the Street. At the ſame inſtant they planted two Ladders on the lower part of the Town ſomewhat near adjoyning to the Sea, whereof one was broken, with the loſs of them that were upon it; by the other (notwithſtanding that

The Turks retire to their Towers and Walls.

1613 that the Turks Horſemen charged them behind) a good number of Chriſtians got up to the Walls, making their way by their Arms, whilſt that the reſt put the Turks to rout; having taken their Cornet, they forced the reſt for to flie unto the Mountains. The ſquadron of Knights, with the Company of the Gally of Saint *Mary*, having had a longer way to march, came not to the Tower upon the Hill, until that after the Petards had wrought their Effects; ſo as the Turks being retired thither, they found very great reſiſtance, beſides the attempts of the Enemies Horſe which charged them behind; thrice they planted their Ladders againſt the Wall, and could not make them hold. Wherefore the Commiſſary *Lanzoni*, having performed as much as a brave and reſolute Man could do in that Extremity, reſolved to leave that Place, and go unto ſome other where he might be more neceſſary; but being the laſt to make the retreat, he was ſhot through with two Muſquet Bullets, and ſuddenly ſlain. The Company of the Gally of Saint *John* vanquiſhed the two Gallies in the Port, whereof *Inghirami* the Admiral at Sea went to take poſſeſſion as ſoon as they had given him a ſign, having the other two Veſſels at Liberty.

The Commiſſary of the Knights of St. *Stephen* ſlain.

A bloody Combat within the Fort.

Within the Fort, in the Towers, and at the Barricadoes, the Combat was hot and dangerous, the Turks had deſpair and the advantage of the place on their ſides, The Chriſtians, thruſt on by their Valour and conſtant Reſolution, preſt them on all ſides; there was nothing to be ſeen but Blood, wounded or dead men; but much more of the Turks ſide than of the Chriſtians. In the end, after a Combat of four hours, the Turks fainted, ſome were taken, many were ſlain, and the Chriſtians obtained an abſolute Victory; but as it could not be made without loſs of their Enemies, who made great reſiſtance; ſo there were five and fifty Chriſtians wounded, of which number *De Vic*, a *French* Gentleman was one, who had a Musquet ſhot through his Thigh, going to charge a Troop of Turks which were retired into a Tower; and ſome Gentlemen were ſlain; among the which was young *Boiſſierre*, a *French* Man, whoſe Valour in this Action made them that ſaw him fight ſo generouſly, conceive a certain hope, that he would have proved a valiant Captain, if Heaven had lent him longer Life. The ſorrow for his Death was general, as well among the *Italian* Troops, as among thoſe of his own Nation. *Vernegue* and *Villandre*, two other brave *French* Gentlemen were alſo ſlain. The dead and the wounded were carried unto their Gallies; they emptied the Fort of all the Artillery, Munition for War, and Victuals; the Trophy of forty *Florentines* Heads was beaten down, and all the Houſes ſet on fire. *Agliman* being thus ruined, they ſhipped their Booty, with three hundred and fifty *Turkiſh* Slaves, having freed about two hundred and forty Chriſtians which were in Irons. The two *Turkiſh* Gallies were drawn out of the Port, and carried away with eight other Veſſels. In this Triumph, as the Admiral *Inghirami* bent his Courſe towards *Ligorn*, upon the way a *Turkiſh* Caramouſal came into the midſt of the Fleet, as into a Toil; it prepared to defend it ſelf, the Patrons Gally inveſted it, but not without loſs; for the Turks made ſo great reſiſtance, as there were above fourſcore Chriſtians hurt or ſlain; the Earl of *Candale* fighting alone at the Prow of the Gallie, by the Permiſſion of the General. But this Caramouſal being taken, and the *Florentine* Mariners entered, it ſplit and ſunk ſuddenly. The great Dukes Gallies encountered ſome other ſmaller Veſſels, the which they took, and afterwards arrived happily at their Port.

The Chriſtians get the Victory.

Agliman ruined.

The twelfth of *Auguſt* following, *Octavio* of *Arragon*, General of the Gallies of *Sicily*, by the Commandment of the Duke of *Oſſunna*, Viceroy in that Realm, parted from the Haven of *Palermo*, with eight Gallies well armed and manned, to ſail into the Levant. His firſt touch was upon the Iſland of *Cerigo*, where he underſtood that the Admiral Baſſa of the Sea was gon from *Conſtantinople* with thirty Gallies, bending his Courſe to the Iſland of *Negropont*, whereas ſixty others attended him in the Haven; and moreover, that the Gallies of *Rhodes* prepared to go and joyn with him, all which Naval Fleet was to fall upon *Soria*, againſt the Turks Rebels.

1613 The Voyage of the Gallies of *Sicily* in the *Levant*.

Notwithſtanding theſe News, *Octavio* continues his Courſe unto the Iſland of *Nicaria*, where he underſtood by a Greek Veſſel, that the Turkiſh Admiral meant to ſend twelve Gallies to *Rhodes*, to guard certain Veſſels of the Fleet, which came from *Alexandria* by the Channel of *Samos*. True it is, that of twelve which were together when they parted, two were ſent by the Bey, or Captain which commanded them, into the Iſland of *Chio*, ſo as there remained but ten together. *Octavio* reſolved to charge theſe ten, cauſing his Fleet to row that Day, and almoſt a whole Night as ſecretly as they could, along the Shore of the firm Land of *Natolia*, and at the break of day he arrived at the Cape of *Corvo*, twenty Miles from *Chio*; from whence he ſent his long Boat to diſcover. But in the mean time he himſelf eſpied the ten Turkiſh Gallies not far from him; at ſight whereof he ordered his Gallies for Battel, with ſuch Diligence, as at Sun riſing he was about the Enemies Gallies, and had inveſted them. At his firſt approch he diſcharged all his Ordnance, and then with his Admiral-Gallie he joyned with the *Turks* Gallie which carried the Standard; the *Spaniards* entered, ſlew and maſſacred all that made reſiſtance; the Combat began at the *Prow*, from whence they went to the *Poop*, whereas the Bey, or Commander of the ten Gallies ſtood, whom they forced to yield. In the mean time the other Gallies of *Sicily* charged the Turks ſo furiouſly, as they took five, all great Veſſels carrying Lanthorns; two fled towards the Land, hoping to ſave themſelves, but the Turks had ſcarce leiſure to leap to Land, and to flie into the Country, abandoning their Veſſels to the *Spaniards*, who purſued them; the other three Gallies having gotten ſome advantage eſcaped by flight; ſo ſeven only came into the *Spaniards* Power, in the which they had a very rich Booty, freeing above a thouſand Chriſtian Slaves, which were at the Chain, and by a ſtrange change of Fortune, putting into their Places the Turks which had inchained them. Among the moſt remarkable of the Priſoners, were the Commanders of the ten Gallies, called *Sinan*, Bey of *Grigna*, in the Iſland of *Cyprus*; the Bey of *Alexandria*, (Son to *Pial Baſſa*, who was defeated in the Battel of *Lepanto*, by *Don John* of *Auſtria*) and ſome Beyes or Captains, and Patrons of Gallies.

They ſet upon the Turkiſh Gallies.

This Summer, the Emperour *Matthias* being gon to an Aſſembly of the States at *Presburg* in *Hungary*, in the mean time *Sigiſmund Battori*, who had been Prince of *Tranſilvania*, and ſo great a Terror and Scourge unto the *Turks*, as he made *Sinan Baſſa*, having an Army of one hundred and fifty thouſand Men, to flie thrice within ten days from before him, and would never endure the ſight of him, he having but forty thouſand Men in his Army. But afterwards being the Author of his own Misfortunes and Miſeries, by his inconſtant Humors, he came and lived a private Life at *Prague*; and there died of an Apoplexy. At the Eſtates of *Presburg* they conſulted of the for-

Sigiſmund Battori, Prince of *Tranſilvania* dies at *Prague*.

1613 fortifying of their Frontier Towns, and manning them with good Garriſons, knowing the Infidelity of the Turks, and doubting they would not obſerve the Truce. But there was ſome queſtion in the Aſſembly, touching the Admiſſions of *Germans* into their Garriſons; for that the *Hungarians* maintained they had a decree to the contrary; and yet they could not defend themſelves without the aſſiſtance of *Germans*; but in the end it was concluded, That the *Germans* ſhould be admitted equally with the *Hungarians* into their Garriſons, but all other ſtrange Souldiers ſhould be excluded.

The Turks threaten War in *Hungary.*

The Turks in the mean time had burnt and ſpoiled many Villages in *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*, carried away many Chriſtians captive, and committed many other Acts of Hoſtility, ſo as all Men feared a new War in *Hungary*, but by the Providence of God it was diverted. For Sultan *Achmat*, marching toward *Tranſilvania* with a mighty Army, hearing upon the way that *Bethlem Gabor* was acknowledged Prince, under his Protection, he turned head toward *Conſtantinople*. But rather for the Affairs of *Aſia*, whereas the Rebels of *Natolia* had ſpoiled and burnt many Places; and a certain *Arabian* had revolted againſt him, and uſurped the Title of King, having drawn unto his party fifty thouſand Rebels, the which did over-run and ſpoil the Country which yielded Obedience unto him, threatning his Dominions with a greater Ruine. Moreover, the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* had made many Incurſions upon his Places joyning to the *Red-Sea*, and had taken and ſpoiled *Aden*, a Place of importance; ſo as all theſe Diſorders haſtened his return into *Thrace*, to ſend Forces againſt his *Turkiſh* Rebels, and his *Spaniſh* Enemies. But approaching near unto the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, the Plague was ſo violent, as he ſtayed at *Adrianople* until the end of this year, when as that horrible Contagion ceaſed. He then came unto the City, whereas he made a very ſtately entry; before him there marched his ordinary Guard of five and twenty or thirty thouſand Janizaries, all the Baſſaes of the Court followed him in very great Pomp, and before him there marched on Horſeback two of his Sons, the Pillars and hope of his Affairs, the eldeſt being about ſeven or eight years old. Paſſing before the Moſques, the Taliſmans or Prieſts of his Law, made Sacrifices in his Preſence for his Proſperity, they ſlew Sheep and Oxen upon Altars erected for that purpoſe, then they cut them in pieces, and gave them unto the People.

A great Plague at *Conſtantinople.*

The Grand Seignior being returned to *Conſtantinople* after the great Plague, notwithſtanding the Turks hold a firm Opinion of Predeſtination, and that they ſhall not die before their appointed time, and that the time of their Death is written in their Fore-heads; yet, apprehending the Infection, by the Advice of ſome about him, he commanded all the Dogs in the City of *Conſtantinople* to be tranſported unto *Scutary* in *Aſia* (a Town antiently called *Chriſopolis*) and for the due Execution thereof, every Houſholder was to bring his Dog firſt to the Cadi (which is the Judge of the Place) and to receive from him a Tuſcary or Ticket for his Paſſage, or elſe he was to pay four Chequines; by which means there were tranſported to the number of fifty thouſand Dogs. The reaſon of his ſending them away, was, for that reading the Acts of his Father, he found, that thirty years before, he had ſent away all the Dogs for fear of the Infection. The Sultan commanded allowance of Bread and Fleſh to be carried every day to ſuſtain them, which not ſufficing, the Inhabitants were much oppreſſed, and ready to fall into Mutiny; but by the Advice of his Muphti, they were at length tranſported from thence to an Iſland that was not inhabited, ſome ſixteen miles from *Conſtantinople*, where they all periſhed. Before their ſending away, the Grand Seignior had propounded to his Muphti, to have them all ſlain; who made anſwer, That every Dog had a Soul, and therefore it was not fit to kill them.

All the Dogs ſent out of *Conſtantinople.*

1613

The Turks are wonderful glad when they win any one to their Religion, and ſeek by all means to ſeduce Men either by Force or by fair Perſwaſion; whereof you may ſee an aſſured Proof, by a Jew, who being turned Turk, ſoon after buying of Grapes of another Turk, fell at variance with him about the weighing of his Grapes; from words they fell to blows, and the Jew-Turk beat the other, which he endured very patiently, to encourage him as it ſeemed in his new Religion. Soon after, another Jew came to the Turk who had been beaten, and demanded of him why he had ſuffered himſelf to be ſo abuſed? Who anſwered, You ſhall beat me as much if you will turn Muſulman; ſo zealous they are to win Proſelites.

The care of the Turks to win Men to their Religion.

This year, in *October*, the Turks obſerving their Feaſts of *Bairan*, (which is our *Eaſter*) the which they obſerve twice a year; a Turk having drunk Wine too freely (the drinking whereof is forbidden amongſt them, although they love it well, and drink in private) was apprehended, and carried before the Grand Viſier; who ſeeing the fact verified, inflicted this Puniſhment upon him, to have boiling Lead poured into his Mouth and Ears, the which was ſpeedily executed.

A ſevere Puniſhment of a Drunkard.

Bethlem Gabor, as you have heard, was ſeated quietly in the Principality of *Tranſilvania*, the Sultan ſupported him, and had ſent *Sarder Baſſa* with an Army againſt *Gabriel Battori*, who was then in Poſſeſſion; but, weak both of Men, Money, and Friends, he was not able to make head againſt them; ſo as being abandoned of his Friends, and hated of his Subjects for his Tyranny, he grew into deſpair, and was ſlain by his own Souldiers. Whereupon, the Country yielding Obedience to *Gabor*, *Sarder Baſſa* retired out of *Tranſilvania* with his Turks. Yet afterwards, ſome neerly allied to *Battori*, (deſiring to revenge his death) cauſed ſome alterations; and others, ſeeking to get the Province from the Emperour, had ſurpriſed *Huſt* and other Places in his Name. The Sultan hearing this, wrote his Letters to the Noblemen and States of the Province. They were not ignorant, he ſaid, that ſince the time that *Tranſilvania* yielded obedience to his Predeceſſors and him, they had always lived in peace under his Protection, and had often deſired and obtained Succour againſt their Enemies: That, when as *Botſcay* had been annoied by the *Germans*, aſſiſting him with great Forces, he had ſhaken off the Yoke: That when as *Battori*, his Succeſſor, had lived after his own Will, they ſent *Bethlem Gabor* with Complaints to his Court by their general conſent, and did eaſily obtain Forces to free the Province from Tyranny. He being taken away, now a wiſhed day began to ſhine, the Clouds of Tribulation being all diſperſed; That he had held *Bethlem* worthy to ſucceed *Battori*, and to enjoy that Province. Wherefore he had commanded all the Noblemen to ſubmit themſelves unto him, and to enjoy a wiſhed Peace: That *Bethlem* had ſent to adverti ſe him of the new Practices of the *Germans*; wherefore he had given charge to the Baſſaes of *Temeſwar* and *Agria*, and to the Prince of *Valachia* to be watchful to repell all theſe Injuries; admoniſhing the Noblemen to yield ſpeedy Obedience to *Bethlem*; to which end he had ſent them thoſe Letters, that upon the ſight thereof they might be admoniſhed of their Duties; and if the *Germans* ſhould attempt any thing, they ſhould make

The Sultan admoniſheth the *Tranſilvanians* to obey *Bethlem.*

1613 make reſiſtance until the coming of his Forces: and following *Bethlem* in all things, they ſhould acknowledge him for their true and lawful Prince, and continue conſtant in their Fidelity, leſt they ſhould provoke his wrath againſt them, and draw upon themſelves ſome great miſery; writing much more to the like effect; concluding, That he had fully purpoſed and reſolved, not to ſpoil any one Village, or any Fort in *Tranſilvania*, nor to do any wrong to any man, nor ſuffer it to be done by any other, but would defend that Province from all oppreſſion. Wherefore he would have the Emperour advertiſed, that if he meant to have the Peace inviolably kept, he ſhould cauſe the ſaid Places of *Tranſilvania* to be preſently reſtored unto the Prince, or ſignifie his mind unto him by Letters.

Emir Facardin abandoned Sidon.

Of theſe Rebels of *Aſia*, whereof we have made mention, the Governour of *Sarepta* or *Sidon* in *Syria*, called *Armil* or *Emir Facardin*, he, who gave entrance into his Port to the *Florentines*, and received them in their Courſes to the *Levant*; hearing that the Baſſa of *Damas*, and the Baſſa of the Sea, with the Gallies which he brought from *Conſtantinople*, and the threeſcore which he took at *Negropont* (whereof we have made mention) came to fall upon him with a mighty and fearful Army, he left his eldeſt Son within *Sidon* with Forces to command there, and in other Forts about it, and, flying from a furious tempeſt of Enemies, he went to Sea with three Ships, to retire himſelf into *Europe*, with his four Wives, ten Children, ſeventy Turks, and fourteen thouſand pound weight in Gold. He arrived at *Legorn*, and went from thence to *Florence*, under the Protection of *Coſmo de Medicis*, Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, whoſe hands he kiſſed, preſenting unto him a Cuttelas very curiouſly wrought, and inriched with Stone, and two Jewels to the Great Dutcheſs, to the value of ſix thouſand Crowns. This Turk, though he had no Faith, yet he found Faith with this Prince of *Tuſcany*. *Coſmo* received him, defraied him and all his Train, furniſhed him with Money, whether it were by way of Gratification, or that *Emir* had conſumed his own; and by all kind of Courteſies made this Infidel ſee what difference there is to fly unto the Protection of a Chriſtian Prince, or to have recourſe unto a Mahometan. They ſay that *Emir* made many goodly overtures for the ſettling of the Chriſtians in *Aſia*; but to attempt it with a good and happy Succeſs, it ſhould be neceſſary that moſt of the Chriſtian Princes would joyn their Wills and Arms together for the general good of Chriſtendom. It is true, that the Great Duke *Ferdinand*, deceaſed, and *Coſmo* his Succeſſor had made proof of their good Intentions, by many generous Enterpriſes againſt the Turk. But one Prince alone cannot do all.

Emir retires to Florence.

The great Duke receives him courteouſly.

A horrible tempeſt in the Mediterranean Sea.

Theſe things paſt in the Year 1613, the end whereof concludes with the Fury of terrible Tempeſts in the *Mediterranean* Sea. The Tenth of *November*, a fearful Tempeſt, full of Lightning, Thunder, and furious Winds, was the cauſe of the loſs of many Gallies and Ships in the Port of *Genoa*, with a great number of Perſons which were miſerably drowned; which loſs was valued at above 800000 Crowns. The Port of *Naples* was not free from this Storm, and the Gallies of *Malta*, with a great number of other Veſſels received great loſs.

The Grand Seignior, having this Year and the Year before ſuſtained great loſs of his Gallies and Frigots in the *Mediterranean* Sea, by the Gallies of *Naples*, *Malta*, and *Florence*; and in the black Sea by the *Coſſacks*, who had taken two Gallies well manned and richly laden; he now impoſed a great Tax upon all his Chriſtian Subjects towards the reparation of that loſs, ſo as he charged the *Armenians* to build him nine Gallies at their own coſts, and the *Grecians* twenty; ſuch is the Tyranny of the Turk, as he ſuffers not the poor Chriſtians to injoy any thing, but he finds means to pull it from them. 1613

A conſpiracy againſt the Viſier Naſſuf.

The Grand Viſier *Naſſuff* held his credit with the Prince, at whoſe return from *Adrianople*, many Janizaries (to whom the Viſier was very odious) conſpired to kill him as he ſhould enter in at the North Gate coming from *Adrianople*, and had placed themſelves there for the effecting of what they had intended; but coming near unto the Gate, the Sultan (being ignorant of what was intended againſt the Viſier) called for him to ſpeak with him, keeping him by him until he was entred into the City, by which means he eſcaped the pretended practice. Soon after, *Naſſuff* invited the Sultan to a ſumptuous Feaſt, and within few days after the Emperour ſealted the Viſier; who, preſuming upon his great credit, cauſed all the Croſſes in the Church of St. *Sophia* (which is one of the goodlieſt Monuments in *Conſtantinople*) to be thrown down, and all the Images to be defaced, the which had ſtood intire ever ſince the Chriſtians Government.

The King of Perſia's cruelty againſt the Armenians.

The Year before, the King of *Perſia* had put to death 1200 *Armenians* upon a falſe Sugeſtion, as if they had intended to reconcile themſelves to the Pope: that King hating the Papiſts, and yet ſuffers divers Jeſuits to live in his Dominions. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's Chaplain, deſirous to know the reaſon of the *Perſians* Cruelty, conferred with the Patriarch of the *Armenians* which reſided at *Conſtantinople*, (for there are two Patriarchs, whereof the one is under the *Perſian*, and the other at *Conſtantinople* under the Turk) who told him, that it was true he had miſerably ſlain many of their Nation by the cunning practiſes of an *Armenian*, who had counterfeited Letters from the Patriarch of *Armenia* to the Pope, by which the Patriarch, with his whole Church of *Armenians*, made offer to reconcile themſelves to the Church of *Rome*, and to acknowledge the Pope as their head; intreating the Pope to write to the King of *Perſia* to give them leave to do it freely; which Letters the Pope receiving, he rewarded the Meſſenger bountifully, and returned Letters by him to the King of *Perſia*, whereby he intreated him to ſuffer the *Armenians* in his Country to uſe their Conſciences freely. The King of *Perſia* having received theſe Letters, grew into a great rage, cauſing many of them to be put to death, ſaying, *That if they would be obedient to the* Pope, *he could expect no ſervice nor obedience from them*; notwithſtanding the Papiſts ſaid that this was done directly by the Patriarch; but the *Armenians* affirm that it was the practice of a counterfeit Rogue. Soon after there arrived three Ambaſſadors at *Conſtantinople*; the one was a *Circaſſian*, the ſecond a *Georgian*, (and this was a Biſhop) and the third a *Mingrelian*, all of them to complain of the *Perſians* Oppreſſion and Cruelty, imploring Succours from the Grand Seignior for their ſupport. Preſently after them arrived a *Perſian* Ambaſſador, whom the Sultan would not admit to Audience, until all Controverſies were concluded betwixt himſelf and the Emperour, which was then in queſtion, the Sultan having ſent one *Gaſparo* (ſometime a Servant in the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador's Houſe) to treat with the Emperour, by whoſe means at length all matters were reconciled betwixt them.

1614 The Year 1614 began by the horror of great Prodigies, which were ſeen in divers parts of *Hungary* and *Sileſia*. Over the Town of *Vienna* in *Auſtria*, the Heavens grew [illegible] red and fearfully dark-

The fall of Naſſufs fortune.

1614 The fall of *Naſſufs* Fortune.

darkned, as they feared that either the laſt day was come, or elſe there would follow ſome horrible Effuſion of Blood. But all theſe ſigns had no other effect this year, than the ruine of the great Fortune and prodigious Authority of *Naſſuf Baſſa*, Grand Viſier of the Turkiſh Empire, formerly one of the greateſt and moſt fearful Rebels which had carried Arms in *Aſia* againſt the ſovereign Power of their Sultan; but to comprehend more plainly the fall and declining of his Fortune, let us behold him in his beginning and firſt riſing. He was the Son of a Greek Prieſt, born in a little Village near unto *Solonica*, and having been taken by the Tribute, which the Turks exact from Chriſtians upon their miſerable Children, taking one of three; he was carried very young to *Conſtantinople*, and there ſold for three Chequines or Sultanins (every one of which is not above eight Shillings ſterling) to an Eunuch of the Sultans, who nouriſhed and bred him up till he came to the age of twenty years, and afterwards ſold him to a Steward of the Sultanaes Houſe, to ſerve him in his charge; who finding this Slave to have a Spirit capable of greater Affairs than the Houſehold, employed him in the overſight of the building of a rich and ſtately Moſque, which the Sultana cauſed to be erected at her charge: In this place he gave ſuch proof of his Wit and Judgment, to the Sultanaes content, that ſoon after ſhe gave him the Government of her Houſhold.

The beginning and progreſs of *Naſſufs* Fortune.

The Sultan had a will to employ him in his Service, and retired him from the Sultanaes Houſe into his Seraglio, where he was honoured with the charge of the Capigi Baſſa, or Captain of the Porters or Uſhers of the Seraglio; from thence he was advanced to the Dignity of the Baſſa of *Aleppo*, and ſoon after he was made Governour General of *Meſopotamia*. The Commodity of his Government (frontiring upon *Perſia*) ſtirred up his ambitious Thoughts, and his diſordinate deſire to become Sovereign of that Country, and made him to entertain many Practices with the King of *Perſia*, an antient Enemy to his Maſter. The report of his Practices came to *Conſtantinople*, the Sultan is advertiſed, he knows the ambitious and ſtirring Spirit of this *Naſſuf*, and finds that he is very profitable for his Service, if he can by any mild courſe withdraw him from his Diſloyalties and Intelligences with the *Perſian*: wherefore he diſſembled the Knowledge of his treacherous Deſigns, and to gain him the more powerfully, he gorged his ambitious Appetite with the greateſt Dignity of his Empire. After the Death of *Murath Baſſa*, he honoured him with the Place of Grand Viſier, and gave him all his Goods, and in his Place made him General of the Army againſt the *Perſian*, with promiſe to give him his Daughter in Marriage. Thus was *Naſſuf* advanced by his Dexterity, Wit, Diligence, and Treachery, to the greateſt Charges of the greateſt Empire of the World.

He is made Governour of *Meſopotamia*.

Naſſuf made Grand Viſier and General of the Army.

He entered into *Perſia*, as Lieutenant General of his Maſters Army, with the which he made ſo great a ſpoil, as he forced *Ka Abbas*, King of *Perſia* then reigning, to demand a Peace; and after that he had granted him a ſurceaſe of Arms, he brought his Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, to conclude this Peace to his Maſters benefit, as we have formerly obſerved. He enters in Pomp, preſents a Million of Gold unto his Emperour, is well received at the Seraglio, much made of by the Baſſaes, but more by the Sultan, who cauſed him to marry his Daughter. Fortune having thus advanced him to the height of Greatneſs, not being poſſible to climb higher, ſhe overthrows him, and doth precipitate him to the loweſt degrees of Miſery. The Sultan fears his Spirit, too head-ſtrong by reaſon of his Ambition; he grows jealous of his Actions, and about the end of the year concludes his Ruine and Death. The commandment is given to *Boſtangi Baſſa*, that is to ſay, the Sultans chief Gardiner, and overſeer of his Seraglio, and all his Houſes, one of the goodlieſt Dignities of the Court. *Naſſuf* was at that time ſick in his Houſe, *Boſtangi* goes thither to viſit him, and to cauſe him to be ſtrangled, being accompanied only with ſeven or eight Men; for that he would not give any ſuſpition of the commandment he had received from his Maſter. Being come unto his Lodging, he demanded to ſpeak with him, and *Naſſuf* excuſed himſelf by his Servants, by reaſon of the diſcommodity of his Health; but the *Boſtangi* (who would needs execute his Commiſſion) replied, that he could not return to the Sultan (who had ſent him to have certain News of his Health) before he had ſeen him, to be the better aſſured. At this reply *Naſſuf* grew diſtruſtful, and would without all doubt have been far from thence in ſome place of *Meſopotamia*; but, believing whatſoever happened to him was inevitable, he commanded them to ſuffer the *Boſtangi* to enter; who at his firſt approach entertained him with many Complements of Courteſie; and having demanded ſome queſtions of him touching his Health, he drew out of his Pocket a commandment from the Sultan to *Naſſuf*, to deliver unto him the Seals of the Empire; the which being preſently done, he drew out another commandment unto him, by the which he was enjoyned to ſend him his Head; then *Naſſuf* cryed out aloud, and deſired to ſpeak with the Sultan; but the *Boſtangi* anſwered, that he had no Commiſſion to conduct him to the Seraglio, but to cauſe his Life to be taken away preſently: upon this refuſal, he intreats him to give him leave to waſh himſelf in the next Chamber, to the end that his Soul (ſaid he) ſhould not depart this World in the Eſtate of Pollution, according to the Turks belief, who hold the waſhing of the Body for a true Purification. This Favour was alſo denied him; he ſaw there was no Remedy in his Miſery, nor any hope of Grace; *Boſtangi Baſſa's* Followers (which were ſeven or eight Capigies) being come to take away his Life, and environing his Bed, which was an undoubted ſummons that he muſt die; in the end he reſolves, and turning himſelf unto theſe Executioners, he willed them to do their Duties; whereupon they fell to work, and caſting themſelves upon him, they put a Cord about his Neck, and fought to ſtrangle him; but ſeeing that the fatneſs of his repleat Body would not ſuffer them to take away his Life preſently, they cut his Throat with a Knife. His Death could not be diſpleaſing to the Chriſtians, ſeeing that all his Deſigns tended to their Ruine; he had perſwaded his Maſter to break the Peace with the Emperour, the French King, and the *Venetians*, promiſing him to make him Sovereign Monarch of the whole World, to the end he might keep his Spirit in Action, and make himſelf neceſſary to his Maſter, and live more ſafely in Combuſtions than in a Calm; whereas the Envy and Malice of his Enemies gave him a thouſand furious Aſſaults. Thus *Naſſuf Baſſa* ended his Days and Fortune; before Governour of *Meſopotamia*, General of an Imperial Army, and Grand Viſier of the Turkiſh Empire; advanced to theſe ſupream Dignities, by the great Actions of his Mind, but overthrown ſhamefully to his Ruine by his boundleſs Ambition. Doubtleſs it is a difficult thing for a Favorite that is inſolently audacious, to continue long in Grace with his Prince, eſpecially when his unreſtrained Ambition hath once broken the Bounds which Reaſon pre-

He forceth the *Perſian* to a Peace.

1614 The Sultan reſolves to be rid of him, and concludes his Ruin.

Naſſufs Throat cut.

An inſolent Favorite continues little.

1614 preſcribeth to thoſe that Fortune advanceth by the Favour of her blaſts; and that he follows obſtinately that pernicious Curioſity to know by Experience how high Fortune can advance him; for then the deſire to enjoy that which is above his Condition, blinding the Eyes of Reaſon, he doth precipitate himſelf by his raſh and inſolent Actions, to the loweſt ſtep of ſhameful ruine. The Riches of *Naſſuf* were ſo great and proportionable to his Fortune, as after his Death they found about two Buſhels of Diamonds and Pearls. Doubtleſs this rich and ſtately ſpoil deſerved to be enjoyed by ſome great Prince. So the Emperour *Achmat* ſeiſed thereon, and applyed it to his Ghaſna, or Treaſury.

The Treaſures of *Naſſuf.*

Another Diſcourſe of *Naſſuf's* Death.

This Death of *Naſſuf* is related after another manner by one who was then preſent in *Conſtantinople*, the which I have thought good to ſet down as I have received it from him. The Grand Seignior being much diſcontented with his Viſier; whether inceníed with ſuch as were near about him, who both hated and feared *Naſſuf*, or doubting his great Power; he diſſembled his ſpleen, until he might find ſome Opportunity for Revenge; yet it was not ſo ſecretly carried, but *Naſſuf* had diſcovered the Sultans Diſcontent, and laboured by great Gifts both to the Sultana and others to pacifie him, providing notwithſtanding in the mean time for his own ſafety, ſending Horſemen daily over into *Aſia*, meaning to paſs himſelf when he had gathered together a ſufficient ſtrength. But it fell out on the ſeventh day of *October*, it being the Turks Sabboth, that the Moon about eight a Clock at Night was much eclipſed, which made the Turks expect ſome great accident. The Grand Seignior having formerly cauſed it to be bruted, That he would about that time paſs to viſit a new Moſque which was then in building; whereupon all the Streets were hanged with Cloth and Arras, and as the Cuſtom was, a cry went before, that *The King cometh*; at the noiſe whereof *Naſſuf* (being then in his Houſe) could not but deſcend to ſalute the Sultan as he paſſed by: But it was not the Grand Seignior himſelf, but his *Boſtangi Baſſa*, whom he had cauſed to be attired like himſelf, who being come before *Naſſufs* Door, and finding him ſtanding there, he ſuddenly leapt unto him, and told him that the Sultans Pleaſure was he ſhould deliver up his Seal; whereat *Naſſuf* being amazed, demanded what the Sultan meant to do? to whom the *Boſtangi Baſſa* replied, That he knew not what the Princes Pleaſure was, but if he would not deliver it, he would return with that Meſſage unto him. Whereupon *Naſſuf* drew the Seal out of his Boſom, and delivered it. Then the *Boſtangi* Baſſa ſhewed him a Warrant for his Head, whereunto he preſently ſubmitted himſelf, and then two Jamoglans ſtrangled him; his Head was preſently cut off, and carried to the Grand Seignior, and his Body thrown into the Street to be trampled on.

It was thought his Death was procured by the Wife of *Cicala*, Baſſa of *Babylon*, who had been manzoled or depoſed from his Government there by *Naſſuf*, and was a little before returned to *Conſtantinople*, but could not be allowed by *Naſſuf* to have any acceſs unto the Grand Seignior's Preſence; whereupon he wrote a Letter unto the Sultan, wherein he accuſed *Naſſuf* to have conſpired with the *Perſian* to kill him, charging him with many things that were Capital. This Letter he ſent by his Wife, who was Siſter to the Grand Seignior; who coming to his ſpeech (although ſhe were watchfully obſerved by *Naſſuf* who was then preſent) left the Letter in his Chamber, and ſo departed. The Grand Seignior finding this Letter, and reading it, was much incenſed againſt *Naſſuf*, and never quiet in Mind until he had his Head. He writes, that there were found in *Naſſufs* Houſe eighty Bags of Gold, each Bag containing ten thouſand Chequinos. After *Naſſufs* Death, *Mechmet* Baſſa, Admiral at Sea (who had married Sultan *Achmats* eldeſt Daughter) was made chief Viſier; he was born in *Conſtantinople*, and the firſt natural Turk that was ever Viſier ſince *Conſtantinople* was won. 1614

You have heard in the laſt years Relation, of ſome Combuſtions which were growing in *Tranſilvania*, and how the Sultan had written his Letters of an imperious ſtile unto the Nobility and States of the Country, which Letters were fixed up in form of a mandate throughout all *Tranſilvania*, and in Places that were neareſt unto thoſe Noblemen which held the Emperours party againſt *Bethlem*. At the ſame time *Bethlem* defeated certain Troops of the Garriſons at *Lippa* and *Genoa*, which over-ran and ſpoiled the Country, ſo as the Governours of thoſe Places were forced to ſend to *Vienna*, to demand Succours of Men and Money. A Chiaus arrived at that time at *Lintz*, bringing Letters unto the Emperour from the Grand Seignior; the firſt point contained in them, was, That his Imperial Majeſty ſhould have a care, that the Peace made betwixt them for twenty years ſhould not be violated; and that for his part he deſired to obſerve it faithfully. Secondly, That in the name of his Imperial Majeſty they had ſeiſed upon certain Places in *Tranſilvania*, a Province which had been always under his Protection, which received her Princes from his Hand, and the which he was bound to defend againſt all her Enemies. Thirdly, That the Tyranny of Prince *Battori* had conſtrained him to give Forces to *Bethlem Gabor* to diſpoſſeſs him of the Principality of *Tranſilvania*: That after the death of the ſaid *Battori*, he had inveſted *Bethlem* to govern it in Peace. Fourthly, That ſince he had been advertiſed how that ſome Troops of Souldiers in the Name of his Imperial Majeſty, contrary to the Articles of Peace, had by force ſeiſed upon the Forts of *Haſt* and *Vivar*, and the Towns of *Nagipan* and *Tonaſe*. Fifthly, That he had given expreſs charge to *Bethlem*, not to ſuffer any Enterpriſe, no not upon the leaſt Village of his Principality, to the end that nothing might be ſeparated; but that he ſhould repell the Injury of the Aggreſſor by force. Sixthly, That he exhorted his Imperial Majeſty, if he deſired the continuance of the Peace, to command his People to make Reſtitution of the places uſurped, or to ſignifie his Intention by the ſame *Chiaus* which he had ſent, to the end he might be fully aſſured: for the miſchief increaſing daily, the affection which he bare to the good of Peace might grow cold:

Letters from the Sultan to the Emperour.

The Emperour received the Chiaus at *Lintz* very honourably, and gave him an anſwer to his Letter wrapt in a piece of Cloth of Gold; the ſence whereof was, That this buſineſs being of great importance, his Imperial Majeſty deſired to confer with the Princes Electors, and States of the Empire to hear their Advice; after which he would acquaint him with his laſt Reſolution; and finally, that he ſhould reſt aſſured, that for his part he would not attempt any thing contrary to the Peace. In the mean time there was a petty War in *Hungary*, the Incurſions and Spoils betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks beginning again. The Turks of the Garriſon of *Agria* going forth, took a great number of Cattel from the Chriſtians; eight hundred *Haiduks* advertiſed of this Spoil, purſued them ſo ſpeedily, as they met them before they came within half a League of their retreat, when they made them to leave

The Emperours anſwer to the Turk.

The Turks Courſes in *Hungary.*

1614 their prize, and put them to flight. The Baſſa of *Agria* adverti ſed of the defeat of his out-riders, goeth forth with one thouſand Men, to recover the Booty from the *Haiducks*, which they had newly taken from his Souldiers; but after a ſharp encounter he loſt his Horſe, and two hundred of his Men, being forced to make his retreat. From thence the *Haiducks* went and ſpoiled the Country about *Solnoc*; ſome others holding the ways of *Strigonium* or *Gran*, took a Turkiſh Bride with her Baggage, who was going from *Gran* to *Buda*; and four hundred Boothalers (ſome of them *Haiducks*, and the reſt *Turks*, Men which hold no party but their own, to rob with the more impunity) ſeiſed upon *Balaſter*, *Micolut*, and *Felac*; but at the recovery of them, they were ſo ill intreated by the *Hungarians*, as moſt of them loſt their Lives there, and the reſt were taken Priſoners.

The Eſtates of *Bohemia*, *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, and others.

But the Emperour, who deſired to be reſolved in the important Buſineſs of *Tranſilvania*, aſſembled the Eſtates of *Bohemia*, *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, *Sileſia*, *Luſatia*, *Moravia*, and *Hungary*, his Hereditary Countries; whom he gave to underſtand, That the Peace was violated in *Hungary*, by the Hoſtilities of the Turks upon the Chriſtians; to whoſe Prejudice Sultan *Achmat* had ſubjected unto himſelf the Provinces of *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, and *Tranſilvania*; this laſt, under the Government of *Bethlem Gabor*, who had made himſelf his Vaſſal. That the Sultan had ſent word unto his Imperial Majeſty, that he ſhould not pretend any thing there, to the end this Country might be wholly united to the Turks Empire. Whereupon he earneſtly exhorted the Aſſembly to conſider wiſely: Firſt, whether *Tranſilvania* ſhould be left wholly in the Turks Power: Secondly, why the Sultan would not conſent to the ratification of the Truce: Thirdly, of the means to make War, if the Neceſſity of his Affairs ſhould force him: Fourthly, to what end the Turk would hinder his Imperial Majeſty, that he ſhould pretend no right to *Tranſilvania*: Fifthly, that the Turk had ſent him an Ambaſſador, who, contrary to the Articles of Peace, had not brought any Preſents: Sixthly, if they ſhould make a new accord with the Turk, to conſider adviſedly, what aſſurance they might take, ſeeing that he would not conſent unto the ſixth Article of the Peace.

The Reſolution of the Eſtates.

Their opinions were divers upon theſe Propoſitions; but all jointly conſented to maintain the Authority of the Imperial Majeſty. The *Hungarians*, only intereſſed in their reſolutions to War, by reaſon of the Spoil of their Country, as a paſſage for all their Troops, they beſought the Emperour, that if he meant to ſend any Forces into *Tranſilvania*, they might have commandment to march ſome other way, and not over their Lands. *Bethlem Gabor* in the mean time laboured to recover thoſe places which had been loſt. Wherefore he provided himſelf to make ſome attempts upon *Lippa* and other places; as at *Borene*, *Genoe*, and *Arach*. The Governours of theſe places gave advice unto *Forgatſie*, Lieutenant General to the Emperour in high *Hungary*, repreſenting unto him the eſtate of their Gariſon, and the fear they had, that if *Bethlem* ſhould once get them into his poſſeſſion and power, he would deliver them over unto the Turk: That if they would ſend them Succours, they would rather endure all extremities than yield to the Enemy. Yet for all this they made no haſte to ſend them Succours; and *Sander Baſſa*, according to the commandment he had received from the Sultan, having brought Forces to *Bethlem*, the ſiege of *Lippa* was reſolved in the Eſtates of *Tranſilvania*. On the five and twentieth of October, the Cannon being drawn out of *Veradin* to batter the Fort, *Bethlem* went to inveſt it, made his approches, and battered it ſo furiouſly, as having made a reaſonable breach, it ſerved firſt for a Paſſage for four hundred Men to eſcape, who left the Governour with very ſmall means to defend the Place, and without hope of Succours from *Hungary*; which made him come to a Parley, promiſing to yield the Place, to have their Lives and Goods ſaved. The Forts of *Genoe* and *Arach*, were delivered by the ſame Capitulation. That theſe three Places ſhould not be put into the Turks Hands, but ſhould remain perpetually united to the Principality of *Tranſilvania*: and to take all intereſt from the Turks, the Eſtates of the Country ſhould pay unto *Sander Baſſa* the Charges and Entertainment of his Troops. Theſe Places thus gotten by *Bethlem*, he manned them with new Garriſons; the Imperials which were within them being retired to *Fortgatſie*, the Emperours Lieutenant in High *Hungary*. But the Eſtates of *Tranſilvania* being aſſembled at *Veradin*, diſputed diverſly, whether they ſhould reſign theſe three Places into the Sultans Power; ſome repreſented the Diſcontentment he would have if they were refuſed, and the inconveniency that might enſue; others were not of Opinion that the Province ſhould be ſo diſmembred, giving the moſt important Places thereof unto Infidels. Thus without conſenting or refuſing the delivery of theſe Places to the Turk, the Eſtates concluded, that Prince *Bethlem* ſhould do therein what he held moſt Neceſſary for the Tranquility of the Country; beſeeching him moſt humbly, to free them from the Imperials, who had ſeiſed upon *Huſt* and *Vivar*. Such were the Affairs of *Tranſilvania* this Year, a Province diſtracted from the Emperours Power by the Turks Practices.

The Deſigns of *Bethlem* upon divers places.

1614 He receives Forces from the Turk, and beſiegeth *Lippa*.

The Sultan cauſeth a Platform to be made at *Conſtantinople*.

At *Conſtantinople*, Sultan *Achmat*, deſirous to beautifie the outward part of his Seraigle with a goodly and Spacious Place upon the Sea ſhore, he cauſed a Platform to be made within the Sea, being eight hundred Paces long, and one hundred and twenty broad. The Provoſt of *Conſtantinople* cauſed this Reſolution to be proclaimed, when as preſently every Houſe ſent forth a Man, and the chief of Families themſelves laboured there in Perſon. There might you ſee the Baſſaes ſerve as overſeers of the Workmen, and the Janizaries and Spahies carrying Scuttles with a wonderful Alacrity; and at all hours of the day there was Muſick of divers ſorts of Inſtruments, to eaſe their Labour, and to encourage them to continue. The Viſiers going to viſit the Work-men, cauſed a largeſs of pieces of Silver to be caſt amongſt them. Thus the Sultan being ſerved with admirable Diligence in this his work of Pleaſure, he ſaw it finiſhed in three Months, having been begun in *October* this year.

Certain Jeſuits go to *Mingrelia* or *Cholcos*.

Whilſt that the Sultan imployed his leiſure after this manner, in the ſtructure of a Platform within the Sea of *Conſtantinople*, certain religious Men parting from *Pera*, had a deſign to build another in the Waves of Infidelity; but more profitable for the Health of Souls. This was an Imployment of Jeſuits into the Country of *Mingrelia*, in old time called *Cholcos*; *Lewis Grangier*, a Prieſt of this Society, with two others of his Order, and an *Armenian* for their Interpreter, parted from *Thrace* with this godly Reſolution, to preach unto the People far from God, the Truth of his Holy Word, and to guide them happily in the way to Heaven. He paſſed the the *Boſphorus* of *Thrace*, and the famous Caſtles of *Leander* and *Hero*, and cut through thoſe Waves, whereas he that could not quench the Fire of his

Paſſion,

1614 Paſſion, quenched the flame of his Life; he paſſed beyond *Pompey's* Pillar, or rather that of the moſt happy *Daniel Stylita*, who erected his towards this Mouth of the Sea: and about the ſixth of *June* this ſame year they arrived at *Verna*, a famous Town in *Thrace*, whereas a Company of *French* Souldiers (whom the violence of Neceſſity had ſome years ſince forced to leave the Emperours Service in *Hungary*) were in Garriſon for the Turk, to defend his Subjects againſt the Incurſions of the *Coſſacks*; yet theſe *Frenchmen* do ſtill obſerve the Catholick Religion inviolably. From thence he ſailed towards *Cordula*, and by the encounter of a little Gallion he entered into the Port of *Trabizond*. Within few days after he was carried in the ſame Veſſel to *Eriſſa* in the Country of *Laxia* or *Laſſia*, which on the one ſide looks towards the Country of the *Georgians*, and the other that of *Trabizond*. The Chriſtian Religion hath been for a long time planted among thoſe People, but very ill manured; for the Fathers, to free their miſerable Children from the Tribute wherewith the Turks oppreſs them, cauſe their Children to be circumciſed after the Mahometan manner, and for the ſame Conſideration they marry their Daughters unto Janizaries. Moreover they abandon themſelves to the Mahometan Impiety, to the end they may be delivered from their inſupportable Oppreſſions, and their Turkiſh Yoke. The Jeſuits found there a good Subject to work upon for the Health of Souls; during their abode there for certain days they catechiſed the Men, baptized the Children, and advertiſed the Women married unto Turks, what they were to do for the maintenance of their Faith: But for that their Commiſſion or Charge was to go unto *Mingrelia* or *Cholcos*, they went again to Sea, and ſailed towards *Govea*, which is the furtheſt Corner of the *Black Sea*: this Haven being very unfit to caſt Anchor in, they followed the Gallies which carried a Baſſa called *Oneze* from *Conſtantinople*, who ſhould treat a Peace on the behalf of Sultan *Achmat*, with the Prince of the *Mingrelians*, and diſpoſe him to pay a Tribute; with theſe Veſſels they went into a Port called *Macrogalo*, nine Miles from that of *Govea*, holding this Place more ſafe than the other: but in Truth there is little aſſurance whereas the Waves and Winds command Sovereignty. A *North-weſt* wind riſing about Midnight on the fifteenth of *September*, drave their Gallies near unto the Shelfs and Rocks, whereas one was broken and caſt away. This Tempeſt continued many days, and during the Violence thereof, another Gallie was loſt, in the which the Jeſuits had been, by good advice they had retired to Land during the Fury of the Sea and Winds. The Jeſuits imputed the cauſe of this loſs, to the Prohibition which *Oneze* the Baſſa had made unto them, not to paſs into *Mingrelia* before the Peace were concluded with the Princes of that Country; the which grew long, by reaſon of the Difficulties which happened in the Treaty. In the end thoſe Princes reſolving to pay the Tribute unto the Turk, it was concluded.

The Shipwrack of certain Gallies.

A Peace betwixt the Turks and the Georgians.

The Liberty of Travel follows Peace, *Grangier* and his Companions proceeded in their Journey; twenty days after their departure from *Macrogalo*, they arrived at *Satrapella*, a place of *Georgia*, whereas the Prince's Viſier came to viſit them, and after the *Georgian* manner ſaluted them, bare headed, and kneeling upon one knee. *Gorel*, Prince of the *Georgians* (who was then at *Barlet*, whereas the Court was to paſs the Feaſts of *Chriſtenmas*) being advertiſed of the arrival of theſe new Chriſtian and French Preachers, ſent for them, received them favourably, and ſaluted them bare-headed, and kneeling. After that he had made them to bleſs his Court, he held many Diſcourſes with them of the Truth of the Roman Church: and of the Popes Power, as the Father of all Chriſtendom; being moved partly thereunto by a feeling of Piety to the Church, and partly from the Inſtructions he received from theſe Jeſuits, ſo as enlightned with a new Beam of the true Light, he intreated *Grangier* to crave Abſolution of his Sins from the Pope, the which (ſaid he) he may give me by the Power he hath from God; promiſing to ſend him his Confeſſion in writing. But underſtanding that the Jeſuit had Power from the Pope to abſolve him, he purged his Conſcience of all his Sins, by a general Confeſſion of his Life. Without doubt the Zeal of theſe Souls, ſo far from Succour, ſhews plainly what the Harveſt would be, if ſo many Labourers were ſent as are neceſſary. A Monk of *Georgia*, who had lived at *Rome* for the ſpace of twelve years, had in former times planted Piety there; the which they of this miſſion did now alter. This Prince *Gorel* intreated the Jeſuits, to ſend him ſome of their Company at their return into *Europe*, promiſing to make great eſteem of them, and to give them a Church, a Houſe, and all things neceſſary for their maintenance. The Prince offered them Silver, which they refuſed, modeſtly excuſing themſelves upon the Rules of their Inſtitution, which forbids them to receive any temporal recompence for the Adminiſtration of Holy things. Thus they parted from this Prince, who commended much their manner of living, and cauſed them to be conducted to *Satrapella*, to continue on their Journey into *Mingrelia*.

1614 *The Reception of the Jeſuits by a Prince of Aſia.*

The third of *February*, in the year 1615, they parted from this Town with the Turks who came to conclude the Peace, and paſſing by the Banks of *Faſſo* (a River which doth water the Country of *Cholchos*, now called *Mingrelia*) they arrived at *Herailcano*, otherwiſe called *Heraclia*, and from thence to *Margoula*, whereas the Prince of the *Mingrelians* (called *Dodran*) then remained, being buſie in the Reception of *Threbis Cham*, King of *Georgia*, who was come thither to viſit him, being expelled his Country by the King of *Perſia*. The Jeſuits were brought to kiſs the Hands of Prince *Dodran*, and of *Lipartia* his Uncle, who was Regent of the Realm during his Minority. They both promiſed them aſſiſtance in their Affairs, ſending them to the Town of *Macaury*, to make their abode there whilſt they were buſied in the Affairs of their Country, the which at that time were ſomewhat confuſed. The Biſhop of that Place entertained them with great Demonſtration of Love, and ſoon after, making a Feaſt to *Threbis Cham*, or Prince of the *Georgians*, he would needs have the Jeſuits aſſiſt at this Banquet, for a great Teſtimony of his Love. It is the manner of thoſe of *Cholchos*, or the *Mingrelians*, as well as the *Georgians*, to ſing at their Meat. The *Threbis Cham* deſired, that the Jeſuits might ſing ſome note when it came to their turn, whereof they excuſed themſelves divers times; But there was no Remedy, they muſt do as others have done; whereupon they ſung the Hymn of *Plange lingua*, *&c.* appointed for Holy Thurſday. Being thus favourably entertained in *Mingrelia*, they make their reſidence at *Macury*, with hope to labour profitably for the Health of Souls, which err in that Country through the Darkneſs of Ignorance, for want of Men to teach them the way of Truth. They are Chriſtians of the Greek Profeſſion, under the command of divers Princes, always in war either againſt the *Turk* or the *Perſian*: They carry the Name of Cham, which is as much

1615

The Cuſtom of the Mingrelians at their Feaſts.

The Salutation of the Georgians.

1615 to ſay, as King or Soveraign Prince. The Sophy had diſpoſſeſt *Threbu Cham*, chief King of *Georgia*, of all his Countries, in the Year 1613, who had retired himſelf into *Mingrelia*, as you have heard.

The Hiſtory of Sultan *Jacaia*, held by many to be Emperour *Achmat*'s Brother.

Whilſt thoſe men labour to ſow the Seeds of true Doctrine of the Apoſtles in the Soil of *Mahometiſm*, a Turk paſſing out of *Aſia*, comes into Chriſtendome to ſeek the light of Truth, and demands favourable aſſiſtance and ſuccours from Chriſtian Princes, to enter into the Poſſeſſion of the Empire, whereunto his Birth and the degrees of a lawful Succeſſion ſeemed to call him by a juſt Title. The diſcourſe of his Birth, of his Fortunes, and of his Pretenſions to the Turkiſh Empire, is comprehended in this following Relation. He termed himſelf the Son of *Mahomet* the Third, Father to *Achmat*, now ſitting in the Imperial Throne at *Conſtantinople*; he maintained, That his Father by four Wives, or Concubines, had had four Sons; that is to ſay, *Muſtapha*, who was ſtrangled, for that he would have diſpoſſeſſed his Father of his Kingdom; *Jacaia* (which was himſelf) *Achmat* now reigning, and *Oſman*: yet it ſeems, by the ſequel of the Hiſtory, that he had another *Muſtapha*; that having been ſent for to come out of *Magneſia* to *Conſtantinople*, his Mother (who had been a Chriſtian, and baptized under the Name of *Hellen*, but was afterward engaged in the Company of *Mahomet* the Third, for the worth of her Beauty, and known in *Turkey* by the Name of the Sultana *Lalpare*) could not conduct him to his Father, for that he was dangerouſly ſick of the Small Pox. And this Princeſs deſired much to find ſome favourable occaſion, whereby ſhe might be freed from the damnable Errors of *Mahomet*'s Law, and return to the wholſome way of the Chriſtian Faith, and retire her Son *Jacaia* far from the power of thoſe bloody Laws, which ſprinkle the Imperial Scepter of him that comes unto the Crown with the blood of his Brethren; ſhe well foreſaw, that *Jacaia*, being but the ſecond of *Mahomet*'s Sons, ſhould one day by his Death ſecure the life of *Muſtapha* his elder, and that the only means to preſerve him, was to retire him into Chriſtendom: wherefore ſhe laboured ſeriouſly in this Deſign, and made uſe of a favourable Fiction; giving it out, that her Son *Jacaia* was dead of the Small Pox; and having ſuppoſed in his place the Son of an Eunuch dead of the ſame Diſeaſe aſſiſted at his Funeral, and by her conſtrained tears ſubtilly diſguiſed her deſign. An Eunuch, called *Aſtam Mehemet* was the faithful Secretary of her Enterpriſe; with him ſhe leaves *Magneſia*, a Province in *Aſia*, and under Pretext to go unto certain Baths thereby, ſhe gets her down to the Sea-ſide, paſſes into *Europe*, and tranſports her Son into *Morea*, ſometimes called *Helleſpont*, and lodgeth him (as unknown) in the Biſhop's Palace in the Town of *Miclo*. *Jacaia* was above nine years old; ſhe held him not ſecure at *Miclo*, but tranſported him into *Macedonia*, under the Habit of a Greek Monk, and retires him into the Town of *Caſſandria*, where ſhe diſcovers unto the Arch-biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, a Man learned and of a holy Life, the quality of her Son, and the deſire ſhe had to make him a Chriſtian; intreating him, in Charity, to take them both into his Protection. This Arch-biſhop lodgeth the Mother in the Monaſtery of religious Women of our Lady of *Theſſalonica*, and gives the cuſtody of the Son unto an Abbot of St. *Michael*, a man learned in all the Sciences, under whom he profited wonderfully, as well in the Greek Tongue as in many goodly Arts. I do well know this to be true, for that I have converſed with him for the ſpace of ſix months, and have ſeen him often in the Company of learned men ſpeak the Greek with as great facility as his Turkiſh and Mother Tongue. He continued in this Monaſtery, under the Care and Government of this learned Abbot, untill the Age of ſeventeen Years; that is to ſay, for the ſpace of eight whole Years; during which time, his Mothers Tears, the holy Inſtructions of the Abbot (but rather the Divine Favour) made him to enter into the way of his Souls Health, and become a Chriſtian. The Arch-biſhop of *Theſſalonica* cleanſed his Soul from the Pollutions of the Law of *Mahomet*, and baptiſed him in the Church of St. *Anaſtaſius*, without the City of *Theſſalonica*; yet ſecretly, for fear leſt the Eunuch coming to diſcover this Myſtery, ſhould abandon him, and publiſh abroad the place and eſtate of his ſolitary abode, and ſo be miſerably taken. Thus *Jacaia* calling himſelf Sultan, being already in ſome aſſurance of the Crown of Heaven by the promiſes of holy Baptiſm, whilſt that he was in the beginning of his Pretenſions to that of the Turkiſh Empire, he leaves the Monaſtery where he had been inſtructed, and in the Company of the Eunuch travels up and down *Greece*, paſſing away (in the length and variety of his Voyage) the impatiency of his Age and Deſires; and for that he would not be known, he takes upon him the Habit and the Licenſe of a Dervis or religious Turk. But when he came to the City of *Siopia*, he underſtood the News of the Death of the Emperour *Mahomet* the Third, his Father, and the rejoycing for the new Advancement of Sultan *Achmat* to the Empire; learning at the ſame inſtant, that *Muſtapha*, his elder Brother, had been ſtangled by the Commandment of his Father. The Diſpleaſure which he conceived for that he had not been bred up at *Conſtantinople* with the reſt, to receive ſo rich a Crown as that of the Turkiſh Empire, made him to waver in divers irreſolutions: ſometimes he would go into *Perſia* to the Sophy, to have Succours from him, and with him to make War againſt his Brother: ſometimes he would ſerve for a ſupport and countenance to the Rebels of *Aſia*, and juſtifie their Party. After many Diſcourſes with the Eunuch touching his Affairs, he ſends him unto the Son of *Peri Baſſa*, a Rebel againſt the Emperour *Achmat*: the Eunuch treats for his Maſter, and receives for him the Rebels Oath; and returning to *Tarſis*, where the Sultan *Jacaia* remained, he conducted him to *Peri Baſſa*, to be the Head of his Troops. *Jacaia* arrives and ſees himſelf obeyed by an Army ready to fight: for the Deſtarden or Treaſurer being ſent againſt the Rebel *Peri* by the Grand Seignior, with ſeven thouſand Horſe and three thouſand Foot, was already upon the Banks of the River *Bardate* ready to give him Battel. The Baſſa's Troops (being leſs in number of fighting men) went to aſſail him. There was a ſharp Encounter; but in the end the Deſtarden was Victor, and the Troops of *Peri Baſſa* defeated, and *Jacaia* being wounded in four places of his Body, was forced to ſave himſelf on the other ſide of the River, where, wandring up and down the Fields, he found relief with a poor Peaſant, and ſoon after with an Abbot there by, who entertained him, and cauſed him to be cured, holding him to be one of the Deſtardens Pages, as he himſelf ſaid.

His Mother was a Chriſtian.

She paſſeth out of *Aſia* into *Europe*.

She diſcovers her ſelf and him to an Arch-biſhop.

Jacaia becomes a Chriſtian.

He joyns with the Rebels of *Aſia*.

The Rebels defeated, and *Jacaia* wounded.

His Wounds being cured, *Jacaia* returns again towards *Greece*, where he finds his Mother, confers with her, and ſoon after with the Eunuch, of the eſtate of his Affairs; and concludes with both of them, to ſend to *Conſtantinople*, to the Viſier Dervis (who at that time was diſcontented with the Emperour *Achmat*) to ſound his Diſpoſition, and to ſee if he might gain him to his Party. The Eunuch undertakes the Voyage; he ſpeaks with the Dervis, and finds him diſpoſed to entertain the Offers of *Jacaia*. The Conſpiracy was concluded, and

He ſends to *Conſtantinople*, and corrupted the Viſier.

1615 and they ſwear to kill *Achmat*, and to ſettle *Jacaia* in the Imperial Throne. Hereupon he tranſ-ports himſelf to *Conſtantinople*, in a diſguiſed Habit: but when as they were ready to execute their Enterpriſe (ſay they) the Dervis died, be it that the Emperour *Achmat* had diſcovered their Deſign, or otherwiſe. Thus *Jacaia*, being fruſtrate of his hope to effect any thing by this means, left the City, and fled towards the black Sea, and then wandred into the Countries of *Valachia* and *Moldavia*, following the Carock of a *Poland* Ambaſſador on foot, untill he came unto the City of *Cracovia*, whereas Fortune had laid a ſnare for him, which brought him in danger of his life; for a Chiaus being come from *Conſtantinople*, and knowing him, he deſired the King of *Poland*, in his Maſters Name, to ſtay him, aſſuring him, that by this means he ſhould ſtrictly bind unto him the Affections of Sultan *Achmat*: The King refuſed his unjuſt Demand, holding himſelf much honoured to ſee his Court the Refuge of unfortunate Princes. After this Refuſal, the Chiaus flies to Treachery: he corrupts certain *Tartarians* of the King's Guard with money, who promiſed to murther *Jacaia*; and doubtleſs they had performed it, if a Flemiſh Embroitherer had not advertiſed him, and lent him his Lodging for certain days to hide himſelf; after which he freed himſelf from danget, and paſt to *Prague* towards the Emperour *Rodolphus*, who was then living.

Jacaia in danger of his life at *Cracovia*.

He retires to *Prague* to the Emperour.

In this Imperial Court he found Relief, and means to eaſe his fore-paſt Miſeries: The Emperour furniſhed him with all things neceſſary: He ſpent a whole year there, and was acknowledged during his Abode, by many Turks which came to *Prague*, for Brother to their Emperour *Achmat*. There wanted nothing but Succours to effect his Deſigns; but he finds nothing but fair Words and good Wiſhes at *Prague*, ſo as he was forced to ſeek the effects elſewhere. Certain *Saxons*, that were his Friends, adviſed him to paſs to *Florence* to *Ferdinand* the great Duke of *Tuſcany*: He takes Directions from that Prince's Ambaſſador reſiding at *Prague*, and goes on his Journey; but entering into *Italy*, he hears that *Ferdinand* was dead: theſe mournful News made him to reſolve to ſeek ſome other place, if *Coſmo*, Succeſſor to *Ferdinand*, and the great Dutcheſs his Mother, had not called him back. He came then to *Florence*, where he was honourably entertained, and lodged, for the ſafety of his Perſon, in the Fort of *S. John*, where he was ſupplied with all ſorts of Commodities. The great Duke *Coſmo* gave him the Title of Excellency, appointed him Horſes and Caroches, and ſuch Company as he delighted in, for the Pleaſure of Hunting. He had not ſtaid long at *Florence* but he ſaw himſelf aſſiſted with ſuch Forces as he deſired. The great Duke *Coſmo* cauſed his Gallions to be armed, ſending them into the Levant, under the Command of the Knight *Beauregard*, where he had Conference with *Naſſuf Baſſa*, at that time chief of the Rebels of *Aſia*. He offers him Men, Arms, and Money, if he would come to land and march towards *Perſia*, whither many Rebels were retired. But he who commanded the Florentine Gallions had no Commiſſion to leave him in the hands of *Naſſuf*, wherefore he carried him back to *Florence* to his Highneſs.

He comes to *Florence* to the great Duke of *Tuſcany*.

He maketh a Voyage into the *Levant* in the Duke's Gallions.

During the time that *Jacaia* was aboard the Gallions, the great Duke ſent divers Perſons into many parts of the Levant, to inform themſelves carefully of theſe things which he had delivered, not only touching his own Perſon, but alſo of his Mother; and they all brought back certain proofs of the truth of his Diſcourſes. This gave the great Duke ſubject to impart this fair occaſion unto *Spain*, to labour for the common Good of Chriſtendome. He wrote unto the Catholick King, and informed him of the quality of *Jacaia*, to the end, that contributing Succours to his Perſonage, they might undertake ſome happy Enterpriſe againſt the Turk. The King of *Spain* was content he ſhould be ſent to *Naples*; commanding the Viceroy to give him a Reception fit for his Quality. *Jacaia* went on his Journey, being accompanied by ſome, by the great Duke's Commandment; but according to the News which he received from *Naples*, he ſtayed at *Averſo*, where he was received by the Governour with much Honour. The Viceroy came to viſit him, gave him the right-hand, and the Title of Excellency. But as the Counſel of *Spain* was tedious in their Reſolutions, and delayed too long (as *Jacaia* ſuppoſed) the Succours which he expected; he parted from *Averſo* to go to *Millan*, and from thence in a diſguiſed Habit paſt again into the Levant, to ſound their Wills that might advance his Pretenſions, and bring them to a happy end: but he prevailed as little as he had done before. Beſides all theſe Voyages which we have deſcribed, to the end he might leave no means unattempted to advance his Affairs, he went to *Rome* to kiſs his Holineſs's feet. Cardinal *Bellarmine* received him, gave him the right-hand, and the Title of Excellency: the Pope aſſured him of his Affection and Succours; but it was neceſſary the ſecular Powers ſhould begin to levy men, and make the firſt Overture to War.

1615 *Jacaia* goes to *Naples* and *Millan*.

He comes to *Rome*.

Since, we have ſeen him in *France*, and at *Paris*, under the Protection of the Duke of *Nevers*, entertained by the Bounty of this Prince, and aſſiſted by his Council; and doubtleſs if the troubleſome Combuſtions of a Civil War had not directed the Armies of this Duke, we had ſeen ſome happy ſucceſs of the Affairs which he treated in *Lorain*, *Germany*, and other Places, to the ruine of the Turks, and the good of Chriſtendome. Finally, as for this Turk called *Jacaia*, terming himſelf eldeſt Brother to the Emperour *Achmat* now reigning at *Conſtantinople*, and for ſuch acknowledged by many; yet ſome affirm (yea ſuch as have converſed in the Eaſt) that Sultan *Mahomet* had but three Sons, which were *Muſtapha*, *Achmat*, and *Oſman*; notwithſtanding, it is hard to diſcover in this Perſonage any ſigns of an Impoſture: I have often frequented with him, and carefully obſerved his Carriage and Actions; and have always noted in him a Carriage and Mind borne to great matters. This is all that we could learn of this man.

Stephano or *Tomſho*, of whom we have made mention in the year 1612, having overthrown *Conſtantine* the lawful Prince, and made himſelf Vayvod of *Moldavia* by the Support and Tyranny of the Turk; as he held it by Uſurpation, without any juſt Title, ſo he governed with all Cruelty and Inhumanity, preferring Cruelty before Clemency, and imitating that Tyrant, who ſaid openly, *That he reſpected not the Love of his Subjects ſo as they feared him.* Even ſo this *Stephano*, at his firſt Entrance, plotted how he might root out all the Noblemen in the Country, whom in their Language they call Boyers, with all others of Credit and Authority in the Country, both for that they ſupported *Conſtantine*, as for the Jealouſie he had of them, being beſt able to reſiſt his tyrannous Deſigns; being alſo the common Diſpoſition of ſuch as uſurp any Eſtate by wicked Practices, to be always in fear to be diſpoſſeſſed, and to be entreated according to their Merits. He began firſt with the Lord of *Botachin*, Brother to the Princeſs, Widow of *Jeremy*, whom he cauſed with two others of the chief Noblemen to be miſerably and inhumanely impailed, as if they had been two notable Thieves and Murderers; and not con-

Tyrannies of *Stephano*.

tent

1615 tent herewith, ſoon after he cauſed threeſcore and fifteen Boyers to be apprehended, cutting off all their Heads, and would not pardon any one, notwithſtanding the great inſtance that was made by their Kinsfolks, charging them with the Crime of Treaſon, as if they had conſpired againſt his Perſon, having no proof at all: but theſe his Cruelties did nothing daunt the Boyers, as *Stephano* had perſuaded himſelf, but contrariwiſe, they were the more incenſed, and many of them took Arms openly, and had then ſeiſed upon him, been revenged of his Cruelties, and ſet their Country at liberty (which had not been ruined as it was afterwards) if he had not been aſſiſted by the Citizens of *Tas*, whom he conjured to ſecond him in this occaſion, promiſing them immunities of all Subſidies; in regard of which promiſe, theſe poor Wretches, preferring their private Profit before their publick Safety, employed themſelves in the Service of this Tyrant, and fought valiantly againſt the Boyers, who were come to aſſault him in the City of *Tas*: but finding that he was better aſſiſted than they expected, after ſome light Skirmiſh they retired as well as they could, whereof many were taken Priſoners, whom the Tyrant cauſed to be ſlain in cold blood, or empailed to terrifie the reſt.

The Noblemen revolt againſt *Stephano*.

Prince *Alexander* called into *Moldavia* by the Boyers.

The Boyers which eſcaped from this Defeat, knowing that there was no hope of Mercy in *Stephano*, who was full of Revenge, nor by conſequence any Safety in *Moldavia* during his Government, they reſolved to have recourſe unto the Princeſs (Widow to *Jeremy*) who had fled into *Polonia* whep as ſhe received News of the taking of her Son *Conſtantine*. This Princeſs, underſtanding from the Boyers of the tyrannous Government of *Stephano*, and that moſt of the *Moldavians* were reſolved to ſhake off the Yoke of his Tyranny, and deſired to have Prince *Alexander* in his place, remembring the good uſage they had received from the deceaſed Prince *Jeremy* his Father. Theſe Conſiderations, together with a deſire of Command under her Son (who was then but ſixteen years old) were ſtrong Motives to perſwade both her and her Son to embrace this occaſion, the which they imparted to Prince *Viſinouiſky*, Son in law to the Princeſs, and to Prince *Corresky*, who at that time aſpired to marry her youngeſt Daughter: Theſe Princes not only allowed of this Deſign, but they offered themſelves willingly to accompany Prince *Alexander* into *Moldavia*, and to take the whole care of his Army. This Reſolution being taken, they preſently employed all their credit to levy men, and had within leſs than two Months drawn together ten or twelve thouſand Foot and Horſe, *Polonians*, *Coſſacks*, and *Tranſilvanians*: whereof the Vayvod *Stephano* being advertiſed, he preſently levied what Forces he could, of *Moldavians*, *Tartarians*, and *Valachians*, having drawn together an Army of almoſt twenty thouſand men, which he kept about *Tas*, and there reſolved to attend the Princes of *Polonia*.

The fort of *Cochina* yielded unto Prince *Alexander*

Prince *Alexander* being advanced with his Army within two Leagues of *Caminithe* in *Podolia*, he was much troubled to paſs the River of *Nieſtre*, which divides that Country from *Moldavia*, fearing the Fort of *Cochina*, in the which there was a ſtrong Garriſon of *Moldavians*, and ſtore of Munition to defend the Paſſage of the ſaid River: but it fell out happily for Prince *Alexander*; for the Captain which commanded in the ſaid Fort being much diſcontented at the Cruelties of the Vayvod *Stephano*, came voluntarily of himſelf to offer his Service to *Alexander*, and brought him the Keys of the Fort, leaving all to his Diſpoſition; ſo as he paſt his Army eaſily into *Moldavia*, and in ſign of joy diſcharged many Vollies of his great Ordnance, which made *Stephano* diſtruſt the Affections of the *Moldavians*, and to feel a pricking in his Conſcience, which doth never abandon Tyrants and Uſurpers. 1615

Fifteen hundred *Tartarians* defeated by the *Coſſacks*.

Prince *Alexander*, making ſome ſtay with his Army at *Cochina*, in the year 1615, advanced towards *Tas*, and being come within half a days Journey, he ſent forth eight hundred *Coſſacks*, (choſen out of a great number) to diſcover the Countenance of his Enemies Army: but they were not far advanced, before they encountered fifteen hundred *Tartarians*, ſent by *Stephano* to give ſome charge to the *Polonians*. Although the *Coſſacks* were fewer in number, yet finding the *Tartarians* in diſorder, they charged them ſo reſolutely as they defeated a great part, and put the reſt to rout. After which Exploit, they brought word to Prince *Alexander*, that *Stephano*'s Army might be about the number of fifteen thouſand men; but they were ſuch as were gathered up in the Country, and not trained up to Arms, who were rather drawn to it by conſtraint than of their free will, and therefore were not much to be feared. This happy Succeſs, together with the Report made by the *Coſſacks*, did greatly encourage *Alexander*'s Army, being alſo much incenſed againſt *Stephano* for certain Letters which he had written to their Prince, full of Threats, as if both he and they had been already at his mercy; the which did the more encourage the *Polonians*, and made them reſolve rather to dye fighting, than to fall into the hands of this cruel Tyrant. The ſame day there came certain Deputies of the *Moldavians* to Prince *Alexander*, without the privity of *Stephano*, to know what his Deſign was, and to intreat him to take pity of *Moldavia*, which was threatned with a ſpeedy ruine, if the War continued any longer; to whom the Prince made Anſwer, That his Intent was not to oppreſs *Moldavia*, but to free it from the Tyranny of *Stephano*; that he had been invited by a great number of the Boyers, who had come unto him into *Polonia* to that end, and had given him aſſurance, that it was the common deſire of the *Moldavians*: That upon this confidence he had marched with what Forces he could draw together; and that if he did prevail in his Deſigns (as he aſſured himſelf with their aſſiſtance) he would govern them with no leſs mildneſs than his Father Prince *Jeremy* had done, whoſe Son and lawful Succeſſor he was. The Deputies returned well ſatisfied with this Anſwer, and having publiſhed it in divers places, many *Moldavians* came and joyned with the Prince's Army, and aſſiſted him faithfully in this Action.

Deputies ſent from the *Moldavians* to Prince *Alexander*.

In *October*, Prince *Alexander* advancing about three Leagues with his Army, he made a ſtand in a fair Champian, where there were good Springs to refreſh them; and in the mean time he called a Council at War, to reſolve what courſe he ſhould take, and when he ſhould draw the Enemy to fight. In the mean time he had ſent a Troop of *Coſſacks* to diſcover the Army, who brought word that they were ranged in Battel, and that they had twenty Cannons ready in front, the which did not much amaze Prince *Alexander*, for that ſome days before, the General of *Stephano*'s Artillery had ſent to aſſure him, That if he gave Battel, he would annoy his Men as little as he could, having a deſire to ſerve the Prince, and by this means be revenged of *Stephano*, who had cauſed his Brother-in-law's Head to be cut off, upon a falſe ſuſpect which he had conceived againſt him being innocent. The which ſhould teach Princes, that nothing doth procure them more ſecret Enemies than Cruelty, and that at one time or other they in whom they moſt relye abandon them when as they leaſt expect it. The Vayvod *Stephano*

The General of *Stephano*'s Artillery reſolves to betray him.

1615

A ſecond Defeat of *Stephano's Tartarians.*

phano meaning to make a ſecond Diſcovery of the Prince's Army, ſent twelve hundred *Tartarians*, and two or three hundred *Moldavians*, who being ſeen afar off (for that it was in a plain Champain) the Prince ſent five hundred *Coſſacks* with four hundred *Polonian* Lances, to encounter them: The *Tartarians* perceiving it, made a ſhew at the firſt, as if they would retire, to draw them by little and little from their Camp; and being about a League off, they made a ſtand, thinking that they durſt not charge them: but they were ſoon deceived; for, the *Polonians* fell upon the *Tartarians* with ſuch fury, as they overthrew them, and ſlew moſt of them, ſo as there eſcaped not above five or ſix hundred, who retiring to their Camp, cauſed a great Amaſement. The Prince's Army was much encouraged by this Exploit, and increaſed daily in number, as it is uſual in Civil War to follow that Party which hath the firſt advanced.

A thouſand of *Stephano's* Horſe defeated.

Preſently after this Execution, the Prince, meaning to advance his Army towards the Enemies Camp, his forward was ſtayed by a Battalion of one thouſand Horſe, who had the night before ſeiſed upon a narrow Paſſage, betwixt a Pool and a Mariſh, by the which they knew the *Polonian* Army muſt paſs: but this Obſtacle was ſoon taken away, by the Advice which was given by certain *Moldavians*, to ſend a Company of Horſemen by a way unknown to the Enemy; by which means they might ſurpriſe them behind, before they ſhould be diſcovered. The Execution of this Stratagem was given to the *Coſſacks*, who ſpeedily went, being guided by certain *Moldavians*; who coming within fifty Paces of the Enemy undiſcovered, they charged them, and were ſeconded ſo fitly by the forward, that ſtaid on the other ſide, as of one thouſand Horſe there returned not above fifty to their Camp, to carry news of their bad Succeſs.

Prince *Alexander*, having happily opened this Paſſage, advanced with his Army within Cannon-ſhot of *Stephano's* Camp. Prince *Viſnouſky* was of opinion, that they ſhould make a kind of Incloſure with their Carts, which might ſerve them as a Fort, having no place of Retreat within ten Leagues; the which being diſcovered by *Stephano*, he ſhot certain Vollies of Cannon through their Fort, ſo as there were ſome Souldiers ſlain, and ſome hurt: and the Prince anſwered him with the like, but to ſmall effect, for that night ſurpriſed them, neither had they above eight ſmall Pieces. Prince *Viſnouſky* ſpent the night to encourage his Souldiers, letting them underſtand that they had no reaſon to be amaſed, although their Enemies were more in number, for that moſt of them were Peaſants, never trained up in Arms nor ſeen Battel; whereof they had had good proof in many Encounters, where they had ever been Victors over their Enemies, although they were inferiour in number: That they were ſo many Teſtimonies and Aſſurances that God did fight for them, and would uſe them to puniſh the Tyrannies of *Stephano*, and his Cruelties againſt *Moldavia*. Finally, if they were Victors (whereof he doubted not, if they did their Duties) there was not any one but ſhould return loaden with rich Spoils and Recompences from Prince *Alexander*. This did ſo encourage the Souldiers, as they proteſted all with one Voice, rather to dye than to fail of their Duties. Moreover, the Princes gave the Collonels and Captains to underſtand of the Intelligence they had with the General of *Stephano's* Artillery, wherewith they were much comforted.

Prince *Viſnouſky* incourageth his Souldiers.

The diſpoſition of the two Armies.

The next day, being the Eleventh of *October*, they began to put their Armies in Battel, during the which there were divers Skirmiſhes, wherein *Alexander's* Party had ſtill the Advantage; ſo as it ſeemed they were ſo many Preſages of good Fortune which ſhould befall them that day. The Prince's Army was ordered by *Viſnouſky*, to whom Prince *Alexander* had given the Charge of General, as moſt capable, having ſundry times given ſufficient Proofs of his Sufficiency and Valour in other Battels. This General, ſeeing *Stephano's* Horſe-men divided into three Squadrons, and the *Tartarians* moſt advanced, he appointed the *Coſſacks* to encounter with them; the which was judiciouſly and diſcreetly done, for they both go freely to the Charge, neither are they covered with any Arms, but only with the Skins of certain Beaſts, wherewith they make themſelves to ſeem as fearful as they can, obſerving no order in their fighting, and uſing Cries which are fearful to ſuch as are not accuſtomed unto them; and being once broken, they ſeldom return again to the Charge. The *Polonian* Lanciers, called in their Language *Houſſarsky*, being about one thouſand and five hundred men well armed, made the ſecond Battalion of *Alexander's* Army, led by Prince *Coresky*, and were placed on the right hand againſt three thouſand *Tartarian*, *Valachian*, and *Moldavian* Horſe-men. The *Hungarian* Foot, being about three thouſand men, were in the midſt of Prince *Alexander's* Army, with the Cannon, upon a little Hill of ſome advantage; and on the left hand was the reſt of the Chavalry, who were led by the Princes *Alexander* and *Viſnouſky*; and the Baggage was a little behind the Foot in the Camp where they had lodged the night before.

1615

The Battel betwixt Prince *Alexander* and the Vayvod *Stephano.*

The Tyrant *Stephano*, having diſpoſed his Army into divers Squadrons, began, about Nine of the Clock in the Morning, to play with his Cannon upon *Alexander's* Army, who found that the General of the Artillery had kept his Promiſe, for moſt of the Bullets flew over his men, and hurt them not; upon which Confidence, he commanded the *Coſſacks* to charge the *Tartarians* which were advanced, whom they ſoon defeated. At the ſame Inſtant two thouſand light Horſe gave charge to the *Hungarian* Foot-men which guarded *Stephano's* Cannon, and in an inſtant cut moſt of them in pieces, and the reſt yielded themſelves; ſo as *Alexander* became Maſter of his Cannon. The Tyrant, ſeeing his Infantery in danger to be defeated, and his Cannon loſt, cauſed a Battalion of three thouſand *Valachian* and *Moldavian* Horſe-men to advance, who without doubt had recovered the Cannon, but the generous Prince *Coresky*, with his *Polonian* Launciers, charged them ſo furiouſly in the Flank, as that they ſlew almoſt the one half of them upon the place, and put the reſt that remained to rout. Preſently after this followed another Squadron; the which *Coresky* perceiving, he wiſely retired towards his Camp, ſeeing his men wearied and tired with the ſlaughter of their Enemies, and not able to maintain the Fight without ſome reſt. Then came Prince *Alexander*, and *Viſnouſky* who was his faithful Guide, with the reſt of his Horſe-men, to encounter this laſt Battalion of the Enemy, whereunto they went with greater Courage, for that they were aſſured the Vayvod *Stephano* was there preſent; which Charge continued for the ſpace of a quarter of an hour, during which time Prince *Coresky* had leiſure to take breath, and to gather together what poſſibly he could of thoſe of his Party, to ſuccour them that were then in fight, who were almoſt tired, and Prince *Alexander* far engaged. But ſeeing theſe unexpected Succours, he and his Men recovered their forces, and their Enemies were ſo much amaſed at it, as that all them that remained alive were put to rout, and fled.

Stephano's Army defeated.

But

1615

The flight of *Stephano.*

But *Stephano* (being naturally a Coward) apprehending blows, had retired himſelf to the reſt of his Foot-men, who had not yet come to fight, making a ſhew that he would rather dye with them than fly away: but ſeeing the Event of this laſt Charge, and his Horſemen all in rout, he ſoon reſolved to ſave himſelf by flight, having never given one ſtroke in this Battel. The Foot-men which remained, being about four thouſand men, ſeeing the ſucceſs of the Battel, yielded to the mercy of the Victors, and cryed out, God ſave *Alexander*, Vayvod of *Moldavia*. The day of the Victory, Prince *Alexander* made his Entry into the City of *Tas*, having the Princes *Coresky* and *Viſnouisky* on either ſide, after whom followed his whole Army. Entering into the Caſtle, he was there proclaimed Prince and Vayvod of *Moldavia* by all the Nobles and Boyers of the Country, the which he would never accept untill that time. The next day, Prince *Alexander* underſtanding that a great number of the chiefeſt of the Inhabitants of *Tas* were fled into the Mountains and Forreſts to attend the Events of theſe Troubles, he ſent certain Boyers to invite them to return back again (with all aſſurance) to their Houſes, cauſing part of his Army to diſlodge, and to be quartered in the Country thereabouts; and there were one thouſand and five hundred Foot, and five hundred Horſe (under the leading of Prince *Coresky*) ſent to the City of *Vaſſelloy*, for that *Stephano* had fled that way, and might return back again into *Moldavia*. As for the Artillery, ſome were ſent into *Polonia*, and ſome were put into the Fort of *Cochina*, the which is as it were the Arſenal of *Moldavia*.

Alexander proclaimed Prince of *Moldavia.*

Ambaſſadors ſent by Prince *Alexander* to the Grand Seignior.

At the ſame time, Prince *Alexander*, knowing that it was no leſs Glory to preſerve than to get, he called the chief Noblemen of his Court to Counſel, to reſolve what was fit to do to maintain him in his Eſtate, which he had newly gotten by the Sword: where it was concluded among other things, that he ſhould ſpeedily ſend an Ambaſſador to the Grand Seignior, to let him underſtand that he had never any intent to take Arms againſt his Majeſty, nor to withdraw *Moldavia* from his Obedience; but that he had been ſought unto being in *Polonia*, and invited by the Boyers of *Moldavia*, for the unſpeakable Cruelties of the Vayvod *Stephano*, who had reſolved to root out the Nobility of the ſaid Country, having put many of the chief to death without any occaſion. They had alſo charge to give the Sultan to underſtand, That when his Majeſty advanced *Stephano* to be Vayvod of *Moldavia*, he had falſely ſuggeſted that he was Son to a Prince of *Moldavia*; that he was not truly advertiſed by his Baſſaes and Counſellors, that his Predeceſſor had promiſed to the deceaſed Father of Prince *Alexander*, and to Prince *Simeon* his Uncle, that after his Deceaſe his Sons ſhould ſucceed him in the ſaid Eſtate, if they ſhewed not themſelves unworthy, and did pay the yearly Tribute of forty thouſand Chequines, which Tribute, ſince the Death of *Jeremy*, had been offered by Prince *Conſtantine* his eldeſt Son, to *Houſſine Aga*, when as he was ſent to ſettle the ſaid *Stephano*, as alſo that Prince *Alexander* promiſed to pay it hereafter; and if need ſhould be, he would give Prince *Bougdan*, his Brother, as a ſure and certain pledge for the performance of his Promiſes during the firſt year.

Prince *Alexander's* Ambaſſadors put to Death by *Stephano.*

The Ambaſſadors having received theſe Inſtructions, they took their journey ſpeedily to *Conſtantinople*; but inſtead of paſſing through *Thrace*, which was their direct'ſt courſe, they were forced to go by *Walachia*, fearing to be hindered by the men of War which then troubled all *Thrace*. Coming to *Buda*, they went to ſalute the Baſſa which commanded there, who being a ſpecial Friend to *Stephano*, put them in Priſon, violating the Law of Nations obſerved by the moſt barbarous; and afterwards he ſent them to *Braille*, whither the Tyrant *Stephano* had fled. They ſay he gave fifteen thouſand Chequino's in recompence to the Baſſa, and to revenge himſelf in ſome ſort of Prince *Alexander* in the Perſons of his Ambaſſadors, he cauſed their Heads to be cut off one night after Supper, and their Bodies to be caſt into the *Danowe*. The Deaths of theſe Ambaſſadors were very prejudicial to Prince *Alexander*, by means whereof the Grand Seignior was not truly advertiſed of what had paſt in *Moldavia*, nor received the Complements, Offers, and Submiſſion of Prince *Alexander*, ſo as he was wonderfully incenſed againſt him, and ſware his Ruine, as you ſhall hear hereafter.

1615

Stephano returns into *Moldavia.*

Stephano having received four thouſand men from *Michna* Prince of *Valachia*, and gathered together the Relicks of his ſcattered Army, he marched toward *Valachia*; whereof Prince *Alexander* being advertiſed, he ſent Prince *Coresky* with ſix thouſand Horſe, *Polonians* and *Coſſacks*, to *Ticouch*, a ſtrong Frontier Town, to guard that Paſſage: And Prince *Alexander* and *Viſnouisky* they ſtayed at *Tas* with the reſt of the Army to preſerve the Country, and to prevent all Alterations in favour of *Stephano*, who had ſome Intelligencers. Within few days after, the Prince had news that the Inhabitants of *Horreova* (a Country in *Moldavia* containing about fifteen or ſixteen French Leagues in Circuit) were in Arms, and had joyned with a great Troop of *Tartarians* to come and inveſt him, knowing well that Prince *Coresky* was otherwiſe employed with part of the *Polonian* Army. *Alexander* ſtayed not to have theſe Rebels come to *Tas*, but ſent *Viſnouisky*, his Brother-in-law, with ſuch Forces as he could draw together, to encounter with them. They met together within two Leagues of the City, where *Viſnouisky* charged the *Tartarians* with ſuch fury, as half of them were ſlain upon the place, and the reſt of them fled: there were a great number of Priſoners taken, and all the poor Inhabitants of *Horreova* were brought unto *Tas* in token of triumph. The dead being numbred, there were found about eight hundred *Tartarians* and others ſlain, and of the *Polonians* only fifty, and ſome hundred hurt.

The Inhabitants of *Horreova* defeated with the *Tartarians.*

Prince *Alexander*, having received News of this Defeat, was wonderfully glad, and went preſently to Horſe-back with his Company of French, which he had only reſerved about him, to go and meet with *Viſnouisky*, and to congratulate his happy Victory. This being done with many Complements and Embracings, he caſt his eye upon the poor Inhabitants of *Horreova*, whom they led like a Troop of Sheep, and had ſuch Commiſeration on them, as he preſently ſent them back again, having taken their Oath of Fidelity, hoping that this his Clemency would draw the moſt Factious to Obedience, having formerly tried the Oppreſſions of a moſt cruel Prince. Prince *Alexander* having given Thanks to God for this new and unexpected Victory, he ſent a Gentleman unto Prince *Coresky*, to advertiſe him thereof, who at the ſame inſtant was buſie to diſpoſe of his Troops to meet with *Stephano*, who returned into *Moldavia*. The Encounter was in a plain Champaine, having on the one ſide the River of *Sirette*, the which divides *Moldavia* from *Valachia*: the Skirmiſh continued from ten of the Clock untill it was Noon, with like advantage; but Prince *Coresky* being advertiſed that *Stephano* was in a Squadron of Horſe which was ſome two hundred Paces diſtant from him, he joyned unto his Troop four hundred Gerbeys, who were well armed,

1615 armed, and led by a very valiant Captain, with the which he charged him with ſuch violence and fury, as he forced them to give back, yet fighting in ſuch ſort, as the Event ſeemed to be doubtful: the which being diſcovered by another of the Prince's Captains, who led a Troop of five hundred light horſe, he came ſo fitly to ſuccour him, as *Stephano* and his Horſe-men were forced to fly, whom the Prince purſued and cut in pieces. *Stephano* eſcaped with a Troop which he had reſerved rather for the guard of his Perſon than to fight. Prince *Coresky*, at his return from the chaſe of his Enemies, cauſed the dead to be numbred, where he found, that of *Stephano*'s ſide were three thouſand and four hundred men ſlain upon the place, beſides thoſe that were Priſoners and wounded; and of his part only three hundred and fifty.

Stephano defeated the ſecond time.

Preſently after this Victory, the ſeaſon of the year being cold (it being the twelfth of *November*) Prince *Coresky* put his Troops into Garriſon, and returned with one hundred and fifty Horſe to *Tas*, where he was received with much Honour and Joy. The Princeſs, Mother to *Alexander*, was yet in *Poland*; but being advertiſed of her Sons fortunate Succeſs, ſhe returned to *Tas*, and brought with her Prince *Bougdan* her youngeſt Son, with *Alexandrina* her Daughter, who was yet to marry. At whoſe Arrival there was great feaſting and joy; then they began to treat of a Marriage betwixt Prince *Coresky* and the Princeſs *Alexandrina*, the which had been then conſummated, if *Bellona* had not oppoſed it, ſtirring up new and more powerful Armies than the precedent, to exerciſe the Virtues and Valours of the ſaid Princes, and to try the Patience of the two Lovers, who loved one another reciprocally from their Youth.

A falſe Alarm given to *Alexander*.

To continue the deduction of new Affairs which troubled the quiet of the ſaid Princes more than ever, you muſt underſtand, That about the end of *November* this Year 1615, they were advertiſed, that *Michna* Prince of *Valachia*, with a Baſſa called *Hebraim*, came againſt them with an Army of forty thouſand men, *Turks*, *Tartarians*, and *Valachians*, to ſuccour the Vayvod *Stephano*; and moreover, that *Bethlem Gabor*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, had Charge from the Grand Seignior to arm againſt them, and to aſſail them; which in effect was a falſe Alarm; for the ſaid Baſſa had been ſent by the Grand Seignior to bring Caphtanes (which are Robes of Cloth of Gold which the Grand Seignior doth uſually ſend in favour to Princes that are under his power) both to *Michna* and *Stephano*, who he held to be in peaceable poſſeſſion of *Moldavia*, but not with any Army, nor with an intent to make War againſt the ſaid Princes; for he was yet ignorant what had paſſed againſt *Stephano*. Notwithſtanding, the Princes holding this Advertiſement to be true, aſſembled a Council of the chief Noblemen in Court, where it was reſolved, That an Ambaſſador ſhould be ſpeedily ſent to Prince *Michna*, both to know his Intent, and to diſcover whether he marched toward *Moldavia*, and with what Forces. This Charge was given unto a brave Gentleman of *Polonia* called *Boyariſtky*, who parted preſently from *Tas*; and being entered into *Valachia*, he underſtood that Prince *Michna* was then in his Town of *Bonza*, ſome twenty French Leagues diſtant from the Frontiers of *Moldavia*. The Ambaſſador being arrived, demanded Audience before *Michna*, by whom he was ſent unto the Baſſa, who at his firſt Entrance (without hearing the Subject of his Ambaſſage) demanded who had made his Maſter *Alexander* ſo bold, as to carry Arms in the Country of the Grand Seignior without his Authority; for the which he ſhould be puniſhed, and thoſe that did aſſiſt him; commanding the Ambaſſador preſently to be put in Irons, as if he had been a Thief, or ſome miſerable Caitiff. The Ambaſſador's Servants, ſeeing how they entreated their Maſter, eſcaped as they could, fearing the like; who returning to *Tas*, informed Prince *Alexander* what had paſſed, aſſuring him, that *Michna* had no Army ready, nor any intent to enter into *Moldavia* at that time. The Baſſa, diſdaining to ſpeak any more to the ſaid Ambaſſador, he gave charge to ſome of his Officers to examine him particularly of all matters concerning *Alexander*, and what Forces he had: and within few days after he returned to *Conſtantinople*, leading the ſaid Ambaſſador thither with him. But as ſoon as they were arrived, they ſent the Ambaſſador unto the Divano, where he was again examined by a Viſier, and in the end he was condemned by him to the Gallies, there to remain perpetually. So little account do theſe barbarous People make to violate the Law of Nations, eſpecially with Chriſtians, preſuming that all the World ſhould bow unto them, as if they were Gods upon Earth.

1615 *Alexander*'s Ambaſſador put in Priſon by the Baſſa.

An Ambaſſador from Prince *Alexander* to Prince *Michna*.

There was another Ambaſſador ſent by Prince *Alexander* unto *Bethlem Gabor*, who was Prince of *Tranſilvania*, being at *Furevar* or *Alba-Julia*, whom he received very courteouſly; to whom the Ambaſſador delivered the Subject of his Charge: That Prince *Alexander*, his Maſter, had been advertiſed, that he made ſome levy of men to joyn with *Michna* Prince of *Valachia*, and to make War againſt him; the which he could not eaſily believe, for that he had made profeſſion of Friendſhip to his deceaſed Father, and had no cauſe now to leave it; intreating and conjuring him, not to meddle in the Affairs which he had to decide with *Michna*; and that in requital (if any occaſion were offered to ſerve him) he would employ all his means. The Ambaſſador having ended his Speech, he delivered his Princes Letters of Credit; to whom *Bethlem Gabor* made this Anſwer, That he never had any intent to take Arms, nor to attempt any thing againſt Prince *Alexander*, whoſe Father was his true Friend; neither would he ever give any cauſe to diſcontinue this Love and Friendſhip betwixt them, whereof he would give good proof in all occaſions, eſpecially in this Subject now in queſtion. The Ambaſſador was much ſatisfied with this Anſwer, the which was alſo confirmed by Letters; yet notwithſtanding he afterwards levied Forces againſt Prince *Alexander*, but he would not joyn with *Michna*'s Army.

Prince *Alexander* ſends an Ambaſſador to *Bethlem Gabor*.

To return to the courſe of our Hiſtory; Preſently after the Baſſa's Departure from *Cicouch* to return to *Conſtantinople*, Prince *Michna* ſent an Ambaſſador to *Alexander* with Letters, by the which he excuſed himſelf for the ill uſage of his Ambaſſador by the Baſſa, proteſting, that he was much grieved, and that it was not with his Conſent that he had carried him with him, promiſing him to employ his beſt means to mediate his Delivery. Moreover, that he was not ignorant what Authority and Power the Grand Seignior had over him, whom he might not reſiſt, nor by conſequence his Baſſaes; that he had no Army on foot, as he was given to underſtand, and that his deſign was not to ſupport the Cauſe of the Vayvod *Stephano*, unleſs he were forced by the Commandment of the Grand Seignior. And whereas he intreated him to deliver his Enemy *Stephano* into his hands, he could not do it, unleſs he ſhould violate the Laws of Hoſpitality, in betraying his Friend, who had fled unto him for ſuccour, and withal, he ſhould incur the indignation of the

1615 Sultan, and be in danger to be diſpoſſeſſed of his own Eſtate, having no ſufficient means to maintain himſelf againſt ſo great a Power. Prince *Alexander*, having heard this Ambaſſador, and received an Anſwer from the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, by the Advice of his Council diſmiſſed all his Foot-men, and part of the *Coſſacks*, retaining only five or ſix thouſand men with him during the Winter.

Prince *Viſnouſky* poiſoned by a Prieſt.

About this time there was one of the moſt curſed and impious Acts committed that ever was heard of. Prince *Viſnouſky*, who was a Proteſtant of the Greek Church, having prepared at *Chriſtmas* to receive the Communion after their manner, the Prieſt (who had uſually ſerved him in that Devotion, being corrupted with money by his Enemies) poiſoned the Bread; which the Prince having received, he ſuddenly fell ſick, and his Torments were ſo violent, as he died the next day. This bred a ſuſpition that he had been poiſoned; whereupon the Prieſt was apprehended, who preſently confeſſed that he was guilty, and had been provoked by his Enemies. As his offence was terrible, being committed by a man of that Coat, who had made uſe of ſo reverent a Sacrament to poiſon a Prince beloved of all men for his rare Virtues; ſo his Puniſhment was very ſevere and long, being bound in a Chair made of Copper-wire, and a fire made round about him, ſo as he was heard for twelve hours crying out fearfully for the inſupportable Pains which he endured. Whilſt that Prince *Alexander* and his whole Court mourned for this fatal and unexpected accident, there arrived a Spy which he had ſent into *Valachia* to obſerve the Actions of Prince *Michna*, who gave him to underſtand, that there was a Baſſa arrived called *Skinder*, with a great and powerful Army, and that *Stephano* was there in like manner, who preſſed them daily to march into *Moldavia*; and to begin the War, he ſent four hundred men to ſurpriſe the Town of *Berlada*, whereas Prince *Coresky* had left part of his men in Garriſon during the Winter; who keeping bad guard, were ſurpriſed, and moſt of them cut in pieces; which ſo puffed up *Stephano* with Pride, as he aſſured himſelf of an eaſie Victory. But Prince *Alexander*, hearing of this Defeat, he ſent four hundred *Coſſacks*, who made ſuch ſpeed, as within three days after they arrived at *Berlada*, a Town not walled, no more than the reſt; where, having ſet fire in many places, they forced his men to come forth, cutting them in pieces, and the reſt were burnt; ſo as there eſcaped not above five or ſix to carry this bad news unto their Maſter, who was much afflicted.

Skinder Baſſa comes with an Army againſt Prince *Alexander*.

Stephano's men defeated by the *Coſſacks*.

A Defeat of Turks at *Vaſſelloy*.

At the ſame inſtant, when as the *Coſſacks* were ſent upon this Expedition, Prince *Coresky*, deſiring to be revenged for the Defeat of his men, took two thouſand and five hundred choice Horſe, and put himſelf into *Vaſſelloy*, fearing the Garriſon he had left there would be in like manner ſurpriſed; whereof the Baſſa being advertiſed by ſome of the Country-men, he ſent his Son (being twelve or thirteen years old) and gave him an old Turk, of great experience, for his Conductor, with ſeven thouſand men, holding this a good occaſion to get Reputation to his Son. Prince *Coresky* being advertiſed of his March by ſome *Moldavians*, and that they ſhould ſurpriſe them early in the morning, knowing that they were of neceſſity to paſs a Bridge of Wood over a River that runs by the Town, he diſpoſed his men in ſuch ſort, as that the Enemy could hardly diſcover them; ſome of them were lodged within *Vaſſelloy*, and the reſt were covered with a little mountain that adjoyned upon the Town: when as ſome of the Turks had paſſed the Bridge, two Squadrons ſallied from the Town, and charged their foreward ſo furiouſly, as they were in a manner all put to the Sword, and amongſt them the Conductor of the whole Troop, the which was no difficult thing to execute; for that the Turks, who had marched in a manner all night, to arrive early in the morning, were benummed and half dead with Cold: the reſt of the Turks which had not yet paſt, hearing the noiſe of this hot Alarm, durſt not advance, but retired ſpeedily, fearing perchance that the Baſſa's Son might be loſt as well as his Conductor. Prince *Coresky* purſued them unto a Village four Leagues diſtant from *Vaſſelloy*, killing and taking Priſoners all he found in the way. Among the Priſoners there was one who gave it out that he was near Kinſman unto the Baſſa; who being brought to Prince *Alexander*, he received him very courteouſly, and gave him a Garment fit for him, having been ſtript of his own; he alſo gave him a Horſe, and ſent him back unto the Baſſa with a good Convoy, to whom he ſent a Letter, by the which he intreated him not to advance in favour of *Stephano*, promiſing, that if the Grand Seignior would ſuffer him to enjoy *Moldavia* quietly, he would be moſt faithful unto him afterwards, and pay him the yearly accuſtomed Tribute: whereof the Baſſa made no great account; for he was wonderfully incenſed, both for his Sons bad ſucceſs in this Enterpriſe, and for the death of his Turkiſh Captain.

1615

The Baſſa's Kinſman taken.

Upon the day of this Victory, Prince *Alexander* ſent fifteen hundred Horſe to fortifie Prince *Coresky*, whereof eight hundred were lodged in a certain Borough ſix Leagues from *Ticouth*, whereas the Baſſa and *Michna* were then with their Army; being about five and twenty thouſand men. Theſe eight hundred men neglecting their Guards, did nothing but drink drunk, and moleſt their Hoſts with all kind of Inſolencies, and forcing their Wives and Daughters, which made them take a Reſolution to be revenged, and to that end they called unto them certain Boyers out of the Country, who chuſing their time, cut all their Throats when they were aſleep, and moſt of them drunk.

Eight hundred of Prince *Alexander's* men ſlain by their Hoſts for their Inſolencies.

About the end of this Year, Prince *Alexander* called a General Council, whereas the Princeſs, his Mother, Prince *Coresky*, and all the chief Noblemen and Captains aſſiſted, where it was reſolved that they ſhould retire to *Cochina*, being thirty French Leagues off; for that it was the ſtrongeſt place and the beſt furniſhed of all *Moldavia*, and withal they ſhould be far from their Enemies, and near unto *Polonia*. According to this Reſolution, Prince *Alexander* parted the next day with his whole Army, and came in four days march to *Cochina*, in the extreameſt cold Seaſon that could be; having lodged his Troops, the Princes ſent divers Gentlemen to all their Friends and Confederates, to conjure them to come ſpeedily to ſuccour them; and in the mean time they gave order to make proviſion of Victuals, and of all other things neceſſary for their Army. The Baſſa being advertiſed of this Retreat, he marched with *Michna* and *Stephano* towards *Tas*, notwithſtanding the extremity of the Cold, which was ſo violent, that many died upon the way; whereupon they ſtayed untill the time was more mild.

Prince *Alexander* retires to *Cochina*.

In the beginning of *March*, the Lord of *Tiſchevich*, came unto Prince *Alexander* with 3500 *Coſſacks*, and within few days after arrived the Lord *Potosky*, Nephew to him who had been taken at the firſt Battel, and carried Priſoner to *Conſtantinople*, who brought with him a Troop of fifteen hundred *Polonians* well armed; there came alſo other Succours unto him, ſo as by the end of that Month

Succours come to Prince *Alexander*.

1615 Month the Princes Army was ten or twelve thouſand ſtrong Foot and Horſe.

Prince *Alexander*, hearing of the Enemies approach, ſent forth 1000 Horſe with his Company of *French* Cavaliers to diſcover the Enemies Army, who ſtaying to refreſh themſelves within half a League of the Town of *Eſpanocha*, whereas *Michna*'s *Tartarians* were lodged: they were diſcovered and preſently inveſted by them and by a great number of Turks; and although that there were little hope to reſiſt ſo great a Multitude, yet *Alexanders* Men (who had always been accuſtomed to vanquiſh) behaved themſelves very valiantly, deſiring rather to die, than to yield baſely without giving proofs of their Valour. This fight continued from ten of the Clock in the Morning, until Night; and of the whole Troop there eſcaped but twelve, ſeven *Polonians*, and five *French*, the reſt were either ſlain or taken Priſoners, among the which was the Captain of the French Company called *Mountespin*, whom they would have ſent with the reſt unto the Grand Seignior's Gallies: But *Stephano* preſerved him, upon promiſe that he would do him good Service. Here Fortune (which hath hitherto been favourable unto Prince *Alexander*) began to ſhew her Inconſtancy, to teach Princes not to run raſhly into Dangers, although they have had ſome Advantage over their Enemies.

Some of them defeated.

1616 At *Conſtantinople*, about the end of *Auguſt* this Year 1616, Envy, the moſt furious of all the Winds that ſhake the Affairs of the World, ſtirred up a horrible Tempeſt, whoſe violent Guſts fell dangerouſly upon the Jeſuits ſeiled at *Pera* by the Sultans Perſwaſion, at the Perſwaſion of *Henry* the Fourth, the French King; and labours to caſt them upon the Rocks where they might ſuffer Shipwrack, ſhameful to their Order, and prejudicial to the Chriſtians, which live in the midſt of Mahometiſm. And to ruine them without all hope of help or relief, they accuſed them before the Grand Viſier, to be Spies to *Spain*; to give Abſolution to Renegadoes; to baptize Turks, to conceal fugitive Slaves, and to ſend them into Chriſtendom; and withal they objected the Doctrine of killing of Kings, if they were Tyrants, the which had been raſhly written by a *Spaniard* of their Coat: all which Crimes are commonly puniſhed at *Conſtantinople* with Death. They ſeiſed upon their Perſons, and lodged them in a Dungeon, they were ſix in number, that is to ſay, *Francis Bouton*, *Denis Guilier*, *Dominick Maurice* of *Chio*, and *John Baptiſta Jobert* their Superiour, all four Prieſts, and two Aſſiſtants, and with them a Franciſcan Friar, Vicar to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. A ſuſpition of Danger in an Eſtate is eaſily believed upon the leaſt accident. In the mean time the Emperours Ambaſſador came to *Conſtantinople*, to renew the Truce; they entered with their Drums beating, and their Enſigns diſplayed. They which thought to erect Trophies to their Glory by their Ruine of the Jeſuits, made uſe of this entry, and gave falſe Advertiſements to the Seraglio, that there were in *Conſtantinople*, and at *Pera*, many thouſands of Chriſtians diſguiſed in the Habits of Greeks and Turks, which came with this Ambaſſadour, with an intent to put that in Execution which the Jeſuits had projected. Moreover, they informed the Grand Viſier, and the Muphti, that the Churches in *Pera*, and the Ambaſſadors Houſes were full of Arms; and that now when as the Turks Eſtate, and eſpecially *Conſtantinople*, was unprovided of Forces, having employed their Armies in divers Places, and at one inſtant, as in *Poland*, *Perſia*, and both the Seas, that they meant to draw the Greeks into Rebellion, and give an entry to the *Coſſacks*, by the black Sea. The Sultan and his Baſſaes took an alarm, they commanded every man to wear the Habit of his own Nation, with a prohibition to wear any Hat except the *Franks*, and they to wear a *Grecian* Habit; they alſo enrolled all the Chriſtians in *Conſtantinople* and *Pera*. But the Sultan did not think his City of *Conſtantinople* free from the danger of ſurpriſe by this diligent ſearch, but he would ſeek his aſſurance in the Blood of Chriſtians; ſo as he commanded that all the *Franks* ſhould be ſlain, without exception. But yet this Commandment took no effect, by reaſon of the Remonſtrances which the Grand Viſier and the Muphti made him, repugning unto him, that by this Cruelty he ſhould draw upon his Eſtate a dangerous War from all the Chriſtian Princes in General. But all this freed him not from fear, he walks all Night on Horſeback up and down the City, contrary to his Cuſtom, and he cauſeth a Friar, Vicar to the Patriarch, who had been taken with the Jeſuits, to be executed in his Preſence; and he doth expreſly forbid the Paſſage from *Conſtantinople* to *Pera*, and from *Pera* to *Conſtantinople*. During this Prohibition, the French Ambaſſador had paſt from *Pera* to the City, to ſollicite the Jeſuits Liberty. At his return he found the Paſſage ſtopt, he goes unto the Muphti, and leaves his People in the mean time at the Sea ſide (for it is the Cuſtom, to go to the Soveraign of *Mahomets* Law with a ſmall Train) during the time of his being there, a Multitude of People ran down to the Shore, to ſee theſe Men, thinking for certain, that they went to put them to Death: They lamenting their miſerable Fortune, and the Turks charging them furiouſly with Injuries, as the Men whom they thought practiſed by Conſpiracy their ruine. But the Grand Viſier having written with his own Hand, and ſent one of his People to them that kept the Paſſage, the Ambaſſador with his whole Train was ſuffered to paſs to *Pera*, but he found the Storm as raging at *Pera*, as from whence he came: for one Night after, the People of that Place fell into ſuch a Fury, as it was to be feared the Law of Nations would have been violated by the Inſolency of ſome furious People, although the Subject were of ſmall Importance. About five hundred Paces from the French Ambaſſadours quarter, there fell out a Diſpute in a Lodging; betwixt ſome who ſpent the Night in ſome kind of Employment; the Turks that dwelt near, being awaked with this Noiſe, ran to Arms, and trooped together in the Street, being in all 1000 men armed, crying out, that this Noiſe came from the *Francks*, (that is to ſay, from the Chriſtians in the *Weſt*, as *Italians*, *French*, *Spaniſh*, *Engliſh*, and others) who meant to riſe; and they reſolved to force the Ambaſſadors Houſes, and to put all to Fire and Sword, if ſome better adviſed of the Troop had not perſwaded them to delay the Execution until day, the which being come, the French Ambaſſador had means to get the Sultan to interpoſe his Sovereign Authority, to bridle the Inſolency of a Multitude inconſiderately incenſed. Such is the danger, in the which many times the Miniſters of Chriſtian Princes find themſelves, who for their Maſters Service live at the Mercy of a Nation barbarouſly furious, as the Turkiſh:

1616

Jeſuits at *Conſtantinople* accuſed.

They are impriſoned.

The Turk commands all the Chriſtians to be ſlain.

A Tumult at *Pera*.

The Jeſuits in the mean time continued Priſoners in the Dungeon, until that the Baron of *Sanſy*, Ambaſſadour for *France*, had let the Grand Viſier ſee their Innocency, and procured their Liberty, and the Sultan by his Letters Patents did publiſh the falſhood of the malicious Accuſations invented againſt them; but to avoid the Fury of a Multitude, blind in their Paſſions, and dangerous

The Jeſuits ſet at Liberty.

1616 in their fury, they went to Sea, to return to *France*; but after they had ſojourned ſometime at the Dardanels, they were again committed to Priſon, by reaſon of ſome certain advertiſement that was given to the Sultan of the ſame ſubſtance: The Sultan informed himſelf truly of their Probity, gave them their liberty, calling back two to *Pera*, to live there, with the ſame Priviledges they formerly had, and ſuffered the reſt to return into *France*.

Michna fears to fight with the *Polonians*.

Alexander, Prince of *Moldavia*, having loſt a thouſand Horſe near unto *Cochina*, the laſt year, as you have heard, the Baſſa and *Stephano* were puſt up with this good Succeſs; but *Michna* had no joy of it, who, hearing that the Princes attended him at *Cochina*, with a Reſolution to defend themſelves, remembring that a certain *Italian* making a Profeſſion to foretell future things, had told him, That if he ever came to fight with the *Polonians*, he would be in danger of his life: wherefore, by the Advice of his Chancellor and Camp-Maſter, called *Spaterlecha*, he pretended, that he had received News from his Lieutenant, that there was a great Troop of *Tartarians* entred into *Valachia*, and ſpoiled the Country; upon which Pretext he took leave of the Baſſa, and returned, leaving all his Souldiers in the Army, reſerving only an hundred Horſe for his Guard. Being in *Valachia*, *Stephano* wrote unto him, that he had defeated the *Polonians* in Battel, in the which there were ſlain ſix thouſand men upon the place, and had taken a great number of Priſoners, which they meant to ſend to the Grand Seignior: all which was but a mere Invention to mock *Michna*, and to make him ſorry that he was not in the Action: whereupon he was ſo much diſcontented, as he cauſed the Heads of his Chancellor and Camp-maſter to be cut off, for their bad Counſel, charging them that they had ſome ſecret Intelligence with the *Polonians*.

The *Baſſa* and *Stephano* defeated at *Cochina*.

About the end of *March*, the Baſſa, with *Stephano*, and a *Tartarian* Prince called *Monoza*, reſolved to advance with their whole Army (being twenty thouſand men) towards *Cochina*; and being within two Leagues, they made a ſtand a whole day to refreſh their men. In the mean time the Princes put their Army in order of Battel, in a little Plain within a quarter of a League of *Cochina*, leaving a thouſand choice Horſe within the Town under the Command of Prince *Coresky*, aſſuring themſelves that the Turks would not fail to camp betwixt the Town and the Prince's Army, that if they were defeated, they might have no means to retire into the Fort, which was held impregnable. The Princes drew eight pieces of Cannon out of the Fort, which they planted within a Trench which was covered with a Wood. The Baſſa on the other ſide thought that he had the Princes at his mercy, being advertiſed that they had not half ſo many men in their Army: early in the morning he cauſed his men to march in good order, who arrived near to *Cochina* by ſeven of the clock in the morning, where, having made a ſtand to diſcover the Princes Army, he went and incamped betwixt them and the Town, as it had been foreſeen. His men being put in order, the *Tartarians*, who had a great deſire to be revenged of the *Coſſacks*, who had defeated them in many Encounters, intreated to have the Point; the which was granted, and the Trumpets ſounding, they advanced towards a Battalion of *Coſſacks*, nothing diſtruſting the Cannon which was planted on that ſide, and not ſeen. Coming within the ſhot, they preſently played upon them, and overthrew a great number of the *Tartarians*, and terrified the reſt, the which the *Coſſacks* perceiving, they charged them furiouſly, and cut the reſt in pieces, and ſo retired towards their Army, ſeeing another Squadron of *Valachians* and *Moldavians* come to ſuccour the *Tartarians*. The Lord of *Tiſchevich*, with his Troop of fifteen or ſixteen hundred Horſe well armed, went to encounter the ſaid Squadron, which advanced bravely towards the Princes Cannon. The Combate was long without any ſhew of Advantage, which made the Marſhal of the Turks Army to ſend three thouſand Turks to ſuccour them: and the Princes cauſed a Squadron of *Coſſacks* and *Moldavians* to advance, who carried themſelves ſo valiantly, as they forced the Turks to retire above an hundred Paces. Then Prince *Alexander* cried out, Now my Companions, behold the Enemy is in diſorder, let us charge them reſolutely, and the Victory is certain. After which he advanced with the reſt of his Army, commanding two Cannons to be ſhot off together, for a ſign to Prince *Coresky* that he might ſally forth, and charge the Turks Rereward, as it had been reſolved: but he ſtayed not for the Signal, being already advanced above three hundred Paces, fearing that the Party would be ended without him, or that he ſhould fail at need. 1616

The Baſſa ſeeing this Stratagem, which he feared not, and the bad ſucceſs of his men which he had ſent to fight, and that he was charged both before and behind, he began to be amazed, and having cauſed a Squadron of two thouſand Horſe, *Turks* and *Valachians*, to advance to ſecond his Troops, he retired apart with *Stephano* (who was no leſs afraid than himſelf) with the reſt of the Turkiſh Cavalry, to attend the event of the Battel. There was never a more furious Combate ſeen (which continued for the ſpace of two hours) full of fearful Howlings of Turks, who in the end fainted, ſeeing no Succours come unto them; whereas if the Baſſa and the cowardly *Stephano* had joyned with them, they had without doubt fortified their Carriages, and renewed their Forces, and by all appearance won the Victory, which they loſt beyond all mens Expectation. When as the Baſſa and *Stephano* ſaw that their Forces were in rout, and no means to draw them again together, they began to make a Retreat with above two thouſand Horſe, which had not yet fought: in the mean time, the Princes *Tiſchevich* and *Coresky*, (like two Thunderbolts of War) cut all in pieces they could meet; and fearing leſt they ſhould make a new head, the Princes drew all their men together, and made a ſtand upon the Place of Battel, not ſuffering their Souldiers to go to the Spoil, before they were aſſured that the Enemy was retired in great haſte, fearing the Princes would have purſued them, the which they would willingly have done, if their Men and Horſes had not been almoſt tired in the former Battel, in which there was ſlain above twelve thouſand men, beſides the Wounded and Priſoners.

Flight of the Baſſa and *Stephano*.

Prince *Alexander* being returned to *Cochina*, with the other Princes and Noblemen, they gave Thanks to God for the Victory they had obtained againſt the Turks and their Confederates; and there was much joy with the Princeſs and all the Ladies, who were retired into the Fort, attending the Event of this fearful Battel. Prince *Coresky* burned with deſire to enjoy his Miſtreſs, whom he loved as his own life; ſo as by a free conſent of all Parties, they were married within two days after the Victory, to the great content of all the Court.

Prince *Coresky* marries with the Princeſs *Alexandrina*.

Whilſt that the Princes began to enjoy the Fruits of their Victory, the Baſſa and wretched *Stephano* returned to *Tas*; but finding no ſafety there, they parted preſently; the Baſſa to *Conſtantinople*, and the Tyrant into *Valachia* to Prince *Michna*,

1616 *Michna*, who was his only ſupport, notwithſtanding that he had mocked him apparently. But before this Wretch departed from *Tas* (having no hope ever to return again) he cauſed the Town to be ſet on fire in many places; ſo as of two and twenty thouſand Houſes, there were not above ſix hundred untouched. The Princes having advice hereof, in the beginning of *April*, they marched ſpeedily thither; where finding it ſo deſolate, they reſolved to purſue *Stephano* into *Valachia*, and puniſh him according to his deſerving. The next day they marched towards *Valachia*, being to paſs the River of *Siretta*, there being on the other ſide a Borough in which *Michna* had four hundred men in Garriſon, to keep the Frontiers. The Princes arriving at this place, the Garriſon put themſelves in defence; but they were ſoon forced and cut in pieces, ſo as there eſcaped not one; and as for the Inhabitants, they were well intreated, having made no reſiſtance, and withal, they hated *Michna* for the Vexations they received from the ſaid Garriſon. The Army having reſted there three days, advanced with all ſpeed towards the City of *Bonza*, whereas *Michna* then remained with wretched *Stephano*, who had no care but to make good cheer. The Army being come within a League of *Bonza*, it was diſcovered by ſome Country-men, who ran to advertiſe their Prince, wiſhing him to ſave himſelf ſpeedily, for that they had diſcovered the *Polonian* Army near the City. *Michna* was ready to ſit down to dinner, having invited *Stephano* to accompany him; but he was ſo amazed at this unexpected coming of the Princes, as he ran himſelf to his Stable, and mounted upon the firſt Horſe he could find, without Saddle, and ſo took his way towards *Tergoviſt*, being followed by few of his People, one of which gave him his own Horſe, which was better furniſhed; and as for *Stephano*, having ſadled his own Horſe, he fled all alone towards *Nicopolis*.

A Defeat of 400 of *Michna's* men.

Prince *Michna* and *Stephano* fly from *Bonza*.

The Princes being entred *Bonza* without reſiſtance, they were wonderfully grieved that they had not found *Stephano*, which was their whole Deſign, and that Prince *Michna* (to whom they intended no harm) had been ſo amazed. The Army, at their firſt Entrance, ſpoiled the City, which the Princes could not hinder, nor yet the raviſhing of many Wives and Virgins, which drew the Wrath of God upon them, and in all appearance was the true cauſe of the Miſeries which afterward befell the Princes. During their Abode at *Bonza* to refreſh their men, many Boyets or Noblemen of the Country (deſiring to ſhake off the Yoke of Prince *Michna's* Command, who governed inſolently) came unto Prince *Alexander*, beſeeching him to ſtay in *Valachia*, promiſing that the whole Nobility would willingly yield him all Obedience and Fidelity. But the Prince (having no intent to diſpoſſeſs *Michna*) thanked them for their good will; the which the Boyets underſtanding, they told him, that they would be glad (ſeeing he refuſed it) that Prince *Cherbanne* (who had been their Vayvod before *Michna*, and had been expelled *Valachia* by *Bethlem Gabor*, and forced to retire into *Germany* to the Emperour) might return and take upon him the Government of *Valachia*, intreating him to give him Paſſage through *Moldavia* if he preſented himſelf; the which Prince *Alexander* willingly granted, deſiring much that Prince *Cherbanne* were reſtored, for that *Michna* favoured his Enemy, and had himſelf a deſign upon the Eſtate of *Moldavia*, which in the end he obtained.

Prince *Alexander* refuſeth the Eſtate of *Valachia*.

Prince *Michna* being come to *Playa*, which is betwixt *Bonza* and *Tergoviſt*, he ſtayed ſome days there attending his Train, during the which he ſent ſpeedily to his Wife, being at *Tergoviſt*, willing her to go with all ſpeed to *Nicopolis*, for that he feared the Princes would ſeiſe both upon them and their Eſtates, as they might eaſily have done if they had foreſeen what afterwards befell them. *Michna* being come to *Tergoviſt*, he preſently ſent an Ambaſſador to Prince *Alexander*, to know upon what Deſign he had entered *Valachia* with an Army, having no cauſe; but contrariwiſe, that he had given good Teſtimony that he was his Friend, for that he would not aſſiſt the Baſſa and *Stephano* when they purſued him to *Cochina*, notwithſtanding that they were much ſtronger in ſhew; That if his Intent were only to ſeiſe upon *Stephano*, he aſſured him that he was not with him, but was fled another way, promiſing, that if he could ever take him, he would deliver him into his hands; intreating him withal, to retire out of his Eſtate, not ſuffering his Army to ſpoil it any more, and that they might continue good Friends. Prince *Alexander* received this Ambaſſador very courteouſly, who hearing the Subject of his Embaſſy, made Anſwer, That he had the day before ſent unto his Maſter to inform him of his Intent, which was, not to attempt any thing againſt his Perſon nor Eſtate, but only to purſue *Stephano*, who had ſet fire on the City of *Tas* before he parted; and to let *Michna* know, That he meant not to wrong him, nor to inrich himſelf with any thing that was his, he had ſent him back his Plate, with all his rich Moveables. *Michna's* Ambaſſador having thanked Prince *Alexander*, returned to *Tergoviſta*, and found all true that the Prince had ſaid; the which freed *Michna* from farther fear.

Michna ſends an Ambaſſador to Prince *Alexander*.

Before Prince *Alexander's* Departure from *Bonza*, he ſent the Lord *Troianosky* with two thouſand Horſe to purſue *Stephano*: but it was without effect; for he underſtood that he had paſſed the River of *Danow* with his Wife, and a ſmall train. At the ſame time a Troop of fifteen hundred *Tartarians*, being advertiſed that the *Polonians* purſued *Stephano* only with a thouſand Horſe, and that they were tired with their long Marches, advanced to charge them; but it was not with that Succeſs they expected: for *Troianosky* diſcovering them afar off in a plain champian Field, had leiſure to put his men into four Squadrons, and there attended them, who approaching near to diſcover the number of the *Polonians*, would gladly return without blows, but it was too late; for *Troianosky* commanded two of his Squadrons to charge them ſuddenly, ſo as within leſs than a quarter of an hour they were defeated, and above four hundred ſlain upon the place; the reſt fled the ſame way that they came: of the *Polonians* there were not above five and twenty ſlain, and about fifty hurt.

Fifteen hundred *Tartarians* defeated by *Troianoskey*.

The Princes had reſolved to leave *Valachia*, forbidding all Captains and Souldiers, upon pain of death, to carry away any *Valachian* of either Sex with them, hearing they had ſeiſed upon ſome, and meant to draw a Ranſome from them: after which they began to march; and being upon the way, they were advertiſed that the Inhabitants of *Horreova* were again revolted, and in Arms, refuſing to acknowledge Prince *Alexander*, or to pay the accuſtomed Tribute, unleſs he would make it appear that he was confirmed by the Grand Seignior. Prince *Coresky* was ſent thither with five thouſand men; whoſe coming did ſo amaze them, as they yielded without any reſiſtance. This Prince, being loth to loſe any time, laid Siege to the Town and Fort of *Bialigrom*, ſeated upon the River of *Bohon*, the which was held by the *Tartarians Præcopences*, in which Fort there was a Garriſon of Janizaries, and many

The Inhabitants of *Horreova* revolt the ſecond time.

Boyers

1616 Boyers of *Moldavia*, who defended themſelves valiantly, and made many Sallies, in which they ſlew above three hundred of the Prince's men, and he himſelf was in danger to be taken, if he had not been ſpeedily delivered by the Lord of *Tiſchevich* and his Troop, who charged the Janizaries ſo reſolutely, as they forced them to retire, leaving many of their men dead upon the place. The Prince ſeeing there was no hope to take the place without Cannon, raiſed his Siege, and returned to *Yas* to Prince *Alexander*.

Hebraim Baſſa writes to Prince *Alexander*.

Soon after, *Hebraim Baſſa* wrote to Prince *Alexander*, (as if he had been his friend) giving him to underſtand, That from thenceforth he ſhould live quietly in *Moldavia*, for that the Grand Seignior's Lieutenant-General, or chief Viſier (from whom *Stephano* had always drawn his chief ſupport) was in diſgrace, promiſing the Prince to imploy himſelf for him to his Maſter: the which he did either to make him careleſs of his own Strength, or to draw ſome Recompence or Reward from him, if the Grand Seignior ſhould confirm him in *Moldavia*, as there was ſome likelihood, ſeeing that *Stephano* had made himſelf altogether unworthy, as well by his flight, as by his wicked Actions, which made him in the end ſo odious to the Grand Seignior, as he reſolved to ruine him. So as ſoon after they were advertiſed, that the Grand Seignior had given Commandment unto the ſaid Baſſa to ſeize upon *Stephano*, who had retired himſelf to *Brahile*, and to bring him unto him alive or dead, with whatſoever did belong unto him; the which he executed after this manner: The ſaid Baſſa marched with all diligence towards *Brahile*, carrying a Chiaus with him; and being within four or five Leagues of the Town, he ſent one of his people to advertiſe *Stephano* of his coming, and that he meant the next day to dine with him. *Stephano* (who diſtruſted nothing) holding the Viſier to be ſtill his friend, parted early in the morning to meet him, and coming near him he alighted from his Horſe to do him reverence, and the Baſſa did the like; where, after ſome little Conference together, he drew out the Commiſſion he had to ſeiſe upon his Perſon, and to carry him to *Conſtantinople*: the which *Stephano* perceiving, he turned him to his Servants, and willed them to ſhift for themſelves, for that he ſaw he went to his death. His men being retired, the Chiaus, who had his Mace in his hand, gave him a blow betwixt the Shoulders, and then cauſed him to be bound hand and foot, and caſt into a Cart drawn by four good Horſes: and in this manner they carried him to *Conſtantinople*; where being arrived, to avoid the Puniſhment he had deſerved, he denied his Faith, and became a Renegado: and withal, he became very poor and miſerable; for at the ſame inſtant that he was taken, the Baſſa ſent to ſeiſe and carry away whatſoever he had at *Brahile* and *Nicopolis*, where his Wife remained, ſo as he had nothing left him but the remorſe of Conſcience that tormented him continually, for the barbarous Cruelties which he had practiſed in *Moldavia*. Some of his men returned to *Yas*, and there declared what had befallen *Stephano* in their Preſence, for which they generally gave thanks unto God, and were very joyful.

Stephano in diſgrace with the Sultan.

Stephano carried to *Conſtantinople* and turns *Turk*.

Soon after, News came to *Yas*, that the Sultan had appointed Prince *Michna* to ſucceed *Stephano* in the Principality of *Moldavia* (which is very much better than that of *Valachia*) and that he ſent *Skinder Baſſa*, his General in *Europe*, with a powerful Army to ſettle the ſaid *Michna*, and to expell *Alexander*: the which proved ſo true, as on the 25*th* of *June* this year 1616, the ſaid Baſſa came to *Tergovist*, where Prince *Michna* attended him, with great Preparatives both to receive him, and to refreſh his Army. The Baſſa making his entry into *Tergovist*, had amongſt other things of note, thirty or forty Muſicians on Horſe-back, playing upon certain Inſtruments almoſt like unto Gitterns, which made but ſilly Muſick; he had alſo many Pages, who inſtead of Cloaks ware the Skins of Leopards, Lions, and Tygres, as if they meant to terrifie the World; and his Army conſiſted of about twenty thouſand men, ſome *Turks*, ſome *Tartarians*, to whom *Michna* joyned his Forces, having 10000 Horſe and Foot, which he had drawn from *Valachia* and the neighbour Countries. The Baſſa being entred the Caſtle, whereas Prince *Michna* attended him, after many Complements, they entred into a great Hall well appointed, where the Baſſa preſented him his Letters Patents, and a Robe which his Maſter had ſent to *Michna*, which he cauſed to be put on in the preſence of all the Noblemen of his Court, proclaiming him Prince and Vayvod of *Moldavia*, with many Ceremonies too long to relate. After which, Prince *Michna* led the Baſſa into another great Hall where a Feaſt was prepared, as well for himſelf, as for ſuch as he would admit to his Table; *Michna* offering to ſerve the ſaid Baſſa, but he would not ſuffer him, cauſing him to ſit down right againſt him. On the Second of *July* they parted from *Tergovist*, and marched into *Moldavia*, whereof the *Poloniari* Princes were advertiſed: but the Princeſs, Mother to *Alexander*, maintained, That the Baſſa came only to bring the Patents to Prince *Alexander* her Son; which dangerous Opinion of hers grew by reaſon of the Letters which *Hebraim Baſſa* had ſent to Prince *Alexander*, not remembring that it came from a Turk, his ſworn Enemy, and therefore not to be credited, eſpecially in a matter of that importance, ſo as ſhe was the cauſe of their utter ruine.

1616

Michna proclaimed Prince of *Moldavia*.

About this time, the General of the King of *Polonia*'s Army, called *Zolkelchy*, envying the Honour which the *Polonian* Princes had gotten by ſo many Victories, and withal drawn by his own private Intereſt, writ to Prince *Michna* and the Baſſa, that if they would promiſe to procure the Sultan to advance the eldeſt Son of the deceaſed Prince *Simeon* (who lived with him) to be Prince of *Valachia* (whereof his Father had been formerly Vayvod) he would ſo weaken the Prince's Army, as they ſhould be forced to yield or fly. Whoſe Demand being eaſily granted, this Traitor writ to certain Captains of the *Coſſacks*, that they ſhould leave the Prince's Army, and come with all ſpeed into *Poland*, to accompany *Vladiſlaus* their King's Son, who had been choſen Duke of *Muſcovy*, and meant to go thither with a great Army by reaſon of ſome Croſſes, and that they ſhould be very well paid. The *Coſſacks* (who depend upon the Crown of *Poland*, ſerving thoſe that promiſe moſt) began to mutiny, ſaying plainly, That if they had not money ſpeedily, they would retire into their Country, yet concealing that they had been called to any other Service; and without any long ſtay, there parted early in a morning about 8000, carrying with them great ſtore of Oxen, Sheep, and other Cattel, with all the Spoils they had got in the precedent Victories.

The Treachery of the General of *Polonia*.

The *Coſſacks* mutiny, and leave Prince *Alexander*.

After their Example, *Bicho*, General of Prince *Alexander*'s Army, whether corrupted by Bribes, or for that he had an apprehenſion of this powerful Army which came againſt them, retired alſo ſecretly toward *Michna* and the Baſſa, being followed by 2000 Horſe. This was a Subject of great amazement to the Prince's Army; and yet, as if they had been inchanted by ſome deviliſh Charms, they could not reſolve to make a Retreat

Bicho, General of Prince *Alexander*'s Army, forſakes him treacherouſly.

as

1616 as they might eaſily have done without danger. Many adviſed Prince *Alexander* to this courſe, even Prince *Michna* writ unto him, adviſing him to retire into *Polonia* before that his Army approached nearet to *Tas*; the which he did for fear of the Succeſs, whereof his falſe Prophet had forewarned him, as we have formerly obſerved: whereupon *Alexander* went to Council on the 25*th* of *July*, but they could not reſolve, the Commanders and Souldiers being much divided, moſt of them demanding their Pay, elſe they would not fight; the which they took for a Pretext of their Retreat. In the mean time the *Tartarians*, which made the Vantguard of Prince *Michna*'s Army, approached; which made the Princes to leave *Tas*, and to march toward *Cochina*: but they could not do it ſo ſecretly, but the *Tartarians* were advertiſed, who paſt ſpeedily through the City, and charged them in the Rear, in which Encounter *George Potosky*, Nephew to him that was taken with *Conſtantine*, having fought valiantly, and ſlain many *Tartarians* with his own hand, was in the end ſhot thorow the body with an Arrow, whereof he died preſently. The Lord of *Tiſcheuich* came ſpeedily to the Charge with a Troop of *Coſſacks* which he had ſtayed, and charged the *Tartarians* ſo furiouſly, as he ſlew eight hundred upon the place, and put the reſt to rout.

Prince *Alexander*'s Anſwer to Prince *Michna*.

Alexander, having received the Letter above mentioned from Prince *Michna*, made Anſwer, that (contrary to his promiſe to continue his friend, and never to take Arms againſt him) he had craved aid from the Turk to diſpoſſeſs him of *Moldavia*, to the which his Predeceſſor had never pretended, neither could they according to the fundamental Laws of the Country, and the Conventions accorded by the Grand Seignior, when as the *Moldavians* ſubmitted themſelves under his Sovereignty, by the which no man could be Vayvod of *Moldavia* unleſs he were born in the Country. Moreover, he ſhould remember, that it was in his power to diſpoſſeſs him of *Valachia*, when as he entred *Bonza* with his Army in purſuit of *Stephano*; the which he would not do, nor detain any of his precious Moveables, which he had reſerved and ſent unto him; that if he abuſed the Power which he then had, God would not ſuffer ſo great an Ingratitude and Uſurpation to remain unpuniſhed. And although his Army were far inferiour to his, yet he would let him know, that he neither feared him nor the Baſſa, putting his chief Confidence in the aſſiſtance of the Almighty, who had in many occaſions uſed them to abate the Turks pride, which he ſhould abhor, if he were a true Chriſtian, rather than to joyn with them to ſatisfie his Ambition.

Prince *Michna* having ſent this Letter to *Skinder Baſſa*, General of the Turks Army, he was ſo incenſed, as he preſently commanded his Lieutenant to purſue the *Polonians* with twelve thouſand choice men, they being then at *Cotnard*, betwixt *Tas* and *Cochina*. Prince *Alexander* being advertiſed hereof, he ſuddenly cauſed his Army to advance towards the Fort of *Cochina*. At the ſame time, the Chancellor to Prince *Cherbanne*, who came with one hundred and fifty Horſe to Prince *Alexander*, to aſſure him that his Maſter was coming to his aid with five or ſix thouſand men, was purſued by the Turks near unto *Tas*, whereas he thought to have found the ſaid Prince, and of all his Troop only himſelf and one more eſcaped, ſo as the Prince could have no certain news of the ſaid *Cherbanne*. Prince *Coresky*, who had remained with two thouſand five hundred Horſe not far from *Cotnard*, was alſo encountred by a great Troop of *Turks* and *Tartarians*, which he could not well diſcover by reaſon of a little Mountain that covered them: the Prince ſeeing ſome of them appear, charged them; but finding, that as he defeated one Troop, a freſh ſucceeded in his place, he was forced to make his Retreat, with this advantage, that he had almoſt ſlain ſix thouſand of his Enemies, having not loſt above two hundred and fifty of his own men. But the Prince was wounded with two Arrows, one in the Thigh, and the other in the Back, which was a great diſaſter for himſelf and for the whole Army. He which commanded this Troop of Turks being much amazed at this unexpected Encounter, having gathered his men together, and joyned them to fifteen thouſand others whom the Baſſa had ſent, he being yet at *Tas*, he cauſed this Army to approach within a quarter of a League to the *Polonians*, where, having encouraged his men in what he could, he told them, that to ſhew his Affection unto the Sultan's Service in this occaſion, he was reſolved to ſend a Challenge to Prince *Coresky*, whom he confeſt to be the moſt valiant of all the *Polonian* Army, ſo as he preſently diſpatched one of his Captains to go unto the Prince, and to call him in the behalf of his General. The Captain coming to *Alexander*'s Camp, demanded to ſpeak with Prince *Coresky*, who being brought unto him, delivered the Charge he had from his General. The Prince, although he were neither able to ſtand nor to ſit on Horſe-back, by reaſon of his Wounds, yet would he needs have accepted this Challenge, if Prince *Alexander*, and the chief Noblemen of the Army, had not conjured him to excuſe himſelf by reaſon of his Indiſpoſition; letting him know, that the event of ſuch a Combat did not only import him, but all thoſe of his Party who had their chief hope in him; whereunto the Princeſſes added their inſtant Intreaties; and among others, his dear Spouſe, who was much afflicted for his Wounds. The Lord of *Tiſcheuich* (a brave and valiant Gentleman) being then preſent, intreated Prince *Alexander* to give him leave to accept of the Challenge for Prince *Coresky* his Couſin; the which was willingly granted: ſo as he ſent a Gentleman with the ſaid Turk, to know if the General would yield thereunto, which he did willingly, not being ignorant of the Quality and Valour of the ſaid *Tiſcheuich*. It was agreed that the Combate ſhould be betwixt both Armies, lying in a plain open Field, within a quarter of a League one of another, with promiſe, that neither Party ſhould be aſſiſted.

A Chalenge ſent to Prince *Coresky* from the Turks General.

1616

Theſe two brave Warriours having taken leave of their Friends, came to the place appointed, in view of both Armies. The Turks General being about fifty Paces from his Army, cauſed Water to be brought, with the which he waſhed his Mouth, Eyes, Noſe, Ears, and Privy Parts, believing (according to his Law) that this waſhing would ſerve as a purifying; then turning toward the Eaſt, he made his Prayer: after which he went to Horſe-back, being richly armed and furniſhed, and then marched ſoftly towards his Adverſary, who attended him well mounted and armed, and ſo they began their Combat, their chief Arms being Bows and Arrows, which they ſpent without hurting one another; till at laſt *Tiſcheuich*, having a Petronel, ſhot the Turk thorow the Body, and overthrew him, who ſtriving to riſe again, *Tiſcheuich* paſſed over him with his Horſe, and wounded him in the right Arm, and at the next blow ſlew him: after which he cut off his head, and carried it to Prince *Alexander*.

A Combat betwixt *Tiſcheuich* and the General of the Turks Army.

The *Polonians* were very joyful of the happy Succeſs of this famous Combate; and the Turks being much amazed, adverti[ſe]d the Baſſa and *Michna*, that it was neceſſary they ſhould bring the

The Princes of *Polonia* environed by their Enemies.

1616 the reſt of their Army and their Cannon, if they would be revenged of the *Polonians*. In the mean time the Traitor *Bicho*, who had abandoned Prince *Alexander*, with a Troop of two thouſand *Tartarians* and *Moldavians*, found means to get before the *Polonian* Army, and to cut off the way betwixt *Cotnarde* and the Town of *Bothocan* ſix Leagues off. The *Valachians* and *Tranſilvanians*, led by the General of *Michna*'s Army, inveſted them upon the right hand, and the body of the Turks Army followed behind; ſo as there remained nothing but upon the left hand a Wood of Timber-trees which might favour their Retreat. *Skinder* Baſſa, hearing the Succeſs of the Combate, commanded his Army to advance preſently with ſixteen Cannons. The Princes ſeeing themſelves environed by ſo many Enemies, they reſolved to fortifie themſelves with their Carts and Carriages, and to defend themſelves; but what could five or ſix thouſand men prevail againſt two or three and twenty thouſand; for ſo many were thought to be in the Turks Army: True it is, they expected daily Prince *Cherbanne*, and the Lord *Boſſi*, who were within two days Journey, and brought with them ten or twelve thouſand men. This made the Baſſa and *Michna* to advance, to force the *Polonians* to yield or fight. Coming near unto their Camp, and ſeeing them inveſted on all ſides but towards the Wood, they approached their Cannon, which had been able to have ſpoiled their Camp, but it was not their deſign; they only deſired to take the Princes and Princeſſes Priſoners, with the chief Noble-men: Whereupon they ſent to ſummon the *Polonian* Army to deliver into their hands the ſaid Princes and Lords, promiſing that the reſt of the Army ſhould depart with Bag and Baggage; whereunto they would not yield, but made an Anſwer all with one conſent, That they would rather dye than commit ſuch Baſeneſs and Treachery. This being reported to the Baſſa and Prince *Michna*, they commanded that ſome of their Cannon ſhould be charged with ſmall Bullets, and diſcharged through the *Polonian* Army; whereby there were a great number ſlain and wounded. The Princes, who had but ſome ſmall pieces, made certain Vollies, but to ſmall purpoſe; neither had they any more Bullets left, and little Powder; for that by ill chance part had been burnt ſome few days before; ſo as all things ſeemed to foretell their ruine at hand. The Lord of *Tiſchevich*, having judiciouſly obſerved, that remaining in that incloſure, he could not eſcape Death, or at leaſt Captivity, reſolved with five hundred Horſe (the moſt valiant among the *Polonians*) to force through three or four Squadrons which were ſet in guard by the Wood ſide, to the end none might eſcape, that Place being moſt ſuſpected to the Turks; the which they executed with ſuch fury, as they overthrew all they encountered; ſhewing, that it is a very dangerous thing to make head againſt thoſe who are reduced to that Extremity, as they muſt either vanquiſh or dye. Prince *Coreskie* would not have failed to have made the like Retreat, and to have carried Prince *Alexander* with him; but he could not ſit on Horſe-back by reaſon of his Wounds; and beſides, he had rather have died than to leave his Wife in that Extremity. His laſt refuge was to diſguiſe himſelf as well as he could, giving it out, that he had eſcaped with *Tiſchevich*, to the end he might paſs for a common Souldier, if the Priſoners were put to Ranſome. In like manner the Princeſſes diſguiſed themſelves in the beſt manner they could, for the like intent.

The Princes Army ſummoned to yield.

A brave retreat made by *Tiſchevich*.

The Turks Cannon having overthrown many of their Carriages, which ſerved as a Rampier, two Squadrons, one of *Tartarians*, and the other of Turks, preſented themſelves at one inſtant in two ſeveral places to force the *Polonians* Camp; who ſeeing no means to make reſiſtance, and to repell the Enemy, laid down their Arms, crying out with a loud Voice, That they yielded; whereat their Enemies were exceeding glad, deſiring nothing more than to take theſe Noble Princes Priſoners, and to diſpoſe of the reſt at their pleaſures. The Turks and *Tartarians* having entred their Camp, making ſpoil of all, and ſeiſing upon what they could lay their hands on, beginning to ſhare their Priſoners, the Princes *Alexander* and *Bougdan*, with their Mother, were delivered unto *Skinder* Baſſa, who led them to *Conſtantinople*, whereas ſoon after their arrival they forſook their God, denied their Faith, and became Renegadoes, for fear of perpetual Impriſonment, wherewith they were threatned. For which Infidelity *Bougdan* was preſently puniſhed; for having cauſed himſelf to be Circumciſed according to the Law of *Mahomet*, he died, and the Princeſs his Mother was confined to the old Seraglio. As for Prince *Coreskie* (in this general ruine of a Chriſtian Army being forced to yield and ſubmit it ſelf to the Turks Tyranny) he had ſo diſguiſed himſelf, as he paſt for a time unknown, and was led to *Tau* among the common Souldiers, where he was afterward diſcovered by a Souldier of his own Party, who obtained his liberty by this baſe treachery. The Turkiſh Captain who had gotten this Prince, hearing of his quality by the aforeſaid Villain, he led him to *Skinder* Baſſa his General, who recompenced him well, and made both him and the Souldier who diſcovered him, to take ſolemn Oaths not to impart it to any man; for he had an intent to draw ſome great Ranſome from this Prince, and to reſtore him to his former liberty, knowing well, that if he carried him to *Conſtantinople*, the Grand Seignior would confine him into his Priſons, by which means he ſhould make no uſe nor benefit by his taking. But it happened, that another perfidious of the *Polonian* Army advertiſed *Michna* of *Coreskie*'s Captivity, and in whoſe hands he was; who was ſo jealous, as he croſt and overthrew the good deſign of *Skinder* Baſſa, telling him plainly in the preſence of many, that he knew for certain, Prince *Coresky* was amongſt his ſlaves, and that he ſhould beware he did not eſcape, for that the Grand Seignior would call him to account. The General made anſwer, that he would be glad it were ſo, but he had not yet any notice of him, thanking *Michna* for his good advice. But, fearing that if he did what he intended, ſuffering Prince *Coresky* to eſcape for a Ranſom, the Sultan coming to the knowledge thereof, would be much incenſed, and puniſh him with diſgrace or death, the next day he told Prince *Michna* plainly, that the advice he had given him was true, and that *Coresky* had been found diſguiſed among his other Priſoners, whom he would preſent unto his Maſter, with the Princes *Alexander* and *Bougdan*, as he did, of whoſe delivery you ſhall hear hereafter. The young Princeſs, Wife to *Coresky*, having diſguiſed her ſelf, and diſfigured her face with her Nayls, and other helps, fell into the hands of a *Tartarian* Captain, with many others, who carried her into *Tartaria*, whereas ſhe was moſt inhumanely intreated.

1616

The Princes taken Priſoners, and carried to *Conſtantinople*.

Prince *Coreskie* being diſguiſed is diſcovered.

In the *Mediterranean* Sea, *Coſmo* great Duke of *Tuſcany* continued his Enterpriſes this year againſt the Turks: his Gallies part from *Ligorn* and run into the *Levant*, in queſt of ſome occaſions to annoy theſe Infidels. They drew near unto *Cerigo*, in old time *Citharea*, the five and twentieth of *April*,

The courſes of the *Florentine* Gallies.

1616 *April*, where, meeting with certain Chriſtian Ships, ſome *Venetians* advertiſed them, that in the Iſland of *Chio*, the Turks had prepared two Gallies to paſs into *Barbary*. *Inghirami* (Admiral to the Great Duke) reſolved to ſet upon them; being on the way, he turned with his Fleet where they were to paſs, and being covered by the Night, he caſt Anchor under Caſtle *Roux*. But as he attended a favourable Occaſion, the Moon ſhining, diſcovered him to the Turks, and the Guards having advertiſed the Turks Gallies, they preſently began to fly, the one rowing amain towards Land, and the other continued her courſe at Sea with all ſpeed. *Inghirami* with his Admiral Gallie got before that which was going to Land, inveſted it, being followed by the Gallie called *St. Stephen*, and three hours within Night grapled with it, and laboured to enter it; but the Turks (who were all good Souldiers) defended it valiantly, ſo as they were above an hour faſtned together, hewing one another furiouſly; yea, the Turks (who were entered into *Inghirami's* Gallie) fought valiantly upon the Hatches; but in the end the *Florentines* had the Victory, and took this Gallie, yet with much loſs of Chriſtian Blood. It was the Patron Gallie of that famous Pirate *Amurath Raiſe*, which was commanded by the Son of *Mammi* a *Portugal*, called *Muſtapha Celebi*, who was taken alive, but ſore wounded. The other Gallie which had fled to Sea, and was the Captain Gallie of the ſaid *Amurath Raiſe*, commanded by the Bey of *Mitilene*, Nephew and Son-in-Law to that Pirate, called *Amurath*, who had married his Daughter, being his Mothers Son, was inveſted by the Gallies of Saint *Marie Magdalene*, and the Patron Saint *Coſmo*; the Combat was no leſs furious than the other, the Turks making a wonderful defence; but after ſome hours fight, in the which the Blood of either ſide was abundantly ſpilt, the *Florentines* had the Victory; *Amurath*, Bey of *Mitilene*, was ſlain, and *Muſtapha*, whom theſe Turkiſh Gallies carried to *Algier* in *Barbary*. They were of five and twenty banks a piece, carrying Lanthorns, and furniſhed with all things neceſſary, and manned with four hundred and twenty Janizaries, all men of Action, and practiſed in Piracies with that Pyrat *Amurath Rais*. In this prize the *Florentines* took two hundred and forty Turks, and free'd four hundred and thirty Chriſtians; among the Artillery of theſe Gallies, they recovered a Cannon and two Sacres of the Gallie of Saint *John*, and a Sail belonging to the Great Dukes Captain Gallie, which the Pyrat *Amurath Rais* had formerly ſpoiled. Theſe Turkiſh Gallies were laden with great ſtore of rich Commodities, the which was valued at two hundred thouſand Crowns. But this Conqueſt was gotten with the loſs of much Blood; for the *Florentines* had two hundred twenty three men wounded, and five and thirty ſlain in thoſe two Combats; the which made the Admiral *Inghirami* to reſt ſatisfied in this Voyage with the taking of two Gallies, after which he returned to *Legorn*.

The Turkiſh Gallies taken by the *Florentines*.

Deputies meet at Vienna to confirm the Peace betwixt the Emperour and the Turk.

*We have formerly made mention in the Jeſuits Buſineſs, being preſented at Conſtantinople, of the entry which the Emperors Ambaſſador made into that City. And this was the Effect of his Ambaſſage. The Peace concluded at Situâ Torok, in the year 1606, betwixt the Emperour and the Sultan, was ſomewhat altered by the divers Interpretations and Explications, which they made of the Articles therein contained. But this year 1616, in the Month of *March*, the Ambaſſadors of both their Imperial Majeſties aſſembled at *Vienna* in *Auſtria*, that is to ſay, the Cardinal *Forgatſie*, Arch-biſhop of *Strigonium*, and Chancellor to the Emperour, the Cardinal *Kleſſel*, Biſhop of *Vienna*, the Baron of *Rainek*, Count *Adolph Althen*, the Earl of *Solmes*, the Earl of *Thoron*, and *Pauli Apponi Nagi*, for the Emperour; *Hali* Baſſa of *Buda*, *Achmat Tihaia*, and *Gaſper Gratſiani*, for the Turk; where they concluded theſe following Articles, to take away all pretext of Controverſie in the Explication of thoſe which were agreed upon at *Situa Torok*. But it was after that Ambaſſadors had been ſent of either ſide, as well to *Conſtantinople* as to *Prague*, with royal and rich Preſents.

1616

Articles extracted out of the Letters Patents of *Achmat* Emperour of the *Turks*.

Articles touching the differences of the Peace.

1. *Forasmuch as many things have happened of either ſide, contrary to the Peace concluded at* Situa Torok, *it hath been neceſſary to confirm it anew, and to reduce it into the right courſe: Wherefore this holy Peace, made and concluded at* Situa Torok, *ſhall be obſerved for twenty years compleat, to begin at the date of theſe preſents. Given in the month of* Chomazilabil, *in the year of the Prophet*, 1024.

2. *That the Peace heretofore concluded at* Situa Torok, *ſhall remain firm in all its Articles, according to the Treaty which the Emperour* Rodulphus *did ſend unto Us, ſigned with his hand, and ſealed with his ſeal, the which we have received willingly, and the ſame Treaty we alſo ſent back confirmed to the Emperour of the* Romans, *the which he received in like manner. And this Treaty which was ſent unto Us bare date the ninth of* December, *in the year* 1606 *of* Jeſus, *of reverend and happy memory; and that which we ſent unto the Emperour of* Romans, *wherewith he was ſatisfied, was dated in the year of the Prophet One thouſand twenty one.*

3. *Since the time that* Agria, Caniſe, Alba-Regalis, Peſth, Buda, Zolnok, Hatwan, *and other places have been taken, that the Villages which were of their appurtenances ſhall hereafter remain annexed unto them. But thoſe Villages, which ſince the Peace of* Situa Torok *have been hindred from paying their Tribute by either ſide, or have been held by force, contrary to the Treaty of Peace, that thoſe Villages ſhall be viewed by Commiſſaries appointed by Us and the Emperour of the* Romans, *and preſently ſhall be ſet at liberty, and reſtored to their Lords and right owners. As for the Villages which pay Tribute to either part, thoſe which are ſcituate upon the Frontiers of the Emperour of the* Romans, *towards* Novigrade *and other Places, ſhall be viewed by Commiſſaries thereunto deputed, who ſhall take a Regiſter, to the end thoſe Villages may not be moleſted by our Neighbours. In like manner, the Commiſſary ſhall make a Regiſter of the Villages which pay to both ſides, lying near the Towns of the Emperour of* Romans, *of* Strigonium *and other Places; to the end they may take notice what Villages are bound to the one or the other Party, that hereafter there might grow no Controverſie. And for that which concerned the* 158 *Villages about* Strigonium, *for the which there was ſome controverſie, the ſixty lying neareſt to the ſaid Town ſhall be adjudged as it hath been agreed, and the Commiſſaries of either ſide ſhall take order for it. The foreſaid Villages lying near to* Strigonium, *and all others of the Realm of* Hungary, *which ſhall be adjudged to the one or other Party, ſhall not in any ſort be diſquieted, more than of ancient Cuſtom, and there ſhall be nothing exacted from them more than the Tribute.*

The Judges of Villages ſhall pay unto the Lord the Tributes according to the ancient Cuſtom; if the Judges

1616 *do not bring the Tribute, the Baſſa or Beg of the Place ſhall ſummon the Inhabitants thrice, to the end their Judges may come and pay the Tribute, and if they do it not after theſe ſummonings, he ſhall write unto the next Governour for the* Roman *Emperour, that the Judges of the Villages may be ſent unto him with the Tribute: And finally, if after all theſe Formalities it be not paid, the Baſſa or Beg may uſe force to fetch in theſe Inhabitants, and make them Slaves; the which ſhall be obſerved throughout all the villages which owe us tribute in the Realm of* Hungary, *yet nothing ſhall be exacted or demanded of them more than they have been accuſtomed to pay in antient times. The Commiſſaries deputed ſhall view and ſet down by a joynt conſent the limits and bounds of the Lands and Seigniories, which are held by either part in the upper or lower* Hungary, *and in the Realms of* Croatia *and* Sclavonia.

4. *They that ſhall break the Peace of either part, if they cannot be convicted and puniſhed inſtantly, we have decreed, that there ſhall be order taken of either ſide, and Juſtice ſhall be done within three Months. All Priſoners of War and others which have been taken ſince the Peace of* Situa Torok, *ſhall be ſet at liberty without ranſome.*

5. Achmet Tahaia *hath preſented unto us a Roll of Places built and fortified ſince the Peace, for the retreat of Souldiers. Whereupon we have ordained, that Informations ſhould be taken of all Fortifications made on either ſide ſince the Peace of* Situa Torok; *and if it be found that any Fortification hath been made contrary to the Peace, it ſhall be viſited within four Months by the Captains on both ſides, or by a Nobleman of either Party, and the Fortifications which ſhall be found to have been thus made contrary to the Peace, ſhall be demoliſhed.*

6. *And, for that ſome wicked and malicious Spirits have attempted many things unjuſtly to infringe this holy Peace and good Amity; we have ordained, that if hereafter any Perſons of either ſide ſhall attempt or practiſe any thing that is wicked and lewd, contrary to the Peace and mutual Correſpondency, we will adverti ſe the Emperour of the* Romans *thereof; and in like manner the* Roman *Emperour, King of* Hungary *and* Bohemia, *ſhall write unto us to our Court, and no credit ſhall be given to the Reports of ſuch Perſons.*

7. *The Prieſts, religious Men, and Jeſuits, among the People of holy* Jeſus, *which follow the Popes Religion, may build Temples in our Realms, there to ſay divine Service after their manner, and read the Goſpel. We will yield them all favour, and will not ſuffer any one to diſturb them contrary to Law and Equity.*

8. *It ſhall be lawful for the Inhabitants born in the Realm of* Hungary *of either part, to re-edifie the Villages ruined and laid waſte, and after they are inhabited, they ſhall pay Tribute to the one and the other, if they be ſuch Villages as have been accuſtomed to pay to both.*

9. *Merchants ſhall have free leave to traffick, paſſing from our Port into thoſe Countries, and the tranſport of Merchandiſe ſhall be free to ſuch as ſhall take Letters from the Governours of the Frontiers, or from the Receivers of the thirties; the which they ſhall repreſent in paſſing, and the Lord of the Place or the Receiver ſhall atteſt the ſaid Letters by his manual ſign or ſeal; for the which they ſhall not take any thing of the Merchant. If the Merchant be to paſs by any dangerous Place, they ſhall give him a ſufficient Convoy to conduct him in ſafety; and after that the Merchant hath paied of either ſide the thirtieth, which is the full due, no man ſhall moleſt him nor hinder him to go where he pleaſeth.*

10. *The Merchants which would paſs from the Realms and Seigniories of the Emperor of the* Romans, 1616
and the Houſe of Auſtria, *into our Kingdoms, with Merchandiſe or Money, ſhall come under the Enſign of the Emperour of* Romans, *and ſhall have his Letters patents to us, without the which they ſhall not be ſuffered to paſs. And if they enter without Enſign, or the ſaid Patents, the Agents and Conſuls of the* Roman *Emperour may ſeiſe upon their Veſſels, Merchandiſes and Money, and ſhall give advice thereof unto their Emperour; wherefore all the Merchants of the Emperours Countries, of the Houſe of* Auſtria, *and of the King of* Spain, *both as well thoſe of the* Low-Countries, *as his other Realms, may come with all aſſurance into our Realms, with their Ships, Money, and Merchandiſe, paying three in the hundred. And as for the Agents and Conſuls of the* Roman *Emperour, they ſhall pay unto them two Aſpers for the hundred; and in doing ſo the ſaid Agents and Conſuls of the* Roman *Emperour ſhall have a care of the Merchants Affairs. If any Merchant chance to die, the Emperours Agent and Conſul ſhall cauſe his Goods to be ſealed up, and ſhall take them into their Poſſeſſion, to the which our Treaſurer ſhall have no colour or pretenſion. And when as the Merchants have paid the Cuſtom of three for the hundred in one place, they ſhall not be bound to pay it in another for the ſame Merchandiſe. If the Merchants have any Controverſie amongſt themſelves, or with others, the Cadi, or Judge of that Place, may take knowledge of the cauſe, if it exceed not the value of 4000 Aſpers, but it ſhall be judged by the Cadi of our Port.*

11. *As long as this holy Peace ſhall continue, the Poſts which ſhall be ſent with Letters by the Baſſaes, Begues, Lords and Agents, or by the Viſiers, on our behalf to the Emperour of the* Romans; *and reſpectively from him to our Court, ſhall be honourably entertained by our Officers; and if the way be dangerous, they ſhall give them aſſiſtance to conduct them into a place of ſafety with their Letters. And if the Agent which is with us deſire to write any particular Letter unto the Emperour, and not ſend an expreſs Meſſenger, that this Letter ſhall be carried by the poſt, and delivered ſafely where it is directed. That the Meſſengers of the Baſſaes and Begues ſhall go no more into the Villages, but the Judges ſhall bring the Tribute and deliver it where they ought.*

An Accord for the Execution of the Articles touching the Villages in Controverſie, and the raiſing of Fortifications.

TO *conclude all Differences touching the diviſion of Villages, and demolition of Fortifications made in prejudice of the Peace of* Situa Torok: *We the Commiſſaries deputed, had agreed upon the time of four Months: But, for that all Controverſies cannot be decided within that time, by a common conſent we have concluded the time of twelve Months, for the Expedition of all that ſhall remain undecided; all things remaining in the ſame Eſtate during the time. For the ending of theſe Affairs on the behalf of the Majeſty of the* Roman *Emperour, ſhall be ſent the Noble Lord* Adolph *of* Althen, *Earl of the ſacred Empire, with others, according to his Majeſties good Pleaſure. And on the behalf of the* Othoman *Emperour hath been named the Noble Lord* Ali *Viſier Baſſa.*

For the greater aſſurance of theſe things, we the ſaid Commiſſioners have cauſed ſix Copies of this Treaty to be diſpatch'd, in the Italian, Hungarian, *and* Turkiſh *Tongues. And we the Director or Preſident of the Privy Council to his Imperial Majeſty, and Cardinal, with other Counſellors of his Privy Council and Commiſſioners, having full Power and Authority, have confirmed theſe Preſents under our Hands, and the Seals of our Arms.*

As

1616 *As alſo We* Ali *Baſſa of* Buda, *Viſier to the moſt powerful Sultan* Achmat, Tyhaia Muſtafaraga, *and* Gaſper Gratiani, *Ambaſſadors to the Turkiſh Emperour, with the Imperial Majeſty of the Roman Emperour, having full Power and Authority to conclude this Treaty, have ſigned it with our Hands, and ſealed it with our ordinary Seals; whereof there were three Copies delivered to either party. Given at* Vienna *the firſt of* March, 1616.

This new Declaration of the *Othoman* Emperour, upon the firſt Articles concluded at *Situa Torok*, ſhews plainly how much the Turks are of late days refined from their antient barbariſm and rudeneſs, having made themſelves capable of great Affairs. And theſe frequent meetings betwixt the Emperour of the *Romans*, and the Sultan, by their Ambaſſadors, as a holy watering of the Olive Tree of Peace, ſeems to make it ſo flouriſhing, as the ſweet ſavour may pierce further, and make us hope that God will make uſe of this peaceful Union, to prepare unto himſelf ſome means to a new Harveſt, or a healthful Conqueſt of Souls wandering amidſt the falſhoods of the Alchoran.

Prince *Coreskie's* Wife carried into *Tartaria.*

Alexandrina, Wife to Prince *Coreskie*, having been taken at that unfortunate overthrow of the *Polonian* Princes in *Moldavia*, by *Skinder Baſſa* and Prince *Michna*; ſhe was carried away (as you have formerly heard) by a *Tartarian* Captain, and led Captive unknown to *Bialigrot*, where ſhe received many Indignities, being with Child; yea during the time of her lying in, which was five or ſix Months after her taking: all which time ſhe bethought her ſelf of a means to haſten her own Delivery, and withal, to free a *Polonian* Souldier called *Jaques*, who had carried Arms under Prince *Coreskie*. This man, although he knew the Princeſs well, and might by her diſcovery have purchaſed his own Liberty, yet he would not do it; wherefore the Princeſs having tried his Fidelity, taught him a means how to work his own Liberty, and hers in the end, by his Care and Diligence. The *Tartarian* being one day abſent from his Lodging, *Alexandrina* took occaſion to talk with *Jaques* the *Polonian*; telling him, That having found him faithful unto her, ſhe would direct him a courſe whereby he might redeem himſelf from Captivity; ſo as he would principally obſerve what ſhe did preſcribe. *Jaques* having promiſed to execute whatſoever this Lady ſhould enjoyn him, yea, with the hazard of his Life; ſhe then ſaid unto him: You know the *Tartarian*, whoſe Captives we are, hath an elder Brother, a very rich Man, who of late is become blind and deaf, by reaſon of a great Catarr and Defluction which is fallen down into his Eyes and Ears, wherewith his Brother ſeems to be much afflicted: I have a Jewel, which my great Lord and Husband gave me when we were made ſure, the which I have kept carefully, hiding it ſometimes in my Hair, ſometimes in my old tatter'd Rags which I have worn ſince my Captivity, the which I have much eſteemed; for that my dear Spouſe had aſſured me, that the Stone which was ſet in this Jewel had many and ſingular Virtues, and amongſt others, that it would reſtore the ſight, which had been loſt by Defluction, and cure Deafneſs, ſo as it were not natural, or too inveterate. I am reſolved to take out the Stone, and deliver it thee; after thou haſt founded the *Tartarian*, whether he will ſet thee at Liberty if thou doſt cure his Brother of his Infirmities; making him ſwear ſolemnly not to retain the Stone, but to ſuffer thee to carry it away, to the end thou mayeſt reſtore it unto me without his knowledge. Having reſolved upon this Plot, the Lady ſaid unto him, You muſt alſo demand of the ſick Man a Horſe, and ſome Money, with Paſs-ports to go into your Country, to the end thou mayeſt go ſpeedily to my dear Husband, whereſoever thou ſhalt hear of him, and to deliver him my Letters, and bring me an anſwer if it be poſſible. The *Polonian* having ſworn to perform whatſoever the Lady commanded him, being at Liberty; the Princeſs delivered him the Stone, he ſwearing to reſtore it unto her again, as ſoon as he had done his cure, if it were not taken from him by Violence. 1616

The *Polonian* attended with impatience until the *Tartarian* did talk unto him of his Brothers Infirmity; who finding him one day much afflicted, took occaſion to tell him, that he knew a certain means how to cure his Brother, without any Pain, or taking any thing inwardly; I believe nothing, reply'd the *Tartarian*, for all the Phyſicians in the Country could not do it; but if he could effect his ſaying, he promiſed to ſet him at Liberty without ranſome, and to give him wherewithal to conduct him into his Country; It is the recompence, ſaid the Priſoner, I meant to demand, and that you ſwear unto me by your great God, not to fail of your promiſe when I have performed mine, and not to retain, nor ſuffer any one to take from me the thing I ſhall uſe in the cure. The *Tartarian* having ſolemnly ſworn, and laid his right Hand upon his Heart, the *Polonian* took a time to make preparation for his cure. The *Tartarian*, although he diſtruſted his new Phyſitian, yet he acquainted his Brother with the Project, who, being deſirous to recover his Sences, intreated his Brother not to neglect the offer, promiſing to ſave him harmleſs, both in regard of the ranſome which he expected from the *Polonian*, and for the Money he ſhould give him. The day appointed being come, the *Tartarian* preſt the Priſoner to perform his Promiſe; to whom the ſick man alſo promiſed a Horſe and fifty Chequines to return into his Country, taking the ſame Oath which his Brother had formerly done. All things being ready, he applyed his phyſical Stone, binding it faſt to one of his Eyes for the ſpace of ſeven hours, after which, being taken away he ſaw clearly, and in like manner he recovered his other Eye, and afterwards his hearing by the like Application: whereat the *Tartarians* much rejoyced; giving unto the *Polonian* what they had promiſed, and procuring him paſs-ports from the Governour, without which he could hardly get out of the Country.

Jaques ſeeks out *Coreskie.*

The *Polonian* before his departure told the *Tartarian* Captain that he had a ſuit unto him, that was, that the *Polonian* Woman, which was alſo his Priſoner, was his near Kinſwoman, intreating him that in reſpect of his good Office he had done to his Brother, he would uſe her and her little Infant better, and that as ſoon as he were returned into his Country, he would take a courſe for her ranſome, and it might be would bring it himſelf. The *Polonian*, having acquainted the Lady with what had paſt, and delivered her Jewel faithfully unto her, having received her Letters to Prince *Coreskie*, and vowed to find him out, he took his leave. This *Polonian* travelling towards his Country, met with one of the ſame Nation, who having been taken Priſoner with Prince *Alexander*, made an eſcape; theſe two diſcourſing freely of their Adventures, *Jaques* inquired carefully what was become of the Princes which had been carried Priſoners to *Conſtantinople* by *Skinder Baſſa*, and eſpecially of *Coreskie*; and hearing that he was in the Priſons of the Black Sea, he inquired by what means he might ſpeak with this Prince, or at leaſt how he might convey ſome Letters unto him; to whom he anſwered, that

1616 it was very difficult, for that he was ſtraightly guarded. But he underſtood that the French Ambaſſador had ſometimes leave to ſend to viſit him, whereof he might inform himſelf more particularly. After this, *Jaques* intreated his Countrymen to deliver certain Letters which the Princeſs had written unto her Kinſfolk, the which he promiſed to perform faithfully, and ſo they parted. *Jaques* coming to *Conſtantinople*, he grew acquainted with one of the French Ambaſſadors Men, who was ſometimes employed to viſit the Prince, and to carry him Money and other Neceſſaries; by whoſe means he got acceſs unto the Prince, and delivered his Letters, the which he received with much Joy, hearing of his Wives Health. Eight days after, the *Polonian* coming to viſit the Prince, he received from him an anſwer to his Wife, and ſo took his leave; who after many troubleſome Encounters, returned to *Bialigrot*, where, finding the Lady all alone (the *Tartarian* and his Servants being gone a hunting) he gave an account unto her of his Negotiation, and delivered his Letters, whereat ſhe was much joyed, hearing that he was alive, though infinitely grieved for his Captivity, underſtanding that the Grand Seignior had refuſed to put him to ranſome. After their Diſcourſe, the Princeſs advertiſed her faithful Agent, That ſince his departure, the *Tartar* had grown jealous of her Quality, and had enquired of her what her Husband, her Kinſfolks, and their Eſtates were; to whom ſhe had anſwered, that her Husband was a Captain who had been taken Priſoner with Prince *Alexander*, and carried with him into *Turkey*; and as for her other Kinſfolks they were all Souldiers, which had been ruined during the Troubles of *Moldavia*: deſiring the *Polonian* to remember it well, leſt they ſhould be found to differ when they ſhould come to treat of her Ranſome. The *Tartarian* returning ſoon after to his Houſe, he found *Jaques* the *Polonian* there, whom he entertained very kindly, both in reward of the good Offices he had done to his Brother, and for the hope he had of his Priſoners ranſome; remembring that *Jaques* had told him that ſhe was his Kinſwoman, and that it might be he would bring it. After ſome little Diſcourſe, *Jaques* asked him, What ranſome he would require for his *Polonian* Priſoner? To whom the *Tartarian* anſwered, That he would have ſix thouſand Chequines for her and her Son, unleſs he would give him the Stone with the which he had cured his Brother; to whom the *Polonian* replyed, That as for the Stone it was not in his Power, having reſtored it to a Nobleman whom he had followed when he was taken Priſoner. And as for the ranſome which he demanded for his Priſoner and her Child, it was more than ſhe and all her Kindred were worth, ſhe being Wife to a Captain who had been taken Priſoner at the defeat of *Alexander*, and for want of means was ſtill detained. The *Tartarian* interrupted him, ſaying, That he underſtood ſhe was of noble extraction, and that ſhe had rich Kinſfolks, who would not ſuffer her to ſpend her Life in Captivity. I confeſs, ſaid the *Polonian*, that ſhe is iſſued from Noble Parents, but they are ruined during the Troubles of *Moldavia*; adding withal, that he would not have returned if he had thought he would have demanded above a thouſand Chequines, the which he offered him, intreating him to accept it, in regard ſhe was his Kinſwoman, and for the good Office he had done for his Brother. You have been ſatisfied, reply'd the *Tartarian*, and have no cauſe to complain: Notwithſtanding, after ſome conteſting, by the mediation of the Captains Brother, who had been ſo well cured, the Ladies ranſome was ſet at three

He returns into *Tartary*.

thouſand Chequines, whereof her faithful Agent gave preſent Intelligence to Prince *Charles*, Brother to prince *Coreskie*, who ſent this ſum with all poſſible ſpeed; and ſo the Princeſs and her little Infant were redeemed from Captivity, and conducted into *Polonia* by their faithful Sollicitor: From whence ſhe advertiſed the Prince, by Letters, of her delivery. This relation was written by a Frenchman, who, by his report, was preſent in all the Troubles of *Moldavia*: but as touching her delivery by means of the Cure, I cannot warrant it, but leave it to the cenſure of Phyſicians and Naturaliſts, who can beſt judge of the Virtues of Stones, Herbs, and Plants; but it is certain that ſhe was impriſoned and ranſomed as an unknown Perſon. 1616

Prince *Coreskie's* Wife redeemed from the *Tartarians*.

In the year 1617, there came to *Paris* a Chiaus, a *Spaniſh* Renegado, called *Solyman*, ſent from *Conſtantinople* with Letters from the Emperour *Achmat* to the King, for the delivery of eight and twenty Slaves, who had redeemed their Liberty for Money in divers Ports of *Italy*, and in their return to *Conſtantinople* had been taken by the Ships of *Merceilles*; the King cauſed them to be ſet at Liberty. But the Chiaus had alſo charge to intreat his Majeſty to cauſe Juſtice to be done unto the *Moors Granadines*, expelled out of *Spain*, and wronged in their Goods and Perſons, upon their Paſſage into *France*; wherein he had what contentment he could expect of Juſtice. Notwithſtanding he did witneſs openly his amazement at their long delays in the diſpatch of Suits; ſaying plainly, That *France*, which had the Reputation throughout the World, to maintain every mans right inviolably, did no Juſtice, but after long and tedious Purſuits; and that the Execution of decrees, was many times longer than the Suit it ſelf. Whereas the Turks Juſtice (ſaid he) was ſpeedily adminiſtred to every Man; and within eight days they ſaw an end of the greateſt and moſt important Suits. This Chiaus was favourably entertained, and defraied with his Train for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven Months at the Kings Charge. 1617

A Chiaus ſent from *Conſtantinople* to *Paris*.

The cauſe of the Voyage.

As the Turks Eſtate hath not grown great but by Combuſtions, ſo it is ordinarily full of Troubles; whereby it ſeems that the Preſervation thereof depends in making War upon others, or to ſupport it, when as neighbour Princes ſeek to recover that which they had unjuſtly wreſted from them by the *Othoman* Force. So this great Eſtate entertained this year four great Armies, two at Land, the one againſt the *Perſians*, his antient Enemy, the other (conſiſting in a manner all of *Tartarians*) againſt the King of *Poland*, as ſupporting the part of the Vayvod of *Moldavia* againſt the Turk, who had ſettled another in that Province: And two naval Armies, the one in the Black Sea againſt the *Coſſacks* or *Ruſſians*, who made daily Incurſions into the *Othomans* Country, Men wholly given to Arms, which go to Sea in ſmall Boats, able to carry but five or ſix Men, made of the Bodies of hollow Trees; but they are in a manner invincible with theſe kind of Boats; for when as the diſadvantage of a Combat forces them to ſound a retreat, they retire near unto the Land, and in ſuch Places whereas the Turkiſh Gallies cannot approach; and ſo they eaſily prevent a total overthrow. Finally, in caſe of Neceſſity they carry their Veſſels with them. For in the end of the laſt year, finding the paſſage of the Black Sea ſtopped at the mouth of the River of *Danow* by the Turkiſh Gallies, they put their Boats into Carts, and taking the way by the Mountains, they brought them eaſily into the Sea. The Turks fourth Army is in the white Sea, as they call it, employed either to conduct the Caravan, which

The Eſtate of the Turks Empire this Year.

He entertains four Armies.

brings

1617 brings the Tribute from *Egypt* to *Conſtantinople*, or in ſearch of the Gallies of *Malta* and *Florence*, which ſcoure thoſe Seas continually to annoy the Turk. The Army againſt the *Perſian* is led by *Haly Baſſa*, Succeſſor to *Mehemet Baſſa*, he who fled into *Perſia* after that he had loſt threeſcore thouſand men in a ſet Battel; after which, being ſent for to come unto *Conſtantinople*, fearing that the Sultan would take revenge of ſo great a loſs upon his life, he retired to the Sophy, where he now remains.

The Turks complain to the Venetians of the Uſcoques Spoils.

The Turks being much annoyed both at Sea, and Land by the *Uſcoques*, made great Complaint to the Eſtate of *Venice*, with whom they are in League, being greatly grieved at their Theſts, and complaining much that they could not paſs by Sea without danger of Servitude or Death: adding withal, that theſe Pyrates having gotten a way into *Turkey* by the *Venetians* Territories, they were by them made Slaves, and ſlain in their own Countries: and although they went not from their Houſes, nor undertook any Voyages, yet they were ſtill in alarm, and ſubject unto ruine: That the ſmall Reſiſtance which was made, gave great cauſe of jealouſie, that there was ſome ſecret Intelligence betwixt the Subjects of the Seignory of *Venice* and the *Uſcoques*, and that they divided the Spoil betwixt them: finally, That in what ſort ſoever the matter paſt, they held them inſupportable to all men, but eſpecially to themſelves. The Turks threatned to take their juſt Revenge; the which being impoſſible to effect in the Country of the *Uſcoques* (for that by the Letters of the Commonwealth of *Venice* their Paſſage was ſtopped) they reſolved to be revenged upon their Subjects, and recover a part of their Goods which they had loſt. Finally, they prepared to come into the Gulph of *Venice* with a mighty Army, the which, without doubt, had brought that State into great Extremities, and been very prejudicial to many Provinces of *Chriſtendome*. But, for that the Inſolencies and Theſts of the *Uſcoques* had like to have ingaged the *Venetians* in a dangerous War againſt the Turk with whom they were in League, it ſhall neither be unpleaſant nor unprofitable to make a little Digreſſion, and ſhew what theſe *Uſcoques* were. About the Year 1550, there aſſembled together in certain places near the Sea belonging to the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, People (who were cruel, violent, and infamous) from divers parts of the Country of *Chimera*, *Dalmatia*, and the other Confines of *Hungary*, and ſuch as had been baniſhed from the State of *Venice*; whoſe delight was only to live upon Spoil and Blood. All theſe Thieves being thus gathered together (whom they called by a general Name *Uſcoques*) as enemies to all Art and Induſtry to live honeſtly by their Labours, retired themſelves into a deſart Country, receiving no Pay from the Princes of *Auſtria* who command there. Being thus by their natural Inclination given to Spoil, adding thereunto the ſpur of Poverty, nothing moved them to ſtay in thoſe places, but all liberty was left them to rob and ſpoil: whereupon they applied all their Minds and Forces; ſo as having made certain light *Foiſts*, they began to make Courſes at Sea, with the moſt barbarous and impious Cruelty that ever was practiſed amongſt the *Scythians*, *Tartarians*, or any other inhumane Nation whatſoever. And, for that it is an ordinary courſe for any one that will commit a great Villany, to ſeek out ſome goodly Pretext to cover it; ſo they concluded among themſelves, to ſhadow their Inſolencies and Theſts with a colour to go againſt the Infidels: wherefore, in the beginning, there were no Merchants, were they Turks, Jews, or Subjects to the Turk, although they were Chriſtians, but if they entred into the Gulf, either to traffick, or to furniſh *Venice* with Proviſion and Merchandiſe, they were taken by them, their Goods divided amongſt them, and they forced to pay a great Ranſome, or to dye miſerably. All the Ports of the State of *Venice*, both of *Iſtria*, *Dalmatia*, and the Iſlands from whence they received their Victuals and Proviſion, were ſoon after ſhut up by theſe Pyrates, who, not content to ſpoil the Turks (which trafficked no more by reaſon of their great Dangers and Loſs) allured by the rich Spoils which they took, and the deſire they had to encounter them, they began to ſet upon the *Venetian* Ships, forcing the Merchants whom they took, to confeſs by Torments, that the Goods belonged to Turks, although in effect their chief Booty came from Chriſtians. Having drawn many unto them of their own Humours, and thinking their Spoils at Sea not ſufficient to ſatisfie their covetous Deſires, nor the Preſents which they were to give to others, to be favoured and ſupported in the Courts of Princes, they ſtayed not long before they entered with all violence into the Turks Country, through the *Venetian* Territory, to whom they were as hurtful as to the Turks; from whence they carried away rich Spoils and many Priſoners. There was nothing that was precious, rich, or good, but was ſubject to the inſatiable greedineſs of thoſe pittileſs Thieves and Pirates, if paſſing by Sea they came near unto the Maritime Coaſts. Whereupon grew the great Complaint you have heard made by the Turks, threatning to be revenged upon the Eſtate of *Venice* for the inſolency of the *Uſcoques*, which afterward bred a cruel War betwixt that State and the Arch-duke *Ferdinand* of *Gretz*, now Emperour, who ſeemed to ſupport them, thereby to ingage the State in a War with the Turk. But for that the Succeſs thereof doth not belong to our Hiſtory, we will leave it to them that have written it at large.

The beginning of the Uſcoques.

Enemies to all Art and Induſtry.

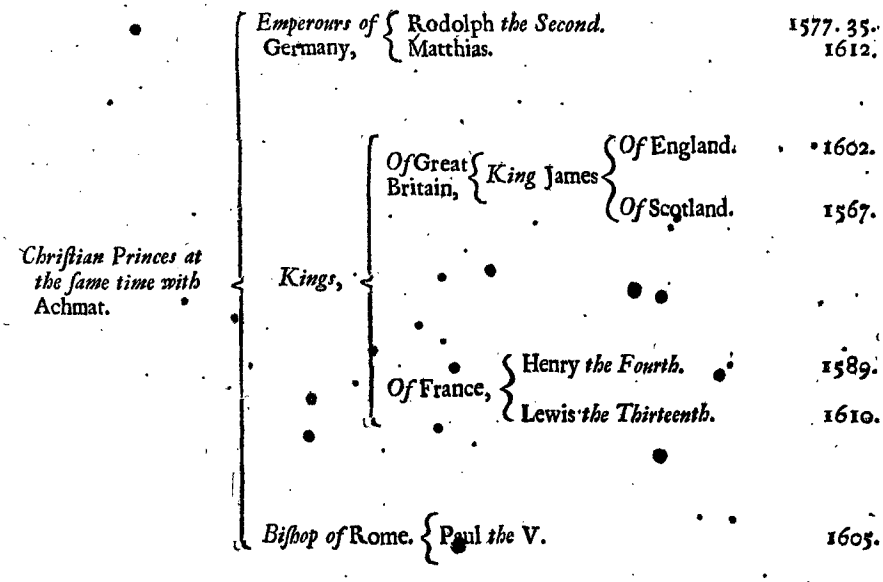
1617 They rob the Turks and Jews trafficking to *Venice*.

They ſpoil the Turks Country and the *Venetians*.

On the fifteenth of *November* this year, Sultan *Achmat Chan*, having lived thirty years, and governed that great Empire of *Turkey* fifteen, died. When he came to the Empire he was but fifteen years old. He was of a good Conſtitution, well complexioned, and ſomewhat inclined to be fat, ſtrong, and active, which appeared by his Exerciſe in caſting of a Horſe-mans Mace of nine or ten pounds weight, wherein he exceeded any one of his Court; in memory whereof there are two Pillars ſet up in one of the Courts of the Seraglio at *Conſtantinople*, with an Inſcription, as marks of his Dexterity. He was by nature ambitious and proud, which ſome hold qualities befitting his great Eſtate. He was not ſo cruel as many of his Predeceſſors: but he was much given to Senſuality and Pleaſure; for the which he entertained three thouſand Concubines and Virgins in a Seraglio, being the faireſt Daughters of the Chriſtians. His Mother was a Chriſtian of *Boſna*, or of *Cyprus*; and therefore it is thought he was ſomewhat favourable to Chriſtians. He was much delighted in Hawking and Hunting; and namely for Hawking he kept in *Grecia* and *Natolia* 40000 Faulkoners, who attended his coming, and kept his Hawks in their ſeveral places of Charge, and had good yearly Penſions. Neither were his Huntſmen much fewer in number, or of leſs Charge. As the Turkiſh Emperours are bound, by the Law of their Religion, once every day to practiſe ſome manual Trade, ſo *Mahomet*, his Father, gave himſelf to the making of Arrows, and *Achmat* to the faſhioning horn Rings, ſuch as the Turks wear when they draw their Bows. This they do in the morning; after they are ready and have ſaid their Prayers, then they call for their Exerciſe, but it is only for form, for they ſcarce make an Arrow or a Ring in a whole year.

Death of Achmat.

The Diſpoſition of Sultan Achmat.


Christian Princes at the same time with Achmat.
Emperours of Germany,
Rodolph the Second.
1577. 35.
Matthias.
1612.
Kings,
Of Great Britain,
King James
Of England.
1602.
Of Scotland.
1567.
Of France,
Henry the Fourth.
1589.
Lewis the Thirteenth.
1610.
Bishop of Rome.
Paul the V.
1605.

THE

Nought but affliction thundring out of Heaven,
Makes men on earth to any goodneſs given.
Nor longer than she thunders, any fear
That any heav'n holds any Thunderer.
So Mustapha, while heaven restrain'd his state,
And held him fetter'd in his brothers hate,
To vertuous actions did his studies drive,
Was curteous, pious, and contemplative.
But when his brother could no longer live,
And liberty did to him power give;
Then pride and tyrannie his horses were,
And drive him dlvaies past heav'ns love or fear,
Greatneſs, on Goodneſs loves to slide, not stand,
And leaves, for fortunes ice, vertues firm land.
Honour had rather be with danger driven,
Than stay with vertue on the hand of Heaven.

THE REIGN OF MUSTAPHA,

The First of that Name, Ninth Emperour of the *Turks*.

1617 OSMAN, the eldeſt Son of *Achmat*, being not above twelve years old, *Muſtapha*, Brother to *Achmat*, being five and twenty, was drawn out of a Cell where he lived as it were religiouſly and in Contemplation, and proclaimed Sultan *Muſtapha Chan*. They write of him, that he grew cruel, cauſing young *Oſman* to be kept under ſure Guards, putting to death his Brethren: He alſo did many indignities unto the Chriſtian Ambaſſadours; and to confirm him in his Throne, he gave great Sums of Money to the Janizaries and Spahies; and ſent a Meſſenger to *Vienna* to the Emperour, to aſſure him, that he would maintain inviolably whatſoever had been concluded betwixt him and his deceaſed Brother *Achmat*. But, growing odious by reaſon of his Tyranny, the Grand Viſier came out of *Perſia* with an Army and depoſed him, forcing him to return to his Cell, ſetting Prince *Oſman* at liberty, and ſeating him in the Imperial Throne. But, for that it may ſeem ſtrange, that *Muſtapha* ſhould be preſerved alive during the Reign of his Brother *Achmat*, (contrary to the cuſtom of the *Othoman* Emperours, who do uſually kill all their Brethren at their firſt coming to the Crown, thinking thereby the better to aſſure their Eſtates) it ſhall be fit to make mention thereof. *Mahomet*, the third of that name, dying in the year 1602, and leaving *Achmat* and *Muſtapha*, his Sons by the Sultana *Flatra*, a Lady of *Cyprus*, ſome ſay of *Boſna*, *Achmat*, the eldeſt, was ſent for ſpeedily out of *Magneſia*, by the Baſſaes, to take poſſeſſion of his Father's Crown, being the firſt Emperour of that Name. And, for that the cuſtom of the Turkiſh Emperours was (as we have ſaid) to have neither Brother nor Nephew alive, unleſs they could ſave themſelves by flight; yet the Viſier Baſſaes, and other Officers of the Court, concluded in Council, that it was not fit that *Muſtapha* Brother to *Achmat* ſhould dye; grounding their opinion upon a good reaſon of State, for that their Emperour being but fifteen years old, they feared (that dying in his Nonage, without children able to govern) the Empire might fall into Combuſtion, and ruine it ſelf by reaſon of Civil Wars. Whereupon they decreed, that *Muſtapha*'s Life ſhould be preſerved; but with that caution and reſtriction, that he ſhould remain ſtill a Priſoner in ſome Chambers of the Emperour's Seraglio at *Conſtantinople*.

Muſtapha advanced to the Empire.

Depoſed again.

During *Achmat*'s minority, and before he had Children, there was no cruel Decree made againſt *Muſtapha*, but he only continued in his Contemplation without any liberty: But when as the Emperour ſaw himſelf fortified with Iſſue, and remembring the cruel Cuſtom of his Predeceſſors, he many times propounded the putting of his Brother to death to his Council; the which may ſeem very ſtrange it took not effect, having been often concluded. Among others, it is written, that his Death was concluded one Evening, and that it ſhould have been put in Execution the next day: But *Achmat* was ſo frighted in the Night with Apparitions and fearful Dreams, as day being come, he ſaid, Seeing that the only Reſolution to put his Brother to death had ſo terrified him, he did believe that his Torments would much increaſe if he ſhould put it in Execution; and therefore he commanded his Brother ſhould live, more in regard of the Terror of his Mind than for any brotherly Affection. Another time, Sultan *Achmat* being in one of the Windows of his Seraglio, he beheld his Brother *Muſtapha*, who by his permiſſion was walking in the Gardens with his Guard: Some one of his Baſſaes or other Officer that was near unto him, and willing to flatter his Humor, told him, that it was a matter of dangerous Conſequence to ſuffer him to have ſo great Liberty. *Achmat* (moved with jealouſie and diſtruſt) grew into rage at his Words, whereupon he ſuddenly took his Bow and Arrow, (being a very expert Archer, as all the Turkiſh Nation generally are) and aimed at his Brother to kill him; but at that very inſtant he felt ſo great a pain in his Arm and Shoulder, as not able to let looſe his Arrow, nor to perform what he had intended, he ſaid with a loud Voice, That *Mahomet* would not have *Muſtapha* to dye. This Prince had three Chambers in the Seraglio, where he remained a Priſoner fifteen years, and ſpent his time in a Contemplative kind of Life, after the manner of the Muſulmans; his whole delight was to read the *Arabian* Books of their Doctors in divers Sciences. The Grand Seignior gave him leave ſometimes to take the Air of his Gardens with his Guard, and called him to conſult with him of Affairs of Eſtate, taking his Advice many times, knowing him to be of a ſound Judgment.

1617

After a long impriſonment, and a daily apprehenſion of death, the Emperour *Achmat* falling grievouſly ſick in *November*, as you have heard, his Baſſaes and other Counſellors about him (ſeeing the danger he was in) perſwaded him to take ſome good courſe for the ſucceſſion of his Empire. He had Children by the Sultana, but they ſo young as they were not capable to govern the Empire. Moreover, this Sultana was dead, and the Children left Friendleſs, and none to ſpeak for them. But on the other ſide, the Sultana *Flatra*, Mother to the Emperour *Muſtapha*, was yet living, who thought, that if the Baſſaes ſhould

1617 ſhould undertake to govern the State during the minority of the Emperour's Children, her Honour would be much eclipſed: wherefore ſhe favoured *Muſtapha*, and perſuaded the dying Emperour to make him his Succeſſor. On the fifteenth of *November*, *Achmat*, ſeeing his End grow near, he called for his Brother, and told him, That ſeeing Death approached, he deſired to provide for the Preſervation of the Empire, and therefore had made choice of him to ſucceed him, intreating him to take the Government upon him preſently after his death. *Muſtapha* was much amazed at his Speech, and anſwered him with Words full of Fear and Humility, That he might not accept of the Honour which he did him, ſeeing that the Empire did rightly belong unto his eldeſt Son. *Achmat* diſabled his Son for ſo great a Government, both for his Age and Capacity; being neceſſary for the maintenance of ſo great a Monarchy, that he (who was of ripe years and deep judgment) ſhould take upon him the managing thereof; recommending the Children he had by the Sultana, unto him; intreating him to uſe them in the ſame manner that he had uſed him, leaving the other Children which he had by Concubines, being his Slaves, to his Diſcretion. Soon after theſe Words, *Achmat* dyed, and *Muſtapha* was generally acknowledged for Succeſſor to the Turkiſh Empire; who at the firſt was ſo amazed, as he thought he had been in a Dream, to ſee himſelf advanced to ſo great a Power and Sovereignty, from a ſtraight Priſon, and a daily apprehenſion of Death. At his firſt coming to the Empire, he cauſed the *Perſian* Ambaſſador to be ſet at liberty, whom his Brother *Achmat* had cauſed to be reſtrained, contrary to the publick Faith; for that News came unto the Court of ſome Combuſtions raiſed by the *Perſian*. After which he ſent ſpeedily to the Baſſa of *Buda* in *Hungary*, commanding him to entertain the Treaty of Peace, made by his Predeceſſor with the Emperour, inviolably. Yet notwithſtanding he carried himſelf, during the ſmall time of his Reign, inſolently and cruelly; for, violating the Laws of Nations, he had ill intreated the Baron of *Moſe* or *Sancy*, Ambaſſador to the moſt Chriſtian King, ſetting Guards upon him as a Priſoner, having cauſed his People to be put in Priſon, and tortured after their manner. The reaſon of this Indignity which *Muſtapha* did unto the French Ambaſſador, and to his People, grew upon an occaſion which will require an ample Diſcourſe, for the better underſtanding of that which hath gone before. After the Overthrow and taking of the Princes of *Moldavia*, Prince *Coresky*, as you have heard, was brought by *Skinder Baſſa* to *Conſtantinople*, whereat the Grand Seignior was wonderfully well pleaſed, for that he was held (even by his Enemies) for one of the moſt valiant and redoubted Princes of Chriſtendom, wherefore he was ſent away Priſoner, and confined to the Towers of the black Sea, the which are diſtant five miles from *Conſtantinople*; a place appointed for the guard of Priſoners of great Quality and Importance, ſuch as he was. He was ſhut up with a French Captain called *Rigaut*, in a little Chamber which was on the top of one of thoſe Towers, in which Chamber there was a Window capable for a Man to paſs through, and yet it had no bars, for that the height of the place freed it from all ſuſpicion. This Prince was much ſollicited by the Turk to become a Renegado, as the Princes *Alexander* and *Bogdan*, his Brothers-in-law, had done; but he reſiſted it with a generous Reſolution, reſolving rather to die in that tedious Captivity, than to commit ſo baſe an Act againſt God and his Conſcience: The which being made known unto the King of *Polonia*, it moved him to compaſſion, and made him write to the French Ambaſſador, and to intreat him to be a means that this Prince might be put to Ranſome, and freed from Captivity, at what price ſoever; the which the Ambaſſador durſt not undertake, although he deſired it much, for that he had no Charge from the King his Maſter. The Emperour's Ambaſſador did what poſſibly he could, knowing how much the Liberty of this Prince might be available to Chriſtendome; for which Conſiderations, the Turk would not yield in any ſort to ſuffer him to be releaſed; ſo as the Friends of this Captive Prince were out of hope ever to ſee him at liberty. But moſt commonly in ſuch Extremities the Almighty works by the ſecret Inſtruments of his divine Providence, and gives aſſiſtance unto them that fear him, when as all humane help and hope fails, as you may underſtand in the ſequel of this Hiſtory: whence grew the Ambaſſador's Affront which he received.

1617

The generous Reſolution of Prince *Coreskie*.

About the ſame time, there had been a Lady taken out of *Podolia*, with a fair young Daughter of hers and a Maid-Servant, by the *Tartarians*, who ſold them unto a Turk, and he brought them unto *Conſtantinople* to make his Profit. This Lady, who was a Chriſtian, hearing nothing from her Husband for the ſpace of nine months, went, accompanied with her Daughter, to the French Ambaſſador's Houſe, which was at *Pera*, to crave his Aid and Aſſiſtance; where his Secretary (who was called *Martine*) moved with Compaſſion and Love, promiſed unto them all Service, and afterwards aſſured the Mother, That if ſhe would promiſe he ſhould marry her Daughter, he would endeavour to redeem them from Captivity: whereunto the Ladies yielded, and they paſſed their Promiſe in Writing to the Secretary; whereupon he payed two thouſand and five hundred Crowns for their Ranſome, and ſent them home into their Country. Being returned, the Lady made her Husband and the reſt of her Friends acquainted how they had been freed from Captivity, and of the Contract of Marriage which was paſt between her Daughter and the French Ambaſſador's Secretary; but the Father did altogether diſlike of this Marriage, for that *Martine*, he ſaid, was no Gentleman, and had not an Eſtate to entertain his Daughter according to her Quality. The Mother advertiſed *Martine* ſoon after of the Father's Refuſal, proteſting unto him, That he alone was the hinderance: and as for the Mony which he had diſburſed for their Ranſome, they would ſend it unto him, if he pleaſed, to *Conſtantinople*, with Intereſt. *Martine* was much diſcontented, and divers Letters and Expoſtulations paſt betwixt them, but he could not obtain the Execution of his deſire, and their promiſe; whereupon he grew full of Grief and Melancholy, and thereupon went to viſit Prince *Coresky* who was in the Black Tower, to make his Complaint unto him, and to take his Advice what courſe were beſt for him to follow. He made his Excuſe that he had been ſent by his Maſter to carry the Prince ſome Money, as he had done at other times, who making the Prince acquainted with his Diſcontent (for that he knew theſe *Podolians*, and had formerly allowed of the Suit which he had made to this Virgin) he comforted him, ſaying, That if he might by any means get out of Priſon, he would willingly ſupply the Defects which they objected againſt him, and would maintain him againſt all

1618

A Device to free Prince *Coreskie* from Priſon.

all that ſhould oppoſe themſelves againſt his accompliſhing of his Deſires. This made *Martine* ſtudy by what means he might free the Prince, to the end he might bind him to ſuccour him when he was at liberty; and Love, which is many times the Author of many goodly Inventions, ſuggeſted one unto him which was very ſubtile and difficult to execute; which was, to ſend unto Prince *Coresky* a bottom of Packthread in a little Pye, which he ſent him with other meat, adverti ſing him by a Letter, that upon a certain night concluded betwixt them, he ſhould put down the Packthread at his Chamber-Window, whereunto a Ladder of Cords ſhould be tied, by the which he might deſcend from the Tower: the which was afterwards punctually effected, not by *Martine* himſelf, but by a Greek Prieſt, who lived in *Conſtantinople*, to whom he had imparted his Enterpriſe, and had ingaged him upon hope of great reward from the Prince. In the mean time, *Martine*, doubting that he ſhould be ſuſpected to practiſe this Eſcape, reſolved to be gone, and took leave of the Ambaſſador, whom he gave to underſtand, that he had ſome ſpecial urgent Affairs which did preſs his ſpeedy Return into *France*; and therefore he left the Execution of his Deſign to the Greek Prieſt, who failed not at the time appointed to do as the Secretary had directed him. The Prince having drawn up this Ladder of Ropes with the help of his Packthread, and being come to the foot of the Tower, with his Chamber-Fellow, he found the Greek Prieſt attending for them, who told him, that he had charge from *Martine* to conduct them to a certain Cave, which was in a great Rock a League from thence, where they muſt remain all the day, and that in the Evening he would not fail to come unto them, and bring them Habits like unto his own, that being ſo diſguiſed, he might conduct them to his Lodging in *Conſtantinople*, and there conceal them as long as they ſhould think fit. This Device pleaſed them well, and ſo they went all three unto the ſaid Cave, whereas the two Camoradoes hid themſelves, and the Prieſt returned to his Houſe.

Prince *Coreskie* eſcapes out of Priſon.

At the break of day, it being the three and twentieth of *November* 1617, ſome of the Guards entering the Priſoners Chamber, ſaw that they were eſcaped, and found the Ladder of Ropes which they had uſed: tied to the Window; whereat they were much amazed, knowing well that they ſhould ſmart for it: notwithſtanding, he who had charge of the Priſons, ſent ſpeedily to *Conſtantinople*, to give notice of their Eſcapes. As ſoon as this was known, they ſent Poſts ſpeedily to all parts, to make inquiry of theſe Fugitives, eſpecially at the ports and paſſages, giving them ſpecial charge to obſerve all men that paſſed, if there were not one who had the little finger of his right hand ſhrunk up, as Prince *Coresky* had by a Wound which he had received. Within few days after, the Turk ſeiſed upon the Servants of the Baron of *Sancy* or *Mole*, Ambaſſador for the French, torturing two of them after their manner; which is, to lay the Party upon a Table on his Belly, and to give him three or four hundred blows with a ſtaff upon the ſoles of their Feet, the calves of their Legs, and their Buttocks, yet could they not make them ſay any thing that might charge their Maſter, as theſe Turkiſh Tormentors did hope. Not content herewith, they did as much to a poor Turk, who was a Weaver by his Trade, and dwelt near unto the Ambaſſador; thinking to force him by this cruel torture to depoſe falſly, that he had ſeen the Secretary *Martine* going and coming to his Maſter's Lodging, untill the time of the Priſoner's Eſcape: but God would not ſuffer the Weaver to depoſe any thing but the Truth, notwithſtanding all the miſerable and cruel Torments which he had ſuffered. The which is worthy the Obſervation, for that the Turks do generally hate Chriſtians mortally, and do greatly rejoyce at their Diſaſters. As for the Guards of the Towers, ſome of them were empaled, and ſome were pounded or beaten to pieces in great Mortars of Iron, wherein they do uſually pound their Rice to reduce it to Meal.

The French Ambaſſador's man tortured by the Turks.

Three days after, the Chiaus Baſſa had charge to ſeiſe upon the Perſon of the French Ambaſſador, the which he performed very ſeverely and uncivilly, without any reſpect unto his quality. Having taken him, the ſaid Chiaus led him unto the Viſier's Houſe, where, having been examined upon many Circumſtances touching the Eſcape of Prince *Coresky*, they left him as a Priſoner in the hands of the ſaid Chiaus, where he continued for the ſpace of three days; during the which, the ſaid Ambaſſador deſiring to write to ſome of his Friends, and alſo to ſpeak with the Mufti, which is the Turks High-prieſt, to acquaint him with his juſt grievances, he could not obtain leave, but by giving two thouſand Crowns unto his Jaylor: True it is, that this Preſent made the Chiaus tell the Ambaſſador, that if he would obtain any favour from the Mufti, he muſt procure it by Money; according to which Advice, he gave three or four thouſand Crowns, whereupon the Mufti became tractable, acquainting the Grand Seignior *Muſtapha* with the Ambaſſador's juſt Complaints, and of what Importance his Detention was, ſeeing there was nothing found to charge him, That he had favoured the Eſcape of Prince *Coresky*, as it was ſuſpected; and that his Secretary, who had practiſed it for his own private profit, had left his Maſter above ten or twelve days before the ſaid Eſcape, with an intent, as he ſaid, to return into *France*. Finally, That all the World would tax him to have violated the Law of Nations, and that no Chriſtian Prince, nor other, would hereafter put any confidence in him; and it was to be feared, that they would all joyn together, and make War againſt him; and in truth the Ambaſſadors, both the King of *England*'s and the Low Countries, were much diſcontented at this unworthy uſage of the French, proteſting openly, That if he were not ſpeedily ſet at liberty, they would retire themſelves into their Countries. All which Conſiderations, repreſented by the Mufti, moved the Grand Seignior to command, that the ſaid Baron of *Mole* or *Sancy*, ſhould be ſent back to his Houſe without any farther Diſpleaſure. But all this could not free his Houſhold Servants from their Impriſonment, but he was forced to pay two or three and twenty thouſand Crowns for their Redemption; for elſe they ſhould have been ſo tormented, as their Lives had been in danger; for ſo they were threatned. Soon after, the Grand Viſier hearing of the tyrannous Government of Sultan *Muſtapha*, returned from *Perſia* with his whole Army towards *Conſtantinople*, where he forced him to leave the Empire, and to retire to his Cell, having reigned but two months and ſome odd days.

The French Ambaſſador impriſoned by the Turks.

The Ambaſſador ſet at liberty.

1618 But to return to Prince *Coresky*, whom we left with Captain *Rigaut* in the Lodging of the Greek Prieſt at *Conſtantinople*, whereas they lay hidden for the ſpace of two Months, untill that their good Hoſt got leave from the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, as well for himſelf, as for two others (who he ſaid were of his Society) to go and confine themſelves in the Deſarts of the *Archipelagus*, with many Hermits which lived there after the manner of the ancient Anchorites. Having gotten this leave and paſport, they embarqued, being diſguiſed like Prieſts, and arrived at *Etchut*, where they found an Engliſh Ship ready to ſet ſail for *Meſſina* in *Cicily*, from whence he went by Land to *Naples*, where he made himſelf known to the King of *Poland*'s Ambaſſador, who was wonderful glad of his Liberty, leading him to the Duke of *Oſſuna*, then Viceroy of *Naples*, who furniſhed him with all things neceſſary, and a good Convoy to go to *Rome*, where the Pope received ſingular content to ſee him, and to hear of his ſtrange Adventures. From thence he paſt to *Vienna*, where the Emperour entertained him according to his merits: after which, he retired to his own houſe, full of Honour, gotten by his Valour and Conſtancy in his Afflictions. Our Ambaſſador that was lately in *Conſtantinople* ſaith, he eſcaped by the black Sea, and ſo into *Polonia*. 1618

Prince *Coreskie* eſcapes from *Conſtantinople*.

THE

Osman, thy gentle nature far declinid
From Turkish tyranny, and pride of mind;
Which made heaven raise, thee and extirpat them,
The proud Usurpers of thy Diadem.
O! would all Princes, when their States are blest
With power, and empire, think their interest
In those their blessings, held but by the grace
Of Gratitude, and Goodnesse, and no place
Is held without them long, they soone would trie,
That Truth prevailes past all their Policie.

pag 949

THE REIGN OF OSMAN,

The First of that Name, Tenth Emperour of the *Turks*.

PRince *Osman* being set at Liberty by the Grand Visier, he caused him to be proclaimed Sultan, and seated in the Imperial Throne of the *Othomans*, with the general Applause of all the Bassaes and Army. The French Ambassador being by the same means freed from his Guard, advertised the King his Master, how barbarously he had been entreated by *Mustapha*, entreating his Majesty to revoke him from that charge. Whereupon the King sent two Gentlemen to *Constantinople* to the new Emperour *Osman*, to demand reparation of the Indignity done unto his Ambassador and Secretary; and to let him understand, that he could not send any other Ambassador to his Court to condole the Death of Sultan *Achmat* his Father, nor congratulate his coming to the East, until that he had received satisfaction from him befitting his Dignity, and the wrongs he had received in his Ambassador. The Grand Visier and the Muphty hearing this Embassy, and considering of the Actions which had passed, advised the Emperour *Osman* to send an Ambassador to the most Christian King, to confirm their League, and to testifie both by Word and Letters how much he was displeased for his Discontent.

The French King sends to Constantinople.

The Turk sends an Ambassador into *France*.

The Grand Seignior, by the Advice of his Visier and others, sent *Ori* Chiaus into *France*, to confirm the Articles of Peace betwixt the *French* and the *Turks*. At his first Audience he presented a Letter unto his Majesty with this Superscription.

To the most glorious and puissant Prince of the belief of Jesus, Arbitrator of all the Differences which happen among the Christian Nations, and of all the most noble, and the most antient, the Emperour of *France*, to whom we wish the end of his Days to be happy, and his Desires accomplished.

His Letter to the French King.

KNow, that I send unto you the Capitulations and Treaties of Peace which are betwixt our Majesties; giving you to understand, that there is not any thing firm or stable in this World, neither King nor Beggar, although they live long; that which pleaseth God cannot fail. If all Mens desires should succeed, without doubt all men would go to Heaven. Man whatsoever he doth, or in what Dignity soever he be, shall not remain in this frail Life. Wise men know it, and it is apparent to the learned. By that which we have said, we desire to let you know, that he who was in Health, hath encountred Death, and is gone to a goodlier Place, to Paradise, my Father Sultan Achmat Chan; *the God which hath no resemblance, have mercy on him. No man shall remain in this lying World: And in Paradise are the Approaches to the Almighty God, where there is no Death. Finally he is gone.* 1618

Since the beginning of the Othomans, *until this present, the Empire of my Fathers and their Countries from Father and Son, from Hand to Hand, and from Father to Son, the Inheritance coming so unto us; Our Uncle Sultan* Mustapha Chan, *for that he was elder than our self, was preferred before us to the Throne of the* Othomans, *and was some days in peaceable possession of the Empire, yielding Justice equally to all men both great and small. But as he was shut up many years in secret Places, praying unto God continually; so of himself he hath relinquished the Dignity of the Emperour, and contemned it. The Empire then belonging to those of our high Lineage, and for that by right it should come unto me, the Almighty God by his infinite Bounty and Mercy hath restored it into my Hands, my Visiers, Bassaes, Lieutenants, the Musti, and other great Personages, and they that are in any respect with me; and finally, all my Subjects and Vassals by a general consent have acknowledged me for Emperour, in the happy year* 1027, *about the first day of the Moon of* January, *in a good hour. Wherefore I am seated in the great Throne of the* Othomans, *like unto that of* Solomon, *a powerful and able Emperour, and in all our Countries and Cities; All the Musulmans being assembled together in their Churches to preach, the greatness of my Name hath been proclaimed, and through all the Mints of mine Empire they have graven it in their Stamps, to coin pieces of Gold and Silver. Finally, wheresoever there are any Musulmans, and in what Places there are Men, my Name shines like Gold. Hereafter Injustice nor Impiety shall have no Place, but Justice shall be done equally. Now we are in Joy, and for that our natural Disposition is good, and the ancient Friendship betwixt us is perfect, I therefore thought good to advertise you of all that hath passed here, and to send you our Letters of Imperial Alliance by* Ureiu Chiaus, *who is my antient Servant, having had the managing of my Treasure, whereof he hath given me good account; being arrived at your Court, carrying my said Letter, he deserves to be received with Honour: Swearing and protesting again unto you, to observe in all points the full Capitulation made betwixt my Predecessors and your Great Grandfathers, and for Our part, you may be assured, that the Faith promised shall be maintained as it hath been heretofore by our Predecessors. And from the day I entered into my Throne, I have made my will known to all my Viceroys, and other Officers which do my Justice, and generally to all those of my Obedience; intreating you to give the like Commandment to your Governours of Provinces, and other Officers of Justice, as in like manner to all your Subjects. And as your Grandfathers have taken the Faith of our High Family, so it may please you to continue with me; and we desire that on both sides it may be good and firm. Know then that for my part it shall be observed, so as of your side, there be nothing done contrary to the promised Faith.*

1618 *And if before we came unto the Imperial Throne, your Ambaſſador, which did your Affairs, hath received received any diſtaſte, and hath not received the Honour and Friendſhip accuſtomed, in my time he ſhall be the more honoured and reſpected, as the chiefeſt Ambaſſadors have been: I have commanded, that he ſhall be greatly favoured, and our Reſpect ſhall be unto him as Quineo, that is to ſay, Gold, and doubt nothing of it: for I do certifie you.*

The French King having received by this Action a full ſatisfaction for the Indignity done unto his Ambaſſador, ſoon after he called the Baron of *Mole*, or *Sancy*, home into *France*, ſending the Earl of *Sezi* to ſucceed him as Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*.

A Battel betwixt the Turks and the *Perſians*.

The War continuing ſtill betwixt the *Turks* and the *Perſians*, the Grand Viſier was ſent to invade *Perſia* with a great Army; where, after many Exploits of War, News came to *Conſtantinople*, That the Viſier had gotten a great advantage upon the Sophy of *Perſia* in a Battel which had been fought, wherein there had been an hundred thouſand men ſlain: And although the Turks loſt the greateſt number, yet they remained Maſters of the Field, and ſpoiled the *Perſians* Camp, who was retired or fled: for that the manner of the Sophy is, to fight with the Turks in retiring or giving way a little; and with this manner of fighting they have always made Head againſt the Turks. After this Overthrow, the Viſier advanced with his Army, and entred far into *Perſia*, which made many doubt that his Return would prove difficult: yet ſoon after there came Letters to *Conſtantinople*, importing, That the Turks being in *Perſia* in great diſtreſs for Victuals, the Sophy had ſent an Ambaſſador to the Viſier to demand Peace, promiſing hereafter to ſatisfie the Tributes of Silk which he ought yearly unto the Turk; and that the Viſier (in regard of the neceſſity of his Army) had accepted his Offer, and granted him Peace, the which Sultan *Oſman* did afterwards ratifie. After the concluſion whereof, the Sophy ſent many Camels loaden with Victuals unto the Turks Army, which was in great diſtreſs and want.

A Peace concluded betwixt them.

A Comet ſeen over *Conſtantinople*.

During the Turks War in *Perſia*, upon the Anniverſary day of Sultan *Achmat*, there appeared in the Night a Comet over the City of *Conſtantinople*, in form like unto a crooked Sword, or Turks Scimiter; and it was ſo great as it extended from the Meridian near unto our Zenith, unto the Horizon: the point began to ſhew it ſelf an hour after midnight, and then it appeared little and ſomewhat whitiſh, and gave but a glimpſe; after an hour it was more apparent, and of a deeper colour, and the more it did riſe, the redder it was, and like unto blood; but at the break of day it vaniſhed by little and little in the light; and it was ſo big when the point approached near unto the Zenith, as the Hilt was hidden under the Horizon: The Mathematicians did obſerve, that it followed the motions of the Heavens; it did always riſe in one place, and the bending of the ſaid Sword was toward *Grates*, more Southerly than it. It did appear directly in the Eaſt a quarter toward the South, the point coming directly towards *Conſtantinople*; and the Blade extending it ſelf to the ſaid Eaſt a quarter to the South, which is juſtly the part where *Perſia* is ſituated. The Edge looked directly towards *Conſtantinople*, the which made men diſcourſe diverſly, and many were amazed, fearing that it did ſignifie the loſs and defeat of their Army in *Perſia*, whoſe Return they feared much.

Uri or *Huſſeine* Chiaus, having finiſhed his Embaſſy in *France*, came into *England* with the like Charge, and had Audience from his Majeſty at *White-hall*, Sir *Thomas Glover* being Interpreter; from whom I received a true diſcourſe of his whole Speech, as followeth. 1618

The Turkiſh Ambaſſador's Speech to his Majeſty.

HAc ſubhanehu, ve Alleuteala; Saadetlu, ve izzetlu Padiſhah hazeretlerinung vmriny ve deuletiny ziyad ve berziyad eileie, Amen yah Rabil alemin.

Ziyade cudretlu ve ſaadetlu Sultan Ali Oſman Chan *Padiſhah Hazeretleri; ſaadetlu Padiſhah Hazeretlerine juzbin ſelamler ve doaler idub, bu namei humaiun ſaadet maakrunile, Sultanum Hazeretlerine irſal idub: vmidler oldurchi, maabenilerinde munakid olan ſulhu ſelah, bu anedeghin, ne vecuzre chymz olundiſe, halia dachi ol vſlub vzre her daim giunden ginne artirub mucarer olmaſina murad humaiunleridur.*

Ali Oſman, *Padiſhahung dachi Lala ve Baſh vezirazam Baſſa hazeretleri, ſaadetlu Sultanum hazeretlerine juzbin ſelamber idub, bu mektub ſheriſleri dachi haki pay ſheriſlerine irſal idub doaler ider.*

Aſſitanei ſaudette dachi mutemekin olan elczighiz nam Paulo Pinder *Cullighiz haki pay ſheriſlerine juz kylyndikdenſongra, mubarek aiaghyn puſſe idub, bu mektub Sultanum hazeretlerine irſal eiledy ler.*

The Interpretation hereof is thus:

THat moſt true, incomprehenſible, and moſt high God, increaſe and multiply your Majeſties Yeats in all Happineſs and Felicity: Amen, oh thou Lord of the World.

The moſt invincible, moſt mighty, and moſt happy Sultan *Oſman Chan*, of the *Othoman* Empire Monarch, ſendeth unto your excellent Majeſty a hundred thouſand Salutations and Greetings, evermore praying the moſt high God for your Majeſties Happineſs, ſendeth unto your Highneſs, with all poſſible Honour and Renown, this his Imperial and moſt noble Letter, and withal hopeth, that the ſacred bond of Peace, which hath been hitherto inviolably on your Majeſties parts kept and obſerved; your Majeſty will be well pleaſed ſtill on your part, with daily increaſe more and more of Friendſhip, earneſtly to continue therein. And his Imperial Majeſty, on his behalf, is alſo reſolved in like manner evermore punctually to keep and obſerve the ſame.

Alſo the moſt mighty Emperour's Tutor, and his chief Viſier Baſſa, hath addreſſed to the duſt of your noble Feet, this his moſt honourable Letter, with a thouſand Commendations, praying everlaſtingly that mighty God for your Majeſties long Life and Happineſs.

Alſo your Majeſties Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, your Slave *Paul Pinder*, bowing his Forehead to the duſt of your Majeſties Feet, and moſt humbly kiſſing your Highneſs bleſſed Feet, hath directed unto your Majeſty this his ſubmiſſive Letter.

This that now followeth is the ſaid Ambaſſador's Speech to his Majeſty at the taking of his Leave at *White-hall*.

SAadetly Padiſhahum; Nitekim bugkullighiz haki pay ſheriſlerine effendimuz olan Cudretlu ve adaletlu Ali Oſman *Padiſhah Hazeretlerinung name humaiunlerin deſtimuzile teſlin eileduk: Regia ve temenamuz budurki Sultanum hazeretcleri dachi angha gio-*

re

1618 *re effendimuze name ſheriſterile giouab idub bu killighize teſtim ei lemek erzany buriurila, ve herdaim ſaadette ve deulette peydar ola.*

The Interpretation *verbatim* is thus:

MOST happy Emperour, As I have with mine own Hands, bowing my ſelf to the duſt of your Princely Feet, appreſented unto your excellent Majeſty the moſt mighty and high Sultan *Oſman*, my Lord and Maſter, his Imperial Letter; ſo likewiſe, I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that you will be pleaſed, in conformity thereof, to vouchſafe your princely Anſwer by your noble Letters and to deliver the ſame into the hands of me your Slave; and be ever Partaker of all Bleſſedneſs and Happineſs.

A Copy of the Letter of Sultan *Oſman*, the *Othoman* Emperour, written to the King's Majeſty, and preſented by *Huſſein* Chiaus.

ALthough in this tranſitory World, if the King or the Beggar ſhould enjoy the longeſt term of Life that might be, and obtain all that his heart could wiſh, yet it is moſt certain, that in the end he muſt depart, and be tranſported to the World Eternal; and it is well known unto the wiſe, that it is impoſſible for man to abide for ever in this World. The occaſion of this Prologue is, that the immortal, omnipotent, and only God, hath, by his divine Will and Pleaſure, called unto himſelf our Father, of bleſſed Memory, Sultan Achmat Chan, *who in life was happy, and in death laudable; and departing out of this momentary World to be nearer the merciful Creator, being changed into perfect Glory and eternal Bliſs, hath his habitation on high, and his reſt in Paradiſe. This Paternal Empire and Monarchical Kingdom, hath almoſt untill this preſent bleſſed time been always hereditary, from Grandfather to Father, from Father to Son, and ſo curſively on that manner: but, having regard unto the Age and Years of our great and noble Uncle Sultan* Muſtapha, *he was preferred and honoured to ſit on the* Othoman *Throne, and being ſettled for ſome time, took care for the Affairs of the Empire, and for all that might concern the People both in general and particular. But he, having been many years retired in Solitarineſs, and given to Devotion and Divine Obedience, being alſo as it were wearied with the cares of the Empire of his own accord withdrew himſelf from the Government, for that the Diadem and Scepter of the Empire of the ſeven Climates, was the true Right and Inheritance of our moſt excellent Majeſty, of the which (with the meeting and conſent of all the Viſiers, and other Deputies of State, of the Primate of the* Muſſulman *Law, and of the other honourable Doctors, of the Souldiers, and of all Subjects both publick and private) the Almighty God hath made an high Preſent and worthy Gift unto us. And in the happy day in the beginning of the Moon Rebea-il-evel of this preſent Year* 1027, *in an expected time, and in an acceptable hour, was our bleſſed and happy ſitting eſtabliſh'd upon the moſt fortunate* Othoman *Throne, the Seat and Wiſdom of* Solomon. *In the Pulpits of all the Moſques, the Congregations of the faithful, and Devotion of the Muſſelmen, throughout all our Dominions, is read to our Imperial Name the* * Hutbeh. *And in the Mints (where innumerable Sums of money are coined, as well upon the Silver as the Gold) our happy Name and Stamp is ſigned. And our moſt powerful Commandments are obeyed in all the Parts and Dominions of the World: And the brightneſs of the Light of the Sun of Juſtice and Equity, hath cauſed the darkneſs of Injuries and Moleſtations to vaniſh away.*

* *Hutbeh* is a Prayer only for the Proſperity of the King.

Now ſeeing it hath been an ancient Cuſtom of our famous Predeceſſors to give notice of the ſame unto ſuch Princes as are in ſincere Friendſhip, and do continue it with the Houſe of great Majeſty and our Imperial Court; We alſo have written theſe our princely Letters, and appointed for their Bearer the choice among his Equals Huſſein *Chiaus (whoſe Power is great) one of the honoured and reſpected Servants of our magnificent Port, the refuge of the World, to the end that ſuch News might cauſe great joy of our moſt honourable Aſſumption. And we do hope; that when they ſhall come to your hands (in conformity of the well grounded friendſhip upon the ſure League, Articles, and Writings which hath been eſtabliſhed of old with our moſt Royal Race and permanent Empire) you will manifeſt infinite Joy and Gladneſs, and certifie as much to the Rulers and Governours of the Dominions and Countries under you, that they may know, that the Articles of Peace and League, and the points of the Oath which are firm and to be deſired on both parts, from the time of our Grand-father and Predeceſſor of Royal Stock, now in Paradiſe (whoſe Souls God inlighten) undoubtedly, during the time of our Reign, ſhall be obſerved with all reſpect. And let there not be the leaſt imagination of any want of due obſervance of the ſigns of Friendſhip on our part, or by any manner of means on your part, for the violating the Foundation of the Peace and League.*

1618

The Copy of a Letter written by *Halil Baſſa*, chief Viſier, and General in the Expedition againſt the *Perſian*, at his Return from the Wars to the City of *Senit*, in *April* 1618, unto Sir *Paul Pinder*, Knight, then Ambaſſador for the King's Majeſty at *Conſtantinople*.

The Humble Viſier *Halil Baſſa*,

TO *the courteous Lord of the Nation of the* Meſſiah, *both great and honourable among the people of* Jeſus, *and the true Determiner of Chriſtian Affairs, our good Friend* Paul Pinder, *the* Engliſh Ambaſſador, *whoſe latter days be with all felicity: To whoſe noble preſence (after our many kind Salutations, tending to all good Affection and manifeſtation of Joy, worthy and beſeeming our Friendſhip) our loving Advice is this, That if you deſire to hear of our Eſtate and Being, you ſhall underſtand, that after we departed from the happy Port with the Army for the Wars of* Aſia, *we arrived and wintered in* Meſopotamia, *and removing thence in the Spring with all the Muſſelman Hoſt (always victorious) we went to* Van, *from which place, untill we came to* Tauris, *the Muſſulman Army went on always ſacking and deſtroying all thoſe Places and Towns of the* Perſians *which we met withal by the way in thoſe parts, where were burnt, pillaged, and ruined, ſome thouſands of Villages, and tormenting all thoſe people that came to hand. And when we were come near to* Tauris, *the General of the* Perſian *Forces (of perverſe Religion) called* Carelghai Han *(the accurſed) retired himſelf into the ſaid* Tauris, *where, beating up his Drums in every quarter, he made a ſhew that he had a will to fight: ſo we ſent a little before us ſome* Tartars *and others of our Army to hearken out and take notice of the Enemy; who meeting with ſeven or eight hundred* Perſians *of note, put them to the Sword, very few eſcaping, and that with very great difficulty and hazard: by which the ſaid General finding himſelf unable to reſiſt the power and fury of the Muſſulman Hoſt, or to ſtay any longer in the ſaid place, the very ſame day that we arrived there, the ſaid General, having ſpoiled all the City, fled away; ſo we took the place, ranſacked it, and burned all the Buildings, Towers, Gardens, and whatſoever elſe we found in it. And thus the great City* Tauris, *by Divine Favour and Grace, became ours. Then forthwith we ſent after the Enemy, the* Tartar *with ſome Beglerbegs, who overtaking them gave them Battel: and albeit ſome of ours did fall, yet they which fell on the Enemies ſide were innumerable. And ſo going forward*

to-

1618 *towards* Erdevil *(their obſcure Reſidence) about ten days Journey of the Country, we went burning and ſpoiling it, and killing all the* Perſians *that we met, that indeed there was ſo much glory and honour won, as that all the ancient men of the Country do affirm, there was never ſeen the like; inſomuch, that from the Confines of* Erdevil, *twenty days Journey of the Country was on that manner by us deſtroyed. Thus afterward the King cauſed to empty the ſaid place of* Erdevil, *and fled into a place called* Hulchal; *and cauſed his Army to go to the top of a high Mountain, from whence, having ſent three or four times men of Quality unto us, ſeeking and intreating for peace, with promiſe to give yearly to our Emperour an hundred Somes of Silk, and all ſuch places as are upon the Confines gotten in the time of Sultan* Solyman, *except* Der Ne *and* Der Tink; *wherewith we were contented with the peace, and his Ambaſſador is upon the way coming toward us. And ſo we returning the ſame way again (always ſpoiling) we came to* Erzirum. *And this our preſent Letter is written unto you for the Reſpect and Preſervation of our Friendſhip: and even as our Amity hath ever been hitherto ſincere and firm, ſo likewiſe, by the Grace of God, at our arrival in the happy Port, it ſhall be in like manner maintained and continued, that more cannot poſſibly be. And ſo God keep you in Health.*

1619 *Bethlem Gabor* undertakes to ſuccour the *Bohemians* with the Turks conſent.

The Wars growing hot in *Bohemia* againſt the Proteſtants, and the Emperour raiſing what Forces he could to ſuppreſs them, the Directors or Governours of the Country wrote their Letters to *Bethlem Gabor*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, to acquaint him with the eſtate of their Affairs. To whom he made anſwer, That his Country ſtanding even in the very Jaws of the Turks, whoſe Councils were never quiet, but ever working like to the Waves of the vaſt Ocean, and always watchful to embrace all occaſions upon any diſcord of the Chriſtians, eſpecially now when they had pacified all Quarrels with the *Perſian*, and had no Rebels in *Aſia*, againſt whom they might imploy their Forces; he had propounded to himſelf to attend the Conſent and Favour of the *Othoman* Emperour, whereby he might take from him all occaſion to make any irruption into the neighbour Countries, and have the better means to imploy his beſt means to reconcile the Diſcords among the Chriſtians: wherefore having ſent unto *Conſtantinople* to acquaint the Grand Seignior with his Intent, and to crave his Favour, he received Letters from thence the 17*th* of *Auguſt*, whereby he was aſſured of the Grand Seignior's Conſent and Favour. Whereupon, he reſolved (notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the Pope of *Rome*, and others of that Faction) to take Arms in defence of the *Bohemians*, promiſing to be in *September* following upon the Confines of *Moravia*, unleſs he found ſome ſtay in *Hungary*. Being advertiſed of the State of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, he levied an Army at *Clauſenburg*, and entered into the Upper *Hungary*, whereas moſt of the Barons ſubmitted themſelves unto him; only *Rumanoie*, a great man in that Country, oppoſed himſelf: but not able to make his party good, he fled into *Polonia*. After which, he ſent his Army (being eighteen thouſand ſtrong) and took *Filek*, *Ternau*, *Vacci*, *Novigrade*, and others: after which he ſeiſed upon *Neuheuſal*, the Governour being delivered bound unto him. The Palatine of *Hungary* wrote Letters to *Redei*, General of the Prince of *Tranſilvania*'s Army, wiſhing him to conſider what the Forces of the Keings of *Spain* and *France* were, with the Houſe of *Auſtria* and their Allies, and that the Electors of the Empire (ſome excepted) would ſend Aid unto the Emperour: who anſwered, That he doubted not of the Power of thoſe Kings, and that the Electors would ſend Supplies unto the Emperour; yet he hoped that before they came, all ſhould be ended, and their Dinners ſhould be provided. 1619

Bethlem Gabor takes many Towns in *Hungary*.

Soon after, the Prince of *Tranſilvania* came to *Presburg* with his Army, a Town of note in *Hungary*, whereas their Kings are uſually crowned. The News thereof coming to *Vienna*, they ſent 3000 Souldiers with three pieces of Ordnance down the River of *Danow*, who entred the Suburbs on the 12*th* of *October*, the Night was very ſtormy and rainy, and the *Tranſilvanians* taking this Opportunity, charged them, and ſlew the greateſt part, their Commander flying away with ſome few. The Suburbs being taken, *Bethlem Gabor* ſent to the Palatine, to know whether he would yield the Town and Caſtle without force, giving him ſome time to reſolve; who, after Conſultation with ſome Noble-men, they reſolved to yield, and ſo the Town was delivered into his hands. After which he ſent part of his Army under good Commanders into *Auſtria*, to the Gates of *Vienna*, where they committed great ſpoil, the particular relation whereof I leave to the Hiſtory of the Emperour's Lives, to which it doth properly belong.

Propoſitions made by the *Tranſilvanians* and *Hungarians* to the *Bohemians*.

In *November*, *Bethlem Gabor*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, and the Eſtates of *Hungary*, ſent Ambaſſadors to *Prague*, where they propounded divers Articles unto the Council, and amongſt others, That they ſhould joyntly ſend Ambaſſadors to the Grand Seignior, and that the Prince of *Tranſilvania* ſhould negotiate the Buſineſs. And for that the Kingdom of *Hungary* was much exhauſted, whatſoever ſhould be taken in *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*, ſhould be united unto it, to the end it might be the better able to reſiſt the Turk; all which tended to the prejudice and ruine of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. The Prince of *Tranſilvania* having taken divers Towns in *Hungary*, belonging to the Emperour as King of *Hungary*, and entred *Auſtria* in hoſtile manner in favour of the *Bohemians*; knowing that he had thereby much inceſed the Emperour, and the whole Houſe of *Auſtria*, and that if he ſhould prevail over the *Bohemians*, the whole burthen of the War would lye upon him, he therefore in the end of this year ſent an Ambaſſador with Preſents to *Conſtantinople*, to crave aſſurance of the Grand Seignior's Aid and Support (upon whoſe Favour he had always depended) in caſe the Emperour ſhould invade *Tranſilvania*; where, being countenanced by many of the chief Baſſaes, he had aſſurance of Sultan *Oſman*'s Support and Protection, the which he confirmed by a ſolemn Oath under his hand, as followeth.

The Great Turk's Oath to *Bethlem Gabor*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*.

Sultan Oſman,

BY the Grace of God unconquerable Turkiſh *Emperour, ſwears by the Higheſt, Almightieſt, and Almighty Gods Holineſs, by his Kingdom, by the ſubſtance of the Heavens, the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, by the Earth, and by all under the Earth, by the Brains and all the hairy Scalp of my Mother, by my Head, and all the ſtrength of my Soul and Body, by the holy great* Mahomet, *and by my Circumciſion, That I, thee my Brother and Son* Bethlem Gabor, *ſucceeding King of* Hungary, *in no manner of way, in thy great and weighty Affairs will leave, though it be to the Overthrow of my Kingdom, to be brought to nothing, untill there ſhall be no more left but my ſelf, or four or five Turks at the moſt, yet will I be ſtill obliged*

1619 *ged to defend thee, and all thoſe that do any ways appertain unto thee. And if thou ſhalt have need of me, I will be always ready to go with thee. And in caſe this my promiſe ſhall in any wiſe be fruſtrated, then let Gods Juſtice fall upon my Head and deſtroy me and my Poſterity, and wipe away whatſoever belongeth unto me, and gather it together into a Rock of Stone, or ſubſtance of Earth, and that the Earth may cleave in ſunder, and ſwallow me up Body and Soul.*

Dated at *Conſtantinople* the fifth of *January*, 1619.

1620 *Bethlem Gabor*, being aſſured by this Oath of Protection made by the Grand Seignior, in the beginning of the year 1620, he called an Aſſembly of the Eſtates of *Hungary* at *Presburg*, whither Ambaſſadors were ſent from the King of *Bohemia*, and the States of that Country, with the incorporated Provinces, where a perpetual League was concluded betwixt them and afterwards concluded at *Prague*; wherein among other Articles, it was concluded, that forasmuch as Neceſſity did chiefly require, that a Peace ſhould be concluded and inviolably kept with the Turk, therefore a new Ambaſſie ſhould be ſent to the Grand Seignior from all the confederate Kingdoms and Provinces; and that *Bethlem Gabor* ſhould take upon him the chief care of that buſineſs; but yet in ſuch ſort, as the *Bohemians* and incorporated Provinces ſhould ſend their Ambaſſadors with the *Hungarians*, and bear their ſhares of all that ſhould be diſburſed, as well for the Preſents, as for the Ambaſſadors Charges.

A League betwixt the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, *Bohemians*, and *Hungarians*.

In *June* following, *Bethlem Gabor* went to an Aſſembly of the Eſtates of *Hungary* at *Neuhuſal*, where he propounded divers heads unto the States: That he deſired nothing more than to reſtore the Kingdom of *Hungary*, ſo miſerably afflicted, to Liberty; and that they might enjoy their Religion and Priviledges: That he had ſpared no coſt for the lawful defence of the Country; and for a Teſtimony that he deſired Peace, he had refuſed the Crown which the Eſtates offered him at *Presburg*: That the ground of Peace was to maintain the League which they had begun with the *Bohemians*: That he had always deſired Peace with the help of other Princes, ſo as it were ſincere and without Fraud or Deceit, for the obtaining whereof he had aſſiſted his Confederates miſerably afflicted: That he knew for certain the Emperour deſired not Peace, but War, having ſuffered the *Coſſacks* to enter into *Hungary*, and to ſpoil many Places with Fire and Sword, and denied paſſage for the Ambaſſadors of *Bohemia* and *Auſtria*; for this cauſe they were not now to treat of Peace, but of War, and to conſult how it might be begun and maintained; for the levying of Money, which is the ſinews of War; for the furniſhing of their Forts upon the Frontiers, and for the ſpeedy ſending of Ambaſſadors to the Turkiſh Emperour, leſt being engaged in an inteſtine War, there might be ſome attempts made upon thoſe bordering Forts. Having delivered his Mind unto the Eſtates, there came divers Ambaſſadors thither from *Bohemia*, *Auſtria*, *Sileſia*, and *Luſatia*, *Venice*, *Poland*, and *Turky*: The *Venetian* Ambaſſador was content their Commonwealth ſhould enter into the League; and the Turk made offer to conclude a perpetual League with them.

An Aſſembly of the Eſtates of *Hungary* at *Neuhuſal*.

On the five and twentieth day of *Auguſt*, *Bethlem Gabor*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, was proclaimed King of *Hungary* by the Palatine, at the inſtance of the Turkiſh Ambaſſador, and with the conſent and applauſe of moſt part of the Eſtates of the Country: After which, he levied a great Army of thirty (ſome ſay fifty) thouſand Horſe and Foot, and made many Enſigns with divers Emblems and Devices; which being known, the Proteſtants of *Vienna*, with the Conſent of the Emperour, wrote unto him, humbly entreating him to ſpare the City and Country, for their innocent Wives and Childrens ſakes; but in the mean time all the Citizens were commanded to make Proviſion of Victuals for ſix Months.

Bethlem Gabor proclaimed King of *Hungary*.

1620

There came News to *Conſtantinople* of a ſtrange Apparition or Viſion, which was ſeen at *Medina Talnabi* in *Arabia*, whereas *Mahomet* their great Prophet was buried; to viſit whoſe Tomb the Turks uſe to go in Pilgrimage, but they muſt firſt go to *Mecha*, which is ſome few days Journey off, and there they take a Ticket from the Grand Seigniors Beglerbeg, elſe they are not allowed to go to *Medina*. This Viſion continued three Weeks together, which terrified the whole Country, for that no Man could diſcover the truth thereof. About the twentieth of *September*, there fell ſo great a Tempeſt, and ſo fearful a Thunder about Midnight, as the Heavens were darkned, and thoſe that were awake, almoſt diſtracted; but the Vapours being diſperſed, and the Element clear, the People might read in *Arabian* Characters theſe words in the Firmament, *O why will you believe in Lies!* Between two and three in the Morning, there was ſeen a Woman in white, compaſſed about with the Sun, having a cheerful Countenance, and holding in her Hand a Book; coming from the *North-weſt*, oppoſite againſt her were Armies of *Turks*, *Perſians*, *Arabians*, and other Mahometans, ranged in order of Battel, and ready to charge her; but ſhe kept her ſtanding, and only opened the Book, at the ſight whereof theſe Armies fled; and preſently all the Lamps about *Mahomets* Tomb went out; for as ſoon as ever the Viſion vaniſhed (which was commonly an hour before Sun riſing) a murmuring Wind was heard, whereunto they imputed the extinguiſhing of the Lamps. The antient Pilgrims of *Mahomets* Race, who after they have viſited this Place, never uſe to cut their Hair, were much amazed, for that they could not conceive the meaning of this Viſion; only one of the *Derwices* (which is a ſtrict religious order amongſt the Turks, like unto the *Capuchins* among the Papiſts, and live in contemplation) ſtepped up very boldly, and made a Speech unto the Company, which incenſed them much againſt him, ſo as this poor Prieſt for his plain dealing loſt his Life, as you ſhall hear.

A Viſion ſeen at *Medina Talnabi*.

The ſum of his Speech was this: "That the "World had never but three true Religions, "every one of which had a Prophet; firſt, God "choſe the Jews, and did Wonders for them in "*Ægypt*, and brought them forth by their Pro"phet *Moſes*, who preſcribed them a Law, "wherein he would have maintained them, if "they had not been obſtinate and rebellious, "and fallen to Idolatry; whereupon he gave "them over, and ſcattered them upon the face "of the Earth. Then preſently after he raiſed "a new Prophet, who taught the Chriſtian "Religion. This good man the Jews condem"ned and crucified for a ſeducer of the People, "not moved with the Piety of his Life, his great "Miracles, nor his Doctrine. Yet after his "Death, the preaching of a few Fiſhermen, did "ſo move the Hearts of Men, as the greateſt "Monarchs of the World bowed to his very "Title, and yielded to the command of his Mi"niſters. But it ſeems they grew as corrupt as

A *Derwice* Speech unto the Turks.

the

1620 "the *Jews*, their Church being diſmembred "with the diſtinction of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, com- "mitting Idolatry again by ſetting up of Images, "with many other idle Ceremonies, beſide the "corruption of their Lives, ſo as God was "weary of them too, and not only ſent diviſi- "ons among them, but forſook them, diſpoſſeſ- "ſing them of their chiefeſt Cities, *Hieruſalem* "and *Conſtantinople*; yet God is ſtill the Gover- "nour of the World, and provides himſelf of "another Prophet and People, raiſing our "great *Mahomet*, and giving way to our Nation, "ſo as no doubt we ſhall be happy for ever, "if we can ſerve this God aright, and take Ex- "ample by the fall of others. But, alas! I trem- "ble to ſpeak it, we have erred in every point, "and wilfully broken our firſt Inſtitutions, ſo as "God hath manifeſted his Wrath by many "evident ſigns and tokens, keeping our Prophet "from us, who prefixed a time to return with "all happineſs to his People, ſo as there are "now forty years paſt by our account: Where- "fore this ſtrange and fearful Viſion is a Pre- "diction of ſome great Troubles and Alterati- "ons. For, either the opening of this Book in "the Womans hand, doth foretel our falling "away from the firſt intent of our Law, where- "at theſe armed Men departed, as confounded "with the guilt of their own Conſciences; or "elſe it ſignifies ſome other Book in which we "have not yet read, and againſt which no "power ſhall prevail; ſo as I fear our Religi- "on will be proved corrupt, and our Prophet "an Impoſtor, and then his *Chriſt* whom they "talk of, ſhall ſhine like the Sun, and ſet up his "Name everlaſtingly. Hitherto the Compa- ny was ſilent, but hearing him ſpeak ſo boldly, they charged him with Blaſphemy; and know- ing their Law, which makes all Blaſphemy capital, they preſently condemned him, and ha- ving the Beglerbegs conſent and Warrant, they put him to death.

The Der- vice put to death for his Speech.

As their Rage againſt him was violent, ſo their Execution was extraordinary, for they neither cut off his Head nor ſtrangled him, as they uſually do to Malefactors, but they tortu- red him by degrees; for, ſtripping him firſt na- ked, they gave him an hundred blows on the ſoles of his Feet with a flat Cudgel, until the Blood iſſued forth, the poor Prieſt crying con- tinually on the Woman that opened the Book. After which they took a Bull's Pizzle, and beat all his body until the Sinews crack'd, and in the end they laid him upon a Wheel, and with an *Indian* Sword made of Sinews, they brake his Bones to pieces, the poor Man crying to the laſt gaſp, *O thou Woman with the Book, ſave me*, and ſo he dyed: At which time there was a fearful Tempeſt. The Beglerbeg ſent certain Spahies to the Port of *Sidon* to imbark for *Conſtantinople*, to the end, they might advertiſe the Emperour of theſe Tidings.

Sultan *Oſman*, from the firſt entrance into his Reign, was freed from all Cares of foreign War, or inteſtine Combuſtions; for he had that happineſs, (being himſelf very young, and not able to Govern ſo potent an Eſtate) as by the Counſel and Aſſiſtance of *Halil* Baſſa, his Grand Viſier, he had forced the King of *Perſia* to demand a Peace, and to pay the Tribute which had been formerly promiſed. His Re- bels in *Aſia* were all pacified, and the Truce with the Emperour (which had been ſomewhat interrupted by miſinterpretation, or the pra- ctiſe of bad Miniſters) was newly confirmed a little before his coming to the Crown, onely *Moldavia* had been the Theatre of War for ſome years, where his Father had exerciſed his Arms, and imployed his Forces, to advance whom he pleaſed to be Vayvod of that Countrey, againſt another party that was ſupported by the *Polonians*, as you have formerly heard. *Michna*, Prince of *Valachia*, being made Vayvod of *Mol- davia* by *Achmat*, and the *Polonian* party wholly overthrown in the Year 1616, he enjoyed it not long; but whether he dyed of a natural Death, or fell into diſgrace with the Grand Seignior, I do not read; yet I find, that after him there was another Vayvod or Prince of *Moldavia*, who is yet living, but in diſgrace with the Sul- tan, his Name is *Caſparo Gratſiani*; and to the end you may underſtand, that the Turks never reſpect the Birth and Quality of any Man in their Advancements, I will relate what this Man was from the mouth of him that knew him very well. 1620

This *Caſparo* was born at *Gretz* (a Town of great ſtrength belonging unto the Arch-dukes of *Auſtria*, by the which a Branch of that Houſe is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, and whereof the Emperour now reigning is the head) but being a Man of ſmall Fortune, and little expectance in his own Countrey, he went to *Conſtantinople*, and put himſelf in Service with Sir *Thomas Glover*, before that he was Ambaſſador for his Majeſty to the Grand Siegnior, under whom he learned both to write and read the Turkiſh Tongue. After which he came with him into *England*, and there by his recommendation was imployed to *Conſtantinople* for the redeem- ing of young Sir *Thomas Sherley*, who was then a Priſoner among the Turks. Having per- formed his Charge orderly, and being come to *Venice* with the young Knight, hearing that Sir *Thomas Glover* was ſent Ambaſſador to the Grand Seignior, he left Sir *Thomas Sherley*, and went to *Conſtantinople* to his old Maſter, where he was imployed yearly to buy or exchange Chriſtians for Turks, carrying the Chriſtians into *Italy*, and ſo returning Turks for them. About the end of *Achmat's* Reign, arriving at *Conſtantinople* with a Ship full of Turks, which he had exchanged, he acquainted the Baſſa Viſier with the good Service he had done unto the Grand Seignior; who, demanding of what Countrey he was and his Breeding, asked him if he would undertake a Service which ſhould be for his Advancement, which was to go unto the Emperour to reconcile all Difficulties con- cerning the Peace, wherein he carried himſelf ſo diſcreetly, as Commiſſioners were appointed, who concluded all Difficulties, as you have heard. But before his return home, the Grand Seignior was dead; yet he preſſed the Baſſa for the performance of his Promiſe, deſiring him, that he might be made Vayvod of *Mol- davia*, which the Baſſa effected; but the Pre- ſents he gave advanced him more than his Merits. Since he grew into ſome diſgrace, ſo as the Grand Seignior, making choice of ano- ther Vayvod, gave Charge to certain Capigies, to go into *Moldavia* to ſtrangle *Caſparo*, and that they ſhould take four hundred Turks upon the Frontiers to aſſiſt them: But *Caſparo* having good Spies at *Conſtantinople*, who advertiſed him of their Deſign, reſolved to prevent them; wherefore, taking ſome Troops with him, he met them upon the way, and cut them all in pieces; then returning to *Yas*, he ſlew one thouſand Turks. After which he fled into *Poland* with two thouſand Horſe; from whence they write, that he hath made divers Incurſi- ons into *Moldavia*, and committed great Spoils upon the Turks, being aſſiſted by the *Coſſacks*, and

Caſparo made Vay- vod of *Moldavia*.

He is in diſgrace, and flies into *Polo- nia*.

1620 and keeps poſſeſſion of the Countrey, although there be another Vayvod made by the Turk.

The Turks preparation to Arms.

Sultan *Oſman* ſeems to be much incenſed againſt the *Polonians*, as well for this ſupport, as for former quarrels, making it his colour for the levying of the greateſt Army that hath been ſeen ſince that *Solyman* went unto the Siege of *Agria*, conſiſting, as it is ſaid, of three hundred thouſand Men, having drawn down all his Forces out of *Aſia*, God knows where he will imploy it, but it is much to be feared, that he will make uſe of this diviſion betwixt Chriſtian Princes, who ſhould unite their Wills and Forces, to oppoſe them againſt the common Enemy of Chriſtendom, who watcheth only to get an Advantage, little regarding his Word and Promiſe.

Manfredonia taken by the Turks.

The Turk, having no imployment for his Forces by Land, ſent threeſcore Gallies to Sea, to make ſome Enterpriſe upon the Chriſtians. They came into the *Mediterranean* Sea, and having coaſted the Iſland of *Sicily*, they ſent twenty Gallies to land in the Kingdom of *Naples*, where they ſurpriſed the Town of *Manfredonia*, and ſpoiled it, carrying away fourteen or fifteen hundred Captives, and ſo retired again to Sea. The reſt of their Fleet lay about *Vellona* in the Gulf, which made the *Spaniards* jealous that the *Venetian* had been acquainted with this Enterpriſe. And ſince there is News, That the Gallions and Galliots of *Algiers*, have taken *Iuiſa*, a ſmall Iland of four miles compaſs, near unto *Majorca*: It is a Place of great Importance, for that it hath a Haven able to contain much Shipping; for the Guard whereof the King of *Spain* entertains a great Garriſon, and it did much annoy them of *Algiers*. They took the Town; but it is not yet certain whether they have taken the Caſtle.

Iuiſa taken by the Turks.

The greatneſs of the Turks Empire.

This is all I could learn of the Turks Affairs ſince the Year one thouſand ſix hundred and nine untill this preſent. The Reader may obſerve, that ſince the Reign of *Ottoman* their firſt Emperour, this great Empire of the Turks is proudly built upon the four Monarchies of the World; that is to ſay, of the *Aſſirian*, *Perſian*, *Greek*, and *Roman*. For they injoy *Babylon*, and all *Chaldæa*, with the Countrey of the *Medes*: We have ſeen them in *Tauris*, the Capital City of *Perſia*; *Greece* is ſubject to the yoke of their Command; *Conſtantinople*, ſometimes called New *Rome*, by the tranſport of the Imperial Seat, is now made their Throne; and ſo many Provinces and Realms which in former times depended upon the *Roman* Empire, do now acknowledge their power; they are Maſters of the Realms of *Ægypt* and *Cyprus*; the Iſlands of *Rhodes*, *Metelene*, *Negropont*, *Chio*, and many others acknowledge them; the Empire of *Trebiſond* is theirs; the Realm of *Colchos*, now called *Mingrelia*, pays them Tribute; they of *Tunis* and *Algier* in *Affrica* obey them; *Dalmatia*, the *Illyrians*, *Triballians*, the Countries of *Tranſilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia* do them Homage; and we ſee them Command even in the chief Towns of the Realms of *Hungary*: But all this Power of the *Ottomans* had never been ſo great nor ſo fearful, but by the diſcord, diviſion, and bad intelligence betwixt Chriſtian Princes, as you may read in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, as well in *Greece*, at *Conſtantinople*, as in other parts of *Europe*, whereas theſe Princes, contending one with another, have furniſhed matter and means to the Turk to diſpoſſeſs them of the chief pieces of their Monarchies. They meaſure the continuance of their Empire by the diſcord betwixt the Princes of the Belief of the Name of Jeſus, and they confeſs truely, that this Diviſion is the onely cauſe of their Greatneſs, the which hath made them believe, that among Chriſtians there was a bad Angel, enemy to peace, which they call *the ſtrange or powerful Spirit*, which, kindling the fire of Revenge and Ambition in the Hearts of great Men, draws from their Affections the good of their Belief, to entertain them in perpetual Diſcord; during the which, they promiſe unto themſelves a firm and an aſſured Reign. So the Mufti, and the Taliſmans praying on Friday in their Moſques, demand of their Prophet the Circumſtance of this bad Intelligence betwixt the Chriſtian Princes, to the end they may injoy the Empire which they have unjuſtly uſurped. Yet their Prophecies do not promiſe them a perpetual Poſſeſſion; behold one in their own Tongue, which hath always made them fear the union of Chriſtians.

1620

Patiſſæ homomos ghelur, caiferun menleker alur kenzul almai alur kapze iler ie di yladegh Gaur Keleci cſikmaſſe on ikigladegh on laron Beghhgheder. Enſi iapar, baghi diker batheſai baglar, ogli keſi olar; onichi yldden-ſora Hriſtianon keleci cſchar, al Turkci ghereſſine Tuſchure.

A Turkiſh Propheecy.

That is to ſay;

Our Emperour ſhall come, he ſhall poſſeſs the Realm of an Infidel Prince, he ſhall take the Red Apple, and make it ſubject to his Power; if, at the ſeventh Year of his Command the Chriſtians Sword doth not advance, he ſhall Rule unto the twelfth Year, he ſhall build Houſes, plant Vines, compaſs in Gardens with Hedges, and beget Children; but after the twelfth Year that he hath held the Red Apple, the Chriſtians Sword ſhall appear and put the Turk to flight.

The Expoſition of their Prophecy.

By the *Infidel* Prince, they underſtand a Chriſtian Prince, (for ſo they call them) and by the *Red Apple* an Imperial Town, ſtrong and important; in the which, and elſewhere the Turks ſhall *build Houſes*; that is to ſay, convert Holy Temples to the Uſe of the Mahometan Impiety; for by this Word *to build*, they that have Commented upon this Propheſie underſtand, Uſurpation of the Houſes of God: *Plant Vines*, by theſe Words they ſignifie the Extent of the Turkiſh Empire, and the ſettling of their Colonies, as we ſee in *Hungary* and *Tranſilvania*: *Compaſſing in Gardens*, that is to ſay, they ſhall fortifie the Towns which they have taken from their Enemies: *Beget Children*, extend the Mahometan Religion, far in the Chriſtians Countries. *But after the twelfth Year, &c.* within a certain time beſt known to God, his Divine Majeſty opening the Eyes of his Clemency upon the Chriſtians, will unite the Wills of their Princes, kindle their affections with a holy zeal, and, bleſſing their Arms, will make them victorious over the Turk, whom he will baniſh out of the Eaſt, and chaſe into *Scythia* from whence they came to be a ſcourge unto Chriſtendom. Theſe are my Wiſhes, wherein I hope all good Chriſtians do concurr.

1620 1620

The Beginning of the Turkiſh EMPIRE.

HAving run over the Occurrents which have happened in the *Turks* Eſtate for the ſpace of eleven years, I muſt, according to Maſter *Knolles* his Method, conclude the Work with a deſcription of the Grand Seignior's Port or Court, of his Government, Officers, Riches, Force, and Religion.

The *Turks*, (a People of *Scythia*) having like a violent Deluge overthrown a great part of the Eaſt, and taken divers Provinces, being expelled from *Hieruſalem* by *Godfrey* of *Bouillon*, and the Chriſtians, their remainder retired to *Nicea*, where they lived without any head or ſovereign Commander, until that *Ottoman*, about the Year of our Redeemer one thouſand three hundred, by Practice, made himſelf ſole and abſolute Monarch. His Son conquering divers Provinces, removed his Imperial Seat to *Pruſia*, now called *Burſia*, the chief Abode of the Kings of *Bythinia*. *Amurath* the Firſt (being drawn in by the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* to ſuccour him; and allured with the Wealth of *Europe*) turned his Arms againſt him, taking divers Provinces and Towns from him, amongſt others, *Adrianopolis*, which he made the Seat and reſidence of the Turkiſh Emperours, in the Year one thouſand three hundred ſixty three. But *Mahomet* the Second, having taken the City of *Conſtantinople*, and expelled the Emperour, in the Year one thouſand four hundred fifty three, he made it the Royal Seat of the *Othomans*, for which he had great reaſon, being one of the faireſt and ſweeteſt Seats of the World.

Deſcription of *Conſtantinople*.

Conſtantinople hath in circuit, by the opinion of ſome Writers, fifteen or ſixteen miles, and is called by the Turks themſelves *Stambull*, or *Stambolda*, the Sea beating upon it upon the North and South ſides: Towards the Eaſt it is divided from *Aſia* by a large Channel, which runneth from the one Sea to the other, and is about ſeven miles in length. The City is built upon the declining of a Hill, in which there are many rare ſingularities, which I omit, being deſcribed elſewhere. There are in this City ſeven little Hills, upon the which are built ſeven principal Moſques or Churches, by ſeveral Emperours, whereof the faireſt and moſt ſtately is that of Sultan *Solyman*. Upon the North ſide of the City ſtandeth the Grand Seignior's Palace or Seraglio, commonly called by the Name of the Port: The which hath on the one ſide thereof the Sea, and on the other ſide of it the Haven, the other two being towards the City, being about three miles in compaſs, ſome write of four. It is walled about, and within it are many Gardens, Orchards, Medows, and Woods. Being entred into the firſt Port (which hath double Gates of Iron) into a large Court, on the left hand there ſtands a building like unto a Turkiſh Moſque, which now the Grand Seignior uſeth for a Store-houſe, wherein are great ſtore of Arms, which are for the defence of his Seraglio. And on the other ſide of this Court are ſeveral Gardens walled in, from which they paſs to another Court with a Gate like unto the former, where are Targuets and Cimitars hanging, and many Porters attending, as at the former. After this they paſs into another large Court, which is planted with Cypreſs Trees, and full of Graſs, where Deer feed; but round about it is a Cloiſter, which is in length about ſix hundred and fourſcore Foot, and above five hundred in breadth, paved with Stone, and covered with Lead, it being ſupported with one hundred and forty Pillars of white and gray Marble, ſtanding upon Baſes of Copper, with Capitals of the ſame; upon the North ſide whereof ſtands the Divano, whereas the Viſier Baſſa and the other Baſſaes ſit in Council, and hear Cauſes of Importance, whereof we will ſpeak hereafter. In this Seraglio the Grand Seignior hath many Chambers, which are richly appointed, wherein he remains; and there he hath ſix young Men which attend his Perſon and the Service of his Chamber, whereof two wait daily, and at Night they watch when he ſleeps, the one of them at his Head, the other at his Feet, with two Torches burning in their Hands. In the Morning (as *Sanzovino* writes) when the Grand Seignior attires himſelf, they put into one of his Pockets a thouſand Aſpers, and into the other Pocket twenty Duckets of Gold, the which, if he give not away that Day, is their Fee at Night, neither (as they ſay) doth he ever put on the ſame Clothes: and whenſoever he goes to Hunting, or to any other Exerciſe, (beſides the Money which he hath with him) his Caſnadar Baſſa, or chief Treaſurer, ſtill follows him with great ſtore of Money to give away. The Office of theſe ſix young Men, who are changed as it pleaſeth the Grand Seignior) is diſtinct, for the one carries his Shooes, the ſecond his Bow and Arrows, the third his Veſt, the fourth a Veſſel with Water, the fifth carries a Seat, and the ſixth, called *Oda Baſſa*, is head of the Chamber.

Attendants upon the Grand Seignior.

He hath daily a great number of Perſons reſident in his Palace, imployed in their ſeveral Charges, ſome in one place, ſome in another, under their ſeveral Commanders. But among all the great Men in his Court, theſe are of chiefeſt Eminency and Note.

The chief Officers of his Houſe.

Firſt, the *Capi Aga*, that is to ſay, the mouth of the Grand Seignior, by whom the Sultan ſpeaketh to ſuch as have any great ſuit unto him; for no Ambaſſadour is admitted unto him, but at his firſt arrival, when he delivers his Letters of credit and his Preſents, and when he hath any buſineſs to treat of, he repairs to the Viſier Baſſa or his Aga.

The ſecond is *Caſnadar Baſſa*, the chief Treaſurer of the Houſhold, or Superintendent of the Treaſure.

The third, *Chilergi Baſſa*, chief Cup-bearer.

The fourth is *Seraglio Agaſi*, Steward or Maſter of the Houſhold.

The fifth is *Chiller Agaſi*, or *Saraidar Baſſa*, Overſeer of his Seraglio of Concubines, who is always an Eunuch as the reſt be.

The ſixth and laſt is *Boſtangi Baſſa*, chief Gardiner, and Overſeer of all his Gardens, Captain of his Jamoglans, and Steerer of his Barge whenſoever he goeth by Water. He hath a Protogero or Lieutenant, and many Gardiners under him, which are called Boſtangi, who, when they come out of the Seraglio, become Janizaries, Solacchi, or Capigi, according to their Qualities.

Theſe

1620 Theſe ſix Officers of the Sultans Houſe above mentioned have no authority out of his Palace, yet the greateſt Baſſaes ſtand in awe of them, and fear them, for that they have free acceſs unto the Sultan, and have daily opportunity to incenſe him againſt them; for by their ſecret Suggeſtion and falſe Informations, many of the greateſt Baſſaes are many times ſuddenly and undeſervedly cut off in the height of all their pomp and glory.

The Sultans dumb Men. He hath many Mutes or dumb Men attending about him, whereof eight be his daily Companions and Play-fellows in the Seraglio, in whoſe company he takes great delight: beſides many others to the number of forty, which attend upon him as Pages. They are all born deaf and dumb, yet by long Practice they grow ſo perfect, as they will underſtand any thing that ſhall be acted unto them by Signs and Geſtures; and will themſelves by the geſture of their Eyes, Bodies, Hands, and Feet, deliver matters of great difficulty, to the great admiration of ſtrangers.

A Seraglio of young Men. The Grand Seignior hath within his Palace a Seraglio of young Men, to the number of five hundred, from eight years of Age to twenty; theſe are the well-favouredſt and beſt proportioned of all the Tribute Children which he draweth from *Græcia* and *Natolia*, and they are choſen out of his Seraglioes at *Pera*, *Adrianopolis*, and other Places, and brought to this to be bred up, where they are inſtructed in divers Arts, according to their Diſpoſition, but eſpecially to Read and Write, and in the Doctrine of their Law, and to Ride, there being a great number of Horſes kept within this Seraglio, for their Exerciſe, and for the Eunuchs. They never go out of the Seraglio till the Sultan thinks them to be of fit Age to undergo ſome Charge, and then he makes them Spacoglani, or Silichtari, and to ſome he gives greater Places, according to their Valour; or the favour they have gotten with him.

They that carry his Lance. He hath in like manner about fourſcore Mutaferache, that is to ſay, Lance-bearers to the Grand Seignior; which carry his Lance whenſoever he goeth to field, and acknowledge no other Commander, and in time, by his Favour or their Merits, are made Captains.

The Sultan's Eunuchs. He hath always above one thouſand Eunuchs entertained in ſeveral Places, whereof ſome of them are in very great credit with him, and can prevail much; they are called Hudumi, many of them are employed to attend his Concubines and Virgins in his Seraglio. They are not only deprived of their Genitors, but in their Youth they have their whole Privities ſmoothed off by their Bellies, and in their Turbants they bear ſhort Quills of ſilver, through which they make Water. This inhumane Cuſtom was firſt invented by Sultan *Solyman*, who ſeeing a Gelding make offer to cover a Mare, grew ſuſpitious that they were able to do ſome ſmall thing, notwithſtanding the loſs of their Genitors.

The Sultan's Seraglio of Women. The Grand Senior hath a Seraglio for his Women without his Palace, in the which there are always four or five hundred young Virgins, the faireſt of the Chriſtians Children, which he gathereth up out of *Græcia* for Tribute. The Sultan repairs ſometime thither to make choice of ſuch as he ſhall like beſt for his Pleaſure; whereof they are adverti-ſed the day before by the Eunuchs, that they may prepare themſelves in their beſt Habits to give him content. Being all in a Room, and ſtanding upon either ſide, the Sultan enters, attended by an Eunuch or two, and views them; to her that he likes he caſts a Handkercher, (whereof he hath many hanging at his Girdle) and in this manner it may be he makes choice of half a dozen, the which his Eunuchs obſerving, they put them preſently into a Coach, and are carried into another little Seraglio within his Palace. In this Seraglio they have good Entertainment, and are apparelled in Silk twice a Year, and are taught to make divers Works by ancient Matrons, and are attended on by the younger ſort. They have many Eunuchs with their Aga or Captain, and they have one hundred Capigies and Janizaries, which keep their Gates. When as the number of theſe Virgin ſlaves decreaſeth, and they have not wherewithal to ſupply them with their Tributary Children, they ſend to the Market in *Conſtantinople*, where they ſay there are daily ten thouſand Slaves of all Ages and Sexes to be ſold; and there they buy the faireſt they can get, but they will not have them above eight Years old, leſt they ſhould be corrupted before they come into the Turks Seraglio. 1620

The eſtate of his Concubines. As for the other Seraglio within the Sultan's Palace, there remains the Sultanaes with their Children, and ſuch other Concubines as he hath made choice of for his Delight. He never marries, but when any one is brought unto him, he gives her an attire for her Head, of Gold, and ten thouſand Aſpers, cauſing her to live in a Chamber a-part, increaſing her daily Maintenance. The firſt that bears him a Child, is called Sultana, and is Miſtreſs of all the reſt, and moſt favoured by him, as the chiefeſt of all his Women, the reſt, as they are favoured by the Prince, are brought unto him to have his Pleaſure, and then returned back again; if they chance to be with Child, they are put into the number of the Sultanaes, and are much reſpected by him. Such as the Prince hath had the uſe of, but no Children by them, are given in marriage to his Slaves, who are advanced to Dignities, and made Governours of Countries.

His Guard, Foot-men, and Poſters. He has three hundred Sollacchi, which march continually about his Perſon, and make as it were his Guard, being under the command of the Aga of Janizaries; they are richly attired, having Lawn Garments hanging down beneath their Knees, and over it a quilted Waſtcoat with half ſleeves of Taffaty, Damaſk, or Satten, and on their Heads, Caps and Feathers, like unto the Captain of the Janizaries, and they attend on him with Bows and Arrows. He hath alſo ſtill about him when he Rides abroad forty Peichi, that is to ſay, Foot-men or Poſts, which run wonderful ſwiftly, and are ſtill at hand to attend his Commandments, where he ſhall pleaſe to imploy them; they wear long Coats of Cloth of Gold, with a broad Girdle of the ſame, and Caps like unto Womens Thimbles, with a Horn of Silver and gilt ſtanding up before. There are about four thouſand Capigies or Porters which continually attend his Palace and Seraglioes, they are attired like unto the Janizaries, and have over them three Capigi Baſſaes. Theſe Men are many times imployed to execute the Grand Siegnior's Commandments, when he will have any great Mans Head, or his Throat cut, as we have ſeen of late years in *Gambolat* Baſſa, and in *Naſſuf* Baſſa, who was Grand Viſier to *Achmat*.

1620

The Turks Government.

The Grand Seignior's Government is so absolute, as they all term themselves his Slaves, and no Man, how great soever, can assure himself of his Estate, no not of his Life, but by the Great Turks special Favour. He commits the managing of his Estate to such as have abjured the Christian Religion, and have been brought by way of Tything in their Infancies from *Greece* and *Natolia*, and afterwards, for their Merits, are advanced to great Dignities, as Bassaes, Beglerbegs, and such other. The Prince hath a Court or Council, which they call Divano, and this is held within the Seraglio four days in the Week; that is to say, Saturday, Sunday, Munday, and Tuesday, where they treat of matters of State, and afterwards of the Affairs of private Men. To this Council are admitted the Grand Visier, eight or nine Bassaes, who are also called Viziers, and are continually resident at *Constantinople*, (for there are many more which are imployed abroad in the Conduct of Armies or Government of Countries) the Beglerbegs and others. At the rising of the Court or Council, the Grand Visier informs the Sultan of all the Proceedings in particular; wherein he dares not dissemble, for that the Prince hath a Window joyning to the Divano, where he may hear and see any thing and not be seen. He seldom impugns what they have resolved, unless it be to moderate some rigorous Sentence, or to give answer to some Ambassadour, and what he himself concludes is irrevokable.

The Turks Justice.

Their Suits are very short, for they have no Advocates to breed delaies, as they have in Christendom; yet commonly he that bribes most speeds best; for the Turks are the most covetous and corrupt Nation in the World, neither will they do any man a kindness without a Fee; and yet they are not sure to injoy any thing they get no longer than it shall please the Prince. They punish Crimes with great severity, and speedily, the Fact being proved, which doth so terrifie them, as by the report of such as have conversed long there, you shall seldom see a Murther or a Theft committed by any Turk; and if any foul Fact be committed, it is most commonly done by *Grecians*.

The Grand Visier.

The chief of the Grand Seignior's Council, is the Grand Visier, who wears the Princes Signet, and is as it were the Lieutenant-General of the whole Monarchy; he hath authority over the other Bassaes, and they are bound to yield him an account of their Imployments. He is still about the Prince's Person, and is not sent abroad for any Imployment, unless it be for an important War, as they have done of late years against the *Persian*. When the Visier is sent abroad, he makes choice of one of the Bassaes to be his Lieutenant, and to execute his Authority, and he is called Chimacham. *Mechmet* Bassa, was at that present chief Visier.

The Beglerbegs and Sanzacks.

Next unto the Bassa (which is as much as to say, great Lord) follow the Beglerbegs, and have their places in Court next unto them. They are Men of great Authority, and have the command of great Kingdoms and Armies, under whose Obedience are divers Sanzacks, which are sent as Governours into Provinces during the Princes Pleasure. These are Men of great Experience, and have command over the Spahi and Timariots, the Turks chief Forces on Horse-back, whom they call continually to exercise their Arms. There is one Beglerbeg of *Greece*, which hath all the Countries in *Europe* in the Turks Dominions under his Charge, and this is the first of all the Beglerbegs, who hath under him above thirty Sanzacks. There are six other Beglerbegs in *Asia*, whereof the first is he of *Natolia*, or *Asia* the less. He hath the Government of *Pontus*, *Bythinia*, and other Kingdoms, and hath under him twelve Sanzacks. The Beglerbeg of *Caramania* with seven Sanzacks. The Beglerbeg of *Aladuley*, under whose Command are seven Sanzacks. The Beglerbeg of *Amazia* and *Toccato*, having four Sanzacks. There is also one in *Mesopotamia*, and under his command twelve Sanzacks or Governours of Provinces. There is likewise a Beglerbeg of *Damas*, *Suria*, and *Judæa*, who hath under him twelve Sanzacks. And there is one of *Caire*, who commands over sixteen Sanzacks, his Charge extends to the *Arabians*, but they are not so Obedient as the Turks other Countries.

1620

The Great Turks Forces.

As for the Turks Forces, they consist of Horse-men, Foot-men, and Fleets at Sea. His Horsemen consist of Spahi, Timari, Spachoglani, Silictari and Olofagi, who have Assignations of Lands for the Entertainment of them and their Horses. For no Man can injoy any Possessions, but he is injoyned to entertain a certain number of Souldiers proportionable to the Revenues of the Land; so as the Governour or Bassa is always bound to have this number ready to march when they are called. Of these Timariots they are able to raise about an hundred and fifty thousand Horse, always ready at the first call, for the which the Prince disburseth not a penny; for, in regard of the Land which is alotted them, they are bound to maintain themselves, their Horse and Arms in the War. Whereso ever the Turk conquereth any Countrey, he divides it among his Souldiers; assigning four thousand Aspers yearly (which is little above ten pound sterling) to every one for himself and his Horse, and so proportionably if he have more Land. These Horse-men are much pestered with Arms when they go to War; for they have a Jack, a Spear with a little white Banner, a Caliver hanging under his left Arm, a Cimitar, a Bow and Arrows at his Girdle, and a Battel-axe at his Saddle bow. And of these kind of Horse-men they say there are eighty thousand in *Greece*, besides an infinite number in his other Countries. This Turkish Cavalry work two great Effects, for they serve as a support to his Estate, to suppress all Seditions, and they are ready to undertake any Enterprise. Besides these, he entertains many Horse-men about his Person, whereof some are Spahi, and these are Christian Slaves bred up young in the Princes Seraglio, who by their Merits attain to that degree, and afterwards to greater Dignities. They are always attending about the Princes Person whersoever he goes, being commonly thirteen hundred.

The Timariots.

The Spahi.

The *Caripices* are held for the flower of all his Horse-men, being in number about eight hundred, who march still about the Princes Person during the Wars. The *Spachoglani* which is as much as to say, young Men on Horse-back, are above three thousand, who have yearly pensions in Money, which they are bound to receive yearly at *Constantinople*, or else they are held as dead Men. In the Wars they march on the right Hand of the Grand Seignior, and are known from the Spahies by the Banners of their Lances, which have two

The *Caripices* and *Spachoglans*.

points

1620 points and of divers colours, the others being pointed and all white, but they are armed alike. They are Men at Arms of a good faſhion, and are commonly advanced by the Sultan to higher Places. They have a Captain or Aga of great Eſteem, with a Lieutenant, and every twenty have a Boluch Baſſa.

The *Salichtari.* The *Salichtari* are alſo Horſe-men, and lodge upon the left Hand of the Prince, being in number about three thouſand: Their Breeding is like unto the Spahi, and there is no difference betwixt them but in their March, the one having the right Hand, and the other the left, which is the more honourable among the Turks.

The *Olofagi.* There is yet another ſort of Horſe-men, which they call *Olofagi*, being about two thouſand in number, and they march on the right and left Hand of the Prince. Theſe ſeveral Troops are as it were a Nurſery for all the chief Officers of that Empire; out of which they do commonly chuſe their great Commanders. Beſides, they have their mercinary Souldiers, called *Alcanziis*, which come to ſerve the *Turk* from *Tartaria*, *Valachia*, and *Moldavia*.

The *Janizaries*, and their Breeding. As for his foot Forces, they conſiſt chiefly in *Janizaries*, into which number they have not uſed to inroll many of *Aſia*, whom they have held faint-hearted, but thoſe of *Europe*, who have always had the Reputation to be Valiant. Their manner to entertain this Diſcipline, is, to ſend every three years into all the Provinces of *Europe*, from whence they bring ten or twelve thouſand Chriſtian Children as a Tribute, making choice of ſuch as have any ſhew of Magnanimity, Agility, or Courage, which are Parts fit for a Souldier. Theſe Children being brought to *Conſtantinople* and viſited, ſome of them are ſent into *Natolia*, *Caramania*, and other Provinces, to dig and weed the Ground, where they forget their Parents, Countrey, and Faith, and learn the Language and Vices of them with whom they converſe, and ſo become Mahometans. They continue in thoſe places three or four years, without any charge to the Prince, being entertained by them for whom they Labour; after which time they are called home, and put into the Sultan's Seraglioes at *Pera*, *Adrianopolis*, and other Places. But they that have the beſt Faces, and are moſt active, are reſerved for their Princes Service.

The *Aiamoglani.* Theſe Children, being brought into the Princes Seraglioes, are of two ſorts; the one are called *Aiamoglani*, that is to ſay, ſimple Boy; they are inſtructed by ſevere Maſters in divers manual and painful Exerciſes, as Shoomakers, Gardiners, and ſuch like baſe Trades. Their Feeding and Apparel is very mean; and for the moſt part they lie in great and ſpacious Rooms, like unto Religious Men, having a Light continually burning, and Guards about them. Theſe have liberty to go abroad, who after the Age of twenty years, are diſmiſſed: whereof ſome are ſent into the Sultan's Gardens, which are many and great; others are imployed as Car-men to carry Wood, Hay, Water, and other Proviſion for the Palace, and ſome are ſent to the Kitchins and Stables; yet when Places fall, they are preferred to be Janizaries, and have competent Penſions to maintain them during their lives. The leaſt hath five Aſpers a day, and there's none have above eight, and the Spahies ten. They are attired in long blew Gowns girt with a broad Girdle, and on their Head they have long yellow Caps without brims, and ſharp like unto Sugar-loaves; and of theſe *Aiamoglanes* there are always above twenty thouſand which ſerve to ſupply his Armies.

1620

The *Ich-Oglani.* The other ſort of Youths, which are bred up in the Turks Seraglioes or Nurſeries, are called *Ich-Oglani*, that is to ſay, Chamber-Pages, being the choice of all the Chriſtians Children for Proportion and Favour, and theſe *Ich-Oglani* are better bred up than the *Aiamoglani*, and come to better Preferment, of whom we have formerly made mention; for the meaneſt Places theſe young Men attain unto at the firſt is to be Spahies, or to attend upon the Grand Seignior, as his Chamberlains and Pages. And many of them having extraordinary Parts are ſuddenly advanced to Places of great Dignity. Of theſe, the Prince hath ever five thouſand, who until they come unto the Age of twenty years are never ſuffered to go out of their Seraglio, nor to ſee any Perſon but ſuch as inſtruct them and attend upon them.

The *Janizaries.* The *Janizaries* (who are the Grand Seignior's chief ſtrength on foot) are raiſed out of Chriſtians Children, bred up in theſe Nurſeries, as we have ſaid, where they are taught to ſhoot with their Bows and Arrows, to uſe the Harquebuſe, and all other Weapons fit for Service; and are at length inrolled among the *Janizaries*, and are held the moſt valiant and reſolute Souldiers among all the Turks. There are commonly reſident in *Conſtantinople* and thereabouts twenty four thouſand of theſe *Janizaries* whenas the Grand Seignior is there, (for in his whole Eſtate he hath a far greater number) under their Aga or Captain General, which is a Place of great credit, but not like unto any of their Baſſaes; the Great Turk fearing to joyn Power and Authority together. Being once *Janizaries*, they are either ſent to the Wars, or put in Garriſon, or elſe they remain at the Sultan's Court, (which they call Port) where they have certain ſpacious Places for their Dwelling, like to religious Houſes, where they live under their Commanders; and the younger ſerve the ancient with great reſpect. All the *Janizaries* of one Squadron eat together at one Table, and ſleep in certain long Halls, and if any one chance to be abſent all Night, he ſhall (the next Night) be beaten with a Cudgel, which he takes ſo patiently, as he kiſſeth his Hand that hath thus corrected him. They are much reſpected and feared of all men, and are diverſly imployed in the City; as to ſee the Peace and good Orders kept, to look to the prices of things, to arreſt Malefactors, and to guard the Gates. If they buy any thing they will have it at their own rate; they cannot be judged but by their Aga or Captain. There is ſeldom any one puniſhed with death by the courſe of Juſtice, without danger of a Mutiny; and therefore they execute them very ſecretly. They have many means to get money; for ſome attend upon Ambaſſadours, and keep their Houſes; others go with Travellers, to guard them ſafely through the Turks Eſtate. They have a great power in their Princes Election; ſo as to win their loves, every new Emperour at his firſt coming to the Crown gives them a Donative, and increaſeth their Pay, preſuming upon their Valour and Multitude. They many times commit ſtrange Inſolencies upon any Diſcontents; as in firing of Houſes, braving the Baſſaes, and ſometimes bearding the Sultan himſelf, as you may read in this Hiſtory.

The

1620

The chief ſtrength of the Turks Forces conſiſts in the *Janizaries*; and yet there are other ſorts of Foot-men, whereof ſome are called *Acovizes*, which is a forlorn Hope, and receive no Pay, but march before the Army, and have leave to ſpoil; ſo as they give the fifth part of their Booty to the Prince. There is another kind called *Azapi*; theſe are Souldiers of ſmall effect, and ſerve rather with the Pick-axe and Spade than with the Sword; they are fitter to tire an Enemy with their numbers, than to vanquiſh them with their Valour; and they are accuſtomed to fill up Ditches with their dead Bodies to make a Paſſage for the Janizaries to aſcend unto a Breach. The Grand Seignior hath ever ſix thouſand Gunners in pay whom they call *Topagi*. And for the Guard of the Powder and Shot when the Army marcheth, there are always twelve thouſand Men in pay, whom they call *Jebegi*.

Acovizes.

Azapi.

Topagi and *Jebegi.*

The Grand Seignior hath alſo certain Officers attending on him to the number of three thouſand, whom they call *Chiaus*, which are as it were Sergeants at Arms. Theſe are Men well eſteemed, and are often imployed in Embaſſies to foreign Princes: They alſo carry Letters and Commendations from the Prince or his chief Viſier, and they apprehend Offenders. Theſe never go to the War but whenas the Sultan is there in Perſon. They are commanded by a *Chiaus* Baſſa, who is of ſo great credit with all men, (as *Sanzovino* writes) that when he is ſent by the Grand Seignior to any Baſſa, Sanzack, or Cadi, with order to have any Mans Head cut off, he is obeyed, although he have no Warrant in writing, as if the Prince were there himſelf, and commanded it.

The *Chiaus.*

The Turks Diſcipline in their Armies.

Thus we have ſet down the Grand Seignior's Forces at Land, whoſe numbers are ſo great, as in ſhew they ſhould breed confuſion and ruine themſelves; but they keep very good Order and Diſcipline, ſo as in that point they yield not to any. They live of a little Bread baked in the Aſhes, with Rice, and the powder of Fleſh dryed in the Sun: They may drink no Wine, and there are no Women ſeen in their Armies; they obſerve a wonderful Silence, and all the Souldiers are governed by the beck of the Hand, or any ſhew of the Countenance. Quarrels and Theſts are ſeverely puniſhed. When they March, they dare not enter into any Corn Fields nor Vines. The Valiant are aſſured of Preferments, and Cowards of Puniſhment.

Having ſpoken ſufficiently of their Land Forces, let us ſee what ſtrength he hath at Sea; they have great ſtore of Foreſts for the building of Ships; neither want they good Shipwrights, for that Covetouſneſs hath drawn many Chriſtian Carpenters into the Grand Seignior's Arſenal: And he hath great numbers of Men trained up in Marine Affairs, in regard of the Gallies which he hath at *Mitilene*, *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, and *Alexandria*, and for the retreat he gives Pyrates at *Tunis*, *Bona*, *Bugia* and *Algiers*, from whence he draws Commanders and his beſt Mariners, as hath been ſeen by Experience in the Enterpriſes of *Malta*, *Gulette*, and elſewhere.

The Turks Revenues.

To maintain theſe great Forces, it is requiſite he ſhould have the ſinews of War; yet his ordinary Revenues (conſidering his large Dominions) are not ſo great, as in reaſon they ſhould be; for ſome are of opinion, that he hath not above eight millions of Gold for his ordinary Revenue; for which they give divers reaſons; firſt, That the Turks have no care but of Arms, the which do rather ruine than inrich a Country: ſecondly, They conſume ſo many men in their Enterpriſes, as they ſcarce leave ſufficient to manure their Land, ſo as the Subjects (deſpairing to enjoy their Wealth and neceſſary Commodities, which they might get by their Labour and Induſtry) imploy not themſelves to work nor traffick, no more than neceſſity ſhall conſtrain them; for to what purpoſe is it, *ſay they*, to ſow that another man muſt reap? or to reap that which another will conſume? And for this reaſon you ſhall ſee in the Turks Eſtate whole Countries lie waſte, and many times great Dearth, which grows by the want of Men to manure their Land; for that the Countrymen, for the moſt part, either die in the Voyages which they make, or in carrying of Victuals, and other neceſſary things for their Armies; for of ten thouſand which they draw from their Houſes to row in their Gallies, ſcarce the fourth part returns to their Houſes, by reaſon of the great Toyles they indure. Another reaſon why the Sultan's Revenues be no greater, is, for that when he conquers any Country, he aſſigns the Lands to his Timarri, who are bound to maintain ſo many Men, and ſo many Horſes, according to the proportion of Land which he gives them, reſerving no Rent.

1620

But although his ordinary Revenues be no greater than we have ſpoken, yet he draws great profit by his Extraordinaries, eſpecially by Confiſcations and Preſents; for being all his Slaves, no man enjoyeth any thing longer than it pleaſeth him; yea, the Baſſaes and greateſt Officers of that Crown, which oppreſs his Subjects, and gather together ineſtimable Wealth, in the end, for the moſt part, it comes into the Turks Caſna or Treaſury. It is not ſtrange there to ſend for any Subjects Head, upon any ſuggeſtion whatſoever, which no man dare contradict; after which Execution, his Slaves and Goods are ſold in the Market at *Conſtantinople*, and the Money applyed to the Prince's Coffers. His Preſents alſo amount to great ſums, for no Ambaſſadour may come before him without a Preſent, neither may any man expect any Office or Dignity without Money; no Governour being returned from his Province, dares preſent himſelf to the Sultan empty handed, neither are their Preſents of ſmall price. The Sultan's Exchequer is governed by two Treaſurers called *Deſtardari*, who are more rightly governours of the Revenues, for that they keep an account of the Prince's Caſna or Treaſure, the one hath charge of the Revenues which are raiſed in *Natolia*, the other in *Europe*. Alſo they draw great profit from their tributary Provinces, eſpecially from *Valachia*, *Moldavia*, and *Tranſilvania*, where the Princes maintain themſelves by Preſents and Gifts: ſo as they change daily, for that they that offer moſt are advanced, whereby they are forced to ruine the Country to perform what they have promiſed.

The Laws whereby the Turks are governed.

But having ſpoken of the Turks Forces and Revenues, whereby they maintain their Armies to invade their Neighbours, we muſt now ſpeak ſomething of their Laws whereby the Subjects are governed, which are Inſtitutions and Anſwers of Wiſe men, the which they hold as an Interpretation of their Alcaron, which is the ground of their Law. Theſe Inſtitutions

1620 ſtitutions are contained in twelve Volumes, treating of all things belonging to civil Converſation. Some Provinces of *Turkey* are governed by Cuſtoms, and enjoy their Priviledges, and their Wiſe Judges ſupply many things which are not written. The Sultan makes choice of the wiſeſt and worthieſt Perſon that can be found, of a ſincere Life, according to their Law, and he is called *Muſti*, that is, Interpreter of their Alcaron; he is (as it were) their High-prieſt, attending only matters of Religion and Faith; he is Head of the Church among the Turks, and decideth all queſtions of their Law. He is of ſuch eminency, as all the Baſſaes are ſubject to his direction; he abaſeth not himſelf ſo much as to ſit in the Divano, only paſſeth through it when he is ſent for by the Sultan, who (ſo ſoon as he ſeeth him) riſeth from his ſeat, as it were to honour him, and then they both ſit down face to face, and ſo conferr together.

The Muſti.

They make trial of the ſufficienteſt of their Judges, before they chuſe any, for which there are two *Cadileſquiri Taliſmani*, that is, Doctors of the Law, and Examiners, at *Conſtantinople*, or whereſoever the Prince remains: Theſe examine the Judges or Cadies of divers Provinces. The one hath his charge over *Europe*, and is called *Cadileſquirie Romly*, before whom (after good information of his Life and ſufficiency) he ſwears that he will do Juſtice to all men, and yield an account of his Charge when he ſhall be called. The other *Cadileſquirie* is for *Natolia*; they are ſovereign Judges in all Cauſes, and, as it were Patriarchs. They are of great Authority, and have place in the Divano with the Baſſaes, to conſult of weighty matters.

The Cadileſquiri.

There is a Third degree of their Churchmen, belonging to their Law, called *Mulli*, which are Biſhops, and chief Governours under the *Muſti*; and their Office is to place and diſplace Church-men at their diſcretion. Next are the *Nuderiſi*, who are Suffragans to the Biſhops, and their Charge is to ſee the *Cadies* do their duties. Next come the *Cadies*, who are Judges to puniſh Offenders, of which there is one in every City under the Seignior's command.

The Mulli, Nuderiſi, and Cadi.

Under theſe are another kind of young Doctors of the Law, called *Naipi*, who are not ſo well read as to be abſolute Judges, but yet ſupply their places in their abſence.

The Naipi.

After theſe are the *Hogi*, who write their Books, for that they allow no printing; and inferior unto them are the *Caſſi*, who read unto them that write. And the youngeſt of all are called *Softi*, who are young Students or Novices in their Law.

The Hogi, Caſſi, and Softi.

Theſe are their ſeveral degrees of Lawyers or Church-men; for the Turks are governed by a kind of Eccleſiaſtical Law, according to their Alcaron. They have Colledges (called *Medreſſe*) at *Conſtantinople*, and in other places, where they live and ſtudy their Law and Divinity, and ſo they aſcend by degrees to the higheſt Dignity of their Profeſſion.

As for their Religion, it began in the time of the Emperour *Heraclius*, whenas the Empire was much diſmembred by the Hereſies of *Arrius* and *Neſtorius*. *Mahomet*, born in *Arabia*, embraced this opportunity, ſeeking to overthrow the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*, which was oppoſed by the *Jews* and *Arabians*; he was aſſiſted by two Hereticks, the one was *John a Neſtorian*, and the other *Sergius* an *Arrian*. After which (being aſſiſted by many ſlaves, to whom he allowed all that was pleaſing to the ſence and fleſh if they ſhould receive this Law) he obtained many Victories. By *Mahomet*'s Law they make a Diſtinction of clean and unclean Meats to content the *Jews*, and alſo it maintains Circumciſion, but not at the eighth day of their Birth, as the *Jews* uſe it, but after the eighth year, when the Infant is able to make Confeſſion of his Faith, where, lifting up his Finger, he ſpeaks theſe Words, which are graven in their Temples in the *Arabian* Tongue: *There is but one God, whoſe Prophet* Mahomet *is, one God and equal Prophets.* The Circumciſion being ended, they feaſt three days together, and then they carry the Circumciſed to a Bath with great pomp; after which, the Gueſts conduct him to his Houſe, and preſent him with Gifts. The Women are not circumciſed, but onely ſpeak the words. If any Chriſtian abjure his Faith, and indure Circumciſion, (as they often do by reaſon of their Tributes and Vexations) they are led through the Town with great honour and rejoycing of the People, who do alſo give unto them, and they pay no Tributes. *Mahomet*'s Law denies the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*, to pleaſe the *Arrians*, who were then powerful: It is full of Fables to pleaſe Idolaters, and it gives liberty to the fleſh, which is pleaſing to moſt men.

1620

The Turks Religion.

They confeſs one God, and honour *Jeſus Chriſt*, not as the Son of God, but, as a Prophet, born of the Virgin *Mary*. They neither honour nor allow Images. Friday is their Sabbath, as Sunday is ours. They obſerve a *Lent* of thirty days, which they call *Ramadan*; during which, they eat nothing in the day time, but when night comes all meats are indifferent, but Swines fleſh; yet they abſtain from Wine and Women. They have their *Eaſter*, called *Bayran*, which continues three days, in which they enjoy all pleaſures; but this Feaſt is not always prefixed, for that they account not the day according to the courſe of the Sun, but of the Moon; and therefore they do carefully obſerve the New-Moon, and ſalute it.

They have no Bells in their Moſques, neither do they ſuffer the Chriſtians which live there to have any. They put off their Shooes when they go into their Moſques, and take them again at their coming forth. Whereſoever they ſit in their Churches or Houſes, they have Tapeſtry Coverlets or Mats under them; they are not much given to Contemplation or Learning, yet the Turkiſh Women, being married, and having Iſſue, are careful to breed up their Children, and to be inſtructed; for the which there are many Schools, where they read their Laws, to the end they may ſerve in their Moſques, and be able to govern the Common-weal.

The Turks, by *Mahomet*'s Law, have leave to marry as many Wives as they can maintain; and a Turkiſh Woman being once with Child, her Husband never toucheth her untill ſhe be delivered, but lies with his ſlaves out of the Houſe where his Wife remains. They have a certain kind of marriage made at pleaſure, which they call Kebin, the which is many times practiſed by Strangers, who being out of their Country, contract with Women, whom they are to enjoy during their pleaſure, and when they caſt them off, they give them a certain ſum of Money, and keep the Children. The Cadies or Judges allow not this kind of contract, eſpecially amongſt Chri-

1620 Chriſtians, unleſs it be with an Oath of marriage. A Turk having had the Uſe of a Chriſtian Woman, they are both condemned to dye, unleſs ſhe will abjure her Faith; the like is obſerved betwixt a Chriſtian and a Turkiſh Woman, if they have been found together. Divorce is allowed among them in caſe of Barrenneſs and Incontinency.

There are four orders of Religious Men among the Turks, which differ in their Living, Habit, and Ceremonies. Theſe be the *Terlaques*, *Deruis*, *Kalenders*, and *Huquiemales*, and theſe laſt are very vicious, and wicked Impoſters, deceiving of the common People. The *Deruis* is a ſtrict Order, living in Contemplation, much like unto the *Capuchins* among the *Romiſh* Papiſts. The Turks forbear to blaſpheme either God, Chriſt, or *Mahomet*, or any other Saint whatſoever, and they puniſh blaſphemy ſeverely. They converſe with Chriſtians, and Eat and Traffick with them freely; yea ſometimes they marry their Daughters, and ſuffer them to live after their own Religion. But they hate the *Jews*, and deſpiſe them as the baſeſt people in the world. They have an aſſured Confidence, that he that ſhall duely obſerve the Laws of *Mahomet*, ſhall have eternal Life, and a Paradiſe full of Delights; and contrariwiſe they that ſhall breake the Laws of their Alcaron are threatned with Hell and eternal Death; yet they have an Opinion, that he that believes in the Alcaron when he dyes, ſhall be undoubtedly ſaved.

To conclude this Relation with ſome few lines of their Humours and Diſpoſitions; they write of them, that they are groſs witted, idle, and unfit for Labour. They are exceeding covetous and corrupt, above all other Nations; for Juſtice is ſold to him that offers moſt. They are humble among themſelves, and obey their Superiours with great ſilence. They are proud and inſupportable to Strangers, thinking none fit to be compared with them. They are given to Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, and will ſpend whole days together in Feaſting, and will drink with exceſs, if it be in private, for that it is forbidden by their Law. They are vain-glorious, proud, and deceitful, never keeping their words, but when it may be to their profit. They are much inclined to Venery, and are for the moſt part all *Sodomites*. They are very ſuperſtitious, giving credit to Dreams and Divinations; and they hold, that every mans Deſtiny is written in his Forehead, which cannot be altered or avoided.

1620 The diſpoſition of the Turks.

Thus I have continued this Hiſtory for eleven Years, having informed my ſelf out of the beſt Authors and Intelligencers I could find that concern this ſubject; I ſhould have been glad that ſome which have reſided at *Conſtantinople* moſt part of this time, would have aſſiſted me with their Obſervations, which ſhould have been for the general good of our Nation; but I hope notwithſtanding the Reader ſhall find content and ſatisfaction.

A CONTINUATION OF THE TURKISH HISTORY,

From the beginning of the Year of Our Lord, 1620, until the ending of the Year of Our Lord, 1628.

Collected out of the Papers and Diſpatches of Sir *Thomas Roe*, Knight, his Majeſties Ambaſſador with the Grand Seignior, during that Time.

By *M. B.*

1620

BEfore we come to ſpeak of the great Preparations made by the Grand Seignior in the Year *1621*, to invade the Kingdom of *Poland*, and thoſe by that King to reſiſt him; I hold it neceſſary briefly to ſet down the Cauſes and Reaſons of the enſuing War.

The cauſe of the War between the King of *Poland* and the Grand Seignior.

The *Chrim* Tartar, confining upon the Dukedom of *Ruſſia*, and Borders of *Poland*, made many Incurſions, and did great ſpoil upon the *Coſſacks* within that Province of *Ruſſia*, and other parts belonging to the Kingdom of *Poland*, and carrying away People of all Ages and Sexes, made ſale of them within the Turkiſh Empire. Now *Jean-beagh-Ghiray-Han*, Prince of the *Tartars*, being wholly dependent on the *Ottoman* Emperours, his Majeſty of *Poland* ſent many ſeveral Ambaſſadors to complain at that Port; That notwithſtanding the ancient League between him and the *Ottoman* Family, the *Tartars* greatly ſpoiled his Countries; which was both unjuſt and unreaſonable. Howſoever the Complaints were many and great, yet the King of *Poland*'s Miniſters found no redreſs for thoſe their alledged Wrongs; but were anſwered, That the *Tartars* were abſolute Lords over themſelves, and that they pretended to have an annual Tribute of forty thouſand Dollars from the King of *Poland*; which being denied them, they had reaſon ſo to do; and that the Grand Seignior could only intreat, but not command them to ſurceaſe. The *Tartars* ſeeing the *Polack* thus ſlighted at the Port, grew more inſolent and outrageous; wherewith the Turks were well content, for the great benefit they received by Slaves which were continually brought to be ſold in their Dominions, finding for the moſt part, that thoſe men had able Bodies, and fit to be applied to the Oar. It is true, that the *Chrim Tartars* in antient time, being ſo near Neighbours, were wont to receive ſuch a ſum from the Crown of *Poland*, for which they were obliged to ſerve in every occaſion of War. But of later years that payment diſcontinued, becauſe they rather received hurt, than any aſſiſtance of that vagabond and predatory People.

When the *Coſſacks* ſaw, that after ſo many Complaints they could not live in quiet, nor procure Reſtitution of their Wrongs, nor take their Revenge upon the *Tartar* (being a flitting and fugitive People, who had no certain place of abode) they reſolved to fall into the Dominions of the Grand Seignior, who ſeemed, if not to protect, yet to connive at Injuries they received from theſe their Neighbours. The *Coſſacks* then that inhabited upon the Banks of the River *Boriſthenes* (which emptieth it ſelf into the Black Sea) were conjectured to be fitteſt for the Execution of this Revenge; and therefore they prepared a great number of well armed *Barques*, and falling down the ſaid River, did very great damage to the Turk, by robbing, burning, and ſpoiling divers Towns and Villages bordering upon the Black Sea. This News being brought to *Conſtantinople*, the Grand Seignior took it in great ſcorn, that ſuch a baſe and rude People ſhould come and affront him ſo near his Doors. Therefore he cauſed ſome Gallies to be armed forth with ſpeed to ſuppreſs them; but his Forces were four or five times valiantly repulſed, and ſtill the *Coſſack* went ſafely home with his Prey. Now the tide of Affairs was turned, and this great Emperour, who was formerly petitioned by the *Polack*, is now become a Suitor to him himſelf, and finds his Miniſters meaſured by the anſwer the Grand Seignior had given concerning the Wrongs done by the *Tartars*: That though the *Coſſacks* adhere to the Crown of *Poland*, yet they are free People of themſelves; but when the *Tartar* ſhall ceaſe from his Hoſtility, it is like enough the *Pole* will intreat the *Coſſack* to do the ſame; and that is all the Authority he can exerciſe over them. 1620

The preparation of the Grand Seignior for the War with the King of *Poland*.

Affairs ſtanding thus, no accommodation for Wrongs on either ſide could be made; and the Grand Seignior, although he was but now fifteen years of age, yet was he ſtrong, vigorous, and of a high Spirit, and more than deſirous of a War, but eſpecially with the King of *Poland*, from whom he looked for better Satisfaction. This deſire was nouriſhed in him by the Counſels of *Ali Baſſa*, Great Viſier; and notwithſtanding it was utterly diſliked by all the reſt of the Miniſters of State, and Officers of War in that Empire. A War was nevertheleſs thereupon proclaimed throughout all the Turks Dominions, which did in general diſpleaſe the common Souldier alſo.

The Grand Seignior, the four and twentieth of *April*, commanded payment to be made to all

1621 the Souldiery, and the day following cauſed all his Tents and Pavilions, with thoſe of his Viſiers and other Officers, to be ſolemnly pitched without the City, with thoſe of all Trades that were to attend his Royal Camp.

The Grand Seignior, having now gathered of Foot and Horſe three hundred thouſand (though reported to be ſix hundred thouſand) ſet forward, together with his Court and Train, out of *Conſtantinople*, the Nine and twentieth of *April*, with three hundred Field-pieces, beſide an hundred double Cannon ſent unto the Frontiers by Sea; leaving *Achmet Baſſa* and the *Boſtangi Baſſa* Governours of the City till his return.

The beginning of the War with the King of *Poland*.

When he was arrived at the Confines of *Poland*, he firſt attempted the Fortreſs of *Cotyn* in the Province of *Moldavia*, lately given by *Gaſparo Gratiani* to the *Polacks*. The which being ſtrong of Scituation, and well furniſhed for defence, the Turk, finding it difficult to carry in few days, left it beſieged; and paſſing the River of *Boriſthine*, found there the Chancellor of *Poland* intrench'd upon the borders, in a ſtrong Place, and of good advantage, kept with forty thouſand *Polacks* and *Coſſacks*, and eight thouſand High *Dutch* ſent by the Emperour in Aid of the King of *Poland*. The Prince was incamped at *Caminitza*, and ſtrongly intrenched with ſixty thouſand Souldiers; the King abiding in *Cracovia* with the Nobility and his Court. The Grand Seignior, facing the Trenches upon *Boriſthine*, with the multitude of his Army incloſed them round, and ſhut up all the Paſſages; ſending preſently the Prince of the *Tartars*, *Jeanbeagh-Ghiray-Han* with thirty thouſand light-horſe to make Incurſions within the heart of *Poland*; who did great ſpoil, and brought away Captives twenty five thouſand Souls of all ſorts; which dammage did not ſo much proceed from the Will of the Prince, as from a Captain of his, a Nobleman of *Tartary*, called *Kante-Emir-Emirze*, in great Favour at that time with the Emperour; for it was thought that between the King of *Poland* and the Prince of *Tartary*, there was ſome ſecret Intelligence by the virtue of Money.

During the ſpace of four and thirty days that the Grand Seignior held theſe Trenches beſieged, almoſt every other day he gave them terrible aſſaults, but was alway forced to retire with loſs. The *Polack* in bravery making ſome ſallies and encounters, were alſo glad to recover their ſtrength; only once they ſo far advanced in the Evening with their ſhot upon the quarter of the Janizaries, that they made a great Execution, and almoſt put the whole Camp into diſorder; and, as the Turks themſelves did confeſs, if this ſally had been given in the Night, it had hazarded the Confuſion of the whole Army; All which being ſeen by the Grand Seignior, and little hope of advancing further, for divers reaſons he was enforced to treat a Ceſſation of Arms with the Chancellor. The firſt was, That conſidering he had ſpent ſo much time without any advantage, and the Winter approaching, whereby his Army ſuffered great Extremities of Cold and other Miſeries, by reaſon of terrible Rains which had carried away divers Tents, Horſes, and other Cattel, and ſome part of his Cannons. Secondly, the proviſion of fodder was become ſo dear, that divers forſook their Horſes for want of means to feed them; beſides the great Mortality of Men, of Fluxes, Feavers, and Colds, and the Horſes of *Aſia* not uſed to ſuch a Climate, that many Men of Quality that came out with ten and twelve, were compelled to return on foot. Thirdly, the Army, either for Wearineſs, or for diſcontent received from the Emperour himſelf, for his narrowneſs and Avarice ſhewed to the Souldier, contrary to the glorious Example of his Anceſtors in like Enterpriſes, not only refuſed to fight, but were little leſs than mutined. Fourthly, this attempt from the beginning, proceeding meerly from the obſtinacy of the Grand Seignior, contrary to the Counſel of all his Viſiers, who deſired generally a Peace; at their Sollicitation, and by the Mediation of *Radula* Prince of *Valachia*, both parts were eaſily induced to Treaty, and the Chancellor was drawn to ſend a Secretary to the Grand Seignior; where it was agreed, as followeth. 1621

Firſt, That the Emperour ſhould raiſe his Army, and retire from the Confines of Poland; *and the* Tartars, *as the occaſioners of this War, ſhould ſend an Emirze to reſide as a pledge from enſuing Incurſions. The Chancellor promiſing in the Name of the King of* Poland, *to keep another in the Court of the Prince of* Tartary, *with Condition to pay yearly as aforeſaid forty thouſand Florins (an antient pretenſion of the* Tartars) *as a donative from the King of* Poland; *promiſing moreover, for the better Confirmation of the future Peace, to maintain a Reſident in the Port of the* Ottoman *Court, and upon the arrival of every ſuch Ambaſſador to ſend a Preſent conformable to the Ledgiers of other Chriſtian Princes. And, as the Grand Seignior was obliged for the* Tartars, *that they ſhould forbear all Invaſions upon the* Polack; *ſo the* Polacks *ſhould bind themſelves in behalf of the* Coſſacks, *that they ſhould commit no Robberies in the Dominion of the Grand Seignior. And further covenanting in the Name of the* Poliſh *Merchants for the Priviledge of free Traffique, to make a preſent of an hundred thouſand Chequins in Plate, Sables, and* Bulgary *Hides; alway intended with this reſervation, that this Treaty ſhould not prejudice or bind, until the Grand Seignior did ſend a Chiaus to the King of* Poland *with theſe Overtures, that he might have time to aſſemble his Parliament, and there reſolve to ſend an Ambaſſador with ample Authority to treat and conclude a final Peace in the Port.* Whereupon the Grand Seignior, being ſatisfied with theſe Conditions, did diſpatch preſently his *Nuntio* into *Poland*, and ſuddenly, to the great content of all his Army, he raiſed his Camp and returned to *Adrianople*.

The loſſes in the *Turkiſh* and *Poliſh* Armies.

By relation of divers preſent in that War, it was reported, That there died in the Turks Camp, by the Sword, Famine, Sickneſs, and Cold, about eighty thouſand Men, and above an hundred thouſand Horſe; and the remain at their return appearing ſo naked, ſickly, and poor, made evident demonſtration of the great loſs and miſery ſuſtained. The *Polacks* in their Trenches loſt above twenty thouſand by the famine ſuffered in their beſieging; ſo that if the Winter, and other wants had not conſtrained the Grand Seignior to riſe with ſome pretence of Honour, and that he had ſtaid a few days longer, they had been enforced to render or periſh; which is evident, in that they were glad and prompt to accept of any agreement, although as yet there was nothing fully concluded.

The Grand Seignior inraged that the Emperour had ſent Aids to the *Pole*.

The Grand Seignior, being informed that the Emperour of *Germany* had ſent Aid of eight thouſand *Dutch* to the King of *Poland*, and enraged that he had ſo little advanced in that attempt; pretending that the Emperour by giving Succors had broken the Peace; to vent his Choler, contrary to the advice of his Council, preſently upon his riſing from the Confines of *Poland*, in his Camp proclaimed War againſt *Germany* for the next Spring; commanding upon great Penalty, all his Souldiers and Slaves to be ready for that Invaſion. Which gave great diſcontent to the Army, inſomuch as they did almoſt publickly profeſs, they neither could nor would follow him. And

con-for-

1621 conformable to this his raſh Reſolution, he gave order to *Kante-Emir-Emirze*, a *Tartarian* Captain, then Baſſa of *Silſtra*, to winter with twenty thouſand of his Souldiers in the Countrey. Preſently hereupon, *Cæſar Gallo*, the Emperour's Ambaſſadour, was ſtaid at *Buda*; the Grand Seignior pretending, that the ſaid *Cæſar Gallo* had promiſed upon his Life, That the Emperour would give no Aid to the King of *Poland*. Not conſidering, that he himſelf, contrary to the Peace, the Summer before had ſurpriſed *Vatz*, a Town of *Hungary*, and had permitted many of his Souldiers to follow the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, as Voluntiers againſt the Emperour.

The Grand Seignior changeth his Mind of making War againſt the Emperour.

The King of *Poland*, hearing of this Reſolution againſt the Emperour, called the Chiaus, ſent about the Treaty, before him, and told him, That if the Grand Seignior ſhould proceed to make War upon the Emperour for his occaſion, that he could conclude no Peace with him, being obliged to take part with the Emperour, as his dear Brother and Confederate. Which Meſſage the Chiaus ſent to the Grand Seignior, when he was yet at *Adrianople*, where he either purpoſed to winter to affright the Emperour, or to quicken the *Polack* to a concluſion of Peace; cold in his ſudden Pretence, by the perſwaſions of the Viſiers and Mufti, he changed his Reſolution, and took his way to *Conſtantinople*, where he entred the laſt of *December*.

Now it being given out, that the Emir of *Sidon* in *Siria* was in Rebellion, and that he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the City and Caſtle of *Tripoly*, the Grand Seignior pretended to go in Perſon againſt him, and gave out 60000 Checquines to prepare his Cartiages and Pavilions; and took order to provide his Palace in *Aleppo*, determining to paſs that way to amuſe and raiſe ſuſpition in the *Perſian*; and likewiſe commanded the Army of *Aſia* to be in readineſs by the end of the Month of *April*; and gave out Commiſſion for Victuals, Munition, and other Neceſſaries. The Mufti, Hoja, and other the Viſiers (who knew not the myſtery) miſliking this Counſel, with great Inſtances and Reaſons diſſuaded him, as being a Courſe very dangerous to his Eſtate. Firſt, That his Majeſty ſhould go in Perſon, leaving all *Greece* deſolate, and commit the Care and Government of his Imperial Seat to a poor Chimacham or Lieutenant; it not being probable that the Emir of *Sidon* would ſtay to oppoſe himſelf againſt the force of his Royal Army, but rather make an eſcape, and retire himſelf to ſome part of Chriſtendom; and that a General by Land, and the Captain Baſſa, Admiral of the Sea, with his Fleet of Gallies, would ſuffice to puniſh and deſtroy him. Beſides, if his Majeſty undertook the Journey in Perſon, it was neceſſary that all his Souldiers ſhould attend him, which were a Charge ſuperfluous and above the Enterpriſe, and almoſt impoſſible for them, having been ſo harraſſed and diſtreſſed in the late Invaſion of *Poland* (who did even publickly murmure that they would not go.) For which reaſons the King ſeemed to change his Reſolution, and was content to make a General by Land with the Army of *Aſia*; to which charge was named the Baſſa of *Cairo*. The next day after the Grand Seignior's coming to the Arſenal, he called the Viſier Baſſa, the Admiral, and the great Treaſurer before him; where it was concluded to make ready at leaſt an hundred Gallies: for the preparation whereof ſixty thouſand Chequines were then delivered; the Viſier promiſing to furniſh the reſt of the whole charge with expedition, of his own purſe, and to take it up upon the King's Aſſignations. Whereupon, the Grand Seignior with great content did veſt them as a mark of favour, and gave preſent Commiſſion to the Admiral to be ready to depart by the midſt of *April* following; and for his better ſtrength, he gave a command to ſend for Aids to *Tunis* and *Algier*: which was thought requiſite, becauſe it was reported, that the Prince *Philibert* of *Savoy*, the Viceroy of *Sicily*, had in readineſs ſixty Gallies and ſix Gallions at *Meſſina*, which force was doubted would be employed to give Succour to the Emir of *Sidon*, or to revenge the attempt and late ſack of *Manfredonia*; ſo that they were with all expedition rigging and preparing the Armado in the Arſenal: and for proviſion and prevention of the worſt, there was ordained twelve ſmall Gallies, and the ordinary Fleet of Frigots, to keep the black Sea from the incurſion of the *Coſſacks*. And though it was given out, that this Army was only prepared againſt the Emir, yet many that underſtood the ſecrets of that Empire, knowing it to be too great, did believe it ſhould be ſent to prevent a general revolt, which was then murmured and ſuſpected in *Aſia*.

1621

About this time, contrary to the counſel and will of all his Miniſters, the Grand Seignior married the Grand-child of a Sultana, Wife to *Pertau Baſſa*, only for her Beauty, without any Pomp, which was ill interpreted in that Court; his Anceſtors of late years not uſually taking Wives, eſpecially of a Turkiſh race, for reſpect of Kindred. This and other inconſtancies, with extream Avarice, made him odious with the Souldier; and his daily haunting the Streets on foot, ſometimes diſguiſed, with a Page or two, prying into houſes and Taverns, like a petty Officer, increaſed his contempt even in the City.

The Grand Seignior married.

Secret Order was given about the ſame time to *Diac-Mahomet*, the Baſſa of *Caniſia*, and to *Gelut-Emirze*, a Tartarian, to unite themſelves with *Bethlem Gabor* againſt the Emperour of *Germany*: But the Baſſa of *Buda* did advertiſe the Grand Seignior, that *Bethlem Gabor* had concluded Peace with the Emperour; which news did greatly diſpleaſe him, being ardent in the deſire of War.

Secret order to make War upon the Emperour.

The Peace between the Grand Seignior and the King of *Poland* was not yet fully concluded; but Ambaſſadours were weekly expected at the Port from *Poland* and other places, to haſten a full conſummation thereof. Amongſt which, Sir *Thomas Roe*, Knight, Ambaſſadour in ordinary from his Majeſty of *Great Britain* to the Grand Seignior, arrived there the firſt of *January*, and had his firſt audience of him ſpeedily, when he made this Speech unto him in Engliſh, which immediately followeth.

His Majeſty of *Great Britain's* Ambaſſador arrived at the Port.

MOſt High and Mighty Emperour, his ſacred Majeſty the King of Great Britain, France *and* Ireland, *my moſt gracious Lord and Sovereign, according to the antient League of Friendſhip and Amity, of long time begun and continued between the moſt noble Anceſtors of your Majeſties, and in his Royal Perſon confirmed by his ſundry Ambaſſadors and Letters, both to your renowned Father, and your Imperial Majeſty; being fully determined on his part, to maintain, and inviolably to hold a fair and good Peace and Correſpondency with your Majeſty: hath commanded and ſent me with his Letters of Credence and friendly Preſent, to reſide as his Ambaſſador in your Royal Court; Not doubting but your Imperial Majeſty will accept them, and receive me, his unworthy Servant, with your wonted Honour and Favour; and that you will give Credit unto me in diviers matters of importance which he hath commanded me to deliver in his Name, comprehended in five Articles written in this Memorial. And that you will be pleaſed to do therein according to the Royal Friendſhip of his Majeſty, and your Princely Wiſdom and Juſtice.*

1621 *The particulars whereof, I deſire your Majeſty to read and conſider at your eaſe and leiſure; and to afford me your Royal anſwer, his Majeſty reſting aſſured he ſhall receive Content and Satisfaction worthy his Royal Friendſhip.*

The Letter of Credence ſent by Sir Thomas Roe.

His Majeſties Letter to the Grand Seignior.

JAMES by the Grace of God King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Chriſtian Faith, againſt all thoſe that falſly profeſs the Name of *Jeſus*, &c. To the moſt High and Mighty Prince, Sultan *Oſman Han*, chief Lord and Commander of the *Ottoman* Kingdom and Empire of the *Eaſt*, ſendeth Health and Greeting.

WE doubt not but you received our Letters ſent you by our Subject John Chapman, *whereby we ſignified unto you our Royal Pleaſure to recall and diſcharge our Ambaſſador Sir* John Ayre *from his Employment and Reſidency in your Court, whom we deſired you in your Princely Favour to diſmiſs for our eſpecial Service, and to receive the bearer of our ſaid Letters as Agent, to remain in your Protection; for the better ſupport and maintenance of our Subjects, which do trade and abide in your Dominions, and for the advancement and continuance of the mutual Commerce and Friendſhip, which hath been a long time contracted between your Predeceſſors and ours, until the arrival of our Servant Sir* Thomas Roe; *of whom as then we made choice to ſend unto your Port as Ambaſſador; as well to propound unto you divers things neceſſary for the general Peace, as to reſide in your Court for our particular Service. Notwithſtanding, leſt the ſaid Letters ſhould not come ſafely to your Royal Hands, we have thought fit again to make known our purpoſe of recalling our former Ambaſſador Sir* John Ayre, *and to deſire you to diſcharge and diſmiſs him from your Port, and to receive and admit in his room our truſty and well beloved Servant Sir* Thomas Roe, *one of the principal Gentlemen of our Court, and of our Privy Chamber, whom we have now expreſly ſent, and whom we authoriſe under our great Seal of* England, *as our Ambaſſador to reſide at your Port, and to negotiate in our Name, and in the behalf of our Subjects abiding within your Kingdoms; of whoſe Fidelity and Diſcretion, as we are well aſſured, ſo we doubt not but he will give you good content in his Demeanour and Negotiation with you. We have alſo thought fit to put you in mind of thoſe common Rovers upon the Seas, who are Enemies to the Laws of Nations, and ſpoilers of the quiet and peaceable Merchant, by whom Amity and Friendſhip is maintained between Kings and Princes: That you would pleaſe to exerciſe your Great and Mighty Power to chaſtiſe and deſtroy them, as Traitors to your Honour, and infringers of the ſacred and publick Peace. In full aſſurance that you will extend the ſame good reſpect unto us, as your Royal Anceſtors have done unto our moſt renowned Predeceſſors, whereby that antient League and Commerce may be inviolably maintained between both our Kingdoms, which on our part we ſhall be very loth to infringe or diſſolve. We do by theſe our Letters recommend unto your princely Favour, this our ſaid truſty Servant and Ambaſſador, to reſide and remain in your Port, on our behalf to treat with you in all Affairs for the publick Weal of our Dominons, and for the general Peace of us both, and our Allies and Friends, as alſo for the ſupport and aid of all our Subjects, which do live and trade within your* 1621
Eſtates and Countries; to whoſe good Diſcretion we recommend their Affairs, and by whoſe Induſtry and Mediation we conceive our People may be relieved in their juſt and reaſonable demands, to the perfect maintenance and aſſurance of that mutual Commerce which hath ſo long time been continued between our Royal Progenitors. And as we have great cauſe to profeſs our grateful Acknowledgement for many Favours which our former Ambaſſadors and all other our Subjects have, and do receive from your Royal Hands, ſo in our Princely love we do intreat you to take knowledge of, and to command redreſs for divers Oppreſſions and Wrongs done unto ſome of our ſaid Subjects Perſons and Goods, that live under the aſſurance of your Friendſhip with us, which we have formerly ſignified to our Reſidents at your Port; but as we verily believe they have never come unto your Ears, that are open to the juſt Complaints of all Strangers; whereof we have now given charge to our Servant and Ambaſſador to acquaint you with more at large, unto whom we deſire you to give Protection and Credit in whatſoever he ſhall move and propound, for the eſtabliſhing, confirmation, and inlargement, in all Occaſions, of thoſe Liberties and Priviledges which our Subjects have antiently enjoyed by the Benignity of your ſelf, and of your Royal Anceſtors. And in all other things and occaſions, wherein he hath or ſhall receive our Commands, as if our ſelf did communicate them with you, which we doubt not ſhall redound to the great Utility and Honour of both our Empires. And ſo we wiſh you Health and true Felicity. Dated at our Royal City of London, *the ſixth day of* September, Anno Dom. 1621, *and of our Reign of* Great Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *the nineteenth.*

Articles propounded by the Ambaſſador to the Grand Seignior.

"Firſt, his Sacred Majeſty of *Great Britain*, according to the moſt noble and renowned "League of Amity between your Majeſties and "your Crowns and Dominions, hath commanded "me to renew the antient Capitulations and Priviledges granted by your Imperial Majeſty and "your Royal Anceſtors, and therein to move "your Majeſty, that you will be pleaſed to inlarge and extend your Favour to our Nation "that live under your Protection, and to give "Remedy to divers Injuries done unto them by "the Cuſtomers of this Royal Port, *Aleppo*, *Smirna*, *Scio*, *Patras*, and other Places, contrary "to the Juſtice and Honour of your Majeſty; "and that you will be pleaſed to give order for "ſeveral Commands to theſe Places, in all our "juſt Occaſions; that both the Fame of your Juſtice may be renowned, and the Friendſhip of "your Majeſties confirmed, and the Correſpondence and Commerce between your Dominions eſtabliſhed and increaſed.

"Secondly, his Majeſty hath commanded me "to offer himſelf as a Mediator of Peace, to accommodate the late breach with the Kingdom "of *Poland*, the King of *Poland* having ſent his "Ambaſſador expreſs into *England* to deſire his "Aid, he hath thought it more agreeable to his "Honour, and to the antient League of Friendſhip, to uſe his Credit with your Majeſty to "procure the general quiet and peace of the Princes of Chriſtendom, deſiring your Majeſty to "conſider his Intereſt in the publick cauſe, and "not to deſpiſe the Forces of ſo many as may "partake in the quarrel; which if your Majeſty "ſhall hearken unto, the rather for his ſake, as "your Royal Anceſtor hath done in the like "Occaſion, his Majeſty will accept it as a reſpect

"of

1621 "of your Love, which will aſſure and increaſe "the Commerce and Friendſhip of your Domi- "nions; in which his Maieſty hath given me "more particular and full Inſtructions to treat "and mediate in this Buſineſs.

"Thirdly, his Majeſty hath commanded me "to move your Imperial Majeſty for the releaſe "of divers of the *Poliſh* Nobility, now your Cap- "tives; and for one *Scottiſh* Gentleman, a Sub- "ject of his Majeſty, my Royal Maſter.

"Fourthly, his Majeſty deſires, that you will "take ſome order with the Pyrats of *Tunis* and "*Algier*, who ſhelter themſelves under your Roy- "al Protection, (to the great Diſhonour of your "Majeſty) and do many Robberies upon the "Subjects of Kings and Princes in Amity and "League with your Empire, and take even the "Ships ſent unto your Royal Port; admoniſhing "your Majeſty to conſider, that if they be ſuffer- "ed to continue, they will occaſion the diſſoluti- "on of all Commerce and Trade; being com- "mon Enemies to all honeſt Merchants, by whom "the Friendſhip of theſe Kingdoms are maintain- "ed and increaſed. And that if your Imperial "Majeſty pleaſe not to exerciſe your Royal Pow- "er and Authority to bridle or deſtroy them; "that then you will not take it in ill part, that his "Majeſty, with other Princes his Allies, ſhall "make an Army to puniſh both them and all "others that receive and cheriſh them; which "hath hitherto been forborn in reſpect only of "your Majeſty, and that the Towns where they "harbor themſelves are, or ought to be under "your Imperial Command.

"Fifthly, his Majeſty hath commanded me to "require Juſtice and Reſtitution of a great ſum "of Money taken from *Arthur Garaway*, here im- "priſoned by force and Injury in the time of "*Achmet Baſſa*; whereof his Majeſties former "Ambaſſadors have complained to Sultan *Ach- "mat*, your Majeſties renowned Father; and to "*Mehemet Baſſa* Viſier, to *Huſſen Baſſa*, to the "Hoja of the King, and to the Mufti; wherein "your Majeſties moſt noble Father gave Com- "mand for our Satisfaction. All the ſaid great "Officers having heard the cauſe, upon Exami- "nation giving their Teſtimonies of the great "wrong done unto him; *Mehemet Baſſa* alſo "writing a Letter, by the order of your Majeſties "Royal Father, promiſing Juſtice and Reſtituti- "on, which his Majeſty doth yet expect, and "again demand. And having ſo often written "in this cauſe, his Majeſty will not believe, but "that in Juſtice and Honour this Royal Court "would do right; imputing the Fault to his "own Miniſters and Ambaſſadors, that they ne- "ver complained to your Imperial Majeſty, ac- "cording to his Highneſs Command. Alſo his "Majeſty hath commanded me to require and "deſire your Majeſty to give him your Royal "Anſwer in all theſe Particulars, by your Letters "in Writing, as ſhall be fit for your own Ho- "nour, and conformable to the antient League "of Amity and Friendſhip between your Royal "Majeſties.

His Majeſties Ambaſſador not many days after ſent to the Viſier, who had promiſed him an anſwer unto theſe Articles; who returned him this that followeth.

The Grand Seigniors Anſwer.

To the Firſt, he ſaid, That the Emperour his Maſter had given him order to renew the Capitulations, and to make any ſuch Additions as ſhould be requiſite, agreeable to their Law, and conformable to the antient League; and that therein his Majeſties Ambaſſador ſhould find no Difficulty; for they honoured his Majeſty, and were reſolved to give him aſſurance of their will to maintain a true Friendſhip; and therefore deſired the Ambaſſador to draw and prepare the Capitulations, and ſend them to him and the Chancellor, who would conſider them, and being ſuch as were fit to be granted, the Ambaſſador ſhould have ſpeedy order. 1621

To the Second, the Viſier anſwered with great Subtilty; Firſt, juſtifying the occaſion of the War, and imputing the Fault to the *Coſſacks*, maintained by the *Pole* to rob even at the Port of *Conſtantinople*; therefore, that the Emperour could not in Honour but chaſten and deſtroy them, having firſt by meſſage demanded Juſtice againſt them; and now his Maſter being ingaged with great charge, and in his Honour he could make no Peace with them who had beguiled him; pretending that they had no other intention but the War, becauſe, having raiſed his Camp, and diſſolved his Army, the *Polacks* now ſcorned him, and kept no Faith, neither ſending Ambaſſador nor Meſſenger, no not any Letter ſince their return. That therefore they could not hearken to any Condition; and that his Majeſty of *Great Britain* did not value the Honour of the Grand Seignior in this motion.

To the Third he replied, That the motion for the Priſoners was unſeaſonable, becauſe in order it ſhould follow the general Treaty, and making Peace; which, if finiſhed, his Majeſty of Great *Britain* ſhould find, that for his ſake, all thoſe mentioned in the Memorial ſhould be free, except only the Prince *Coreskie*, who had been the cauſe of many Troubles, and had made eſcape from Priſon formerly.

To the Fourth, he made Proteſtation in the Grand Seignior's name againſt the Pyrats, offering, that his Majeſties Ambaſſadors ſhould have what Commands, what Meſſage he would deſire in company of any *Engliſhman*.

To the Fifth he replied, It was an old obſolete Quarrel, and that the Ambaſſador did him Injury to preſs him, when in the time of three former Viſiers, his Predeceſſors could obtain no Relief; therefore he would not look back upon the Actions of other Men, nor rake among the Bones of the dead; but he deſired the Ambaſſador ſhould reſt ſatisfied, that while He had the Honour to govern, there ſhould no wrong be done unto the Engliſh Nation, and that he would hear all Complaints, ſo as no man ſhould need to look back upon his Actions.

This perfunctory Anſwer, did not much ſatisfie his Majeſties Ambaſſador, but that he deſired ſome other of Effect, being loth to accept of Generalities, and therefore required a direct reply for his own diſcharge; which was promiſed after much preſſing, by the Viſier who had firſt undertaken the ſame.

The *Poliſh* Ambaſſador expected at the Port.

The long ſtay of the Duke of *Sbaraskie* (choſen extraordinary Ambaſſador by the King of *Poland*, to conſummate the Peace between him and the Grand Seignior) did much trouble the Emperours Court; and eſpecially the Viſier, who procured the Ceſſation of Arms, but that a Letter was writ by the King of *Poland*, which did a little prolong their hopes. In the mean time, the Emperour divulged a pretence to viſit *Mecha*, the Tomb of *Mahomet* his great Prophet; contrary to the Counſel and inſtance of all his Viſiers that knew not the ſecret, and even to the hazard of a general revolt; for they were jealous, that under colour of that Voyage, he had ſome other deſign; and it was feared, the Duke would not proceed to follow him at random, nor treat with his Deputies left at the Port: For the *Polacks* ſeemed in performing and aſſuring the Peace, a little too

glorious

1622 glorious of their good Succeſs; and the Nobility not ſo obedient to the King, as that he could abſolutely command; which did both trouble their Agents at the Port, and diſcontent the Turks; ſo that a little motion of the *Coſſacks* or *Tartars* at that time (ſpoil being both their livelihoods) had kindled new Fires, and had diſturbed or quite broken the Peace.

In the mean ſpace, the Grand Seignior writ his Letter to his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, in anſwer to his Royal Letter by his Ambaſſador; wherein was contained a Satisfactory reply to all the particulars of thoſe five Articles delivered unto him. And the Grand Seignior made ſuch demonſtration of great care to give his Majeſty all content and ſatisfaction, that his Letter was preſented to the Ambaſſador with Ceremonies of Honour, requiring that it ſhould be ſent by an expreſs Meſſenger; and gave command for a ſafe conduct for that purpoſe. The true tranſlated Copy whereof doth immediately follow.

Prince Oſman *ever victorious.*

The Grand Seigniors Letter to his Majeſty of great *Britain.*

To the Mighty Prince, renowned among the Majeſties of the Princes of the Law of *Jeſus*, obeyed of the great Potentates followers of the Meſſiah; the only director of the important Affairs of the *Nazarene* People; Sovereign of the Limits of Power and Honour; Lord of Advancement and Authority, the moſt Glorious *JAMES*, King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*; to whoſe laſt days We wiſh all Felicity.

THIS our Imperial Letter arriving, you ſhall know, that your Honourable and Famous Ambaſſadour, and worthy Knight, Sir Thomas Roe, *is with your Royal and acceptable Letter come unto our happy Port, the refuge of the Princes and Commanders of the World. Whereof the ſincere Contents and Subſtance was, That our antient Capitulations ſhould be renewed, and divers Articles therein reformed and explained, and ſome others inſerted. And whereas certain Cuſtomers and other Officers of our Empire, have often tranſgreſſed our Royal Agreements, and done many Violences and Injuries to the Merchants, your Subjects, that for the time to come they may be ſecured from all Oppreſſion; and concerning the Affairs of the* Polacks, *that the Enmity and War lately begun between us and them, might be converted into Peace and Friendſhip; and that there ſhould be eſtabliſhed a ſincere League and Amity, as in the Time of our Anceſtors. And that divers Noblemen of* Poland, *and one of your Majeſties Subjects, now detained in our Captivity, ſhould be ſet at Liberty. Complaining alſo againſt the Inhabitants of* Tunis *and* Algier, *That they who have violated our Imperial Capitulations, Amity, and League, ought to be duly puniſhed. And laſtly, That whereas one of your Subjects, named* Arthur Garaway, *from whom, upon a pretenſion there was a great fine taken, and other wrong done unto his Perſon, you deſire that his cauſe may be with Juſtice renewed; All which being made known unto us; with prudent and mature Deliberation we have duely weighed, and perfectly conceived them. Wherefore, by the favour of the great and proſperous God we do promiſe, that in all theſe matters propounded, we will imploy our Imperial Care and Diligence: And we have already given our high and expreſs Command, that our antient Capitulations ſhould be renewed and confirmed. And ſuch Conditions as are correſpondent to the Peace, Amity, and League between us, ſhall in due form be granted. And there ſhall be ſent with all Expedition, our Royal Edicts to all our* (a) *Beglerbegs*, (b) *Beghs*, (c) *Cadees*, *Governours, Cuſtomers, Farmours, Superintendents, and Commiſſioners of our Revenues, that from henceforth none of them ſhall give any Moleſtation to any of your Merchants or other Subjects. And inſomuch as our happy Gates are ever open to any, who with ſincerity ſeek our Friendſhip, good Will, and Favour; and the Table of our lively Graces is always prepared for all men: Therefore, whenſoever on the behalf of the* Polacks, *an Ambaſſador ſhall arrive at our high Court, and kiſs the hem of our Veſture, and repent them of their former Errors, and preſent unto us a good Friendſhip and ſincere League, and ſhall deſire our Favour and Amity; by the Mediation of your Reſident now in our Imperial Port, all matters ſhall be pacified and ended, and with a Pen we will blot out all former Differences. And the Peace being ſo eſtabliſhed, your inſtances and deſires for them ſhall have grateful acceptance with us, and we will give fit order for the Priſoners.*

1622

(a) Viceroys. (b) Preſidents. (c) Judges.

To the Beglerbeghs of Tunis *and* Algier, *and to all other our Slaves in thoſe parts, we will preſently ſend our expreſs and high Commands, and other Orders, that they ſhall never hereafter tranſgreſs the tenor of our Imperial Capitulations, nor commit any Injuſtice, nor do any Violence to the Subjects of your Majeſty. And concerning the buſineſs of the Merchant* Arthur Garaway, *wherein you have informed us, that there hath been taken from him by Oppreſſion a great eſtate and facully, in the time of our Father* Achmat Han, *of happy Memory (the Viſier* Achmet Baſſa *being then Deputy here) upon pretence that divers Muſſulmens Goods were found in his Hands; which cauſe being now overpaſſed many years, you require a new hearing and inquiſition. By the Grace of the great God it ſhall be renewed and examined with all Juſtice; in the proceſs and Iſſue whereof you ſhall be aſſured to receive a right and fit anſwer from your Ambaſſador now remaining in our Court. And in our time we ſhall never permit, that any the leaſt Injury or Injuſtice ſhall be done to any. Giving you aſſurance on our behalf, that the Foundation and Nerves of Peace, Friendſhip, and League between us, are of us ſtraitly preſerved, continued, and increaſed; and our Amity, Correſpondence, and Love, is ever reſpected, eſteemed, and precious with us. Therefore in the mean time, while our Capitulations are making perfect, and that the full Concluſion may be certified unto you, your Ambaſſador having ſollicited us for an Anſwer to the Propoſitions made by you, by an expreſs Meſſenger,* Robert Roe, *this our Imperial Letter is written, and ſent unto you. Which arriving, we hope, that as in times paſt, the antient, perfect, and acceptable courſe of Friendſhip, Amity, and League, adorned with abundant Sincerity, reſplendent Love, and benigne Correſpondency on your part, hath been alway obſerved and maintained; ſo it is now alſo requiſite, that you preſerve the ſame Affections, with all pure, firm, and conſtant good Will, Grace, and Goodneſs; or rather, that you advance and increaſe therein, as we will ever do by all ſincere ways of Loyal Friendſhip and Holy Peace, nouriſhing it with our perfect Intention and affectionate Diligence, never admitting any occaſion that may be thereunto prejudicial.*

Given in our Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*, the firſt day of the Month *Gemaziel Achir* (or *April*) in the year of the departure of our Prophet *Mahomet*, 1031; that is, *Anno Chriſti Dei pari*, 1622.

The Grand Seignior, diſcontented ſince his diſgrace in *Poland*, as ſoon as he came to *Conſtantinople*, meditating Revenge upon his Souldiers, and alteration; and finding that his Pretence for *Mecha* did not reliſh, gave out that he would paſs into *Aſia* to ſuppreſs the Emirs of *Sidon*, who had taken Arms, and was reported to rebell; but indeed having ſecret Intelligence with *Oſman* and the

1622 the Viſier *Delavir* Baſſa. But from which purpoſe being diſſwaded by the great inſtance of the Viſier, and that it would not ſo well ſerve his ſecret Deſigns, he returned to his firſt colour, that he would viſit *Mecha*, the Tomb of his falſe Prophet.

The Grand Seignior deſirous of Peace with the *Polack*.

To make this Voyage the more ſecure in apparence, he ſeemed content to accept of any Treaty with the *Polacks*, even to Conditions both of Diſadvantage and Diſhonour; for his Eſtates in *Hungary*, he re-inforced the Frontiers with divers Troops; and though he were much troubled at the League between the Emperour of *Germany* and *Bethlem Gabor*, yet he diſſembled it ſo, as that he would not diſpleaſe the *Tranſilvanian*, but rather offered new Succours, and forbearance of his Tribute. From the Incurſions of the *Coſſacks* he hoped to aſſure himſelf by the Treaty of the *Poles*; and in occaſion of Breach, he had the *Tartars* ready to requite them; and for more ſecurity, he added to the number of his Gallies appointed to keep the Black Sea. The common People and Viſiers of the Port that loved reſt, and knew not the deſign, were much troubled and diſcontent at this Journey; and made many Remonſtrances to him of the Inconveniency and Danger, to leave the ſeat of his Empire to the truſt of a Deputy, in a time when *Bethlem Gabor* was newly reconciled to the *German* Emperour, and therefore not to be truſted; and the *Polacks* newly reconciled to him, and therefore to be miſtruſtruſted. Divers other reaſons were made to him, many Petitions delivered from the Church-men, Lawyers, and from all Eſtates. But melancholy Revenge had wholly poſſeſſed him, ſo that by no means he could be perſwaded to deſiſt. The Souldiery paſſed ſo far as to threaten publickly, and to proteſt they would not follow, but rather ſet up another King in his abſence that ſhould ſtay among them. In concluſion, carried by his own fate to Deſtruction, having firſt commanded away his Armado to the *Levant*, and thereby diſpoſed many of his Souldiers, upon *Wedneſday* the ſeventh of *May*, he began to paſs over his Tents and Pavilions to *Aſia* ſide, with great quantities of Treaſure. The Janizaries and Spahies, who had alſo ſecret Intelligence, upon the King's own Words and Actions betraying ſome further project than a Pilgrimage (for he made Preparations to carry away all his Jewels and Treaſure, even defacing his Palace, and taking from Churches and his Ward-robes whatſoever could be converted to *Bullion*) ſuddenly met at the Hippodrome in the City, upon a word given; and from thence ran to the Seraglio in Tumult, but without Arms, and there, according to their barbarous Mutinies, cryed out for the King; (having firſt taken order to ſtop the paſſage of any thing upon the Water) who appearing to them, asked, What this Inſolency meant, and what they pretended? They then, by the mouth of a Multitude (for they had no head but that of the Monſter) demanded firſt, That he ſhould not proceed in his purpoſe to go to *Mecha*, nor into *Aſia*; but that he would abide in the City. Secondly, they required to have delivered to their Fury, the Great Viſier *Delavir* Baſſa, the Hoja, or Confeſſor of the King, the Caſlariaga Governour of the Women, the Tefterdar or Treaſurer, the Cadde leſchar or chief Juſtice, and ſome others, as Enemies to the State, and conſenting to this Voyage, which they pretended would be the ruine of the Empire. The firſt, after a little diſpute, the King granted unto them, promiſing to give over his Journey; but they not content, exacted it in Writing. To the ſecond he replyed, That it was diſhonour to him to have his Servants ſo uſed without order of Juſtice; but perſwaded them to have Patience, to ſtay until *Saturday*, the next Divan or publick Council, where they ſhould appear, and if they were found culpable, they ſhould receive puniſhment; not meaning to perform any of this, but to get time, and allay their preſent Fury. Theſe Fellows, not content with this moderate Anſwer, undertook to know that they were guilty, and therefore that they needed no other Witneſs, Tryal, nor Judge, but themſelves; and with extream clamour called to have them rendred. But the King refuſing to give them any other Satisfaction, and they unprepared for force, returned into the City, which now was all in fear, every Houſe and Shop ſhut up, expecting a general ſack. But they followed the way of their own hatred, and firſt went into the Houſe of the Hoja, which they brake and pillaged: But not finding him, they proceeded to the great Viſiers, who made ſome defence, and they (being unarmed) beat them off; and ſo they ſeparated, being now Evening, but yet kept a Guard in ſome parts of the Town.

1622

That Night the King made an attempt to ſend over to *Aſia* ſide, but was prevented; and to fortifie and defend the Seraglio, which was ſtrongly walled about, and had alway in it of houſhold Servants about three thouſand; but it ſeemed no man would arm himſelf in his Cauſe; for the next Morning the Mutineers aſſembled again, and taking their Arms, went firſt to the Muſti, or Arch-prieſt among them, and enforced him and divers others to accompany them to the Court, where they a-new demanded theſe Men, but with more Inſtance and Fury. In the mean time, the Hoja, Caddeleſchar, and Tefterdar fled, and were not in long time diſcovered. The Viſier retired to the King, and perſwaded him earneſtly to go over in Perſon in his own Boats (which from his Garden he might eaſily do) to *Aſia*, and there to take Horſe, and he would ſecure him from all Peril; but the King would not move, bidding him ſtay, confident and aſſured that he would puniſh theſe Rebels.

The Janizaries mutiny againſt the Grand Seignior.

The great Viſier ſlain by the Janizaries.

The Wiſe old Man, ſeeing this Conſtancy or Obſtinacy, deſired leave to ſhift for himſelf; which he took or obtained, and ſo got away to the Hermitage of a Saint renowned amongſt them; who (like himſelf) betrayed him, yet did him the favour, as not to deliver him to the Multitude, but perſwaded and carried him back to the King's Houſe. At this time it was diſputed in the Seraglio about the delivery of thoſe Officers; the Emperour refuſing, the Rebels clamouring and threatening; inſomuch as he began to fear they would break in, and in their Rage do worſe than was yet pretended. Whereupon (whether by the King's order, or by his own conſent, willing to be the Peace-Offering) the brave Viſier went out to them, and with a good aſſuredneſs, demanded what they fought of him, and wherein he had offended. At firſt they were amazed: but one Inſolent Villain, breaking the general Modeſty, they anſwered him with their Swords, and ſuddenly cut him in pieces.

The Emperour, ſeeing their Fury ſo outragious, had now more cauſe to doubt, and retired himſelf, then too late, when he had loſt his faithful Counſellor, and would have fled into *Aſia*, but could not, yet he conveyed himſelf into a private Place, prepared by his Boſtangi Baſſa, or chief Gardiner. The Rebels continued without in their madneſs, asking for the King, and for more Sacrifices. But the Servants proteſting they knew not where he was, they ſaid they muſt have a King, and if he would not appear they would

make

1622

make another; and having a-while attended, they reſolved to enter the Palace, (but firſt took a general Oath not to ſack the Imperial Throne, which they called their Houſe and their Honour) and there ſeeking for the King, not able to find him, they extorted by confeſſion the Caſlariaga, and ſlew him; and then they demanded for *Muſtapha*, Uncle to *Oſman*, by him formerly depoſed, a Man eſteemed rather Holy (that is, Frantick) than Wiſe, and indeed fitter for a Cell than a Scepter. The King, the firſt day of this Tumult had put *Muſtapha* into a Vault with two *Negro* Women, without bread or drink; in which eſtate theſe new Electors found him, almoſt naked, and half pined. At firſt ſight he thought they had been the meſſengers of Death; but that fear paſſed over, and his firſt requeſt was a Cup of Water. Whom they took up, and inſtantly proclaimed him their Emperour; which he was loth to accept, in a manner aſhamed to be raiſed to that Dignity. How unſtable are the Eſtates of the greateſt Princes! for he that was but even now in the Jaws of Death, naked, ſtarved, and dying for Thirſt, is become a great Monarch, and may drink Gold, or innocent Blood.

The Janizaries demand *Muſtapha.*

They as yet not knowing what was become of *Oſman*, and loth to truſt *Muſtapha* in the Palace, carried him in Triumph to the old Seraglio, and there left him; departing to the ſack of the Viſiers Houſe, and ſo in the Evening to their Rendezvous, where they kept both good guard and good order in the City, from Fires and other Inſolencies. Sultan *Oſman*, amazed with theſe News, ſo ſoon as they had left the Court, came out, and called to Counſel in the Night *Huzein Baſſa*, late Viſier in the *Poliſh* War, and the Aga of the Janizaries, both faithful to him, and demanded their advice; firſt having ſent to the old Seraglio, to practiſe the Women there to ſtrangle *Muſtapha*; but ſome of them taking his part, a new uproar began in the Houſe between that Sex; and the Souldiers that kept watch hearing the noiſe, entred in and reſcued him, and from thence removed him to the Chambers of the Janizaries, where they guarded him for that Night in an ill lodging. All this while *Oſman* conſults what courſe to take. Theſe two his Friends, and ſome others, tell him that the caſe was deſperate, and could not be cured but by a deſperate Remedy; and therefore they agreed, that the Aga ſhould go and perſwade with the Mufti; and that the King in the Morning ſhould ſuddenly preſent himſelf to the Souldiers at their own Door, and make experience what his Preſence, his Submiſſion, and his Benevolence promiſed, could work, to move them to Loyalty or Compaſſion. Which Counſel early in the Morning they put in practiſe. The King, accompanied with the Mufti (who never conſented to his depoſing, though he favoured the Souldiers againſt the Viſier) with *Huzein* Baſſa, and about twelve Horſemen, went directly to the Janizaries Colledge, where *Muſtapha* was kept, and there in Tears made them an Oration; offering great Recompence, repenting of his Error, and finally invoked them by the Merits of his Father and all his Anceſtors, to have ſome pity upon their true Maſter. The Multitude (*tam prona in miſericordiam, quam immodica ſævitia fuerat*; ſometimes as prone to pity as they were before to hatred) now knew not what to do; a ſilent murmur now ran among them, and they were half converted; but the Aga of the Janizaries thinking to merit of the King, and beginning to plead unſeaſonably for him, with ſome harſh words of upbraidure (*ut natura maris omni flatu venti turbida*; as the Nature of the Sea is to ſwell with every blaſt of Wind) anew moved their Fury, ſo that they cried out Treaſon, and fell upon him and *Huzein Baſſa* and cut them into pieces, every man taking a part of their Fleſh to ſatiate their Revenge. The Mufti would ſpeak, but was withdrawn by ſome, for reſpect to his Place, and with Difficulty was conveyed away. Now the poor *Oſman* ſaw his Friends ſlain, and knew not which way to convert himſelf, but binding up his Eyes with a Napkin, expected Death as the laſt of their Fury. But they carried him firſt before *Muſtapha*, and accuſed him as the Diſturber of the Peace of the Empire, and demanded ſentence againſt him (*More vulgi ſuum quiſque flagitium aliis objectans.*) The forſaken Prince pleaded for Life, and the new King knew not how to condemn, but nodded and agreed to all that was propounded. At laſt they conſulted with themſelves, and put him upon an Horſe (an inſolent *Spahi* changing Turbants with him) and ſent him away Priſoner to the ſeven Towers, under good Guard (in his Paſſage begging a draught of Water at a Fountain) and then returned to their new Maſter, and placed him in the Seraglio and Imperial Throne; where he had need to have good Broaths and Nouriſhment to reſtore his decayed Body.

1622

Daout Baſſa ſtrangleth Sultan *Oſman* in Priſon.

The Souldiers now thought all was done, and (only ſacking the Houſes of *Huzein* Baſſa and ſome others their conceived Enemies) returned in quiet to their ſeveral Lodgings, and had no further Malice. But the new Viſier *Daout* Baſſa, made by *Muſtapha*, knew well, if *Oſman* lived, that this ſtorm might paſs over, and he would as eaſily, and by the ſame means return to his eſtate, as he fell from it (*vulgus ut mos eſt cujuſque novi motus cupidum*:) Therefore he conſulted with ſome few intereſſed in *Muſtapha*'s Preferment, and thereby obnoxious to *Oſman*, to ſearch how many of the Royal Blood were left alive, and reſolved if there remained two, to make an end of *Oſman*. Two of his Brothers were found, the one about twelve, * the other about ſeven years of Age; and thereupon the Viſier went himſelf to the Priſon with a pack of Hangmen, and gave order to ſtrangle the unfortunate Prince; who now having had no reſt in two Nights, and thinking himſelf ſecure for a ſeaſon, was newly fall'n aſleep; but awaked by the coming of theſe Meſſengers, asked, *What News?* ſaying he did not like their ſudden Intruſion. They at firſt ſtood amazed, and the King made ſhew to defend himſelf; But a ſtrong Knave ſtruck him on the Head with a Battle-ax, and the reſt leaping upon him, ſtrangled him with much ado. Thus one of the greateſt Monarchs in the World was firſt affronted by mutined Troops, his own Slaves, almoſt unarmed, and few in number, no man taking up a Sword to defend him; and they who began this madneſs, not meaning to hurt him, by the increaſe of their own Fury, which had no bounds, depoſed him againſt their own purpoſe, and at laſt expoſed his Life, againſt their Will, to the Counſels of other men whom they equally hated. And now they mourned for their dead King as freſhly as they raged unreaſonably; knowing they had ſtained their Honour, being the firſt of their Emperours they ever betrayed, and that they had ſet up another that in all likelyhood they muſt change for diſability, *Nunquam tulit documenta fors majora quam fragili loco ſtarent ſuperbi.*

* *Murat.*

This was the laſt Act of the Life of Sultan *Oſman*; but his Intents and great Deſigns, which drew upon him this fatal blow, will not be unworthy the Communication; the Practiſes, Reaſons, Secrets, and Counſels, of all Actions, being the Soul of Hiſtory, and *res geſtæ* but the bare Carkaſs;

1622 Carkaſs; and, as many Ages have not produced ſo ſtrange an Example of the incertainty of humane Greatneſs, ſo in the diſpoſition thereof, and in the ways leading thereunto, there was ſeen evidently the wonderful Providence of God, in confounding the Counſels of the worldly wiſe, who had laid a Foundation of new greatneſs, whereby this Prince aſpired the univerſal Monarchy. And laſtly, the World may ſee upon how weak Foundations this Monarchy was at firſt builded, how eaſily it was now ſhaken and corrupted; how their Kings are ſubject to the Rage of a few Slaves, how Anarchy hath prepared it an eaſie prey to any able hand that would attempt it. From the Invaſion of *Poland* all theſe changes took their beginning. Sultan *Oſman*, advanced to the Throne in his Youth, full of heat and Blood, being of a great and haughty Spirit, very courageous, ſtrong of Body, and a mortal hater of Chriſtians, envious of the Glory of his Anceſtors, and ambitious to raiſe his Name above any of theirs, had projected in himſelf the Conqueſt of the remains of the bordering *Europe*. But to ſo great Deſigns, he had one Vice that reſiſted all hope of Proſperity, which was, extream Avarice; unnatural to Youth, and a ſymptom of the decrepit Age of Monarchy; *Ubi vires luxu corrumpebantur, contra veterem diſciplinam & inſtituta majorum apud quos virtute quàm pecunia res militaris melius ſtetit.* His firſt Enterpriſe was that of *Poland*, moved by the Incurſions of the *Coſſacks*; which then he undertook of his own Head, without the Counſel of any of his Viſiers, (who, in a Tyranny grown to the height by Eaſe and Wealth, are ever corrupt and lazy) and againſt the liking of all the Souldiers, who (contrary to their Inſtitution, being married, and Fathers of Families, entered into Trades, receiving nothing in War more than in Peace, beſides Danger and Travel) are not eaſily drawn from their own Chimnies. This Action he thought ſo eaſie, as he had diſpoſed of his Conqueſt, and divided the five Lyons Skin. But being met upon the Borders with a poor Army in Compariſon, he was firſt arreſted at *Chotyn*, a little Fortreſs, which he was fain to leave behind him untaken; and then ſeeking to advance into the plain Country, by forcing the Trenches of the Chancellor of *Poland* oppoſed againſt him, he could never procure his Janizaries to fight, though ingaging his Perſon once or twice beyond the regard of his Quality, and his own Troops ready to mutiny againſt him, and to forſake him, he was at laſt inforced to raiſe ſhamefully his Camp, and to accept of any Treaty to ſave his outward Honour. In this attempt he loſt above an 100000 horſes for want of Fodder, and eighty thouſand men for want of fighting: for they would rather dye running, or pillaging, or eating, than in the face of the Enemy. For this diſgrace he conceived ſo inward and rooted an indignation againſt the Janizaries, and ſo juſtly, that he often lamented himſelf, and complained he was no King that was ſubject to his own Slaves, upon whom he ſpent great Treaſures, and yet they would neither fight in War, nor obey in Peace, without exacting new Bounties and Priviledges. *Delauir Baſſa*, a man of great Wit and Courage, lately called from the Eaſtern Parts, where he had long governed with honour, who came in, though late, yet in a very brave and warlike Equipage, above all other his Captains, was ſuddenly made great Vizier, the former, *Huzein Baſſa*, being in the ſame diſgrace common with the Souldier, though not in the ſame fault. This man was never bred at Court, but had lived many years in action, and ſo had neither faction nor dependance at the Port, but ſtood upon himſelf and his own merit: and being now unexpectedly advanced to this high Dignity, he wrought upon the King's diſcontent, and nouriſhed it: and in concluſion brake with him, That it was true he was no Emperour, nor could be ſafely alive, while the Janizaries had the Power which they lately uſurped; informing him, That they were corrupted from their antient Inſtitution, and were lazy Cowards, given over to Eaſe and luſt: *Et animi per libidines corrupti nihil honeſtum inerat.* But if his Majeſty would pull up his Spirits, and follow his Advice, he would provide him a new Souldiery about *Damaſcus*, *Coords*, of Men ever bred in the frontier, with hardueſs and War, of great Courage and Experience; and that of them he ſhould erect a new *Militia*, that ſhould wholly depend on him, entertaining only 40000 in pay, which ſhould alway be his Guard; and that in the Diſtribution of every Province, he ſhould conſtitute, that the Beglerbeg in his Government ſhould train ſome of the Inhabitants, who in all occaſions of making a great Army, ſhould be in readineſs, and thereby he ſhould ſpare infinite Treaſures ſpent upon theſe drones that eat up his Eſtate; and with Men of new Spirits and Hopes, he ſhould be enabled to do greater matters than any of his Anceſtors; but withal, he deſired the King to communicate this Counſel to no man; nor to truſt his Life upon anothers ſecreſie. *Delauir Baſſa* never revealing himſelf to any but the King, who, extreamly pleaſed with this advice, that flattered his own humour, conſented, and remitted all to the Viſiers direction, who was a true Souldier, and a very wiſe man, able by his Credit in *Aſia* to perform all he had undertaken; for he was exceedingly beloved in thoſe parts, very rich, and had kept *Damaſcus*, whereof he was Governour, for himſelf in a late Rebellion. Upon this Concluſion between them, it was firſt agreed, That the King ſhould pretend to go in Perſon either to viſit *Mecha*, or againſt the *Emir de Sidon*, who was moved to take Arms really to aſſiſt in the deſign; but they uſed it to colour the departure of the Emperour; which, when it was well weighed, was found, that then the Army of the Janizaries muſt be kept together, which could not agree with their ends. Hereupon the Journey of the Pilgrimage was divulged, That the King might under the Shadow of an holy Devotion, go out with a ſmall Train, and diſperſe thoſe who were ſuſpected to him. And for this, Preparation was made, but ſomewhat too groſly; by melting of all the Plate, Saddles, furniture of Houſe, Lamps of Churches, and whatſoever could more eaſily be conveyed away in Metal, with all the Jewels and Treaſury. This gave the firſt ſuſpition, which was confirmed by divers unadviſed words let fall from the King; of diſdain againſt the Cowardiſe of the Janizaries, and that he would ſhortly find himſelf Souldiers that ſhould whip them: and laſtly, diſmiſſing all his Houſhold, except ſome few elect; the diſcontented ſort obſerved this and betrayed him. *Delauir Baſſa* kept his own ſecret, and in the mean time prepared by his Friends in *Aſia* ten thouſand men; about *Damaſcus* ten thouſand, from the *Coords*, beſides thoſe in readineſs of the *Emir de Sidon*; and all upon pretence of defending the Borders of *Perſia*, who might make ſome advantage of the changes in thoſe parts: and gave order, That all theſe ſhould meet the King at *Damaſcus*, where he would preſently cut off his Guard, and ſtay there until he had regulated his new Army and Diſcipline, and then to return triumphant to *Conſtantinople*, and utterly root out the order of Janizaries, Spahies, and Timariots, and to exauctorate all their Captains and Officers, to ſettle a new Government, and to change the Name of the City. And theſe things ſucceeding, he then reſolved with

The Grand Seignior's Deſign to conquer *Europe*.

1622

1622 his new Souldiers to attempt the recovery of his Honour in Chriſtendom; in the mean time to hold a diſſembled Friendſhip there in all parts. Certainly this was a brave and well-grounded deſign, and of great conſequence for renewing of that decayed Empire, languiſhing under the Inſolencies of lazy Slaves, if God had not deſtroyed it; it being very true, That the Turkiſh Emperour ſtands at the Devotion of his own Troops for Peace or War, Life or Death, and is in effect nothing but the Steward or Treaſurer of the Janizaries. If this project had taken effect, what events it might have produced by a Civil War, is not eaſie to judge. For doubtleſs the Souldiery would have ſet up another King, and maintained him as well as they could; and the *European* part had been in danger to have been torn away by the diviſion. Beſides, *Delaur Baſſa* having the King and the Treaſury in his Poſſeſſion, and his own credit ſo great, and his Inclination *velle imperare*, ſo willing to bear rule, once diſcovered, it might well be thought that he had ſome ends of his own to ſhare a part of this mighty Eſtate; if on the other ſide the Viſier had proved true and faithful, the reformation and new erection of the Diſcipline of War, and the increaſe of Treaſure conſequent to the diſmiſſion of the old *Militia*, would have been fearful to all Chriſtendom; but *ubi eſt ſapiens? ubi diſquiſitor ſæculi hujus? Perdam ſapientiam ſapientum, & vanam reddam intelligentiam, intelligentium.* It is a great queſtion whether then was the wiſer wiſh, That theſe Counſels had ſucceeded, or not; for either diviſion and ſubverſion, or a new proſperity and enlargement of their Dominion had neceſſarily followed.

Obſervations upon Sultan *Oſman.*

Some Obſervations upon this Occaſion will not be impertinent to thoſe that deſire to know as well the Diſpoſition and uſe, as the things themſelves. Firſt, in the purpoſe of the Souldier, not at all to violate or hurt the King, much leſs to depoſe and murder him; but only to take away thoſe about him whom they thought aſſiſtants in this project; yet the fury once on foot, they proceeded by inſenſible ſteps to the uttermoſt of outrage, againſt many Innocents in that Buſineſs, though otherwiſe obnoxious, and againſt the Throne and Life of their own Emperour, *Ubi furor ingruat, innocentes ac noxios juxta cadere*; where Rage and Fury hath got the upper hand, there the innocent and nocent fare alike. Secondly, in the degrees; that yet the King had not fallen thus low, if firſt he had not loſt that awe and reverence which alway attendeth upon Majeſty, if it be kept up, by unſeemly Offices done by him in the Streets and Taverns, apprehending many Souldiers for petty faults, like a Conſtable; making his Perſon common, cheap, and deſpiſed among them; which was wont only to be ſeen and feared, as ſomewhat above humane greatneſs. And this he did alſo in hatred and diſdain of thoſe that had in the War forſaken him. And now in this laſt act, if his own obſtinacy had not plunged him into Deſtruction, but that he had ſoftned them by a ſeaſonable yielding to time, he had prevailed only by time. Thirdly, in the order, that theſe Mutineers having no Head or Direction, kept that relegement, that they took Oath in their Fury, in hot Blood, in the Kings yard, not to diſhonour, ſpoil, nor ſack the Imperial Throne; neither committed nor ſuffered any inſolency or violence in the City to the Neutrals, but rather proclaimed Peace and Juſtice. Fourthly, in the Conſequents, that at the third days end all was quiet, and all Men in their Trade, as if no ſuch thing had happned; only the Janizaries ſuffered no Divan nor Council until they had received a donative as Guerdon of their Iniquity. In which alſo the infinite waſte of Treaſure is worthy the Conſideration, which was exceedingly exhauſted by three changes in four years, and by the late Wars in *Perſia* and *Poland*; for every Janizary in the City, abſent or preſent (whoſe roll was about forty thouſand) received twenty five Chequines of Gold; beſides the Spahies, Jamoglans, and other Orders, at every alteration; which amounts in all near to two Millions. And now thoſe Fellows that had taſted the ſweet of proſperous Mutinies (*haud ignari ſumma ſcelera incipi cum periculo peragi eum præmio*) took ſuch a Head, as could not ſafely be ſuffered on, nor ſecurely be taken off. Fifthly, of certain Preſages that fore-ran; for *Oſman* dreamed in the Night, *That he thought he rid a Camel, and being mounted, he could not force him to go by fair means nor ſtripes; and that then he deſcending in a Rage, the Body of the Beaſt vaniſhed, and left the Bridle and Head in the Kings Hand.* Who next day, troubled at this Fancy, ſent to a learned Man, familiar with him, for the Interpretation. He excuſed himſelf, as unfit to give Opinion in a matter of that Conſequence; but perſwaded *Oſman* to enquire of the Mufti. He alſo craved pardon; but withal ſaid, there was none ſo fit to interpret it as *Muſtapha* the Kings Uncle, who was eſteemed a holy man, that had Viſions and Angel-like Speculations, (in plain terms, between a Mad-man and a Fool.) The King repaired to *Muſtapha*, who briefly told him, *The* Camel *ſignified his Empire, his* riding, *abuſe in Government; his* diſſention, *his Diſpoſition; the* vaniſhing of the Body, *the revolt of his Subjects; the* Head remaining in his Hand, *only a bare Title; and that he ſhould ſhortly die within a few Months, and loſe his Kingdom, but the empty Name of Emperour ſhould accompany him to his Grave.*

The Engliſh Ambaſſadors Advice to *Delaur Baſſa.*

A ſecond of leſs conſequence in the Viſier *Delaur Baſſa*, from whom his Majeſties Ambaſſador having received particular Friendſhip, about ſix days before this uprore, he went to viſit; and having no other buſineſs but to perſwade him to ſtay the King from his intended Pilgrimage, the Ambaſſador gave him many Reaſons in the preſent Eſtate of their own Affairs; eſpecially, the Treaty of *Poland* yet depending. To which the Baſſa replied very gravely. Then the Ambaſſador urged the fear of ſome Tumult, collected from the licentious Speeches rumoured in the Town: And he was bold to deal plainly, ſincerely, and friendly, That if any ſuch thing ſhould happen, the fault would be imputed to the Baſſa, as being of authority to perſwade the King; whom his Quality and Youth would excuſe, but all the Fury would be diſcharged upon the greateſt Miniſter; deſiring him to conſider the event, at leaſt to take his Affection in the beſt part.

The Baſſa's Reply.

The old *Reinard* ſtayed a while from reply; at laſt, ſmiling to himſelf, that he ſhould be perſuaded againſt that which was his own Counſel, he gave a final anſwer, That there was no Remedy, he durſt not hazard himſelf to oppoſe the Kings Reſolution: but aſſured him he would ſo order the matter, as this Journey ſhould not proceed ſo far as was expected. The Ambaſſador concluded for himſelf, deſiring then that he would leave him a particular recommendation to the Chimacham or Deputy as his Friend. To which he ſuddenly replied, *Trouble not your ſelf, nor fear; I will never remove ſo far but that I will leave one of my Legs in this City to ſerve you.* Which the poor man fulfilled; for being murthered within few days after, one of his Legs whole and entire was hanged in the Hippodrome, the moſt publick place of the City.

The reading of Hiſtory, to know what is done and paſt, having in it no Recompence but Delight, unleſs it look forward to Uſe and Action, either

1622 either to correct Errors, or by that light to gather advantage in future, it will not be an unprofitable digreſſion to obſerve what was like to ſucceed theſe monſtrous Alterations. It was feared by contemplative men, that the Souldiers in *Aſia*, who had loſt their hope, would not ſit down with this affront, but rather attempt ſome revenge for the Death of the King, who was their Martyr; or that ſome great Baſſa, far removed from Court, might apprehend this occaſion, not to obey an Uſurper, ſet up by Treaſon; and under that colour to hide their own Ambition; or laſtly, that the whole State would fall into Combuſtion, and inteſtine War. This they themſelves foreſaw, and it came to paſs, as will appear in the Story; for within few Months *Abaſſa Baſſa* of *Arziruh* declared himſelf revenger of his Princes Blood, and troubled, and almoſt hazarded the whole Empire. The *Perſian* apprehended the Opportunity, and recovered the Province and City of *Babylon*: and the ſame Souldiers that had betrayed their Prince, were never quiet until they had made ſome ſatisfaction, by reſtoring his Brother and right Heir; only it pleaſed not God to open the Eyes of Chriſtian Princes to ſee the Inconveniency of their own uncivil Quarrels, while the diſtractions of this mighty Empire did invite to conquer it, and to divide it as a proſtituted Prey.

A practiſe to murther the Brethren of Sultan *Oſman.*

On *Saturday* Evening, the firſt of *June* following, the *Capi-aga* or *Major Domo* of the Seraglio, having received a ſecret order to remove the Brethren of *Oſman* from their Lodgings, and in the Night to ſtrangle them; as he was performing his Command, aided with a few of his Carniſices to carry away the Princes, they cried out; the Pages running to the noiſe, and incouraged by the *Caſtiaraga*, who had ſome Suſpition, without further Examination killed the *Capiaga*, now almoſt every Order having riſen againſt their own Head. That Night they ſent ſecretly to the Janizaries and Spahies, to inform them what they had done; and in the Morning early hanged his Body in the Hippodrome for a publick ſpectacle. The Souldiers returned in Fury to the Court, in favour of the Pages, and demanded Juſtice againſt thoſe that had conſented to this wicked order; which had made an end of all the *Ottoman* race; only this *Muſtapha* being left alive, who was ſo holy a Saint, that he would not People the World with Sinners, nor endure any Woman near him. The innocent King proteſted he knew nothing of this purpoſe; and if ſuch command were procured, it was gotten by ſubreption; and he was eaſily believed. But his Mother, another *Livia*, and the new Viſier, *Daout* Baſſa, who had her Daughter to Wife, were vehemently ſuſpected. It was a day of Divan or Council; but the Souldiers would ſuffer none, until they had an account of this Treaſon. The Viſier denied all; the Mother was a Woman, and hidden in the Houſe; yet it is very likely, they both were guilty, to uphold and ſecure their own Authority; it being rumoured, that the Viſier determined to place ſubditiouſly in the room of the Elder Prince, his own Son, and very like him, and ſo to govern *Muſtapha* for a time, and by his remove to eſtabliſh himſelf and his race for ever. But now ſomewhat muſt be done to appeaſe the People; therefore *Daout Baſſa*, was degraded from his Office, and one *Huzein Baſſa*, newly arrived from the Government of *Cairo*, advanced to his place, with promiſe of further Examination. But the fury once over, there was no great ſearch nor diſcovery made, for perhaps the Sultans Chequines quieted the matter. The new Viſier was a man without Friends, yet very rich, of a ſtubborn and obſtinate Nature, reported juſt in his ways, but peremptory and unflexible (*Audax ferox, ac prout animum intendit, pravus aut induſtrius eadem vi*) one from whom all men might expect much good, or much ill; he begun his Government roughly, and undertook to puniſh Inſolencies early, and profeſſed a Reformation, or to be a Sacrifice: A man fit for thoſe times that were deſperate; for the worſt was, that he muſt at laſt endure their Fury. In the mean time he procured a little awe, and reſtored the face of Juſtice; yet it was thought it could not laſt long, the Ghoſt of *Oſman* would not be at reſt until there were ſome *Parentalia* made unto him. The Nature of the Viſier was unſupportable, but if he prevailed, and were once ſetled, he reſolved anew to change the King, and lay an Obligation upon the Brethren of *Oſman*; for he did never think himſelf ſecure under a man governed by an inſolent Woman, *dominandi avida*, deſirous to rule. And what aſſurance could he have in that Prince, in whom there was neither Judgment nor Hatred, but as it was infuſed? And though the particulars could not be foreſeen, nor where the ſore would break out, yet the whole body was ſick, their King being *mentis inops*, an Ideot; and the next in expectation a Child unfit for Action, and all the great Men and Souldiers decay'd, mutined, and corrupted. 1622

The *Poliſh* Ambaſſador approcheth upon the Confines, and writeth to the dead Viſier.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Sbarasky* came near unto the Borders of the Turkiſh Empire, and, ignorant of thoſe great changes which had hapned, ſent a Servant with a Letter to the dead Viſier *Delauir* Baſſa, with whom only the *Poles* had treaty. The contents were, That the King of *Poland* had ſent him to conclude a Peace, upon ſuch Conditions as were agreed upon by the Viſier and the Commiſſioners of *Poland*, ſigned on both parts; but that it was reported upon the Death of the Grand Seignior, that the new Government was varied from ſome of them; and that he had no other Inſtructions to treat anew; but if he would give his word to the Engliſh Ambaſſador, that there was no alteration in the intents of Peace, he was ready to ſet forward on his Journey. This Letter received by the new Viſier, was Greek to him, who was lately come from *Cairo*, and underſtood no article nor piece of the buſineſs; which was ſo ſecretly carried by *Delauir* Baſſa, that Sultan *Oſman* and he being dead, there was no man had ſo much as a Copy, or knew the ſubſtance of that agreement; ſo that the Viſier giving good Words, aſhamed to confeſs his Ignorance, promiſed all things, but knew not what to write in particular anſwer, and therefore was at a ſtand. The Meſſenger nevertheleſs importuned a diſpatch, the which he had in general terms, and ſo returned again to the Duke his Maſter upon the Confines.

With this Nuntio, the Duke wrote to Sir *Thomas Roe*; and being very doubtful to intangle himſelf in this unſetled Government, deſired him both to counſel him, and to tell the Viſier, that he would not advance unleſs he might receive ſuch aſſurance of ſafety and publick Faith, as that he might engage his credit to him; hoping thereby to have both aſſiſtance and witneſs in all his proceeding. Which gave the Viſier occaſion to intreat the Engliſh Ambaſſador, both to promiſe for the good uſage of the Duke, and to haſten him, and alſo to inform himſelf by him of the ſubſtance of the Treaty of *Chotyn*; which being by him undertaken, it turned to the great advantage of both, eſpecially of the Peace it ſelf.

The ſeventeenth of *June* in the Morning, the Prince *Coreskie*, one of the Lords of *Poland*, taken Priſoner in the late War, recommended by his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, who had formerly made

1622 an eſcape from the Turks Captivity, was ſtrangled in the Priſon, after two years of durance. This put all into murmure, and deep conſideration, for what politick end this ſhould be done, even when they themſelves deſired a Peace with the *Pole*, and yet did that which might utterly break the ſame; but it ſeemed they were at that time either carried with a brutiſh Fury, or that the Prince was betrayed from home, by intimation that his remuant Nature would never ſuffer the Peace long to continue between the Crown of *Poland* and the Grand Seignior.

The Prince *Coreskie* ſtrangled in Priſon.

The Viſier attempteth to ſet up *Morat* the Brother of *Oſman*, and to depoſe *Muſtapha*.

The Viſier (who cauſed this *Polack* Prince to be ſtrangled) upon ſome ſpleen towards the Aga or chief Captain of the Janizaries, took this occaſion to caſt the fault on him, and to caſhiere him; and ſent him to the Iſlands to be ſtrangled; and gave order to murder ſome other Baſſaes and Officers, and that way being made to depoſe the Emperour *Muſtapha*, to ſet up *Morat* the Child, and Brother of *Oſman*, many being of his party. Whereupon the Souldiers roſe all in Arms at the Seraglio, taking the alarm at the medling with their Aga, reſcued their Captain, and the reſt, and demanded the Head of the Viſier; whereupon he fled, and order was given to kill him where he could firſt be found. The Souldiers alſo required the Life of *Morat*, Aga Cuſtomer, and divers others; but for fear of other Complices, they durſt ſearch no futther into the Conſpiracy; only the Viſiers Houſe was ſacked, and infinite Treaſure taken, ſo that the Souldier was quiet for a day or two by making a new Viſier, *Muſtapha Baſſa*; who was of a ſoft Nature, and ſcarce durſt do Juſtice for fear of offending any Man. Now a new Faction was made between *Muſtapha* and *Morat*; and it was expected hourly when there ſhould be ſome great ſlaughter or maſſacre in the City; for of Neceſſity one ſide muſt fall.

There was then no ſecurity for any Man; when the King and Viſiers, and all Officers held their Lives and Dignities at the courteſie of the mutined Souldier, who had taſted the ſweet of Rebellion, and caſt off all Awe and Reverence, and could not eaſily be reduced to order, without much blood and hazard of the whole. Therefore the wiſer men retired from Office and Imployment, and the inſufficient did cauſe their own daily change and ruine. The Souldier adhered to the King of their own creation, and he was in effect their Creature, for they did wholly govern him. But the Lawyers and Church-men made ſecret conventions, and ſtill practiſed ſome great alteration, and feared not to ſay openly, that the foundation of their State was diſſolved, the King unlawful, and all that had adhered unto him lapſed into Hereſie, having deſpiſed the Inſtitutions of *Mahomet*. They wrought by wiſe Counſels, and held a large Correſpondency with thoſe of their own Coat, and ſpread their Confederacy to all parts of the Empire to procure a Faction, and kindle a greater Fire than that of the Souldiers; for at *Bagdat* the Captain of the Janizaries roſe and ſlew the Baſſa, burnt the Mufti and all his Kin, and gave his Daughter in marriage to one *Aſlan Begh*, a pretender to the antient Inheritance of a bordering Province, to cautionize that part. All *Aſia* was in doubt whom to obey; and *Cairo* was eaten up with Oppreſſion; and that which was moſt dangerous, they had no ſence of the ſickneſs in the Court, to cure it, nor any of them ſo wiſe as to diſſemble it.

The Prince of *Tranſilvania*'s Ambaſſador arrived at the Port.

The two and twentieth of *Auguſt*, the extraordinary Ambaſſador of *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of *Tranſilvania* arrived at *Conſtantinople*; who, amongſt other Inſtructions, had order to excuſe his Maſter, and to declare the Reaſons why he had made Peace with the Emperour without the knowledge of the Port: which were, That the War had continued three years in the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and had ſo conſumed and deſolated the Country, that it was impoſſible for him to ſtay longer in the Field, and to maintain an Army, for the great Famine and ſcarcity of all things which the Souldiery ſuffered, and could from no place be ſupplied; ſo that if he had not accepted of Peace offered, he had been enforced to quit the Country of Neceſſity, and by his ſeeming flight have left the Enemy Victor. Therefore he was conſtrained to win time, and to return into *Tranſilvania*, to refreſh his men of War, and to re-inforce them; as alſo his own preſſing Affairs calling him back, his Brother, whom he had left Governour in his abſence, having adviſed him, That the King of *Poland*, by the Inſtigation of the Emperour, by intelligence with ſome of the principal Lords, did practiſe a revolt, and promiſed Aid to make a new Prince that ſhould wholly depend upon the Empire and *Poland*. Laſtly, ſeeing the Grand Seignior had ſuddenly concluded a Peace with the *Poles*, he feared he ſhould be left alone to the burthen of the War, in which the King of *Poland*, being at eaſe, might aſſiſt the Emperour, which he was not able to ſuſtain. Therefore he was content to take the Opportunity to accept of that, at the inſtance of the Emperour, which he ſhould have been forced to do by Neceſſity. 1622

Yet afterward, although he made this Apology for his Maſter, for concluding a Peace, he aſſured the Port, that his Maſter meant not long to keep the ſame; informing them, that the Emperour had made a League (being at that time quiet in *Germany*) to invade the *Ottoman* Empire; perſwading the Port to grant a Commiſſion with full Power and Authority to him and the Baſſa of *Buda* (who had been twenty years in that charge, and knew all the Borders) if they ſaw it fit, to prevent the Enemy, and to invade the Empire or the Kingdom of *Poland*. This demand was made by *Gabor*, to inſinuate with the State of *Turky*, and to get a Power dormant in his Hands, to advance into *Hungary*, if he ſaw advantage, or to oblige the Emperour; and to aſſure his Peace, by having means not to care if it were broken. But the Grand Seignior finding himſelf, by reaſon of civil Diſtractions at home, unfit for a War abroad, and that they ſaw *Bethlem Gabor* had no other thing in recommendation than his own Deſigns and Fortune, his Ambaſſadors Propoſitions began to be altogether ſlighted and neglected.

The *Poland* Ambaſſador arriveth at the Port.

The Duke of *Sbarasky*, who came to conclude the Peace between his Maſter the King of *Poland*, and the Grand Seignior, after long ſtay upon the Confines, did at length arrive at the Port; but they made him ſtay five Weeks before he could have audience, forcing him to give a Preſent, contrary to his Inſtructions. Notwithſtanding he could not get them to enter into a Treaty, finding nothing but falſhood and uncertainty among them, no Promiſe nor Faith kept, no Priſoners delivered, nor indeed any thing at all performed; for now that they had him within their Liberties, they hoped to work their own ends, and to weary him out, who had twelve hundred of his ordinary train. They threatned to keep him, and to denounce a War againſt his Maſter; yet, by the mediation of the Engliſh Ambaſſador, the Miniſters of the Port and he were peeced again, and the Peace concluded, as ſhall be hereafter ſet down at large.

After

1622 After many Difficulties to obtain admiſſion to the preſence of the Grand Seignior, cauſed by the frowardneſs of the old Eunuch *Georgi Mehemet Baſſa*, then Great Viſier; who, diſcovering that the Duke would complain againſt *Tomſha* Vayvod of *Valachia*, and his Creature, endeavoured by all fraud, cunning, threatning, and faſtidious delays, to divert him from that purpoſe; being loth that the Actions of him whom he had foſtered and maintained in many Tyrannies, eſpecially in the occaſion of the laſt War, ſhould be examined or layed open to Juſtice. But when he ſaw that nothing could prevail, but that he muſt hazard a direct breach by the diſcontent of the Duke; and that the People began to murmure, and the Engliſh Ambaſſador to protect him, he was admitted, and nobly received, according to the pompous cuſtom of that Court; and with his Letter of Credence he ſpake theſe following Words.

The Oration of the Duke of Sbarasky *to the Grand Seignior.*

SIGISMUND, by the Grace of God, King of *Poland*, *Sueden*, *Gothia*, *Vandalia*, Great Duke of *Lituania*, and of many other Provinces Prince and Lord: To your moſt Renowned Majeſty, moſt Mighty Emperour of *Aſia* and *Europe*, and King of many Kingdoms and Provinces, ever moſt happy, wiſheth Health; and by me his Great Ambaſſador ſalutes you with all convenient Reverence and Honour; deſiring to your Majeſty from the moſt high God, the fulneſs of all Proſperity, Happineſs, long Life, Triumph above your Anceſtors, Princes worthy of all Memory.

HIS High Majeſty of Poland, *conſidering the depth and height of the decrees of the Great God, marvelling with all the World, and praiſing his High Name; doth comfort and joy himſelf, being more than certain, that, that eternal Power which hath preſerved your Majeſty from all evil deſtinies of Men, and from the Bowels of the Earth, and hath placed you in the ſhining Throne, hath not done it but for the publick good; and like a wiſe Gardiner, who hath weeded out all venemous and noyſome Plants, that he hath placed your Majeſty in their room, as a noble and ſweet ſmelling Flower, full of Virtue, Clemency, and Peace, deſired of all the World. His Majeſty, my Lord and Sovereign, hath always wiſhed, that not only the Actions of later years, but of many Ages paſt, might have been forgotten; and that that Friendſhip and Peace begun with the* Renowned Ottoman *Kings two hundred and more years ſince, might have been without interruption continued. But ſeeing that the Great God hath been pleaſed to chaſtiſe the People of both parts, by the means of wicked men, that muſt be accepted for good which commeth from his divine Will; and therefore, blotting out of Mind whatſoever is paſt, doth now return to deſire the continuance of the firſt antient Peace, and doth offer himſelf to your high Majeſty to keep it inviolably, as it was maintained in the time of Sultan* Amurath *of happy Memory. In witneſs of which his Sincerity, he hath not apprehended the Opportunity of the breach begun by the* Perſian, *the expiration of the Truce with the Emperour of* Germany, *nor the many Revolts and Troubles in* Aſia, *nor hearkened to the Inſtigation of many Chriſtian Princes, his Friends and Allies, nor to the* Tartar *diſcontented; but rather, having refuſed all other ways, hath with the Blood of his own Subjects, and the charge of his Purſe, regained from the Rebel* Valachia, Moldavia, *and a part of* Tranſilvania, *and rendred thoſe Provinces into the Hands of your Majeſties Father, and ſuffered no man at any time to diſturb on that ſide the Friends of your Empire; giving Intelligence, like a good Friend and a Neighbour to your Anceſtors, of all your Enemies Deſigns and Machinations, and in as much as was poſſible endeavoured to preſerve a good Peace and Friendſhip; which he offereth to your moſt ſerene Majeſty, contenting himſelf with the Capitulations treated at* Chotyn, *and thoſe of your moſt happy Father and Brother; praying your Majeſty that they may be confirmed and maintained. And not doubting but your Majeſty will reſtrain the* Tartars, *as he will do the* Coſſacks; *and that you will ſuffer no occaſion of kindling new Fires, he beſeecheth your Majeſty to do what Juſtice you think meet upon* Cantemir *and* Tomſha, *who, contrary to the agreements and publick Faith, have made ſpoil and new Incurſions into* Poland, *even ſince my departure from thence; and with many Deceits and falſe Advices have deſired to diſturb the happy beginnings of Accommodation. And ſeeing that by the antient Capitulations made with the moſt warlike Sultan* Soliman, *and his Succeſſors, the Father and Brother of your Majeſty; the Princes of* Moldavia, *the Baſſaes of* Siliſtria, *and the Beghs of* Ackirman *ought to keep the Paſſages of the Rivers to reſtrain the* Tartars; *and that thoſe now in Poſſeſſion of thoſe Governments are already known, and grown old in their rapine and ſpoil, the King my* Lord *deſireth your renowned Majeſty, that they may be diſmiſſed, and their Provinces given to ſome others more inclined to Peace. For* Cantemir, *it is a true rule obſerved, That one* Tartar *can hardly govern another, where both live upon ſpoil; and how eaſily upon any occaſion new Troubles are apprehended by thoſe who are antient Enemies, I leave to your Highneſſes Wiſdom; in which his Majeſty is ſo aſſured, that he doubteth not, that for the publick good, and for the Complaints and Tears of both Subjects, you will alſo vouchſafe to accept the requeſt of your Friend, and a King your Neighbour. And if all the World, and the People thereof rejoyce and praiſe God for the Friendſhip and Peace between your Majeſty and the King my Maſter begun and concluded, he hopeth that the poor and miſerable Priſoner ſhall participate of your Clemency, that they may joyn in the general care to pray to the eternal God for increaſe of your Greatneſs. The King my Maſter doth therefore deſire your Majeſty to grant Liberty to thoſe who are in your Captivity, as he bindeth himſelf to ſet free all ſuch of your Majeſties Subjects as are now his Priſoners; and I do promiſe on the behalf of my Maſter, that he ſhall be a Friend to your Friends, and an Enemy to your Enemies. In concluſion, he deſireth all Happineſs and Proſperity to your Majeſty from a clear Heart; in ſign and teſtimony whereof, and of the Friendſhip begun on his part, he honoureth you with a Preſent, which you may be pleaſed to receive with your accuſtomed benignity; and ſhutting your Ears to ſuch Informers, Enemies of Peace, as are found at your Port, that you will eſteem him for a Friend and Neighbour of the moſt Royal and Antient Kings of your moſt Princely Family.*

1622

The Souldiers continued ſtill in their mutinous Diſpoſition, even in *Conſtantinople*, the Head City of the Turkiſh Empire, and grew to that height of Inſolency, that going in Troops to the Court, they demanded all Offices of gain; to be Stewards to the Revenues of the Churches, which are great; to take the Farms of Cuſtoms; and there committed many other Outrages which were unſufferable. The Viſiers durſt deny them nothing; they

1622 they drunk Wine in the Streets without Prohibition, contrary to their Law; and ſtood in Companies in the open day exacting Money of all Chriſtians to pay for their Wine; and being denied it, ſtabbed and murthered without any Puniſhment; and when complaint was made to the Viſier or Magiſtrate, they anſwered, None durſt meddle with them, who had murthered their own King; and the Baſſaes themſelves deſired the Complainants patience, and that they would bear a part with the general ſufferance.

The Janizaries aſſault the Houſes of the Chriſtian Conſuls at *Smirna*.

About the ſame time, the Janizaries in the Gallies which rid before *Smirna*, commanded by the Captain *Halil Baſſa*, aſſaulted, againſt his Will, the Houſes of all the Chriſtian Conſuls there. The Engliſh, with all thoſe of the Nation, were forced to run naked from their Lodgings, and to ſwim to the Admirals Galley to ſave their Lives; they ranſacked the lower parts of the Houſe, and carried away to the value of two thouſand Dollars; the French ſuſtained more loſs; and the *Venetians* at leaſt ten thouſand, and one of the Subjects of that State cut in pieces. The General had much ado to appeaſe them by Entreats or Perſwaſions, or to ſave the lives of all; inſomuch as they miſcalled and threatned him, becauſe he would not conſent to their madneſs. In concluſion, he was fain preſently to put to Sea, or elſe they had finiſhed the Trade at that Place.

In *Aſia* there was then three open Rebellions, one at *Babylon*, another at *Arzerum*, upon the borders of *Perſia* near *Tauris*, and the third in *Meſopotamia*. The Viſiers at the Port diſſembled all this, and durſt take no knowledge thereof, nor ſo much as to ſend a command thither, for fear of blowing the Fire, which would have put all into Combuſtion; whereupon they held a ſecret Counſel, and conſented to remove themſelves, to prove if they could recover the deſperate Eſtate of that Empire, and took Reſolution to make *Halil Baſſa* (the beſt Souldier and moſt beloved) great Viſier; and in his room *Daout Baſſa* Captain of the Sea; and the preſent Viſier, Chimachan or Lieutenant at the Port; and in the Spring following, they reſolved to ſend the Viſier into *Aſia*, with all the force they could make; to which end they ſent into *Græce*, to warn all the Souldiery to be ready at *Adrianople*, not daring to make a rendezvouſe at the Port, for fear of new Trouble; and ſo to paſs the Helleſpont, wide of the City, to appeaſe (if they could) thoſe Revolts, and by that way to draw the Mutineers from the Court into Action, and to reduce them unto Obedience. And notwithſtanding that there was no other ſymptom or prediction but ſuch as threatned the ruine of that Empire, yet were they never prouder nor more ſeeming not to diſtruſt themſelves, their only ſecurity being, that they had no Enemy but themſelves.

The Grand Seigniors Treaſure exhauſted.

The Treaſury was far exhauſted, the Revenue abated by the Oppreſſion of every Baſſa in his Government; the Souldier increaſed both in pay and number; and ſo impatient of delay, that at every quarter, (beſides borrowing and taking up of the Farmes of the Cuſtoms before-hand) there were ſo many intolerable Exactions to raiſe Monies, that the appearance of domeſtick quiet could not long endure between two extreams; for means could not be found, and the Janizaries would not be retrenched nor deferred; and this was their general Eſtate at that time.

An Ambaſſador from the Great Duke of *Muſcovy* arrived at the *Port*.

While the *Poliſh* Ambaſſador was treating the Peace at the Port, whereof there was no great doubt, becauſe neither ſide was fit for War, there arrived an Ambaſſador from the Great Duke of *Muſcovia*, which gave ſome Interruption therein, preſſing the Grand Seignior to continue the War for ſeven years againſt *Poland*, according to the promiſe of Sultan *Oſman*; offering that his Maſter ſhould enter into *Poland* with an Army, and that they would divide the Country between them; but his Propoſition was rejected, becauſe they had had ſufficient Tryal of his Maſters cunning proceedings in the laſt War. For the *Muſcovite*, having made Peace with *Poland* (before the Invaſion of *Oſman*) for fourteen years, and being invited by him to break it and to invade that Country, upon promiſe that he would continue the War for ſeven years, and make no agreement without their comprehenſion; firſt anſwered, That he could not break the Peace; thinking that the other was but a flaſh of a young Prince; but ſo ſoon as he ſaw the Turks in the Field and Borders of *Poland*, then he began to hope he might make advantage; and therefore promiſed Sultan *Oſman*, on the Conditions mentioned, to enter into the Quarrel. And to that end diſpatched an Ambaſſadour to *Poland*, with Inſtructions to demand three things. Firſt, that the Prince of *Poland* ſhould renounce the Title of *Elect Duke of Muſcovia*. The ſecond, That the *Poles* ſhould reſtore a Territory in the Border of *Lituania*, taken in the late Wars. Laſtly, that the Peace ſhould be perpetual; threatning, that if they refuſed thoſe Conditions, he would enter into the Country with an Army, and get what he could. This Ambaſſador being arrived in the Confines, heard News that the *Poles* had repulſed the Turk at *Chotyn*, that he was retired, and a Peace treated; whereupon he feigned himſelf ſick, and ſent back a Poſt with this Advice and his old Inſtructions, deſiring in this alteration ſome new order from home. The Governour of the Town where he lay, ſuſpecting ſomewhat, intercepted the Meſſenger and his Packet, and ſent it preſently to the King. The man returned to his Maſter the Ambaſſador, as robbed, and was again diſpeeded the ſecond time, and ſent back with another Stile, to wit, with Letters of Congratulation, Joy, and Offers of all help and continuance of the Peace; with theſe the Ambaſſador went forward to the Court; and having audience, the King anſwered him, That if his Meſſage were ſincere, it had been very acceptable; but he knew it to be a fugred Treaſon, and no Faith intended from the *Muſcovite*, and therefore commanded him to depart.

The Ambaſſador proteſted, vowed, and uſed all means to aſſure the Integrity of his Meſſage; until he was confronted by the Chancellor, with his own Letter and his Maſters Inſtructions. Hereupon was this other diſpatched to the Port to hinder the Peace, and to offer all their help to continue an Invaſion. In the mean time the *Muſcovite* neglected no means to ſecure himſelf, and by renewing two Ambaſſadors, obtained a Peace with *Poland*, which was then again confirmed. To which the *Poles* were the willinger to agree, not knowing what effect the Negotiations of the Duke of *Sbarasky* might produce at the Port. And now the *Muſcovite* was forced to diſſemble again with the Turk, and make his preparation to depart.

The Great Viſier *Georgi*, envying the Authority of *Daout Baſſa*, the beloved Son of the Queen Mother, and Brother-in-Law to the Emperour *Muſtapha* (which had formerly been depoſed) who had been both the Inſtrument and the Counſellor to murther Sultan *Oſman*, ſcorning that he ſhould underhand govern in his Reign, eſpecially becauſe he countenanced in oppoſition the Duke of *Sbaraskie*'s buſineſs, he therefore practiſed to put him to Death; but not daring to do it by his own Authority, and in vain to procure it from the

The Great Viſier practiſeth to put *Daout* Baſſa to Death.

1622 the Court, he ſtirred up the Spahies to demand Juſtice of him for the Death of the laſt King. This looked further than the firſt aſſent; for the ſubtil Viſier, who was faithful to his true Lord, and knowing the rage of an unguided Multitude, aimed at a by-revenge upon others, whom he hoped would be involved and accuſed of the Murther; and the Souldier ſoon raiſed and mutined in the Seraglio, they demanded him. *Daout* fled, but now that the buſineſs was on foot, if he were not found the Viſier himſelf was in danger; but the poor man was taken and brought to the Divan, and there being called to the publick Juſtice, he muſt excuſe himſelf upon ſome greater Perſon; wherein the Emperour and his Mother ran a new hazard, which was the ſecret end. Therefore both of them forſook him, and left him to the Law; and without any Trial he was brought before the Souldiers, ſtripped, his Turbant taken off, and on his Knees ready to receive the ſtroke of Death; but ſuddenly the Janizaries came to his reſcue, and carried him away to their Chambers. The Spahies, who began this Action, took it in ill part, and followed with great outcries, That they would have him die; the others demanded that he might be heard in publick Juſtice. Thus thoſe two mutined Factions were ready to come to blows. *Daout* Baſſa, now in ſome hope of Life, bribed the Janizaries, and that day diſtributed forty thouſand Chequines of Gold, and they promiſed to protect him. Who did not now think but he was taken away for ſafety? But the Spahies followed their firſt Reſolution; and to appeaſe the fear of that Diſſention, it was agreed he ſhould die. They that meant to ſave him, could not, but preſerved him for a greater example of Juſtice. They would not now let him loſe his Head in the Court, for that Death was too honourable for him that had murthered his Prince. Then the Janizaries put him ſecretly into the ſame Coach wherein he had ſent Sultan *Oſman* to Execution; twice in the way, being dry with Sorrow, he drank at the ſame Fountains where his laſt Maſter begged drink, and ſo was conveyed into the ſame Chamber where he had murthered him. The Executioners beginning to tye him, himſelf ſhewed the very corner where he had committed that foul fact, and deſired that there he might (if poſſible) expiate it; and ſo he was at laſt miſerably ſtrangled. Thus he had his Reward, and God was juſt alſo even for the wicked.

About the twentieth of *February*, the Peace (after many rubs) between the Grand Seignior and the King of *Poland*, by the Mediation of the Engliſh Ambaſſador (who was choſen by the Grand Seignior as Arbitrer of all differences) after many meetings with *Diac Mahomet Baſſa*, Commiſſioner for the Treaty, was concluded; the Duke having firſt been forced to ſend this following Remonſtrance for his Expedition, which much moved the Viſier, and quickned the Concluſion.

The Duke of *Sbaraskie's* Remonſtrance to the Great Viſier.

YOur Excellency may be pleaſed to remember the happy and honourable Treaty made before Chotyn; *In which a Peace was concluded between the* Ottoman *Empire and the Kingdom of* Poland, *ſigned by Commiſſioners on both parts; wherein (with reference to other antient Treaties) it was agreed, That a great Ambaſſador ſhould come to the Imperial Port, as well to confirm and ſwear the Peace, as to ſet in order ſome other incident Circumſtances, as then not fully taken into Conſideration. Since which, the King and Republick of* Poland, *having elected me for that Imployment, his Majeſty and my ſelf have received many Letters from* Delauir, Daout, Huzein, *and* Muſtapha, *Baſſaes, all great Viſiers; not only promiſing a ſpeedy end and diſpatch of the Concluſion of Peace, which on both parts is ſo much deſired, but alſo the releaſe of our Captives, and all other reſpects of Love and Friendſhip, according to the antient Honour of the Imperial Port; deſiring me upon that aſſurance to proceed with Alacrity and Expedition. And further, it having pleaſed his Majeſty of* Great Britain *(a Friend to both) to mediate in this pious Office, by his Ambaſſador reſident, and ſent to that end; who hath given me by his Letters great encouragement and hopes of a real and true proceeding in this buſineſs, agreeable to divers Promiſes made unto him, which he accordingly hath informed his own Maſter; I was very glad of this honourable function, and hoped to have found as ready performance as is by his Majeſty and all the World expected.*

To this end I am come to the Port, with full Power and Inſtructions from his Majeſty and the Republick of Poland, *to conclude and finiſh a full and perpetual Peace, with all ſincerity and heartineſs, and in his Majeſties Name to ſwear the ſame; offering to be Friend to the Friends, and Enemy to the Enemies of this Imperial Port reciprocally, and to be ready to treat and accommodate all or any other Circumſtances incident to a buſineſs of ſo great Conſequence.*

Since my arrival, notwithſtanding that I have produced both the mentioned Treaty at Chotyn, *and Letters how little I have advanced in the main Affairs, and the doubtful Conſequences of a long protraction. I deſire you to conſider, having as yet proceeded no further in ſubſtance, than the delivery of my Letters and Preſents; and to that end, that there may never be imputed to the King and Republick of* Poland *any ſlackneſs in preſent, or any breach in future, out of a ſincere and good deſire to eſtabliſh this Treaty ſure and firm, and to open a clear and true Heart, I am enforced to make this true Declaration; and deſire your Excellency to weigh maturely the motives following.*

I do not repine at mine own ſtay at this Imperial Port; where I receive all Honour; I do not doubt of the ſincere and faithful meaning of the Empire to conclude the Peace; but the deferring hereof may, againſt our Wills, breed three Inconveniencies.

Firſt, your Excellency doth know, that the Coſſacks *are a People not eaſily to be reſtrained, if they be once at Liberty, and that they live upon their Arms. They have ready eight hundred Boats to make an Invaſion into the Black Sea. In the Winter they cannot move; they attend only the advice of the Concluſion of Peace; therefore now is the ſeaſon to finiſh and publiſh it; for if by long delays it ſhall be deferred unto the Spring, and that Jealouſie or their own deſire ſet them free, your Excellency doth know in Wiſdom how difficult it is to reduce into order a People of that Condition, which for our parts we are now able and ready to prevent; the State having ordained to ſatisfie them, and to buy their Boats upon the firſt intimation of a Concluſion.*

Secondly, it is the order of our Nation every Spring to call a Parliament for the relegement of all publick Affairs; of which aſſembly I am a Member; if I ſhall be ſtaied here, and not able to render a reaſon thereof, it will breed great ſuſpition and diſturbance in the general Reſolution; you may conſider, that in all parts there are ſome unadviſed Men, Friends of Sedition and War, and many that make advantage of others Troubles, who may do ill Offices, ſuch as the innocent may be ſorry for but cannot help.

Thirdly, the Eyes of all Princes are ſet upon the Honour and Faith kept on both parts in this Treaty, and accordingly will govern their own Occaſions.

1622

For

1622 *For theſe Reaſons I do in his Majeſties Name deſire your Excellency to give me a diſpatch, ſuch as may bring Joy and Content to all, by avoiding the Miſeries of War; and in ſuch time, that the Snows and Diſcommodities of Winter ſhut me not up; but that I may return as well to ſatisfie his Majeſty and the Republick in our general Aſſembly, as to retain thoſe, who may be cauſe of much trouble, without our Conſents.*

There is no Difficulty that I underſtand; I am content to accept the antient and honourable Treaties made with the famous Emperour Solyman *and his Succeſſors, and now laſtly at* Chotyn; *if there be any other difference, I have Power, and am ready to accommodate it.*

My deſire then only is, That a preſent End and Concluſion be made of a Peace, firm, and perpetual; and that the Emperour will be pleaſed, according to many promiſes, to deliver and ſet free the Captives taken in the laſt Wars; as I do in his Majeſties Name give my Word that all others taken on our parts ſhall have Liberty and Paſport to return. And if there have been any Difficulty made by occaſion of my preſſure for the rejection of Tomſha, *and* Cante-Emir-Emirze, *I do make this true Proteſtation, That as it is the Requeſt of his Majeſty, my King, in Friendſhip, ſo there is no other end nor cauſe of that deſire, but only to remove all occaſion of offence and breach with this Imperial Port, which thoſe ill Neighbours are ever ready to miniſter; But if that be any great Inconvenience to this Imperial Port, I only then ſeek, that better order may be taken with them for the future, that they may live quietly without offence of the publick Peace.*

I deſire your Excellency to weigh and conſider theſe my Reaſons and Proteſtations, which proceed only from a good and ſincere Heart, to promote and maintain an inviolable and good Friendſhip with this Imperial Port.

Within two days after, the Duke of *Sbaraskie* took his leave of the Emperour, to the great Joy of himſelf and his Train, who thereby ſaw themſelves delivered out of Captivity. The three great and noble Priſoners were ſet free, and did make a publick acknowledgement of his Majeſty of *Great Britains* Favour, to whom both the Ambaſſador and they attributed the beſt part of their good Succeſs, and gave particular Thanks by Letter.

Articles Contracted between the Grand Seignior *and the King of* Poland.

HIS Majeſty of *Poland*, having ſent into our happy Port his well deſerving and famous great Ambaſſador, the moſt Illuſtrious Duke of *Sbaraskie*, to offer us ſincere Peace, loyal Friendſhip, and good Correſpondence, and to ſeek that the antient Peace and Friendſhip ſhould be of us anew confirmed, and the old Capitulations renewed, and that for the time to come there might be eſtabliſhed an eternal Peace and Friendſhip: His Kingly inſtance hath been moſt pleaſing to us, and the Peace and Friendſhip of us accepted; and we have ordained, That all the antient Treaties ſhall be renewed, and at the preſent have given this our Capitulation with the following Articles.

I. *Firſt, That never upon our part, nor of any of our Viſiers, Beglerbeghs, Beghs, Cadees, Officers, nor Souldiers, any harm ſhall be done to the Provinces, Cities, Caſtles, Towns, Villages, and other Places pertaining to the King and State of* Poland. *And likewiſe upon the part of his Majeſty of* Poland, *that by his Princes, Miniſters, or Coſſack, nor any other his Subjects, there ſhall be no wrong done in any part of our Empire, City, Caſtle, Town, or Village, but that both parties ſhall always remain Friends to Friends, and Enemies to Enemies.* 1622

II. *And ſeeing that the* Tartars *of* Dobrirza, Biaolograd, Keil, Ozu, *and* Siliſtra, *and the People of* Moldavia, *do enter, invade, and damniſie the State of* Poland; *We command, that for the time to come, our Beglerbeghs of* Siliſtra, *and all other Beglerbeghs of* Bender, *ſhall take care to keep all thoſe Paſſages and Rivers, to the end that hereafter the ſaid Nations ſhall have no paſſage by thoſe ways to damniſie the State of* Poland; *and whenſoever it ſhall be known that the ſaid Miniſters have uſed Negligence in keeping thoſe Paſſages, according to the Treaty with Sultan* Solyman, *of happy Memory, that ſuch Miniſters be degraded and ſeverely puniſhed.*

III. *The Vayvod of* Moldavia *likewiſe ſhall never grant any Paſſage to the ſaid Nations; and whenſoever it ſhall be known that the ſaid Vayvod hath tranſgreſſed in this our Will, he ſhall be degraded and ſeverely puniſhed.*

IV. *And whenſoever the ſaid* Tartars *and others, contrary to this our Will, ſhall make any Invaſion or Spoil in the State of* Poland, *all our Miniſters and Governours ſhall apprehend and ſeverely puniſh them; and, as it is ſet down in the Agreements with Sultan* Solyman, *all the Slaves and Priſoners which ſhall by ſuch Malefactors be brought into our Dominions, ſhall be ſet at Liberty, and their Goods reſtored to them again, and the Malefactors puniſhed for having tranſgreſſed our Imperial Capitulations.*

V. *And if any of our Subjects ſhall buy any Perſon or* Poliſh *Goods, unjuſtly taken by ſuch Malefactors, and it ſhall be made known unto us by the King of* Poland; *the buyers, for having bought unlawful Goods, their Eſtate ſhall be confiſcate, and they themſelves ſeverely puniſhed.*

VI. *The Prince* Chrim *Tartar ſhall be obedient to us, and all the* Tartarian *Nation under his Command.* Kalgha *Sultan, and other Emirs and Princes of his Blood, from henceforth ſhall never enter into, nor invade any part of the State of* Poland, *nor ever do any Dammage, either by the way of* Moldavia, *the open Field or Deſart, nor ſhall ever enter into or invade any part or juriſdiction of the ſame. And at all times that his Majeſty of* Poland *ſhall give notice, That the ſaid Prince, or others above mentioned, have broken this our Will and Capitulations, and entered and damnified his State; for their Diſobedience, the ſaid Prince, as well as the others, ſhall be by us puniſhed and chaſtiſed; and we command, that never any one, in any part of our Dominion, ſhall ſell either People or Goods robbed from the State of* Poland; *and finding that there be any one that hath dared to buy Men or Goods, robbed from them, ſuch ſhall be immediately puniſhed with confiſcation. And, as before mentioned, the Beglerbeghs of* Siliſtria, *with all Diligence ſhall keep the Straights of* Oſue, *and never ſuffer the ſaid People to paſs; and if it ſhall be known they have tranſgreſſed, they ſhall be puniſhed with loſs of their Charge and Office.*

VII. *And whenſoever the ſaid Prince* Chrim *Tartar, or his Kalka, Emirze, or others, ſhall by our order be called and commanded in their proper Perſons to go to any part of the War in our Service, if by chance they ſhould paſs by the Confines of* Poland, *as it is ſet down in the Capitulations of my Father of happy Memory, They ſhall not enter into any Village, Borough, Caſtle, or City of* Polonia, *or do any kind of dammage to the People thereof; and finding that they have given any moleſtation or hurt, they ſhall be corrected, as is aforeſaid.*

VIII. *And in Conformity of my Fathers ſaid Capitulation, every time that his Majeſty of* Poland *ſhall invite*

1623 *invite and call the ſaid Prince* Chrim *Tartar in his Occaſion of War, whilſt he giveth him his annual ſtipend, the ſaid Prince with all his Forces and Army, ſhall go help and aſſiſt his Majeſty in every ſuch Occaſion, and ſhew all Friendſhip and Sincerity; to which effect we have given order, that our Imperial Letters be written to the ſaid Prince, in this particular, who ſhall obſerve all according to our Will and Pleaſure.*

IX. *And for the better eſtabliſhing of this our Peace and Amity according to the antient Capitulations and Obſervance, his Majeſty of* Poland *promiſeth to ſend his Great Ambaſſador to the ſaid Prince of* Tartars; *and (beginning from this preſent, the* 24th *of the Month of June) to pay yearly to the ſaid Prince his accuſtomed ſtipend in this form following. Every year his Majeſty ſhall ſend the ſaid ſtipend into the Caſtle of* Chotyn *in* Moldavia, *and the Vayvod thereof ſhall certifie the ſaid Prince* Chrim, *who ſhall preſently ſend his Ambaſſador to receive the ſame, by the hands of the Vayvod. The which Prince ſhall always obſerve this form, and ſhall be always obedient to this our Imperial Will.*

X. *And in caſe that his Majeſty of* Poland *ſhould fail any year to ſend the ſaid ſtipend, the Prince Tartar ſhall not ſuddenly riſe with his Army and invade* Poland; *but, according to the agreements of Sultan* Solyman, *continuing ſtill in his Obedience, he ſhall certifie us, and we will procure and recover his right.*

XI. *His Majeſty of* Poland *doth promiſe, that from henceforward the* Coſſacks *ſhall not enter nor come into any part of our Empire by the Rivers of* Oſue *or any other, nor make any ſpoil therein; and if the ſaid* Coſſacks *do enter into any part of our Dominions and do any hurt, we certifying his Majeſty by our Imperial Letters, he promiſeth to correct them ſeverely, and to put to death the Malefactors for breaking the Capitulations, and violating the Peace and Amity.*

XII. *And all our Subjects which ſhall be made Slaves, and impriſoned by the ſaid* Coſſacks, *ſhall be immediately ſet at liberty; and the Miniſters of his Majeſty ſhall always be diligent to puniſh the Tranſgreſſors, and wholly reſtore thoſe Perſons and Goods which they ſhall have taken from our ſaid Subjects, and that never any Subject of the King of* Poland *ſhall buy any ſtollen Goods; and if any have preſumed and bought, that he be ſeverely puniſhed; and in general all that which we have promiſed concerning the* Tartars *and* Moldavians, *ſo his Majeſty alſo doth promiſe to us for the* Coſſacks *and other his Subjects.*

XIII. *After the Concluſion of this Peace, if upon the Confines or open Fields, Fiſhers or Hunters on either part meeting together, ſhall happen to fall out, or be at difference by their own Occaſion, it ſhall be no diſturbance to this our Peace and Amity.*

XIV. *Always, according to the antient Agreements, the Princes or Vayvods of* Moldavia, *ſhall ſhew to his Majeſty of* Poland *all due Reverence and reſpect, good Amity and Neighbourhood; and ſeeing that the ſaid Vayvods have ever been as it were Inſtruments of Preſervation, or of the breach of the Peace; therefore we command, that for the time to come, neither the ſaid Vayvods, nor other of our Beglerbegbs or Miniſters, ſhall build in thoſe Confines any new Caſtle, Fort, or Bridge; and that in thoſe Caſtles or Forts of thoſe Frontiers which are already built, there ſhall never any other Garriſons be kept but* Moldavians; *and according to the antient Capitulations, the* Tartars *ſhall not inhabit, dwell, or till within thoſe Confines, of both Nations.*

XV. *And to the end this Peace and Amity may be always kept between us, we ſwear by the Name of God, and aſſure by this our Imperial Article, that all the Ambaſſadors, great or inferiour, which ſhall be ſent from us to his Majeſty, or thoſe great or leſs which ſhall be ſent from his Majeſty to us, ſhall always be ſafe and ſecure, as well in their coming as their return; and that there ſhall never be need of any other paſport, but that they ſhall be of us by all ways honoured and well received.*

XVI. *Concerning Merchants, Paſſengers, and other* Polack *Negotiators, they ſhall always come ſafely and ſecurely by Sea and Land into all the parts of our Empire; and for Cuſtoms, Tolls, and other Duties of their Merchandiſe, and in caſe of Debt, Credit, Suretiſhip, and ſuch other like Accidents concerning the courſe of Juſtice and Law, we command that it ſhall be always obſerved according to the Agreements with our Father of happy Memory, Sultan* Achmat. *Which Articles we at this preſent accept and confirm, ratifie, and command that they be of all our Subjects for ever punctually obeyed and obſerved.* 1623

XVII. *Furthermore we promiſe, and in the Name of God ſwear, to obſerve and maintain for ever all thoſe Covenants and Articles agreed upon and written in our Capitulations, by our Great Grandfather, Grandfather, and Father, and never to diſannul any of them.*

XVIII. *And whereas to ſhew greater deſire of Sincerity concerning this Peace, his Majeſty of* Poland *hath ſought of us by his ſaid great Ambaſſador, that the Subjects of* Poland *may ſafely and ſecurely come by the River of* Turla *with divers Merchandiſe, and ſell, buy, and traffick in* Ackirman, *which traffick being uſed, will be of great benefit to both Eſtates. We ordain and command from henceforward, that the ſaid Nation may come and negotiate ſafely and ſecurely in the ſaid* Ackirman. *And to the end that this buſineſs be eſtabliſhed and concluded in a good manner, we will give order to our Ambaſſador, whom we intend to ſend ſhortly to his Majeſty for the ratification thereof.*

XIX. *Which preſent Articles, Capitulations, Peace, Amity, League, and Correſpondence, by the Grace of God we promiſe undoubtedly to maintain ſo long as we live in this World; and do hereby conclude between us and our Poſterity, and the King and State of* Polonia, *an everlaſting Peace; Sealing it and confirming it with theſe Words,* Friends to Friends, and Enemies to Enemies.

Some of the Capitulations of Peace altered by the Turks.

Notwithſtanding all this, after the Duke was departed one days Journey, where he ſtayed to receive the Treaty ſigned, they altered ſome of the Articles to their own advantage, without his Knowledge. Which when he heard, he complained anew by his Letters to the Port of the abuſe offered unto him, and made haſte rather to eſcape than return. But the *Coſſacks*, at the ſame time being ſtirred about the Black Sea, the Viſier and State (having nothing more in care than to ſhut up that back port, whereby they ſuffered much loſs and Diſhonour, and could not revenge it upon a fugitive People: which divided their Naval Army, being forced to ſend a portion of Gallies to defend the Trade, the beſt part of relief of the City of *Conſtantinople* coming from thoſe Coaſts) reſolved to give content to the *Poles*, and to aſſure the Peace; that they might with more Security attend their Affairs in *Aſia* and *Hungary*; which Action was favoured vehemently by the preſent Viſier. To which end, he ſent anſwer into *Poland*, with Promiſes of Faith, and Reparation for the Injuries committed by the *Tartars*; laying the fault of miſwriting the Treaty upon the Chancellor, which though they amended not, yet they did explain and interpret; and for better eſtabliſhment and ſecurity on their behalfs of the Peace, they reſolved to depoſe *Jehan-Beg*, Prince of *Tartaria*, and ſent *Mechmet Gheray* his Couſin German, and firſt of the Blood, late Priſoner in the *Rhodes*, to take Poſſeſſion of his Dominion; who undertook to quiet and reſtrain that People; which he cauſed to be ſignified to *Poland*, that the King might ſee theſe alterations were only for the full ſecurity of the Peace on their ſide, that the *Pole* might take the like courſe with the *Coſſacks*, who were not as yet reclaimed.

1623 The Souldiers ſtill continue in their Fury.

The Souldiers continued ſtill in their height of Fury and Madneſs, and thoſe that were to go upon the Gallies for the defence of the Black Sea and other Deſigns, being ready to depart, robbed, ſlew, brake Houſes in the Face of the Magiſtrate in the open day: What was it not lawful for them to do that had ſlain their King, and made and deſtroied the great Miniſters at their Will and Pleaſure, as their Stewards and Servants? and God did ſo blind them, that they ſhould not ſee, that they digged up their own roots, and were made by God the blind inſtruments of their own Ruine. The Mint alſo was removed into the Seraglio, where was brought forth all the Saddles, Bridles, Stirrops, that had any Gold or Silver upon them, with all old Plate, to make Money to patch up a quiet, and to ſatisfie and content the Souldiers, and all little enough for the preſent to ſave the City from a total ſack.

The Ambaſſadors of the Prince of *Tranſilvania* departed from the Port.

The Ambaſſadors of the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, having changed their Stile of excuſing a firm Peace with the Emperour by the change of the Viſier, and finding the Opportunity of a Friend now in place to aid their Prince, they negotiated new matter, aſſuring the Port, that by the troubles of *Germany* a fair occaſion was given to recover *Hungary*, and to ſet the Crown upon their Maſters Head; and that therefore if the Grand Seignior would be pleaſed to grant unto their Prince the aid of the Græcian Army, that he would make another attempt to weaken the greateſt Enemy of that Empire, which they eaſily obtaining (the ignorance and avarice of the Turk opening a way to credulity which was the conſtant advantage of *Gabor*, who could conquer both their Underſtandings and Forces to his own ends) being in all fully ſatisfied, they departed the twentieth of *April*. Which Reſolution of the Port was much wondered at by all wiſe men, who knew how unfit the Turk was at that preſent for a War. The Prince was then at *Caſſovia*, expecting the iſſue of his Ambaſſage, and in hope of Turkiſh Aid; which being granted and gathered upon his frontier, and joyned at laſt with his own Forces, his whole Army was not very great, nor had he any Cannon to march withal to beſiege any place; his chiefeſt truſt conſiſting in his Intelligence in *Hungary*, where he expected a general revolt, and that all the Garriſons would open to him, or at leaſt ſome diverſion in *Sileſia* (which he was promiſed) facilitate his ways; and he was not in deſpair, that upon the firſt appearance of an Army, *Moravia*, by the favour of the Count of *Tourn* and his Friends, would follow the ſame Example; and this was the deſign which his Ambaſſadors had ſo long ſollicited at the Port, and diſſembled at their firſt coming. Now there was nothing expected but a War; but not long after there arrived a new Ambaſſador from the Prince, without any mention of the Affairs of thoſe parts; which made all men inquiſitive, thinking he was either come to haſten the Succours, or to change ſomething in the manner and other Circumſtances depending thereon; but it was found that the States of *Tranſilvania* had aſſembled at *Alba-Julia*, and were very loth to entertain a War, or to break with the Emperour; and therefore diſpeeded two Commiſſioners towards him, who were well received and treated at *Vienna*; and from the Emperour was ſent to *Tranſilvania* the Biſhop of *Nitria*. Whereupon a new Peace was treated, and this Ambaſſador ſent to procure the recall of the former Commands given to the Baſſaes to move with their Armies. Whereby it was ſuſpected he never had any purpoſe to make a War, but only to ballance by the continuance thereof his Fears and laſt Agreements with the Emperour. 1623

The Baſſa of *Arzirum* in Rebellion.

All Men prophecied (by reaſon of daily Diſorders) the fall of the *Ottoman* Empire. But now the Baſſa of *Arzirum*, who was joyned with divers others, and had made a great Army, was in his march toward *Angria*, the direct way to *Conſtantinople* (*Babylon* yet reſting in Rebellion) with a pretence of Reformation; who took nothing by force but the Treaſure of the Empire. He held a general Council in his Camp, and ſent to the Port to require the Preſence of the Mufti, Cadees, Baſſaes, and antient Beghs, to take knowledge and to puniſh the Traitors that murthered the late King, and to ſettle a new one lawfully that ſhould be able to govern; to reduce the mutined City-Souldier to Obedience and Diſcipline, and to place about the Emperour ſome Great Viſier, choſen by the State, able to direct and apply Remedies to the Diſeaſes then grown to a Chryſis; complaining, that every three or four Months, by the change of the Viſier, the Provinces were deſtroyed, (for they placed and diſplaced the Governours according to their own Factions) and ſo contrary orders were ſent abroad daily, inſomuch as no man knew who was King or Viſier, nor whom they ſhould obey. Theſe were his Pretences, and if the preſent State would not conſent to this Aſſembly, he then reſolved to come to the Port, and ſettle all things at his Pleaſure by the Sword. The great Officers in poſſeſſion of the Empire and Government, loth to be called to an account by the Souldier, took a worſe Reſolution, To make a War; and made choice of *Cigala Baſſa* for General; which he refuſed upon the ſame pretence, that in his abſence alterations would be ſo frequent; and that he ſhould not pleaſe, or at leaſt uncertainly, and according to Interpretation. Therefore he would have an abſolute Dictatorſhip for the time, equal to that of a great Viſier, or elſe he would not ſtir. This was granted him, and money given out, and order to paſs the Water ſpeedily; inrolling for his Army fifteen thouſand Janizaries, and thirty thouſand Spahies. But thoſe did demur, and alledged it was a War againſt their own Brethren, and ſought any Excuſes rather than to come to blows. But the ſecret was, it was then *Ramazan*, or their Holy Lent, at the end of which they were to receive their Pay; and therefore they would not move, but pretended Religion. Next day after their Feaſt, when they ſhould march, they ſhewed themſelves in their Colours, (having firſt held many Conſultations) and would not march at all, unleſs the Emperour or Great Viſier would go in Perſon. So every day brought forth new ſubject of Trouble, and the Empire to a great deal of hazard and danger.

A BRIEF DISCOURSE OF THE GREATNESS OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE:

As alſo wherein the greateſt Strength thereof conſiſteth; and of what Power the bordering Princes, as well *Mahometans* as *Chriſtians*, are in Compariſon of it.

By *RICHARD KNOLLES.*

1623 THE Hiſtory of the Turks (being indeed nothing elſe but the true Record of the woful Ruines of the greater part of the Chriſtian Common-weal) thus, as before paſſed through, and at length brought to an end; and their Empire (of all others now upon Earth far the greateſt) as a proud Champion, ſtill ſtanding up as it were in defiance of the whole World: I thought it good for the Concluſion of this my Labour, to propoſe unto the view of the zealous Chriſtian, the Greatneſs thereof; and ſo near as I could to ſet down the Bounds and Limits within the which it is (by the goodneſs of God) as yet contained, together with the Strength and Power thereof, as alſo in what regard it hath the Neighbour Princes bordering or confining upon it, with ſome other Particularities tending unto the ſame purpoſe. All or moſt part thereof, although it be by the conſiderate well to be gathered out of the whole courſe of the Hiſtory before going, yet ſhall it more plainly here together in the full thereof appear, than by the long and particular conſideration of the riſing and increaſe thereof be perceived; not much unlike the overgrown Tree, at the greatneſs whereof every man wondereth, no man in the mean time either perceiving or marking how by little and little in tract of time it grew up to that bigneſs, as now to overtop all the reſt of the Wood. The Imperial Seat of this ſo great and dreadful an Empire, is the moſt famous City of *Conſtantinople*, ſometime the Glory of the Greek Empire, but now the Place where *Achmat*, the firſt of that Name, and fourteenth of the *Othoman* Emperours, acknowledging no man like unto himſelf, triumpheth over many Nations; a City fatally founded to command, and by the great Conqueror *Tamerlane*, of all others thought to be the beſt ſeated for the Empire of the World. In which City (taken from the Chriſtians by *Mahomet* the ſecond, by the Turks ſirnamed the Great, and the Greek Empire by him ſubverted) as the *Othoman* Emperours have ever ſince ſeated themſelves, ſo have they wonderfully, even to the aſtoniſhment of the World, out of the Ruines of that ſo glorious a State, increaſed both their Strength and Empire, almoſt altogether fixed even in the ſelf ſame Kingdoms, Countries, and Regions, as was ſometimes that; though not as yet (God be thanked) able to attain to the uttermoſt bounds that that Empire ſometimes had, eſpecially in *Europe*, albeit that it hath oftentimes in pride thereof moſt mightily ſwoln, and in ſome few places thereof ſomewhat alſo exceeded the ſame. Amongſt the reſt of the *Othoman* Emperours, this great Monarch of whom we ſpeak (namely *Achmat* the firſt, which now reigneth in that moſt ſtately and Imperial City) hath at this preſent under his Command and Empire, the chief and moſt fruitful parts of the three firſt known parts of the World; only *America* remaining free from him, not more happy with the rich Mines thereof, than in that it is ſo far from out of his reach. For in *Europe* he hath all the Sea-Coaſt from the Confines of *Epidaurus* (the uttermoſt bound of his Empire in *Europe* Weſtward) unto the mouth of the River *Tanais*, now called *Don*, with whatſoever lieth betwixt *Buda* in *Hungary*, and the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople*; in which ſpace is comprehended the better part of *Hungary*, all *Boſna*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, with a great part of *Dalmatia*, *Epirus*, *Macedonia*, *Græcia*, *Peloponneſus*, *Thracia*, the *Archipelago*, with the rich Iſlands contained therein. In *Affrica* he poſſeſſeth all the Sea Coaſt from *Velez* (or as ſome call it *Belis*) *De Gomera*, or more truly to ſay, from the River *Mulvia* (the bounder of the Kingdom of *Fez*) even unto the *Arabian* Gulf, or Red Sea, Eaſtward; except ſome few Places upon the Rivage of the Sea, holden by the King of *Spain*; *viz. Merſalcabir*, *Melilla*, *Oran*, and *Pennon*; and from *Alexandria* Northward unto the City of *Aſna*, called of old *Siene*, Southward; in which ſpace are contained the famous Kingdoms of *Tremizen*, *Algiers*, *Tunes*, and *Ægypt*, with divers other great Cities and Provinces. In *Aſia* all is his from the Streights

1623

Conſtantinople the Seat of the Turks Empire.

The bounds of the Turks Empire in *Europe*, *Affrica*, and *Aſia*.

The Greatneſs of the Turks Empire.

1623 of *Helleſpontus* Weſtward, unto the great City of *Tauris* Eaſtward; and from *Derbent*, neer unto the *Caſpian* Sea Northward, unto *Adena* upon the Gulf of *Arabia* Southward. The greatneſs of this his Empire may the better be conceived by the greatneſs of ſome parts thereof; the *Meere* of *Meotis*, which is all at the Turkiſh Emperours command, being in compaſs a thouſand miles; and the *Euxine* or *Black*-Sea in circuit two thouſand and ſeven hundred; and the *Mediterranean* Coaſt, which is ſubject unto him, containing in compaſs about eight thouſand miles. But to ſpeak of his whole Territory together; he goeth in his own Dominion from *Tauris* to *Buda*, about three thouſand two hundred miles. The like diſtance is from *Derbent* unto *Adena*. From *Balſera* upon the *Perſian* Gulf unto *Tremiſena* in *Barbary*, are accounted little leſs than four thouſand miles. He hath alſo in the Sea the moſt noble Iſlands of *Cyprus*, *Eubœa*, *Rhodus*, *Samos*, *Chios*, *Lesbos*, and others of the *Archipelago*. In this ſo large and ſpacious an Empire are contained many great and large Countries, ſometime moſt famous Kingdoms, abounding with all manner of worldly Bleſſings and Natures ſtore: For what Kingdom or Country is more fruitful than *Ægypt*, *Siria*, and a great part of *Aſia*? What Country more wealthy or more plentiful of all good things, than was ſometime *Hungary*, *Græcia* and *Thracia*? In which Countries he hath alſo many rich and famous Cities, but eſpecially four, which be greateſt for Wealth and Trade; namely, *Conſtantinople*, *Caire*, *Aleppo*, and *Tauris*. *Conſtantinople*, for multitude of People, exceedeth all the Cities of *Europe*; wherein are deemed to be above ſeven hundred thouſand Men; which if it be ſo, is almoſt equal to two ſuch Cities as *Paris* in *France*. *Aleppo* is the greateſt City of *Syria*, and, as it were the centre whereunto all the Merchandiſe of *Aſia* repair. *Tauris*, of late the Royal Seat of the *Perſian* Kings, and one of the greateſt Cities of that Kingdom, from whom it was in this our Age taken by *Amurath* the Third, hath in it above two hundred thouſand Men. *Caire*, amongſt all the Cities of *Affrica* is the chief, leaving all others far behind it, (although that ſome make the City of *Cano* equal unto it in greatneſs) being as it were the Store-houſe, not of *Ægypt* onely, and of a great part of *Affrica*, but of *India* alſo; the Riches whereof being brought by the *Red*-Sea to *Sues*, and from thence upon Camels to *Caire*, and ſo down the River *Nilus* to *Alexandria*, are thence diſperſed into theſe Weſtern Parts; albeit, that this rich Trade hath of late time been much impaired, and ſo like more to be; the Chriſtians (eſpecially the *Portugals*) trafficking into the *Eaſt-Indies*, and by the vaſt Ocean tranſporting the rich Commodities of thoſe Eaſtern Countries into the Weſt, to the great hinderance of the Grand Seignior's Cuſtoms in *Caire*.

The four chief Cities for Trade in the Turks Empire.

The *Othoman* Government in this his ſo great an Empire, is altogether like the Government of the Maſter over his Slave, and indeed meer tyrannical; for the Great Sultan is ſo abſolute a Lord of all things within the compaſs of his Empire, that all his Subjects and People, be they never ſo great, do call themſelves his Slaves and not his Subjects; neither hath any man power over himſelf, much leſs is he Lord of the Houſe wherein he dwelleth, or of the Land which he tilleth, except ſome few Families in *Conſtantinople*, to whom ſome few ſuch things were by way of reward, and upon eſpecial favour given by *Mahomet* the Second, at ſuch time as he won the ſame. Neither is any man in that Empire ſo great, or yet ſo far in favour with the Great Sultan, as that he can aſſure himſelf of his Life, much leſs of his preſent Fortune or State, longer than it pleaſeth the Sultan. In 1623 which ſo abſolute a Sovereignty (by any free born People not to be endured) the Tyrant preſerveth himſelf by two moſt eſpecial means; firſt, by taking off all Arms from his natural Subjects; and then by putting the ſame and all things elſe concerning the State and Government thereof into the Hands of the Apoſtata, or Renegade Chriſtians, whom for the moſt part every third, fourth, or fifth Year, (or oftner, if his need ſo require) he taketh in their Child-hood, from their miſerable Parents, as his Tenths or Tribute Children; whereby he gaineth two great Commodities: Firſt, For that in ſo doing he ſpoileth the Provinces he moſt feareth, of the flower, ſinews, and ſtrength of the People, choice being ſtill made of the ſtrongeſt Youths, and fitteſt for War; then, for that with theſe, as with his own Creatures, he armeth himſelf, and by them aſſureth his State; for they, in their Childhood, taken from their Parents Laps, and delivered in Charge to one or other appointed for that purpoſe, quickly, and before they are aware, become Mahometans; and ſo no more acknowledging Father or Mother, depend wholly on the Great Sultan; who, to make uſe of them, both feeds them and foſters them, at whoſe hands onely they look for all things, and whom alone they thank for all. Of which Fry, ſo taken from their Chriſtian Parents, (the only Seminary of his Wars) ſome become Horſe-men, ſome Foot-men, and ſo in time the greateſt Commanders of his State and Empire, next unto himſelf; the natural Turks, in the mean time, giving themſelves wholly unto the Trade of Merchandiſe, and other their Mechanical Occupations; or elſe to the feeding of Cattel, their moſt ancient and natural Vocation, not intermeddling at all with matters of Government or State. So that if unto theſe his Souldiers, all of the Chriſtian Race, you joyn alſo his Fleet and Money, you have as it were the whole ſtrength of his Empire; for in theſe four, his Horſe-men, his Foot-men, his Fleet and Money, eſpecially conſiſteth his great Force and Power: whereof to ſpeak more particularly, and firſt concerning his Money. It is commonly thought, that his ordinary Revenue exceedeth not eight millions of Gold; and albeit, that it might ſeem, that he might of ſo large an Empire receive a far greater Revenue, yet doth he not, for that both he and his Men of War (in whoſe power all things are) have their greateſt and almoſt onely care upon Arms, fitter by nature to waſte and deſtroy Countries, than to preſerve and inrich them; inſomuch that for the preſervation of their Armies, and furtherance of their Expeditions, (every year to do) they moſt grievouſly ſpoil even their own People and Provinces whereby they paſs, ſcarce leaving them Neceſſaries wherewith to live; ſo that the Subjects, deſpairing to enjoy the Fruits of the Earth, much leſs the Riches which by their Induſtry and Labour they might get unto themſelves, do now no farther endeavour themſelves either to Husbandry or Traffick than they needs muſt, yea, than very neceſſity it ſelf inforceth them. For to what end availeth it to ſow that another man muſt reap, or to reap that which another man is ready to devour? Whereupon it cometh, that in the Territories of the *Othoman* Country, yea, even in the moſt fruitful Countries of *Macedonia* and *Greece*, are ſeen great Foreſts, all every where waſte, few Cities well peopled, and the greateſt part of thoſe Countries lying deſolate and deſart; ſo that Huſbandry (in all well-ordered Common-wealths the Prince's greateſt ſtore) decaying, the Earth neither yieldeth her Increaſe unto the painful Huſbandman, neither he matter unto the Artificer, neither

1623

The means whereby the Turkiſh Emperours preſerve themſelves in ſo abſolute a Sovereignty.

Four things wherein the greateſt ſtrength of the *Othoman* Empire conſiſteth.

The Turks ordinary Revenues, and why they are no greater.

The *Othoman* Government meer tyrannical.

1623 neither the Artificer Wares to furniſh the Merchant with, all together with the Plough running into ruine and decay. As for the Trade of Merchandiſe, it is almoſt all in the hands of the *Jews*, or the Chriſtians of *Europe*, *viz.* the *Raguſians*, *Venetians*, *Genowaies*, *French*, or *Engliſh*; the natural *Turks* having therein the leaſt to do, holding in that their ſo large an Empire no other famous Cities for Trade, more than the four above named, *viz.* *Conſtantinople*, *Tauris*, *Aleppo*, and *Caire*; whereunto may be added, *Caffa*, and *Theſſalonica* in *Europe*; *Damaſcus*, *Tripolis*, and *Aden* in *Aſia*; *Alexandria* and *Algiers* in *Affrick*. In our Countries here in this Weſt part of *Europe*, of the abundance of People oftentimes ariſeth Dearth; but in many parts of the Turks Dominions, for want of Men to manure the Ground; moſt part of the poor Country People, drawn from their own dwellings, being inforced with Victuals and other Neceſſaries to follow their great Armies in their long Expeditions, of whom ſcarce one of ten ever return home to their dwellings again, there by the way periſhing, if not by the Enemies Sword, yet by the wants, the intemperateneſs of the Air, or immoderate pains taking. But to come nearer unto our purpoſe; Although the great Turks ordinary Revenues be no greater than is aforeſaid, yet are his extraordinary eſcheats to be greatly accounted of, eſpecially his Confiſcations, Forfeitures, Fines, Amerciaments (which are right many) his Tributes, Cuſtoms, Tyths and Tenths of all Preys taken by Sea or Land, with divers other ſuch like, far exceeding his ſtanding and certain Revenue; his Baſſaes and other his great Officers like ravening Harpies as it were ſucking out the Blood of his poor Subjects, and heaping up ineſtimable Treaſures, which for the moſt part fall again into the Grand Seignior's Coffers. *Ibrahim* Viſier Baſſa (who lived not long ſince) is ſuppoſed to have brought with him from *Caire* to the value of ſix millions; and *Mahomet*, another of the Viſiers, was thought to have had a far greater ſum. His Preſents alſo amount unto a great matter, for no Ambaſſador can come before him without great Gifts, no man is to hope for any commodious Office or Preferment without Money, no man may with Empty Hands come to the Preſence of him ſo great a Prince, either from the Province he had the charge of, or from any great Expedition he was ſent upon; neither unto ſo great and mighty a Prince are Trifles preſented. The Vayvods of *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and *Tranſilvania*, before their late revolt, by Gifts preſerved themſelves in their Principalities, being almoſt daily changed, eſpecially in *Valachia* and *Moldavia*; for thoſe Honours were by the Grand Seignior ſtill given to them that would give moſt; who, to perform what they had offered, miſerably oppreſſed the People, and brought their Provinces into great Poverty. In brief, an eaſie thing it is for the great Tyrant to find Occaſion for him at his Pleaſure to take away any Mans Life, together with his Wealth, be it never ſo great; ſo that he cannot well be ſaid to lack Money ſo long as any of his Subjects have it. Nevertheleſs, the late *Perſian* War ſo emptied the moſt covetous Sultan *Amurath's* Coffers, and exhauſted his Treaſures, that all over his Empire the value of his Gold was beyond all credit enhanced, inſomuch that a Chequine was twice ſo much worth as before, beſide that, the Metal whereof his Gold and Silver was made was ſo embaſed, that it gave occaſion unto the Janizaries to ſet fire upon the City of *Conſtantinople*, to the great Terror, not of the vulgar ſort only, but of the Grand Seignior himſelf alſo. And in the City of *Aleppo* only were in the Name of the Great Sultan ſixty thouſand Chequines taken up in preſt of the Merchants there, which, how well they were repayed, we leave for them to report.

The Turks Caſualties more than his ordinary Revenue.

1623

Now albeit that the Turks Revenues be not ſo great as the largeneſs of his Empire and the fruitfulneſs of his Countries might ſeem to afford, all the Soil being his own; yet hath he in his own Dominion a Commodity of far greater value and uſe than are the Revenues themſelves; which is, the Multitude of the Timariots or Penſioners, which are all Horſemen, ſo called of *Timaro*, that is, a ſtipend which they have of the Great Sultan, *viz.* the poſſeſſion of certain Villages and Towns, which they hold during their Life, and for which they ſtand bound for every threeſcore Duckets they have of yearly Revenue to maintain one Horſeman, either with Bow and Arrows, or elſe with Targuet and Launce; and that as well in time of Peace as War; for the *Othoman* Emperours take unto themſelves all ſuch Lands as they by the Sword win from their Enemies, as well Mahometans as Chriſtians, all which they divide into Timars, or as we call them Commendams, which they give unto their Souldiers of good deſert for term of Life, upon Condition that they ſhall (as is aforeſaid) according to the proportion thereof keep certain Men and Horſes fit for ſervice always ready whenſoever they ſhall be called upon; wherein conſiſteth the greateſt Policy of the Turks, and the ſureſt means for the Preſervation of their Empire. For if by this means the care of manuring the Ground were not committed unto the Souldiers, for the profit they hope thereof, but left in the hand of the plain painful Husbandman, all would in that ſo warlike an Empire lie waſte and deſolate; the Turks themſelves commonly ſaying, That whereſoever the Grand Seignior's Horſe ſetteth his Foot, the Graſs will grow no more there; meaning the Deſtruction that their Great Armies bring in all Places where they come. The Inſtitution of theſe Timariots, and the taking up of the *Azamoglans*, (for ſo they call thoſe Children which are taken up from their Chriſtian Parents to be brought up for Janizaries) are the two chief Pillars of the Turks Empire, and the ſtrength of their Wars; both which ſeem to be deviſed unto the imitation of the Romans, as are divers things more in the Turkiſh Government; for the Roman Emperours uſed their own Subjects in their Wars, and of them conſiſted the Prætorian Army, which never departed from the Emperours ſide, but were ſtill to guard his Perſon, as do the Janizaries the Great Turk. And in the Roman Empire Lands were given unto Souldiers of good deſert, for them to take the profit of during their Lives, in reward of their good Service and Valour, which were called *Beneficia*, and they which had them, *Benificiarii*, or as we term them Benefices, and beneficed Men. *Alexander Severus* granted unto ſuch Souldiers Heirs that might enjoy thoſe Lands and Commendams, upon condition alſo, That they themſelves ſhould ſerve as had their Fathers, otherwiſe not. *Conſtantine* the Great alſo gave unto his Captains that had well deſerved of him, certain Lands for them to live upon during the term of their Life. The like Fees in *France*, which they called *Feuda*, were of Temporaries made Perpetuities by theſe their late Kings. Theſe Timariot Horſemen in the Turkiſh Empire, ſerve to two great and moſt notable purpoſes; whereof the firſt is, That by them the Grand Seignior, as with a Bridle, keepeth the reſt of his Subjects in every part of his great Empire in awe, ſo that they cannot ſo ſoon move, but that they ſhall have theſe his Timariots as Faulcons in their Necks; for to that purpoſe they are diſperſed all over his Dominion and Empire.

The Turks Timariots of greater value than his Revenues.

The two chief Pillars of the Othoman Empire.

The great uſe of the Timariot Horſemen in the Turks Empire.

1623

pire. The other uſe of them (and no leſs profitable than the former) is, for that out of them he is always able to draw into the Field an hundred and fifty thouſand Horſemen well armed, ready to go whitherſoever he ſhall command them; with all whom he is not at one farthing charge. Which ſo great a power of Horſemen cannot continually be maintained for leſs than fourteen Millions of Duckets yearly. Wherefore it is to be marvelled, that ſome, comparing the Turks Revenues with the Chriſtians, make no mention of this ſo great a part of the *Othoman* Emperour's Wealth and Strength, ſerving him firſt for the ſuppreſſing of all ſuch Tumults as might ariſe in his Empire, and then, as a moſt principal ſtrength of his continual Wars, always ready to ſerve him in his greateſt Expeditions. The number of theſe Timariot Horſe-men is now grown very great, taking increaſe together with the Turks Empire. It is reported, That *Amurath* the Third, Grandfather to *Achmat* that now reigneth, in his late Wars againſt the *Perſian*, ſubdued ſo much Territory as ſerved him to erect therein fourty thouſand Timariots; and appointed at *Tauris* a new Receit which was yearly worth unto him a million of Gold. Theſe Timariots are in all accounted to be ſeven hundred and nineteen thouſand fighting Men; of whom two hundred and fifty ſeven thouſand have their Aboad and dwelling in *Europe*, and four hundred ſixty two thouſand in *Aſia* and *Affrick*. Beſide theſe Timariots, the Grand Seignior had a great number of other Horſe-men alſo, unto whom he giveth Pay; which are his Spahi, Ulufagi, and Carapici of his Court, being indeed the Nurſeries and Seminaries of the great Officers and Governours of his Empire; for from among them are ordinarily choſen the Sanzacks, which afterwards, through their good deſerts, or the Sultan's great favour, become Viſiers, Beglerbegs, and Baſſaes, the chief Rulers of that ſo mighty a Monarchy. He hath alſo ſtill in his Army a great multitude of other Horſe-men called *Acanzii*, being indeed but rural Clowns, yet for certain Priviledges which they have are bound to go unto the Wars, being even of the Turks themſelves accounted of ſmall worth or value in compariſon of the Timariots. He receiveth great Aid alſo from the *Tartar* in his Wars, as alſo from the *Valachians* and *Moldavians*, (until that now of late, by the Example of the *Tranſilvanians*, they have to the great benefit of the reſt of the Chriſtian Common-wealth revolted from him) all which are to be accounted as the *Romans Auxiliarii*, that is to ſay, ſuch as come to aid and aſſiſt him. And thus much for his Horſe-men.

The number of the Timariots.

The Spahi, Ulufagi, and Carapici, Seminaries of the great Offices in the Turks Empire.

The *Acanzii*.

Another great part of his ſtrength conſiſteth in his Foot-men, and eſpecially in his Janizaries; in whom two things are to be conſidered, their Nation and Dexterity in Arms. Concerning their Nation, ſuch of the *Azamoglans* as are born in *Aſia* are not ordinarily inrolled in the number of the Janizaries, but ſuch as are born in *Europe*; for they of *Aſia* are accounted more effeminate, as they have been always more ready to fly than to fight; whereas the People of *Europe* have even in the *Eaſt* been accounted for better and more valiant Souldiers, having there, to their immortal Glory, ſet up the notable Trophies of their moſt glorious Victories. The Souldiers of *Aſia* be called Turks, after the name of their Nation, and not of their Country, (no Country being indeed ſo properly called) and they of *Europe*, *Rumi*, that is to ſay, *Romani*, or *Romans*; as the Country, eſpecially about *Conſtantinople*, is called by the name of *Rum-Ili*, that is, the *Roman* Country, as it was in ancient Time, of the notable *Roman* Colonies therein, known by the name of *Romania*. Now, as concerning their Dexterity, ſuch male Children are culled out from the Chriſtians, as in whom appeareth the greateſt ſigns of Strength, Activity, and Courage; for theſe three Qualities are in a Souldier eſpecially required. This choice is made every third Year, except neceſſity inforce it to be made ſooner, as it happened in the late *Perſian* War; wherein, not only oftener choice was made, but they were glad to uſe the Azamoglans alſo, a thing never before by them done; for thoſe Youths, the Children of Chriſtian Parents, being by them that have taken them up brought to *Conſtantinople*, are taken view of by the Aga of the Janizaries, who cauſeth to be regiſtred the name of the Youth, with the name of his Father and Country wherein he was born; which done, part of them are ſent into the leſſer *Aſia*, (now called *Natolia*) and other Provinces, where, learning the Turkiſh Language and Law, they are alſo infected with the Vices and Manners of them with whom they live, and ſo in ſhort time become true Mahometans. Another part of them, and thoſe of the moſt towardlieſt, is divided into Cloyſters, which the Grand Seignior hath at *Conſtantinople* and *Pera*, of whom the faireſt and moſt handſome are appointed for the Seraglio of the Great Sultan himſelf. All the time that theſe Youths, thus ſent abroad, live in the leſſer *Aſia* or other the Turks Provinces, they are not appointed to any certain Exerciſe, but ſtill kept buſied, ſome at Husbandry, ſome in Gardening, ſome in Building, ſome in other domeſtical Services, never ſuffered to be idle, but always occupied in painful Labour; where, after certain years they have been thus inured to labour and pains-taking, they are called thence into the Cloyſters of the Azamoglans, (for ſo they are called all the time untill they be inrolled into the number of the Janizaries) and are there delivered unto certain ſpecial Governours appointed to take charge of them; who keep them ſtill exerciſed in painful Work and Labour, intreating them evil enough, as well in their Dyet, as in their Apparel and Lodging; they ſleep together in large Rooms, like unto the Religious *Dormitories*, wherein are Lamps ſtill burning, and Tutors attending, without whoſe leave they may not ſtir out of their Places. There they learn to ſhoot both in the Bow and Piece, the Uſe of the Scimitar, with many Feats of Activity; and being well trained in thoſe Exerciſes, are inrolled amongſt the Janizaries or Spahi, of whom, the Janizaries receive no leſs than five Aſpers, nor more than eight for their daily Pay, and the Spahi ten. Being recorded among the Janizaries, they are either ſent away into the Wars, or into ſome Garriſon, or elſe attend at the Court. Theſe laſt have for their Dwelling three great Places like unto three Monaſteries, in the City of *Conſtantinople*, there they live under their Governours to whom they are deputed, the younger with great obedience and ſilence ſerving the elder, in buying of things for them, in dreſſing their Meat, and ſuch like Services. They that be of one Seat or Calling, live together at one Table, and ſleep in long Walks. If any of them upon occaſion chance to lie all Night abroad without leave, the next Evening he is notably beaten, with ſuch Nurture and Diſcipline, that after his beating, he, like an Ape, kiſſeth the Governour's Hands that ſo corrected him. Theſe Janizaries have many large Privileges, are honoured, although they be moſt Inſolent, and are feared of all men, yea, even of the Great Sultan himſelf, who is ſtill glad to make fair weather with them. In their Expeditions or Travel, they rob the poor Chriſtians Cottages and Houſes, who muſt not ſay one word

The Janizaries the ſecond ſtrength of the Turkiſh Empire.

What manner of Children are taken up to make Janizaries of.

The Azamoglans are ſuch untrained Youths as are taken up to become Janizaries, but yet are not of their Order.

The manner of their bringing up.

The daily Pay of the Janizaries and Spahi.

The Janizaries Inſolent.

1623

1623 to the contrary. When they buy any thing they give for it but what they liſt themſelves; they can be judged by none but their Aga, neither can they be executed without danger of an Inſurrection; and therefore ſuch Execution is ſeldom done, and that very ſecretly. They have a thouſand Royalties; ſome of them are appointed to the keeping of Ambaſſadors ſent from foreign Princes; other ſome of them are aſſigned to accompany Strangers, Travellers, eſpecially them that be men of the better ſort, to the intent they may ſafely paſs in the Turks Dominions; for which Service they are commonly well rewarded. They have made choice of their Prince, namely of *Selymus* the Firſt, his Father *Bajazet* yet living; neither can any of the *Turks Sultans* account themſelves fully inveſted in the Imperial Dignity, or aſſured of their Eſtate, until they be by them approved and proclaimed. Every one of their Sultans at his firſt coming to the Empire doth give them ſome great Largeſs, and ſometime the better to pleaſe them, increaſeth alſo their Pay. In every great Expedition ſome of them go forth with their Aga, or his Lieutenant, and are the laſt of all that fight. There is no Office among the Turks that is more envied than the Office of the Aga of the Janizaries, for the greatneſs of his Authority and Command; onely he and the Beglerbeg of *Græcia* chuſe not their own Lieutenant, but have them nominated unto them by the Grand Seignior. Unto this great Man, the Aga of the Janizaries, nothing can portend a more certain Deſtruction than to be of them beloved; for then is he of the Great Sultan ſtraightway feared or miſtruſted, and ſo occaſion ſought for to take him out of the way. The number of the Janizaries of the Court is betwixt ten and fourteen thouſand. This Warlike Order of Souldiers is in theſe our days much imbaſed; for now natural Turks are taken in for Janizaries, as are alſo the People of *Aſia*; whereas in former times none were admitted into that Order but the Chriſtians of *Europe* onely; beſide that, they marry Wives alſo, contrary to their ancient Cuſtom, which is not now forbidden them. And becauſe of their long lying ſtill at *Conſtantinople*, (a City abounding with all manner of Pleaſure) they are become much more effeminate and ſlothful, but withal moſt Inſolent, or more truely to ſay, Intolerable. It is commonly reported, the Strength of the Turkiſh Empire to conſiſt in this Order of the Janizaries, which is not altogether ſo; for albeit that they be indeed the Turks beſt Foot-men, and ſureſt Guard of the Great Sultan's Perſon, yet undoubtedly the greateſt Strength of his State and Empire reſteth nothing ſo much in them, as in the great multitude of his Horſe-men, eſpecially his Timariots. Beſides theſe Janizaries, the Turkiſh Emperour hath a great number of baſe Foot-men, whom the Turks call *Aſapi*, better acquainted with the Spade than with the Sword, ſerving rather to the wearying of their Enemies with their multitude, than the vanquiſhing of them with their Valour; with whoſe dead Bodies the Janizaries uſe to fill up the Ditches of Towns beſieged, or to ſerve them for Ladders to climb over the Enemies Walls upon. But, as the *Romans* had both their old Legionary, and other untrained Souldiers, which they called *Tirones*; of whom, the firſt were the chief Strength of their Wars, and the other but as an Aid and Supply; even ſo the Turk accounteth his Timariot Horſe-men the ſtrength of his Army, and the Acanzii, (which is another ſort of baſe and common Horſe-men) but as an Acceſſory; and ſo amongſt his Foot-men he eſteemeth of his Janizaries, as did the *Romans* of their *Prætorian* Legions, but of his *Aſapi*, as of *Shadows*. The Janizaries are by none to be commanded more than by the Great Sultan himſelf, and their Aga; as for the Baſſaes, they regard them not much, but in their rage oftentimes foul intreat even the greateſt of them. The *Aſapi*, as they are but baſe and common Souldiers, ſo have they alſo their ordinary Captains and Commanders, Men of no great place or mark. 1623

The whole State of the great Empire of the Turks is commanded by the Great Sultan, by the grave Advice and Counſel of his Viſier Baſſaes, which were not wont to be in number above four, ſo providing for the ſecrecy of his high Deſigns or important Reſolutions, hardly by a greater multitude to be concealed; howbeit that the Sultans of later times have had ſometimes more, ſometimes fewer, as their pleaſure was. Theſe Men are of all others in that Empire the greateſt, and for their high Places moſt honoured; unto them even the greateſt Princes that have any thing to do in the Turks Court, ſue and ſend their honourable Preſents. By their Advice the Great Sultan taketh his Wars in hand, neither without them concludeth he any Peace. They give Audience unto the Ambaſſadours of foreign Princes, and from them receive their diſpatch. The greateſt Honours and Preferments (which are many in that ſo great and large an Empire) are all by their means to be obtained; which maketh them of all others to be ſought unto. Some one or other of them are ſtill Generals over the great Armies of the Turks, eſpecially in theſe their late Wars, their three laſt Emperours never themſelves going forth into the Field (excepting once that *Mahomet* the Third, for the maintenance of his Credit with his Men of War, came down into *Hungary*, and there won the City of *Agria*:) which leading of ſuch mighty Armies is ſtill with great Emulation and Ambition of the Viſier Baſſaes amongſt themſelves ſought after, as well for the great profit thereby unto them ariſing, as for the Honour thereof, which is of all other the greateſt. But leaving theſe great ones, the chief Counſellers for his State; the whole body of his ſo large and mighty an Empire (all in the hands of Martial Men) is governed by other great Baſſaes, whom they by a moſt proud and barbarous Name call Beglerbegs, that is to ſay, Lords of Lords, every one of them having under him certain Begs or Sanzacks, who are Lords and Rulers alſo over ſome particular Cities and Countries, with the Timariots therein; yet all ſtill at the command and beck of their Beglerbeg. In ancient time there was wont to be but two of theſe proud Beglerbegs in all the Turks Empire; the one commanding over all the Provinces the Turk had in *Europe*; and the other, over all that he had in the leſſer *Aſia*; now of the Turks called *Natolia*. But the Turkiſh Empire, greatly augmented in *Aſia* by *Selymus* the Firſt, and alſo afterwards much enlarged both in *Europe* and *Aſia* by *Solyman* his Son, the number of the Beglerbegs were by him increaſed, and in ſome ſort alſo changed; who, although that they be all Beglerbegs, and that one of them (eſpecially in the time of Peace) in the managing of his Souldiers and Affairs of his Country, is not ſubject to any other, but is onely at the command of the Great Turk; yet notwithſtanding in the time of War, where the Beglerbeg of *Romania* is, all are obedient unto him, as the chiefeſt of the reſt; inſomuch that none of them but onely he and the Baſſa of *Natolia* are called by the ſtately name of Beglerbegs, the others being then onely called the Baſſaes of ſuch and ſuch Places, as of *Buda*, *Aleppo*, and ſuch like; although indeed they are in nature Beglerbegs, and ſo written in their Records. 1623

Their great Priviledges and Royalties.

The Order of the Janizaries in our time much imbaſed.

The Turks *Aſapi* in what ſmall regard they are had.

The great Commanders of the Turks Empire.

The great Authority of the Viſier Baſſaes.

The great Authority of the Beglerbegs.

1623 cords. For the more manifeſting of which their Government, as alſo that they which come hereafter may be comparing of that which is here written with the ſtate that then ſhall be, ſee how much this great Empire in the mean time increaſeth or diminiſheth, I have thought good here briefly to ſet down all the ſaid Beglerbegs, with their Sanzacks and Timariots, and, as near as I could, (either by reading, or the credible relation of others well travelled in thoſe Countries) together, and as it were at one ſhew, ſet forth the whole Strength and Power of this ſo mighty an Empire, as alſo in what Countries and Provinces the ſame is eſpecially placed.

The Beglerbegs or Great Commanders of the Turks Empire in Europe.

1. The Beglerbeg of *Romania*, chief of the Beglerbegs of the Turks Empire in *Europe*.

The firſt and chiefeſt of all the Beglerbegs in the Turks Empire, is the Beglerbeg of *Romania*, or *Græcia*, called of the Turks *Rum-Ili* (as we ſay the *Roman* Country) the principal reſidence of whoſe Beglerbegſhip is at *Sophia*, a City of *Bulgaria*, ſo appointed for the commodious ſcituation thereof, for the better command of the reſt of the Provinces of *Europe*; howbeit that he for the moſt part, or rather altogether abideth at the Court, which the other Beglerbegs cannot do; for they are bound not to depart from the Government of their Provinces; in which charge they ordinarily continue but three years only, the great Sultan ſtill changing and altering them at his Pleaſure. This Beglerbeg hath under his own Enſign and Command forty thouſand Timariots always ready at his call, under the conduct of theſe one and twenty Sanzacks following; namely the

Sanzack of
- 1 *Sophia* in *Bulgaria*.
- 2 *Nicopolis*.
- 3 *Cliſſe*, or *Quadraginta Eccleſiæ*.
- 4 *Vyza* in *Thracia*.
- 5 *Kirmen*, 6 *Siliſtria*, 7 *Giuſtandil*, all in *Macedonia*.
- 8 *Bender*, near unto the *Euxine*.
- 9 *Acherman*, in the Confines of *Moldavia*.
- 10 *Uſcopia*.
- 11 *Priſrem*, 12 *Salonichi*, 13 *Trichala*, all in *Theſſalia*.
- 14 *Miſitra*, of old called *Sparta*, in *Morea*.
- 15 *Balæopatra*, in the ſame Province.
- 16 *Joannina*, in *Ætolia*.
- 17 *Delvina*, 18 *Elbaſſan*, both in *Achaia*.
- 19 *Avelona* or *Aulona* in *Albania*.
- 20 *Ducagin* in *Epirus*.
- 21 *Iſcodra*, or *Scodra* in *Albania*.

2. The Beglerbeg of *Buda*.

The Beglerbeg of *Buda*, who there reſideth in the Frontiers of the Turkiſh Empire, having under his charge eight thouſand Timariots, beſide 12000 other Souldiers, which in continual pay lie ſtill ready in Garriſon in the Confines of *Hungary*, *Croatia*, *Stiria*, and other Places bordering upon the *Chriſtians*, but eſpecially the Territories belonging to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. He had of late under his Enſign and Command theſe fifteen Sanzacks, *viz.* the

Sanzack of
- 1 *Novigrade*.
- 2 *Filek*.
- 3 *Zetſchen*.
- 4 *Zolnock*.
- 5 *Gran* or *Strigonium*.
- 6 *Segedin*.
- 7 *Alba Regalis*.
- 8 *Sexard*.
- 9 *Simontorna*.
- 10 *Copan*.
- 11 *Muhatz*.
- 12 *Zigeth*, or *Saſwar*.
- 13 *Petſchen* or *Quinque Eccleſiæ*.
- 14 *Sirmium*.
- 15 *Semendria*.

Of which, *Filek*, *Zetſchen*, and *Strigonium*, are in theſe late Wars won from the *Turks* by the Imperials, and ſo yet by them holden; as was alſo *Alba Regalis*, which but of late was by the *Turks* again recovered. 1623

3. The Beglerbeg of *Temeſwar*.

The Beglerbegh of *Temeſwar* in *Hungary*, who there hath his abode, having under his command ſeven thouſand Timariots, with theſe eight Sanzacks; the

Sanzack of
- 1 *Temeſwar*.
- 2 *Mudava*.
- 3 *Vilaoſwar*.
- 4 *Tſchinnad*.
- 5 *Wiſchitirni*.
- 6 *Iſwornick*.
- 7 *Vidin*.
- 8 *Lippa*.

4. The Beglerbeg of *Boſna*.

The Beglerbegh of *Boſna*, who lyeth at *Bagnialuca*, hath under him theſe Sanzacks, the

Sanzack of
- 1 *Bagnialuca*.
- 2 *Poſchega*.
- 3 *Cliſſa*.
- 4 *Hertzegovina*.
- 5 *Lika*.
- 6 *Sazeſchna*.
- 7 *Giula*.
- 8 *Briſrem*.
- 9 *Alatſchia Chiſſar*.

5. The Beglerbeg of *Coffe* or *Capha*.

The Beglerbegh of *Coffe* or *Capha*, who there reſideth in *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, and beſide the Country thereabout, commandeth over all the Sanzacks near unto the great River *Tanais*, and the Fens of *Meotis*. It was at firſt but a Sanzackſhip, ſubject to the Beglerbeg of *Græcia*; and is in truth rather a Beglerbeghs place in Name, than in Strength and Power.

The Beglerbegs or Great Commanders of the Turks Empire in Aſia.

The Beglerbegs of the *Turks* Empire in *Aſia*.

The Beglerbeg of
1. *Anatolia*, who hath his reſiance in *Cutay*, the Metropolitical City of the greater *Phrygia* (called in antient time *Catyai*) and hath under his Enſign and command thirty thouſand of the Timariot Horſemen, with twelve Sanzacks.
2. *Caramania*, who hath his abode at *Caiſaria* (in antient time called *Ceſaria*) a City of *Cilicia*, and hath under him ſeven Sanzacks, with twenty thouſand Timariots.
3. *Sivas*, who hath his abiding at *Sebaſtia*, a City of the leſſer *Armenia*, and hath under his Government ten thouſand Timariots.
4. *Tocatun*, who reſideth at *Amaſia*, the Metropolis of *Capadocia*, and hath under him five Sanzacks.
5. *Dulgadir*, ſometime part of the Kingdom of *Aladules*, and commandeth over four Sanzacks.
6. *Halep*, commonly called *Aleppo*, a City of *Syria*, and one of the moſt famous Marts of the Eaſt, who hath under his Regiment five and twenty thouſand Timariots.
7. *Sham*, otherwiſe called *Damaſco*, a moſt famous City of *Syria*, who commandeth over forty thouſand Timariots.
8. *Tarapolos*, or *Trapolos*, commonly called *Tripolis*, another famous City of *Syria*.
9. *Maras*, a City upon the great River *Euphrates*, betwixt *Aleppo* and *Meſopotamia*, who hath under his command 10000 Timariots.
10. *Diarbekir*, otherwiſe called *Meſopotamia*, who maketh his abode at the City of *Amida*, or, as the Turks call it, *Cara-hemid*, who commandeth over twelve Sanzacks, and thirty thouſand Timariots.

1623

11 *Bagdat*, or new *Babylon*, where he reſideth, not far from the Ruines of old *Babylon*, who hath under him forty thouſand Timariots.

12 *Balſara*, not far from *Bagdat*, upon the *Perſian* Gulf, who hath under his Rule or Government fifteen thouſand Timariots.

13 *Laxa*, towards *Ormus*, and near unto the *Perſian*, hath under his Regiment ten thouſand Timariots.

14 *Gemen* and *Aden*, two famous Cities in *Arabia Fœlix*, upon the Coaſt of the Red-Sea, who hath under him thirty thouſand Timariots.

15 *Chebetz*, or *Zebet*, upon the Coaſt of the *Arabian* Gulf, near unto the Kingdom of the great *Æthiopian* King *Prejanes*, commonly (but corruptly) called *Presbiter John*.

16 *Cyprus*, who lieth at *Nicoſia* or *Famagusta*, commanding over all that great Iſland, ſometime of it ſelf a Kingdom.

17 *Scheherezul* in *Aſſyria*, bordering upon the *Perſian*, who hath under his Government ten thouſand Timariots.

18 *Wan*, a City in the Confines of the greater *Armenia* toward *Media*, who hath under him twelve thouſand Timariots.

19 *Artzerum*, or *Erzerum*, in the Borders of *Armenia* towards *Capadocia*, about four days Journey from *Trapezond*, who commandeth over twenty thouſand Timariots.

The Beglerbeg of

20 *Teflis*, near unto the *Georgians*, erected by *Muſtapha Baſſa*, Generall of *Amurath* the third's Army againſt the *Perſian*, in the year 1578.

21 *Siruan*, or *Media*, erected by the ſame *Muſtapha*, and at the ſame time, commandeth over all that great Country, ſometime a famous Kingdom.

22 *Temir-Capi*, or *Derbent*, near unto the *Caſpian* Sea, taken by *Oſman Baſſa* the ſame year 1578; who, having ſlain *Schehemet Chan*, his Father-in-Law, reduced that Country into the form of a Beglerbegſhip.

23 *Cars*, a City of *Armenia* the greater, diſtant from *Artzerum* four days Journey, by *Muſtapha Baſſa* made a Beglerbegſhip in the year 1578.

24 *Tſchilder* or *Tzilder*, in the Confines of the *Georgians*, erected by the ſame General *Muſtapha*, in the ſame year 1579.

25 *Faſſa*, or *Phaſis*, in *Mengrelia*, near unto the *Georgians*, erected by *Uluzales* the Turks Admiral, the ſame year 1579.

26 *Sochum*, in the Borders of the *Georgians*, erected by the great Baſſa *Sinan*, in the year 1580.

27 *Batin*, there erected alſo by the ſame *Sinan Baſſa*.

28 *Reivan*, erected by *Ferat Baſſa*, General of the Turks Army, taken from *Tochomac Chan* the *Perſian*, in the year 1582, whereof *Cicala Baſſa* was the firſt Beglerbeg.

1623

29 *Sumachia*, in the Country of *Media*, erected by *Oſman Baſſa* in the year 1583.

The Beglerbeg of

30 *Tauris*, a moſt famous City of *Armenia* the greater, ſometime the Regal Seat of the *Perſian* Kings, but of late taken from them by *Oſman Baſſa*, and converted into a Beglerbegſhip in the ſame year 1583.

But theſe late erected Honours, namely the Beglerbegſhips of *Teflis*, *Siruan*, *Temir-Capi*, *Cars*, *Tſchilder*, *Faſſa*, and the reſt, gained by *Amurath* from the *Perſians* and the *Georgians*, although they contain a great Territory, are not of themſelves any of them worthy of thoſe proud Titles, or yet able to maintain the ſame (*Siruan*, *Reivan*, and *Tauris* only excepted) but were by the great Baſſaes, *Muſtapha*, *Sinan*, *Ferat*, and *Oſman*, *Amurath's* Lieutenants, for their own great Honour, and the encouraging of them which were to defend thoſe their new Conqueſts, erected; being indeed nothing either in Power or Strength comparable with the other more antient Beglerbegs either in *Europe* or *Aſia*. But, having thus paſſed through the great Kingdoms and Provinces by the Turks holden in *Europe* and *Aſia*, with their proud Honours therein, let us go forward toward the South, to ſee what great Kingdoms and Territories they at this preſent hold in *Africk* alſo.

The Beglerbegs or Great Commanders of the Turks Empire in Africk.

1 *Miſſir*, who ſtill making his abode at the great City of *Caire*, hath under his command all the Kingdom of *Ægypt*, with ſixteen Sanzacks, and an hundred thouſand Timariots.

The Beglerbeg of

2 *Ceſair*, in antient time called *Julia Ceſaria*, but now commonly *Algiers*, where the Beglerbeg ſtill reſiding, commandeth over all that Kingdom, wherein are forty thouſand Timariots.

3 *Tunis*, where he ſtill remaining as a Viceroy, commandeth all that great and large Kingdom.

4 *Tripolis*, the Seat of his Beglerbegſhip, by *Sinan Baſſa* taken from the Knights of *Malta* in the year 1551.

There are beſide theſe, two other Kingdoms in *Africk* inrolled in the Turks Records as their own, although they be not as yet by them brought into the form of Beglerbegſhips, namely the Kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*, but are as yet holden by them as their Tributaries and Vaſſals.

But, having thus as it were taken view of the Greatneſs and Forces of this ſo mighty a Monarchs Empire by Land, and ſo in ſome ſort bounded it out, let us conſider alſo his Power by Sea. With the great Ocean he much medleth not, more than a little in the Gulfs of *Perſia* and *Arabia*, moſt of his Territories lying upon the Mediterranean and Euxine Seas, or elſe more inwardly into the heart of *Aſia* neer to no Sea. Now for theſe Seas, no Prince in the World hath greater or better means to ſet forth his Fleets than he; for the overgrown Woods of *Epirus* and *Cilicia*, and more than they, thoſe of *Nicomedia* and *Trapezond*, are ſo great and thick, and ſo full of tall Trees fit for the building of Ships and Gallies of all ſorts,

The great Power of the Turk in the Mediterranean and Euxine Sea.

1623 as is almoſt incredible. Neither wanteth he ſtore of Shipwrights and Carpenters for the framing of that ſo great ſtore of Timber, large pay drawing even the Chriſtian skilful Carpenters and Workmen into his Arſenals at *Conſtantinople*, *Synope*, *Callipolis*, and others. For proof whereof it is worth the noting, that *Selymus* the ſecond, in our freſh remembrance, the next year after that notable overthrow by him received at the *Echinades* (commonly called the battel of *Lepanto*) rigged up a Fleet, wherewith *Uluzales* his Admiral was not afraid to face the whole Power of the confederate Chriſtian Princes at *Cerigo*. Neither hath the Turk ever wanted good ſtore of expert Seamen, after the manner of thoſe Seas; for beſide thoſe he hath in ſtore at *Callipolis* and *Sinope*, out of his Gallies, which he hath always in readineſs at *Lesbos*, *Chios*, *Rhodus*, *Cyprus*, and *Alexandria*, and from the Pyrats which he continually receiveth into the Ports of *Tunis*, *Bugia*, *Tripolis*, and *Algiers*, he can and doth from them when need is, chuſe Captains, Mariners, and Rowers ſufficient for the manning and ſtoring of his Fleet. What he is able to do in thoſe Seas was well ſeen in our time, by thoſe Fleets which he had at *Malta*, *Cyprus*, the *Echinades*, and *Guletta*. He hath beſide of all neceſſary and warlike Proviſion abundant ſtore, and of great Ordnance to furniſh himſelf withal both by Sea and Land an infinite quantity. Out of *Hungary* he hath carried away above 5000 great pieces, out of *Cyprus* 500, and few leſs from *Guletta*, not to ſpeak what he hath more got from the Chriſtians in divers other places alſo. What ſtore he hath of Shot and Powder he ſhewed at *Malta*, where he diſcharged above 60000 great ſhot; at *Famagusta*, where he beſtowed 118000; and at *Guletta*, where, in the ſpace of nine and thirty days, he by the fury of his great Ordnance overthrew the Fortifications which the Chriſtians had been forty years in building. So that, to return again to our purpoſe, the Great Turk ſo well provided of Men, Money, Shipping, and great Ordnance, and having done ſo great Matters at Sea, as is before reherſed, is not in reaſon otherwiſe to be accounted of, than as of a moſt mighty and puiſſant Prince as well by Sea as Land; which to be ſo, the Greatneſs of his Denizi Beglerbeg, or great Admiral (commonly called *Capitan Baſſa*, of whom we have not yet ſpoken) well declareth. This great Man having charge of all the Grand Seigniors Strength at Sea, is alway one of the Viſier Baſſaes, not bound ſtill to follow the Court, as the other Viſiers be, but always, or for the moſt part reſiant at *Conſtantinople* or *Callipolis*, ſo to be the nearer unto his charge. He that now hath this honourable Place, is called of the Turks *Cigala Baſſa*, deſcended of an honourable Family of that Name in *Genoa*; who commonly reſiding at *Conſtantinople* or *Callipolis*, hath under him fourteen Sanzacks, all of them great Cõmanders, and Men of great Place; namely the

From whence he hath his chief Seamen.

6. The Denizi Beglerbeg, the Turks great Admiral, to be accounted ſixth of the Beglerbegs.

Sanzack of
1 *Gallipolis*, or *Callipolis*.
2 *Galata*, or *Pera*.
3 *Nicomedia*.
4 *Limnos*, or *Lemnus*.
5 *Mitylene*, or *Lesbos*.
6 *Chios*, or *Scio*.
7 *Nexia*, or *Naxus*.
8 *Negropont*, or *Eubœa*.
9 *Rhodus*.
10 *Cavala* in the Frontiers of *Macedonia*.
11 *Napoli di Romania*.
12 *Lepanto*, or *Naupactus*.
13 *S. Maura*.
14 *Alexandria*.

The Greatneſs, Wealth, and Strength of this ſo mighty an Empire, as well by Sea as Land, thus in ſome ſort declared, let us now ſee upon what Princes it alſo confineth, and of what Power every one of them is in compariſon of that ſo great and overgrown a State. The Turks toward the Eaſt border upon the *Perſians*, according to a right line drawn by Imagination from *Tauris* to *Baſſara*; upon the *Portugals* at the *Perſian* Gulf, and ſo there likewiſe toward the South; at the Red-Sea, upon the great *Æthyopian* King *Prejanes*, commonly called *Preſter John*; towards the South, in *Affrick* upon the Kingdom of *Morocco*; and in *Europe*, upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, with ſome part of the *Venetian* Seigniory; toward the North upon the *Polonians*, and the Territories of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Now to begin with the *Perſian*; the great Turk no doubt is in Field too ſtrong for him, as by proof hath been oftentimes ſeen; for *Mahomet* the Great in plain Battel overcame the valiant *Uſun Caſſanes*; *Selymus* the firſt, and after *Solyman* his Son put to flight the noble *Hyſmael* and *Tamas*, the two great and famous *Perſian* Kings; and now of late in our time, *Amurath* the Third by his Lieutenants hath taken from the *Perſians* all *Media*, with the greater *Armenia*, both ſometimes famous Kingdoms, together with the Regal City of *Tauris*. That the Turk ſo prevaileth, is by reaſon of his Foot-men, which the *Perſian* wanteth; and of his great Ordnance, whereof the *Perſian* hath neither ſtore nor uſe; and although the *Perſians* by Valour of their Horſemen have ſometime in open Field foiled the Turk, yet have they ſtill loſt ſome part of their Country; *Solyman* taking from them *Meſopotamia*, and *Amurath*, *Media* and *Armenia*. Neither did the *Perſians* alone feel that harm, and loſe their own, but undid their Confederates alſo; *Selymus* the Firſt ſpoiling the *Mamalukes* of *Egypt* and *Syria*, and utterly rooting them from off the face of the Earth; and *Amurath*, by his Lieutenants having brought to a low ebb the Warlike *Georgians*, both of them the *Perſian* Kings Friends and Confederates. Now is not the Turk ſo much too ſtrong at Land for the *Perſian*, but that he is as much too weak at Sea for the *Portugals*; in thoſe Seas I mean where their Forces have more than once to the Turks coſt met together in the *Eaſt-Indies*; the *Portugals* having in thoſe rich but remote Countries many ſure Harbours and Ports, yea, fair Countries and Territories abounding with Victuals and all Proviſion neceſſary for Shipping, with ſome alſo of thoſe great Eaſtern Princes their Allies and Confederates; whereas the Turk on the other ſide hath nothing in the *Perſian* Gulf ſtrong, beſide *Balſara*; the Sea Coaſt of *Arabia*, which might ſtand him in beſt ſtead, having no more but four Towns, and thoſe but weak and of ſmall worth. So that there, as alſo in the Red Sea, it is a matter of exceeding charge and difficulty for him to ſet out any great Fleet into thoſe Seas, for that thoſe Countries are utterly deſtitute of Wood fit to make Ships. For which cauſe, thoſe few times that he prepared his Fleets into the Red Sea (to have cut off the *Portugals* trade into the *Eaſt-Indies*) being not able to perform the ſame in the *Perſian* Gulf, he was inforced to bring the Timber for the building of his Gallies out of the Ports of *Bithinia* and *Cilicia* (out of another World as it were) up the *Nile* into *Caire*, and from thence upon Camels by Land to *Sues*, where he hath his Arſenal, a thing almoſt incredible. And yet having done what he could, as oft as he hath made Expedition againſt them, he never gained any thing but loſs and Diſhonour; as in the year 1538 at the City of *Dium*; and in the year 1552, at the Iſland of *Armuz*; and after that at *Mombaza*, where four of the Turks Gallies, with one Galliot, which by the favour of the King of *Mombaza* had thought to have ſtaid in thoſe Seas, were

1623 The Princes, as well *Mahometans* as *Chriſtians*, upon whom the great Empire of the Turk confineth, and of what Power they be in compariſon of the Turk.

The *Perſian* too weak for the Great Turk.

The *Portugals* too ſtrong for the Turk in the *Eaſt-Indies*.

by

1623. by the *Portugals* taken; who ſtill have a ſpecial regard and care that the Turks ſettle not themſelves in thoſe Seas; but as ſoon as they perceive them to prepare any Fleet, they forthwith ſet upon them, and to that end oftentimes without reſiſtance enter into the *Red-Seas*. *Preſter John*, of whom although men ſpeak much, yet is he nothing in ſtrength to be compared unto the Turk, but far inferiour unto him both for Commanders and Souldiers, as alſo for Weapons and Munition; for that great Prince hath a great Kingdom without Fortification, and a multitude of Souldiers without Arms; as appeared by the overthrow of *Barnagaſſo* his Lieutenant towards the *Red-Sea*; who, having loſt all that Sea coaſt unto the Turks, was brought to that extremity, that to have Peace with them, he yieldeth to pay unto them a yearly Tribute of a thouſand ounces of Gold. In *Affrick* the Turk hath more Territories than hath the King of *Morocco*, otherwiſe called the *Xerife*; for he poſſeſſeth all that there lyeth betwixt the *Red-Sea* and the Kingdom of *Fez*; but the *Xerife* hath the better part, the richer, ſtronger, and more united; yet dare neither of them well make War upon the other, for the nearneſs of the King of *Spain*, Enemy unto them both. Now then there remaineth the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes bordering upon the Turk; and firſt the King of *Polonia*. What theſe two Princes can do the one againſt the other, hath been ſeen in ſome former Expeditions, wherein the *Polonian* had ſtill the worſe; yet it ſhould ſeem, that of later time the Turk hath not been greatly deſirous to move the *Polonian* too far, for that being provoked by divers occaſions, (namely in the Reign of *Henry* the Third, in the Wars that *John* the Vayvod of *Valachia* had with the Turks, many *Polonian* Horſe-men ſerved the ſaid Vayvod, though not indeed ſent from the King; and in the time of *Sigiſmund*, the *Polonian Coſſacks* have with divers Incurſions not a little troubled them; beſide the late motions of *John Somoſchie*, the great Chancellor and General of the *Polonian* Forces, for the ſtaying of the *Tartars* by the *Turks* ſent for, he hath been content to comport the ſame, and not with his wonted pride ſought to be revenged thereof, as he hath for far leſs upon ſome other Princes. And on the other ſide, the *Polonians*, ſince the unfortunate Expedition of King *Ladiſlaus*, never took upon them any Wars againſt the Turks, neither gave ſuch Aid as they ſhould unto the *Valachians* their Confederates, but ſuffered to be taken from themſelves whatſoever they had toward the *Euxine* or *Black-Sea*; a thing imputed rather unto the want of Courage in their Kings, than in the Nobility of that Kingdom. *Sigiſmund* the Firſt, being by Pope *Leo* the Tenth, invited to the Wars againſt the Turks, anſwered them in theſe few words: Set you the Chriſtian Princes at unity amongſt themſelves, and I for my part will not be wanting. *Sigiſmund* the Second ſo abhorred the Wars, that he not onely declined the Turks, but, provoked by the *Muſcovites*, never ſought to revenge the ſame. King *Stephen*, (by the commendation of *Amurath* choſen King of *Polonia*) an indifferent eſteemer both of his Enemies Forces and his own, thought it a moſt dangerous thing to joyn Battel with the Turk, and yet in private talk with his Friend, would oftentimes ſay, That with thirty thouſand Foot joyned unto his *Polonian* Horſe-men, he durſt well to undertake an Expedition againſt the Turk; which he was ſuppoſed oftentimes to have thought upon. The Emperour, with the reſt of the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, are by a longer tract of ground joyned unto this great Empire of the Turks, than any one other Prince of the World, and beſtow in Fortifications and the maintenance of their Garriſons, (wherein they have continually above twenty thouſand Horſe and Foot) the greateſt part of their Revenues, even in the time of Peace, much more in theſe their long Wars; and with the *German* Forces joyned unto their own, are more careful how to defend that they have yet left, than how to recover that they have already loſt, or to inlarge their Empire. The Emperour *Ferdinand*, with greater force than ſucceſs, undertook the unfortunate Expeditions of *Bada* and *Poſſega*; which ſo evil fell out, not for that his Forces were not ſufficient or ſtrong enough, but for that they wanted Agility and Dexterity. The truth is, thoſe his Armies were ſtrong enough, and ſufficiently furniſhed with all things neceſſary, but conſiſted for the moſt part of *Germans* and *Bohemians*, ſlow and heavy People, unfit to encounter with the Turks, a more ready and nimble kind of Souldiers. The *Venetians* alſo confrontier the *Turks* by many hundred miles, both by Sea and Land, and defend themſelves rather by peaceable Policy than force of Arms; notably fortifying their Strong-holds upon their Frontiers, declining by all means the Dangers and Charges of War, by Ambaſſages and rich Preſents, leaving nothing unattempted, (their Liberty and State preſerved) rather than to fall to Wars. To ſay the truth of them, although they had both Coin and Warlike proviſion ſufficient, yet want they Men and Victuals anſwerable to ſo great a War againſt ſo puiſſant an Enemy. There remaineth onely the King of *Spain*, of all other the great Princes either Chriſtians or Mahometans bordering upon him, the beſt able to deal with him; his yearly Revehues ſo far exceeding thoſe of the Turks, as that they are alſo probably thought to countervail the greateſt part of his Timariots; and his great Dominions in *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Naples*, *Sicilia*, *Millain*, *Sardinia*, and the Low-Countries, (if they were with him at unity) able to afford unto him ſo great and powerful a Strength both by Sea and Land, as might make him dreadful even unto the Great Turk when he ſwelleth in his greateſt Pride; but conſidering how his Forces are diſtracted for the maintenance of his Wars at once in divers places; as alſo for the neceſſary defence and keeping of his ſo large and diſperſed Territories, not all the beſt of themſelves affected to the *Spaniſh* Government, he is not to be thought of himſelf ſtrong enough againſt the united Forces of the Great Turk, whenſoever they ſhall chance to be imployed upon him. So that by this we have already ſaid, is eaſie to be gathered, how much the Turk is too ſtrong for any one of the neighbour Princes, either Mahometans or Chriſtians, bordering upon him, and therefore to be of them the more feared. Yet, leſt ſome miſtaking me, might think, What, is then the Turk invincible? Far be that thought from me, to think any Enemy of Chriſt Jeſu (be his Arm never ſo ſtrong) to be able to withſtand his power, either quite to devour his little Flock, rage he never ſo much about it. As for the Turk, the moſt dangerous and profeſſed Enemy of the Chriſtian Common-weal, be his ſtrength ſo great, yea, and haply greater too than is before declared, (the greatneſs of his Dominion and Empire conſidered) yet is he not to be thought therefore either Invincible, or his Power ſo great, as it in ſhew ſeemeth for to be; his Timariot Horſe-men (his greateſt ſtrength) diſperſed over his whole Empire, being never poſſibly the one half of them by him to be gathered into the body of one Army; neither if they were ſo, poſſible in ſuch a multitude long to be kept together, living upon

1623.

Preſter John too weak for the Turks.

The King of *Morocco* and the Turk both in doubt of the King of *Spain*.

The King of *Polonia* unwilling to meddle with the Turk, or the Turk with him.

The Emperour, with the reſt of the Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, together with the Aid of the *Germans*, have much ado to defend themſelves againſt the Turk.

The *Venetians* by Policy rather than by force, maintain their State againſt the Turk.

The King of *Spain*, of all other Princes that border upon the Turk, beſt able to wage War with him.

Why the Turk is not to be thought invincible, neither his Power ſo ſtrong, as in ſhew it ſeemeth to be.

1623 no pay of his, but upon ſuch Store and Proviſion onely as they bring with them from their *Timari*, never ſufficient to maintain them long. Beſides that, the policy of his State hardly or never ſuffereth him to draw above a third part of his Timariots out of his Countries where they dwell, for fear leſt the reſt of the People, by them ſtill kept under, ſhould in their abſence take up Arms againſt him in defence of themſelves and their ancient Liberty; whereafter, the greateſt part of thoſe poor oppreſſed Souls, as well Mahometans as Chriſtians in every Province of his Empire, awaiting but the opportunity, moſt deſirouſly longeth. So that more than two parts of them being always to be left at home for neceſſary defence of the ſpacious borders of his ſo large an Empire, as alſo for the keeping in Obedience of ſo many diſcontented Nations; it is a great matter, if he, even in his greateſt Wars, draw together of theſe kind of Souldiers the full number of an hundred and fifty thouſand ſtrong, making up the reſt of his huge Multitude with his Acanzii, living of no pay of his, but upon the ſpoil of the Enemy onely, the fifth part whereof they pay unto him alſo. All which put together, what manner of men they be, and of what Valour, not onely the ſmall Armies of the Chriſtians, under the leading of their worthy Chieftains, *Huniades*, *Scanderbeg*, King *Matthias*, and others, have to their immortal Glory in former times made good proof; but even in this our Age, and that as it were but the other day, the *Tranſilvanian* Prince, with divers other Captains and Commanders yet living, have done the like alſo, as well witneſſeth the late Battel of *Agria*, wherein the Chriſtians, in number not half ſo many as the Turks, by plain Valour drave the Great Sultan *Mahomet* himſelf (with *Ibrahim* Baſſa his Lieutenant General) out of the Field, and had of him had the moſt notable Victory that ever was got againſt that Enemy, had they not by too much careleſneſs, and untimely deſire of ſpoil, themſelves ſhamefully interrupted the ſame. But thus to let his Horſe-men paſs; the chief ſtrength of his Foot-men are his Janizaries, never in number exceeding twelve or fourteen thouſand, yet ſeldom times half ſo many even in his greateſt Armies, except he himſelf be there in Perſon preſent in the midſt of them; who, beſide the ſmall number of them, in the time of theſe their late voluptuous and effeminate Emperour, corrupted with the Pleaſures of *Conſtantinople*, and for want of their wonted Diſcipline, have, together with their ancient Obedience and Patience, loſt alſo a great part of their former Reputation and Valour; all the reſt of his Foot-men filling up the Body of his populous Army, being his Aſapi, rather Pioneers than Souldiers, men of ſmall Worth, and ſo accounted of both by the Turks and their Enemies alſo. So that all things well conſidered, his beſt Souldiers being the leaſt part of his greateſt Armies, and they alſo far unlike their Predeceſſors, the ſtern followers of the former *Ottoman* Kings and Emperours, but Men now given to Pleaſure and Delight, it is not otherwiſe to be thought, but that he bringeth into the Field far more Men than good Souldiers, more bravery than true Valour, more ſhew than Worth, his Multitude being his chiefeſt ſtrength, his ſuppoſed greatneſs the Terrour of his Neighbour Princes, and both together the very Majeſty of his Empire. Which, although it be indeed very ſtrong, for the reaſons before alledged, yet is it by many probably thought to be now upon the declining hand, their late Emperours in their own Perſons far degenerating from their Warlike Progenitors, their Souldiers generally giving themſelves to unwonted Pleaſures, their antient Diſcipline of War neglected, their Superſtition not with ſo much zeal as of old regarded, and Rebellions in divers parts of his Empire of late ſtrangely raiſed, and mightily ſupported; all the ſigns of a declining State. Which, were they not at all to be ſeen; as indeed they be very pregnant; yet the Greatneſs of this Empire being ſuch, as that it laboureth with nothing more than the weightineſs of it ſelf, it muſt needs (after the manner of worldly things) of it ſelf fall, and again come to nought, no man knowing when or how ſo great a Work ſhould be brought to paſs, but he in whoſe deep Counſels all theſe great Revolutions of Empires and Kingdoms are from Eternity ſhut up; who at his Pleaſure ſhall in due time, by ſuch means as he ſeeth beſt, accompliſh the ſame, to the unſpeakable comfort of his poor afflicted flock, in one place or other, ſtill in danger to be by this roaring Lyon devoured. Which work of ſo great wonder, He for his Son our Saviour Chriſt's ſake, the glory of his Name, and comfort of many thouſand oppreſſed Chriſtians, fed with the Bread of carefulneſs amidſt the Furnace of Tribulation, in mercy haſten, that we with them, and they with us, all as Members of one Body, may continually ſing, *Unto him be all Honour and Praiſe, World without end.*

1623

The ſigns of the declining of the Turks Empire.

A

TABLE

TO THE

Turkiſh Hiſtory,

Written by Mr. *RICHARD KNOLLES*; wherein note that [*a.*] ſignifies the firſt Column of each Page, and [*b.*] the ſecond.

A

AARON *Vayvod of* Moldavia *ſuſpected by the* Tranſilvanian *Prince to have Intelligence with the* Turk, *with his Wife and Son ſent Priſoners unto* Prague, 745, a.

Abas Mirize *by the practice of* Mirize Salmas *brought into ſuſpicion with* Mahomet *his Father the* Perſian *King*, 669, a. *by his Ambaſſadors purgeth himſelf of the ſuppoſed Treaſon*, 680, a.

Abdilcherai *with his* Tartars *cometh into* Siruan, 664, a. *taketh* Ares Chan, ib. b. *ſpoileth* Genge, *is himſelf overthrown and taken Priſoner by the* Perſian *Prince*, 665, a. *beloved of the* Perſian *Queen*, ib. b, *ſlain in the Court*, ib. b.

Abedin *Baſſa with a great Army ſent by* Amurath *to revenge the death of* Meſites, *ſpoyleth* Valachia, *and ſo entreth into* Tranſilvania, 184, a. *encourageth the Turks*, 185, b. *in a great and mortal battel overthrown by* Huniades *at* Vaſcape 187, a.

Abraham, *otherwiſe called* Pyramet, *laſt King of* Caramania, *ſlain by* Bajazet, 304, a.

Abraham *Baſſa his deſcription*, 435, a. *his bringing up in Court*, ib. b. *his great credit with* Solyman, *i. he perſwaded him to make war upon the* Perſians, ib. b. *maligned by* Solymans *Mother and* Roxolana, 436, b. *ſent before by* Solyman *with an Army into* Syria, ib. b. *hath the City of* Tauris *yielded unto him*, 437, a. *in diſgrace with* Solyman, 440, a. *ſhamefully murthered in the Court by the commandment of* Solyman, ib.

Abydus *ſurpriſed by the* Turks, 127, b.

Acanzii, *what they be*, 283, a.

Achmetes *Baſſa Governour of* Cyprus *ſlain by the Janizaries*, 690, a.

Achmetes *the great Baſſa his notable ſpeech to* Mahomet, *to diſſuade him from any more aſſaulting of* Scodra, 289, a, b. *landeth with his Army in* Apulia, 295, a. *by* Bajazet *made General of his Army againſt his Brother* Zemes, 298, a. *his death contrived by* Iſaac *Baſſa*, 301, b. *in danger to have been put to death, delivered by the Janizaries*, ib. b. 302, a. *ſuddenly ſlain*, ib. b.

Achmetes *Baſſa with his Army overthrown by the* Mamaluks, *taken and ſent Priſoner unto* Caytbeius *at* Caire, 305, a.

Achomates *politick and valiant, but too much given to Pleaſure*, 326, a. *diſcontented*, 332, a. *threatneth the Cadeleſcher ſent unto him by his Father*, 332, a. *entreth with his ſons into Rebellion*, ib. b. 333, b. *ſecretly favoured by divers great men in* Selymus *his Army*, 341, b. *overthrown in battel, taken, and by the commandment of his Brother* Selymus *ſtrangled*, 542, b.

Achomates *the great Baſſa appeaſeth the Souldiers, up in Arms for the unworthy death of* Muſtapha, 516, a. *his miſerable end*, 517, a.

Achmat *the great Sultan crowned*, 837, b. *his diſpoſition*, 839, a. *ſick of the ſmall pox*, 845, a. *contemneth good counſel*, ib. b. *his firſt ſon born*, 857, b. *ſeeketh in vain to make peace with the* Perſian, 881, a. *makes* Gambolat *General of his Army into* Aſia, *and ſuddenly commandeth him to be ſlain*, 897, a. *his extreme ſeverity*, 905, b. *beats his Sultana*, 907, b. *in danger to be ſlain by a* Deruice, 908 a. *cometh in ſtate to* Conſtantinople, 912, a. *admoniſheth the* Tranſilvanians *to obey* Gabor, 920, b. *commands all the Chriſtians to be ſlain*, 933, b. *entertains four Armies*, 942, b. *his death and diſpoſition*, 943, b.

Adom *Caſtle abandoned by the* Haiducks, 820, b.

Agria *in vain beſieged by the* Turks, 511, b, *yielded unto* Mahomet *the Third*, 767, a.

Aladin *the ſon of* Kei-Huſreu *of the* Selzuccian *Family driven out of* Perſia, *ſeiſeth upon* Cilicia, 54, a.

Aladin *his Modeſty about the diviſion of his Father* Othomans *Inheritance and Goods, with his Brother* Orchanes, 125, a.

Aladin *the* Caramanian *King hanged*, 144, a.

Aladin, Amurath's *eldeſt Son, ſlain with a fall from his Horſe*, 197, a.

Alba-Regalis *yielded to King* Ferdinand, 472, b. *beſieged by* Solyman, 500, a, b. *the lake and ditches with incredible labor filled up by the Turks*, ib. b. *the ſuburbs won*, ib. b. *the miſerable ſlaughter of the Chriſtians in their flight*, 501, a. *yielded unto* Solyman, 501, b. *beſieged by Duke* Mercurie, 793, a. *the ſuburbs of the City ſurpriſed by Lord* Ruſſworm, ib. b. *the City taken by the Chriſtians*, ib. b. *beſieged by the Turks*, 799, b. *terribly aſſaulted*, 800, a. *won by the Turks*, ib. b.

Alba-Regalis, *the ſuburbs by the Chriſtians ſacked and burnt*, 820, a.

Aladeules *his Kingdom*, 353, a. *the battel betwixt him and* Selymus, ib. b. *he flyeth into the Mountains*, ib. b. *taken by* Sinan *Baſſa, and brought to* Selymus, *is put to death*, 354, a. *his head ſent to* Venice *for a preſent, and his Kingdom brought into the form of a Province*, ib. a.

Albuchomar *diſcovereth unto* Selymus *the power of* Tomombeius, *and the treaſon intended by them of* Caire, 372, a.

Aleppo *in* Syria *betrayed and taken from the Chriſtians by* Saladin, *Sultan of* Damaſco, 43, a. *by the* Tartars *taken from the* Turks, *and by them ſacked and raſed*, 79, b. *by* Cayerbeius *the Traitor delivered to* Selymus, 363, a.

Aleſſandro *the* Georgian *ſubmitteth himſelf unto* Muſtapha, 660, b.

Alexius, *the great Preſident of* Conſtantinople *committed to Priſon*, 32, b. *his Eyes put out by the commandment of* Andronicus, ib. b.

Alexius Comnenus, *otherwiſe called* Porphyrogenitus, *ſucceedeth his Father* Emanuel *in the Empire*, 30, b. *by the practice of* Andronicus *is deprived of his Empire, and ſtrangled*, 385, b.

Alexius *the young Prince craveth Aid of* Philip *the Emperour, and the Latine Princes againſt his Uncle the Uſurper*; 54, a. *cometh to the Army of the Chriſtian Princes going towards the* Holy Land, 55, a. *arriveth with a great fleet of the* Latins *before* Conſtantinople, ib. b. *taketh land, and after a hot skirmiſh forceth the old Tyrant* Alexius *to flie out of the City*, ib. b. *ſeeketh to bring the* Latins *again into the City*, 56, b, *is betrayed and ſtrangled by* Murzuſle, 57, a.

Alexius Philanthropenus *by* Andronicus *the Emperour made Governour of the frontiers of his Empire in* Aſia *againſt the Turks*, 103, a, *aſpireth*, ib. b. *betrayed, hath his Eyes put out*, ib. b.

Alexius Stratego pulus *with a ſmall power ſent into* Græcia *by the Emperour* Michael Palæologus, *by the treaſon of two* Greeks *taketh the City of* Conſtantinople *from the* Latins, 80, b. 81, a.

Alexander *proclaimed Prince of* Moldavia, 930, a. *ſendeth Ambaſſadors to Sultan* Achmat, ib. a. *another to Prince* Michna, 931, a, *a third to* Bethlem Gabor, ib. b. 800 *of his Souldiers ſlain by their hoſts for their Inſolency*, 932, b. *he receiveth new Aids, ſome whereof are defeated*, 932, b. 933, a. *treacherouſly forſaken by his General*, 936, b, *he and his confederates invironed by the Turks Army*, 937, b. *taken Priſoner and carried to* Conſtantinople, 938, b.

Algiers *deſcribed*, 486, a. *in vain beſieged by* Charles *the Emperour*, ib. a.

Aliculi Chan *taken*, 668, a. *in hope of liberty conducted* Haſſan Baſſa *through the ſtraight paſſages of* Georgia, ib. b. *caſt in priſon at* Erzirum, ib. b. *eſcapeth from* Ferat, 685, b. *by the Perſian King (to the great diſcontentment of the* Turcomans) *made Governour of* Tauris, 686, a. *killeth the Baſſa of* Maras, *and doth the Turks great harm, and ſo flieth from* Tauris, 698, b. *conſpireth with* Abas Mirize *againſt the* Perſian *Prince*, 704, a. *being by the Prince ſent againſt the Turks, performeth nothing*; 705, a.

Alis Baſſa *with a great Army overthrown by* Scanderbeg, 196, b.

Alis Baſſa *ſent by* Bajazet *with an Army out of* Europe *againſt* Techellis, *ſlain*, 323, a.

Alis Beg *and his four Sons treacherouſly ſlain by* Ferat Baſſa, 404, b.

Alis Baſſa *of* Buda *by the commandment of* Amurath *ſtrangled*, 706, b.

Alis Beg, *Governour of* Strigonium *coming down into the lower Town, is there ſtayed by the* Janizaries, 748, a. *his reſolute anſwer unto the Meſſage ſent him from the Lord* Palfi, 750, a. *ſlain with a great ſhot*, 757, a.

Almericus *Earl of* Joppa *after the death of his Brother* Baldwin *choſen the ſixth King of* Jeruſalem, 39, a. *with a puiſſant Army entereth* Egypt, *and in plain battel overthroweth* Dargan *the Sultan*, ib. a, *aideth* Sanar *the Sultan againſt* Saracon, Noradins *General, whom he overthroweth in* Egypt, ib. b. *taketh* Alexandria, 40, a. *winneth* Peluſium, ib. a. *dieth*, 41, a. b.

Aloyſius Grittus *the Duke of* Venice's *Son ſent by* Solyman *as his Lieutenant into* Hungary, *to overſee King* John, 426, a. *contemned by* Amerius, *cauſeth him to be murthered*, 427, b. *beſieged by the* Tranſilvanians, 428, a. *taken and beheaded*, ib. b. *the great Riches found about him*, ib. b.

Alphonſus *King of* Naples *ſendeth aid unto* Scanderbeg, 242, a. *with* Alexander *Biſhop of* Rome *craveth aid of* Bajazet *the Turk againſt* Charles *the French King*, 307, a.

Alphonſus *reſigneth his Kingdom of* Naples *unto his Son* Ferdinand, 309, a.

Alphonſus Daualus Vaſtius, *Lieutenant-General of the Emperour's Land-forces in his Expedition for* Tunes, 441, a. *his Speech unto the Spaniſh Captains*, 443, b. *commandeth the Emperour*, 448, a. *with* Hannbaldus *ſent Ambaſſadors from the Emperour and the French King, to the State of* Venice, *for a confederation betwixt that State and them to be made againſt* Solyman, 468, a. *his Oration in the* Venetian *Senate, the Anſwer of the Duke, the Senators diverſly affected towards the Confederation*, 466, b.

Alteration of Religion in the Greek Church the cauſe of great troubles, 100, b.

Althems *Regiment in mutiny*, 841, a.

Altenſol *yielded to the* Hungarian *Rebels*, 873, a.

Ameſa *with his Turks overthrown, and taken priſoner by* Scanderbeg, 249, a.

Ameſa *employed by his Uncle* Scanderbeg *for the recovery of* Croia *out of the hands of the Turks*, 183, b, *corrupted, flyeth to* Mahomet *the Turk*, 255, b, *his firſt ſpeech to* Mahomet, 256, a. *honourably entertained*, ib. b. *by* Iſaack Baſſa *created King of* Epirus, 258, b. *taken priſoner by* Scanderbeg, 260, a. *ſent priſoner into* Italy, 260, a. *enlarged, returneth to* Conſtantinople, *and there dyeth*, ib. a. b.

Amurath *the Firſt ſucceedeth his Father* Orchanes *in the Turkiſh Kingdom*, 131, a. *invadeth* Europe, ib. a. *taketh* Hadrianople, ib. a. *maketh his royal ſeat in* Europe, 132, b. *beginneth the order of the Janizaries*, 132, b. 133, a. *returneth into* Aſia, 133, a. *marrieth his Son* Bajazet *unto* Hatune *the daughter of the Prince* Gyrmean, *with a great dowry*, 134, a. *purchaſeth the Principality of* Amiſum *of* Chuſen Beg, ib. a. *invadeth* Servia, *and taketh* Niſſa *the Metropolitan City thereof*, ib. a. *impoſeth a yearly tribute upon the Country of* Servia, ib. a. *in a great battel overthroweth* Aladin *the King of* Caramania's *Son in Law, with the other Mahometan Princes his Confederates*, 135, b. *by his Captains winneth and ſpoileth a great part of* Bulgaria, 137, b, *in a great and mortal battel overthroweth* Lazarus *the Deſpot of* Servia *with his Confederates in the Plains of* Coſſova, 139, a. *ſlain*, ib. a. *buried at* Pruſa, 139, b.

Amurath *the Second placed in his Fathers ſeat*, 173, a. *afraid to go againſt the Rebel* Muſtapha, ib. b. *in vain beſieged* Conſtantinople, 175, a. *ſtrangleth his Brother* Muſtapha, ib. b. *winneth* Theſſalonica, 176, b. *taketh unto himſelf the greateſt part of* Ætolia, 176, b. *enforceth the Princes of* Athens, Phocis, *and* Beotia *to become his Tributaries*, ib. b. *falſifieth his faith with* John Caſtriot *Prince of* Epirus, *and poyſoneth his three eldeſt Sons his Hoſtages*; 177, a. *oppreſſeth the Mahometan Princes in* Aſia, ib. a, b. *ſpoyleth* Hungary, ib. b. *contrary to his faith invadeth* Servia, *and ſubdueth it*, 178, a. *putteth out the Eyes of the Deſpot's Sons, his Wives, Brethren*, ib. a, 5 *beſiegeth* Belgrade, 179, a. *dealeth ſubtilly with the Ambaſſadors of King* Uladiſlaus, 179, *notably encourageth his Souldiers to the aſſault of* Belgrade, ib. b. *ſhamefully repulſed*, 181, a. *his ſullen anſwer unto the Ambaſſadors of King* Uladiſlaus, ib. a. *ſendeth* Meſites Baſſa *to invade* Tranſilvania, 182, a. *grieved with the loſs of* Meſites *and his Army, ſendeth* Abedin Baſſa *to revenge his death*, 184, a. *in deſpair, about to have ſlain himſelf*, 197, a. *by the mediation of the Deſpot of* Servia *obtaineth Peace of King* Uladiſlaus *for ten years*, ib. a. *invadeth* Caramania, ib. a. *weary of the World, committeth the Government of his Kingdom to his Son* Mahomet, *and retireth himſelf unto a Monaſtical Life*, ib. b. *At the report of thoſe preparations of the* Hungarians, *and requeſt of his Baſſaes, forſaketh his ſolitary Life, and raiſeth a great Army in* Aſia, 202, a. *by the* Genowayes *tranſported with*

with his Army into Europe, ib. a. *joyneth battel with King* Uladiſlaus *at* Varna, ib. b. *about to have fled, reproved of Cowardiſe by a common Souldier*, ib. b. *prayeth unto Chriſt*, 203, a. *in danger to have been ſlain*, ib. a. *wiſheth not many times ſo to overcome as he did at the battel of* Varna, ib. b. *to perform his Vow, reſigneth his Kingdom to his Son* Mahomet, *which he ſhortly after reſumeth again*, 204, a. *his crafty Letters to* Scanderbeg, 205, b. *his paſſionate ſpeech in his rage againſt* Scanderbeg, 206, a. *breaketh through the* Hexamylum, *and impoſeth a yearly tribute upon them of* Peloponeſus, 507, b. *after three days hard fight with great ſlaughter of his Men overcometh* Huniades *in the Plains of* Caſſoua, 211, a. *invadeth the Deſpot*, 212, a. *his grave Letters of advice to* Muſtapha, *concerning his invading of* Epirus, 312, b. *cometh with a great Army to* Sfetigrade, 216, a. *in vain with great fury giveth many a deſperate aſſault unto the City*, 218, a. *in one aſſault loſeth ſeven thouſand of his Turks*, 218, b. *by great promiſes ſeeketh to corrupt the Garriſon of* Sfetigrade, 219, a. *by the practice of one man hath the City of* Sfetigrade *yielded unto him*, ib. b. *having loſt thirty thouſand of his Turks at the Siege of* Sfetigrade, *returneth to* Hadrianople, 220, a. *with a great Army cometh again into* Epirus, *and beſiegeth* Croia, 221, a. *in two aſſaults loſeth* 8000 *of his Souldiers*, 223, a. *content to buy the Life of one Chriſtian with the loſs of twenty of his Turks*, ib. b. *ſeeketh by great gifts to corrupt* Uranacontes *the Governour of* Croia, 224, a, b. *overcome with Melancholy, tormenteth himſelf*, 225, b. *by his Ambaſſadors offereth* Scanderbeg *Peace*, ib. b. *his laſt ſpeech unto his Son* Mahomet *concerning ſuch things as at his death grieved him moſt*, 226, *dieth*, ib. b, *buried at* Pruſa, 227, a.

Amurath *the Son of* Achomates *flieth unto* Hyſmael *the* Perſian *King*, 343, a. *marrieth his daughter*, ib. a. *ſpoileth* Capadocia, *and for fear of his Uncle* Selymus *retireth*, ib. b.

Amurath *the Third taketh upon him the* Turkiſh *Empire*, 651, a. *pacifieth the Janizaries and augmenteth their priviledges*, ib. a. *ſtrangleth his five brethren*, ib. a *his Letters unto the Nobility of* Polonia *in the behalf of* Stephen Bathor *Vayvod of* Tranſylvania, ib. b. *attentive to the ſtirs in* Perſia, 654, a. *informed thereof by* Uſtref *Baſſa of* Van, ib. b. *reſolved to take the* Perſian *War in hand*, 655, a. *by* Muſtapha *advertiſed of the ſucceſs of the* Perſian *Wars*, 663, b. *conſulteth of his proceeding therein*, 666, a. *diſcharged* Muſtapha *of his Generalſhip, and calleth him home to* Conſtantinople, 669, b. *appointeth* Sinan *General for the* Perſian *Wars*, 671, a. *in deſpight of* Sinan *appointeth* Mahamet Baſſa *General for thoſe Wars in his ſtead*, 675, b. *circumciſeth his eldeſt Son* Mahomet, ib. a. *diſplaceth* Sinan Baſſa, *and caſteth him into exile*, 679, a. *appointeth* Ferat *General for his Wars in* Perſia, 681, a. *ſendeth for* Oſman Baſſa *into* Siruan, 686, b. *maketh him chief Viſier, and General of his Army into* Perſia, 688, a. *in diſporting with his Mutes taken with a fit of the falling ſickneſs*, 689, a. *cauſeth great triumph to be made throughout his Empire for the winning of* Tauris, 701, b. *maketh choice again of* Ferat Baſſa *to ſucceed* Oſman Baſſa, *dead in the* Perſian *Wars*, 703, b. *concluded a Peace with the* Perſian *King*, 707, b. *his anſwer to the Letters of* Sigiſmund *the Third, King of* Polonia, 706, a. *glad himſelf to yield unto the inſolency of the* Janizaries. 707, b. *his Letters to* Elizabeth *Queen of* England, 708, b. *perſwaded by his Viſier Baſſa's to take ſome new War in hand*, 709, a. *in doubt whom firſt to begin withal*, 710, a. b. *reſolveth to make War upon the Emperour, with the reaſons leading him thereunto*, 713, b. *giveth leave to* [illegible]ſan *Baſſa of* Boſna, *as it were without his knowledge, to pick quarrels with the Emperour, and ſo to diſturb the Peace*, 714, a. *ſendeth home the body of the Perſian Hoſtage dead in his Court*, ib. b. *proclaimeth War againſt the Emperour*, 720, a. *the proud and blaſphemous manner of his denuntiation of War*, ib. a. *he dreameth*, 723, b. *ſick of the Falling ſickneſs*, 736, a. *dieth*, 740, a.

Amurath Rais, *his Gallies fight with a* Flemiſh *Ship*, 825, b.

Andrew *King of* Hungary, *maketh an Expedition into the Holy Land*, 62, a. *bathing himſelf in the River of* Jordan, *returneth with all his Power*, ib. a.

Andronicus *aſpireth to the Empire*, 30, b. *overthroweth* Angelus, *ſent againſt him with a great power by* Alexius *the great Preſident*, 31, b. *encampeth over againſt* Conſtantinople, 32, a. *taketh upon him the Government, and tyranniſeth*, 33, b. *cauſeth* Mary *the daughter of* Emanuel *the Emperour, with her husband* Cæſar *to be poyſoned*, ib. b. *cauſeth* Xene *the fair Empreſs to be unjuſtly condemned and ſtrangled*, 34, b. *by his favourites and flatterers joyned in the fellowſhip of the Empire with* Alexius *the young Emperour*, ib. b. *depriveth* Alexius *of the Empire, and cauſeth him to be ſtrangled*, 35, b. *deſtroyeth the Nobility to eſtabliſh his Eſtate*, 35, b. 36, a. *ſeeketh in vain to appeaſe the people in a tumult riſen up againſt him*, 37, a. *forſaken of his flattering favourites, flieth, is taken and brought back in chains to* Angelus, ib. b. *committed to the fury of the people, who with extreme cruelty put him to moſt ſhameful death*, 38, a.

Andronicus Palæologus *the younger, exceedingly beloved by old* Andronicus, *his grandfather*, 110, a. *by the perſuaſion of* Syrgiannes *conſpireth againſt his aged Grandfather*, 111, b. *being ſent for, cometh unto him ſecretly armed, with purpoſe to have ſlain him*, 112, a. *ſecretly flieth out of* Conſtantinople, ib. b. *proclaimed Traitor, and proſcribed*, ib. b. *ſtirreth up the people of* Thracia *to rebellion*, 112, b. *reconciled to his Grandfather*, 114, b. *crowned Fellow in the Empire with his Grandfather*, 115, a. *again conſpireth againſt his Grandfather*, ib. a. *his crafty ſpeech unto his Grandfathers Ambaſſadours*, 116, b. *ſeeketh in vain by night to have been received into* Conſtantinople, 118, a, b. *is received into* Theſſalonica, 118, b. *taketh in the greateſt part of* Macedonia *and* Thracia, 119. a. *by Treaſon entreth into the City of* Conſtantinople, ib. b. *forbiddeth his Captains and Souldiers to violate the Majeſty of the old Emperour, or any about him*, 120, a. *humbleth himſelf unto his Grandfather*, ib. b. *evil perſuaded, committeth him to ſtreight keeping*, 121, a, b. *wounded in the battel with* Orchanes *at* Philocrene, 126, a. *by his own departure from his Camp, diſcomfiteth his whole Army*, ib. a, b.

Andronicus Palæologus, *the old Emperour, in reſtoring again the Greek Ceremonies, by his Father before altered, falleth into great troubles*, 101, b. *ſparing to maintain his Navy, weakeneth his Empire*, 102, a. *ſuſpicious of his brother* Conſtantine, ib. a. *by taking him away, leaveth the Eaſt ſide of his Empire to be ſpoiled by the Turks*, 102, b. *repoſing more truſt in foreign aid than in his own Subjects, greatly hurteth his State*, 104, a. *immoderately favoureth his Nephew* Andronicus, 110, a. *ſetteth* Syrgiannes *to obſerve his doings*, 111, a. *ſendeth Ambaſſadours unto him*, 112, b. *in his trouble, as of an heavenly Oracle, asketh counſel of the Pſalter, and ſo maketh peace with his Nephew*, 114, b. *informed of the evil meaning*

of his Nephew, forbiddeth him to come into the City, 115, b. *his notable Speech unto the* Patriarch *and the reſt of the Biſhops and Nobility concerning the young Emperour his Nephew,* 117, b. *forſaken of the Patriarch and ſom others of the Biſhops,* 118, a. *repoſeth his whole truſt in God,* ib. *his pitiful requeſt unto the young Emperour his Nephew,* 120, b. *by him deprived of his Imperial Dignity,* 121, a. *falleth blind,* ib. b. *againſt his will made a Monk, and called* Anthony, ib. b. *his notable anſwer unto the catching queſtion of the proud Patriarch,* ib. b. *enforced to ſwear, Never again to reſume unto himſelf the Empire,* 122, b. *dieth,* ib. b. *his death by many Prodigies foreſhown,* 123, a.

Antioch *deſcribed,* 13, a. *by the Patriarch betrayed to* Saladin, 45, b.

Apulia *ſpoiled by the Turks,* 452, b.

Ares Chan *hanged,* 664, a.

Artillery of exceeding greatneſs made by Mahomet *at the ſiege of* Scodra, 285, a.

Articles by Botſcay *propounded to the Emperors Commiſſioners,* 866, a. *of the Emperour to be conſidered in the Dyet of* Ratisbone, 883, b. &c. *of pacification betwixt the Emperour and his brother* Mathias, 888, b. *by the* Hungarians *preferred unto King* Mathias *at* Presburg. 890, b. *of the Pacification in* Auſtria, 892, b. *touching the differences of Peace betwixt the grand Seignior and the Emperour,* 939, b. &c. *propounded by the Engliſh Ambaſſadour to the Grand Seignior,* 966, b. &c. *of peace between the Grand Seignior and the King of* Poland, 978, a. b. &c. *between the Engliſh Nation and the Inhabitants of* Tunes *and* Algier, 1440, &c. *between the Emperour* Ferdinand *and* Bethlem Gabor, *Prince of* Tranſilvania, 7. &c. *betwixt the Grand Seignior and the Emperour,* ib. b.

Aſam Beg *with his Army overthrown, and taken Priſoner by* Scanderbeg, 261, b.

Aſſan Aga *derideth the Meſſengers ſent unto him from* Charles *the Emperour,* 485, a. *taketh the* Spaniards *to mercy,* 489, a.

Auria *with his fleet doth the Turks great harm in* Peloponeſus, 422, a. *beſiegeth* Corone, *and hath it yielded unto him,* 423, a. *taketh and ranſacketh* Patras, *with the Caſtles of* Rhium *and* Molycreum, ib. a. *returneth to* Genoa, ib. b. *troubleth the Turks Fleet, and taketh twelve of their Gallies full of Janizaries, and* Solyman's *other beſt Souldiers,* 453, a. *braveth* Barbaruſſa *in the Bay of* Ambracia, 463, b. *ſhamefully flyeth with his Fleet,* 464, b. *dieth,* 532, b.

Auſtria *ſpoiled by the Turk,* 415, a. Altenburg *taken,* ib. b.

Auſtria *ſore waſted by* Caſon, 418, b.

Axalla *a Chriſtian in great favour with* Tamerlane, *and his Lieutenant General in his Wars againſt the Turk,* 148, a. *takes* Bajazet *the great Turk Priſoner,* 152, a. *without reſiſtance taketh* Pruſa, 153, a. *overthroweth one of the Turks Baſſaes with the ſlaughter of thirty thouſand Turks,* 162, a.

B

Babylon *taken and ſacked by the* Tartars, 79, b. *with the Countries of* Meſopotamia *and* Aſſyria *yielded to* Solyman, 438, a.

Bajazet *the Firſt why ſirnamed* Gylderun *or* Lightning, 135, b. *ſucceedeth his Father* Amurath *in the Turkiſh Kingdom,* 140, a. *invadeth* Servia, ib. b. *by* Feriſes *his Lieutenant ſpoileth* Valachia, ib. b. *oppreſſeth moſt of the Mahometan Princes, the Succeſſors of Sultan* Saladin *in the leſſer* Aſia, 141, a. *invadeth* Valachia, *overthroweth the Vayvod, and cauſeth him to become his Tributary,* ib. a. *beſiegeth* Conſtantinople *eight years,* ib. b. *In a great Battel at* Nicopolis *overthroweth* Sigiſmund *King of* Hungary *with his Confederates,* 142, a. *returneth again to the ſiege of* Conſtantinople, 142, b. *marrieth* Deſpina *the fair Daughter of* Lazarus *the Deſpot,* 143, a. *prettily reproved by his Jeſter,* ib. a. *in a battel overcometh* Aladin *the* Caramanian *King, and delivereth him Priſoner to* Temurtaſes *his Lieutenant,* 144, a. *ſubdueth the* Caramanian *Kingdom,* ib. a. *hath the great Cities of* Amaſia *and* Sebaſtia *yielded unto him,* ib. a. *oppreſſeth the Mahometan Princes of the leſſer* Aſia, ib. b. *uncivily entertaineth the Ambaſſadors of the mighty* Tamerlane *ſent unto him in the behalf of the poor Princes by him oppreſſed,* 145, b. *accounteth a Shepherd more happy than himſelf,* 149, b. *joyneth a great and mortal battel with* Tamerlane, 151, a. *forſaken of his own Souldiers,* ib. b. *overthrown and taken Priſoner by* Axalla, 152, a. *brought to* Tamerlane, ib. *ſhut up in an Iron Cage like a beaſt,* ib. b. *dieth miſerably,* 157, a. *his iſſue, as alſo his immediate Succeſſor uncertain,* 159, a. *his true poſterity,* 159. b.

Bajazet *the Second excluded from the ſucceſſion in the Turkiſh Empire by his Son* Corcutus, *cometh to* Conſtantinople, 297, b. *by the mediation of the Great Baſſaes obtaineth the Kingdom of* Corcutus, 298, a. *goeth againſt his Brother* Zemes, *up in Rebellion againſt him,* ib. a. *in doubt to have been betrayed by his Souldiers,* 300, a. *reviled by the Janizaries,* 302, a. *putteth ſome of them to death,* 302, b. *purpoſeth their utter deſtruction,* 303, a. *glad to diſſemble his purpoſe, and to reconcile himſelf unto them,* ib. a. *ſendeth* Dauſius *his Ambaſſador to* Alexander *Biſhop of* Rome, 307, a. *glad to hear that divers of the Chriſtian Princes had combined themſelves againſt the French King,* 310, b. *in danger to have been ſlain by a Deruiſtar or Turkiſh Monk,* 315, b. Bajazet *by nature peaceable,* ib. b. *his Children,* 324, b. *ſendeth Ambaſſadors with preſents unto his Son* Selymus, 327, a. *ſeeking to prefer* Achomates *his eldeſt Son to the Empire, himſelf yet living, is mightily withſtood by the Souldiers of the Court, before corrupted by* Selymus, ib. b. *he forbiddeth* Selymus *to come unto him, and threatneth him,* 328. b. *fearing to loſe* Conſtantinople, *departeth from* Hadrianople, ib. b. *his reſolute ſpeech unto the Janizaries and other Souldiers of the Court,* 338, a. *in plain battel overcometh his Son* Selymus *at* Tzurulum, 331. a. *willing the ſecond time to have reſigned his Empire to* Achomates, *is again withſtood by his men of War,* 332, a. *his reſolute anſwer unto* Muſtapha *and the other traiterous Baſſaes after that* Selymus *was, by their practiſe, by the Souldiers of the Court ſaluted Emperour,* 337, a. *poyſoned by* Hamon, *his Phyſitian a Jew,* ib. b. *dieth,* 338, a.

Bajazet, Solyman's *younger Son, ſeeketh to aſpire unto the Empire, his Father yet living,* 519, a. *ſetteth up a counterfeit* Muſtapha *to make an head to his intended rebellion,* ib. a. *the ſubtile and crafty dealing of the ſuppoſed* Muſtapha *to deceive the People,* ib. a. *forſaken of his followers, is taken and brought to* Solyman *at* Conſtantinople, 520, a. *ſecretly with his complices drowned,* Bajazet *ſent for by his Father, goeth unto him in fear,* ib. b. *in few words comforted by his Mother,* 521, a. *ſharply for his diſloyalty reproved by his Father, and ſo by him pardoned,* ib. a. *returneth again to his charge,* ib. b. *after the death of* Roxolana *his Mother raiſeth new ſtirs,* ib. b. *admoniſhed of his duty by his father,* 521, b. *unwilling to go to* Amaſia *the Province appointed him by his Father, ſeeketh delays,* 522, a. *by a* Chiaus *requeſteth his Father not to intermeddle betwixt his Brother and him,* 523, a. *making ſhew as if he would go to* Amaſia, *ſtayeth at* Ancyra, *and there*

there raiſeth his forces, ib. b. *his quarrel generally favoured of the Souldiers*, 524, a. *his purpoſe*, ib a. *he goeth againſt his Brother towards* Iconium, ib. a. *fighteth a bloody Battel with his Brother* Selymus, *wherein were forty thouſand Turks ſlain*, ib. b. *put to the worſe, retireth, and ſo goeth to* Amaſia, ib. b. *more commended by the Souldiers in his overthrow than was his Brother in his Victory*, ib. b. *ſeeketh again for his Father's favour*, 525, b. *deſpairing thereof flyeth into* Perſia, *deceiving by the way the Baſſa of* Sebaſtia *and* Erzirum, 526, a. *at the firſt well entertained by the* Perſian *King*, 527, a. *his Followers by the cunning of the fearful* Perſian *diſperſed and ſlain*, ib. b. *he himſelf with his Sons impriſoned*, ib. b. *his miſerable eſtate in Priſon*, 528, b. *with his four Sons at the inſtance of his Father by the* Perſian *ſtrangled*, 529, a.

Bajazet *Baſſa ſent by* Amurath *againſt* Muſtapha *the Rebel, forſaken of his Souldiers, yieldeth*, 173, a. *upon a falſe furmiſe executed*, ib. b.

Baldwin *County of* Edeſſa, *and Brother to* Godfrey *ſecond King of* Jeruſalem, 18, a. *winneth* Cæſaria *from the Infidels*, ib. a. *overthroweth the Turks hard by* Rama, ib. a. *beſiegeth* Ptolemais, *and in retiring thence is mortally wounded*, ib. b. *beſiegeth it again, and hath it by compoſition yielded unto him*, ib. b. *after many ſharp Aſſaults winneth* Berythus, ib. b. *taketh* Sidon *by Compoſition, and in vain beſiegeth* Tyre, ib. b. *maketh an Expedition into* Ægypt, *and near unto* Laris, *dieth*, 19, a.

Baldwin *ſirnamed* Brugenſis, *County of* Edeſſa, *beſiegeth* Carras, *and there taken Priſoner, after five years Captivity redeemeth himſelf*, 18, a. *after the Death of* Baldwin *the Firſt, choſen King of* Jeruſalem, *and called* Baldwin *the Second*, 19, a. *overthroweth the Turks, and joyneth the Principality of* Antioch *to his own Kingdom*, 19, b. *by* Balac *the* Perſian *Sultan overthrown and taken Priſoner; after eighteen Months Captivity, for the ranſom of* 100000 *Duckets ſet at liberty*, 20, b. *in three notable Battels overthroweth the King of* Damaſco, 20, b. *Dieth*, 21, a.

Baldwin *the third of that name crowned King of* Jeruſalem, 22, a. *hardly diſtreſſed by* Noradin *the Turk*, ib. a. *he fortifieth* Gaza, *and taketh* Aſcalon *by Compoſition*, 24, b. *in a ſet Battel overthroweth* Naradin *the King of* Damaſco *at the Caſtle of* Sueta, 25, b. *falleth ſick and dyeth*, ib. b.

Baldwin *the fourth of that name ſeventh King of* Jeruſalem, 41, b. *with a great ſlaughter overthroweth* Saladin *invading his Kingdom*, ib. b. *putteth him with his great Army again to flight*, 42, b. *reſigneth the Government of his Kingdom to* Guy Luſignan *County of* Joppa *and* Aſcalon, 43, a. *ſendeth Ambaſſadours unto the Chriſtian Princes of the Weſt, and immediately after dyeth*, 443 b. 444, a.

Baldwin *the fifth of that name, yet but a Boy, was crowned eighth King of* Jeruſalem, *and within ſeven Months after dyeth*, 44, a.

Baldwin *County of* Flanders *and* Henault, *choſen by the* Latines *Emperour of* Conſtantinople, *and ſo ſolemnly crowned*, 59, a. *ſubdueth* Thracia, *and beſiegeth* Hadrianople, ib. b. *overthrown in a Battel by the* Scythians, *and taken Priſoner, is by the commandment of their barbarous King moſt cruelly put to death*, 60, a.

Baldwin *the ſecond of that name, fifth and laſt Emperour of the* Latines *in* Conſtantinople, 68, a. *pawneth his Son unto the* Bruges *Merchants for money*, 79, a. *flyeth out of the City of* Conſtantinople, *being ſurpriſed by* Alexius Strategopulus *ſent from* Michael Paleologus *the* Greek *Emperour*, 81, a.

Balabanus *ſent by* Mahomet *againſt* Scanderbeg, 269, b. *put to flight, taketh divers of* Scanderbegs *beſt Captains Priſoners at* Alchria, 270, a. *with his Army overthrown at* Oronicheum, *the third time overthrown in the Battel at* Sfetigrade, 270, b. *overthrown by* Scanderbeg *the fourth time, in the Battel at* Valcha, 271, b. *left by* Mahomet *to continue the Siege of* Croia, 273, a. *ſlain*, ib. b.

Barbaruſſa *ſucceedeth his Brother* Horrucetus *in the Kingdom of* Algiers, 429, b. *his wonderful ſucceſs*, ib. *ſent for by* Soſyman, ib. b. *envied in the Turks Court*, 430, a. *by* Soſyman *himſelf rejected to* Abraham *the great Baſſa*, ib. a. *travelleth by land unto him into* Siria, *and by him commended to* Soſyman, i. a. *his Speech to* Soſyman *to perſwade him to invade the Kingdom of* Tunes, ib. b. *he is made* Soſyman's *great Admiral*, 341, b. *ſpoileth the coaſts of* Italy, ib. b. *paſſeth over into* Affrick, *and hath* Biſerta *yielded unto him*, 433, b. *cometh to* Guletta, *deceiveth the Citizens, and is received into* Tunes, 434, a. *diſcomfiteth the Citizens riſen up againſt him*, ib. b. *hath the City of* Tunes *yielded unto him*, ib. b. *is much diſcouraged with the coming of* Charles *the Emperour into* Affrick, 441, b. *in his rage executeth* Aloyſius Preſenda, ib. b. *encourageth his Souldiers*, 442, a. *his chief Captains*, ib. a. *the County of* Sarne *his Head and right Hand by* Salec *ſent unto him for a Preſent*, 443, b. *his Fleet taken by* Charles *the Emperour at* Guletta 445, a. *he rageth*, ib. a. *culmed by* Sinan *the* Jew, ib. a. *in field with his Army againſt* Charles *the Emperour*, 447, b. *flyeth to* Tunes, 448, a. *diſſuaded by* Sinan *the* Jew *from killing the Chriſtian Captives; who ſhortly after breaking Priſon, drive the Turks out of the Caſtle of* Tunes, ib. b. *flyeth to* Hippona, *and there comforteth his Souldiers*, 450, a. *eſcapeth to* Algiers, ib. b. *ſent by* Soſyman *againſt the* Venetians, 463, a. *repulſed in* Crete, ib. a. *reproved of Cowardiſe by one of the Turks Eunuchs*, ib. b. *jeſteth at the flight of* Auria, 465, a. *braveth the Chriſtians at* Corcyra, ib. a. *ſuffereth Shipwreck upon the* Acroceraunian *Rocks*, ib. b. *with a great Fleet ſent by* Soſyman *to aid the* French *King againſt* Charles *the Emperour*, 496, b. *burneth* Rhegium, *and taketh the Caſtle*, ib. b. *becommeth amorous of the Captain of* Rhegium's *Daughter*, ib. b. *maketh them affraid in* Rome, 497, a. *cometh to* Marſeilles, ib. a. *for lack of Imployment groweth diſcontented*, 502, a. *with the* French *beſiegeth* Nice *in* Provence, ib. a. *rageth againſt the* French, *and threatneth* Polinus, 503, a. *giveth over the Siege of the Caſtle of* Nice, *and ſetteth fire on the City*, ib. a. *derided by the Turks Captains, ſharply anſwered their Taunts*, ib. b. *rewarded and diſcharged by the* French *King, departeth out of* Provence, 506, b. *requeſteth of* Appianus *Governour of* Elba, *to have a Son of* Sinan *the Jew's, there Priſoner, delivered unto him*, 506, b. 507, a. *ſpoileth the Iſland, and hath the young man delivered unto him*, 507, a. *in his return to* Conſtantinople *doth much harm upon the Coaſt of* Italy, 507, b. *dieth*, 508, a.

Barbadicus *the* Venetian *Proveditour, a notable Man*, 592, b. *ſlain in the Battel of* Lepanto, 596, a.

Barbarous cruelty, 616, b.

The Barbarous manner of the Turkiſh Sultans to murther their Brethren in the beginning of their Reign, when and by whom firſt begun, 139, a.

Bare ſhift for Money. 235, a.

The Baſſa of Boſna *and his Brother ſlain*, 705, b.

The Baſſa of Temeſwar *overthrown by the* Raſcians *and ſlain*, 730, a.

The Baſſa of Buda *taken Priſoner*, 776, b.

The

The Baſſa of Boſna *ſlain*, ib. b.
The Baſſa of Natolia *taken Priſoner by the Prince of* Sarcan, 150. b. *his ſtout anſwer to* Tamerlane, ib. b. *by* Tamerlane *ſet at liberty and rewarded*, ib. b.
The Baſſa of Buda *ſlain*, 794, a.
The Baſſa of Agria *with* 10000 *Turks overthrown by* Ferrant Gonzaga, *and chaſed to the Gates of the City*, 797, b.
The Baſſa of Trebezond *with his Army diſcomfited by the* Perſian *King*, 871, b.
The Baſſa of Damaſco, Tripolis, *and* Gazare *overthrown by the Baſſa of* Aleppo, 872, a.
The Baſſa of Tripolis *again overthrown by the Baſſa of* Aleppo, *and the City of* Damaſco *taken and rifled by him*, ib. a. *who after three notable encounters with the Viſier, flieth*, 881, a. *by the Great Sultan pardoned, and again received into favour*, ib. a.
The Baſſa's reward that brought the Ægyptian *Caravan ſafe to* Conſtantinople, 904, b.
The Baſſa of Arzitum *in rebellion*, 904, b.
Baſilicus *a faithful man unto his Prince*, 118, b.
Baſta *(the Emperours Lieutenant in* Tranſilvania*) beſiegeth the Caſtle of* Solomoſe, 816, a. *which is yielded unto him*, ib. b. *his admonition to the States of* Tranſilvania, ib. b. *their anſwer*, ib. b. *beſieged in the Caſtle of* Somoſinner, 117, b. *ſendeth Preſents to the Emperour*, 819, b. *purſueth the Turks Army departing from the ſiege of* Strigonium, 853, a. *goeth againſt* Botſcay, 855, a. *diſcomfiteth certain Companies of the Rebels*, ib. b. *and putteth to death one of their Captains*, ib. b. *diſtreſſed by the Rebels, and yet overthroweth them*, ib. b. *contemned by the Citizens of* Caſſovia, 856, a. *recovereth* Eperia, ib. a. *taketh one of* Botſcay's *Spies*, 857, a. *being in a ſtraight, publiſheth a general pardon for all the Rebels*, 859, a. *his Proclamation*, ib. b. *his Souldiers mutiny for their pay*, 860, b. *and ſpoyl all the Country betwixt* Eperia *and* Preſburg, 862, b. *his notable exploit*, 803, a.

Battels.

A cruel Battel fought betwixt Solyman *the Turk and the Chriſtian Princes going towards the* Holy Land, 12, a. *an hundred thouſand Turks ſlain in the battel near unto* Antioch, *betwixt* Gorbanas *the* Perſian *Sultans Lieutenant, and the Chriſtian Princes*, 14, b. 100000 Turks *and* Saraſins *ſlain in the great battel not far from* Aſcalon, *fought betwixt* Godfrey *of* Buillion *and the* Turks *and* Saraſins, 17, b. *the great battel betwixt* Amurath *the Firſt, and* Lazarus *the Deſpot, fought in the Plains of* Caſſovia, 138, b. 139, a. *the battel of* Nicopolis *betwixt* Bajazet *the Firſt, and* Sigiſmund *King of* Hungary, 142, a. *the great and mortal battel betwixt* Bajazet *and the great* Tamerlane, 151, a. *the battel of* Vaſcape *betwixt* Huniades *and* Abedin Baſſa, 186, a. *the woful battel of* Varna *betwixt King* Uladiſlaus *and* Amurath *the Second*, 202, b. *the great battel of* Caſſova *fought three days together betwixt* Amurath *and* Huniades, 209, b. 210. a. *the battel betwixt* Uſun-Caſſanes *the* Perſian *King and* Mahomet *the Great*, 279, b. 280, a. *the battel of* Tzurulum *betwixt* Bajazet *and his Son* Selymus, 330, b. 331, a. *the great battel between* Selymus *and* Hyſmael, 347, a. *the battel of* Singa *betwixt* Selymus *and* Campſon, 360, a. *the battel betwixt* Sinan Baſſa *and* Gazelles, 363, b. *the great battel of* Rhodania *betwixt* Selymus *and* Tomombeius, 366, b. *the great and dreadful battel of* Caire *fought two days together betwixt the* Mamalukes *and the* Turks, 370, b. *the battel of* Moharzch *betwixt* Solyman *and King* Lewis, 405, b. *the battel of* Tockay *betwixt the Armies of King* John *and King* Ferdinand, 408, a. *the memorable battel of* Lepanto *betwixt* Haly Baſſa *and* Don John, 595, a. *the battel of* Sancazan *betwixt the* Perſian *Prince and the* Turks, Oſman *their General then lying ſick*, 700, b. *the battel of* Alba Regalis *betwixt the Imperials and the Turks*, 721, b. *the battel of* Strigonium 749, a. *the battel of* Agria, *betwixt* Mahomet *the Third, and* Maximilian *the Archduke the Emperours Brother*, 767, b. *a great battel in* Tartary, 900 b. *another betwixt* Alexander *and the Vayvod of* Stephano, 929, b. *another between the* Turks *and* Perſians, 950, a.

Battori, *his Practices*, 901, b. *demands Succours of the Turk, and is betrayed*, 909, a. *killeth* Nage, 910, b. *is envied by his own People*, ib. b. *ſends an Ambaſſador to the Emperour* Mathias, ib. b. *his cruelty*, 911, a. *ſlain by his own Souldiers*, ib. b.
Bedredin *the counterfeit Prophet hanged*, 171, a.
Begum *the* Perſian *Queen made away*, 665, b.
Beged Baſſa *thinking to ſurpriſe* Baſta, *is himſelf overthrown*, 831, a.
Belgioſa *goeth againſt the Rebels in* Tranſilvania, 854, a. *in a great battel overthrown by* Botſcay, ib. a. *beſieged by the Rebels in the Caſtle of* Zipze, 855, a.
Belioioſa *Author of the great Rebellion in* Hungary, 857, b.
Belgrade *beſieged by* Amurath *the Second*, 178, b. *notably defended by the Chriſtians*, 180, b. *again beſieged by* Mahomet *the Great*, 251, a. *won by* Solyman, 382, b.
Belgrade *in the Confines of* Epirus *beſieged by* Scanderbeg, 252, a.
Bethlin Habor *chief of the Rebels in* Tranſilvania, *ſurpriſed and overthrown by the Count of* Tambier, 851, a. *again defeated by the ſaid Count*, ib. b.
Bloody precepts left by Selymus *unto his Son* Solyman, 380, b.
Bodo *conſtant to King* John, 408, b.
Boſna *of a Kingdom converted to a Province of the Turks Empire*, 248, b.
Boſna *with ſome part of* Servia *taken from the Turks by* Mathias *King of* Hungary, 275, b.
Botſcay *raiſeth Rebellion in* Tranſilvania, 853, b. *dealeth treacherouſly* 854, a. *countenanced by the Grand Seignior, and ſtiled Prince of* Tranſilvania, ib. a. *his Lieutenants policy*, ib. b. Caſſovia *yielded unto him*, ib. b. *his unreaſonable demands for Peace*, 858, a. *refuſeth to receive the Emperours Ambaſſadors*, 861, b. *ſendeth Ambaſſadors into* Polonia, *and is there denyed Aid*, 866, b. *cauſeth his Chancellor to be beheaded*, 877, b. *dieth*, 879, b.
Bragadinus *Governour of* Famaguſta, *encourageth his Souldiers*, 585, a. *yieldeth unto the requeſt of the Citizens of* Famaguſta, *in time to deliver up the City, not now longer to be defended*, 586, b. *entereth into Parley with the Turks*, ib. b. *coming to the falſe Baſſa* Muſtapha *unto his faith, for his ſafety before given, is by him moſt ſhamefully and horribly murthered*, 587, a.
Buda *diſtreſſed for want of Victuals*, 805, b. *victualled*, 806, b. *a breach made in the walls by the negligence of the Cannoneers*, 807, a.
Buda *beſieged by the Lord* Rogendorff, *King* Ferdinand's *Lieutenant*, 473, b. *ſurpriſed by* Solyman 479, b. *beſieged, and the lower City taken by the Lord* Palfi, 773, a. *the Caſtle by him battered, undermined, and in vain aſſaulted*, ib. a. *the lower City of* Buda *again taken by the Chriſtians*, 801, b. *the upper City and Caſtle beſieged*, 802, a. *in vain aſſaulted*, ib. b. *the Siege for fear of the* Tartars *given over by the Chriſtians*, 803, b.

C.

CAffa *with the Country of* Taurica Cherſeneſus *ſubdued by the Turks*, 2[illegible], a.
Caire *deſcribed*, 368, b. *taken by* Selymus, 371, a.
Calo Johannes *after the death of* Alexius *his Father, ſucceedeth him in the Empire*, 19, b. *he taketh* Tarſus *in* Cilicia, *beſiegeth* Antioch, *and upon Compoſition raiſeth his ſiege*, 21, a, b. *wounded with a poyſoned Arrow, dyeth*, ib. b.
Calcis *the chief City of* Eubœa *beſieged by the Turks*, 276, a. *taken by the Turks*, ib. b.
Callipolis *taken by the* Turks, 129, b.
Caly Baſſa *diſſwadeth* Mahomet *from the ſiege of* Conſtantinople, 234, b. Caly Baſſa *cruelly executed*, 238. a.
Calybeius Baſſa *and* Cherſeogles *after a long and mortal battel taken by* Usbeg, *and ſent Priſoners to* Caytbeius, 306, a.
Campſon Gaurus *with what cauſes moved to fall out with* Selymus, 355, a. *his moderate and happy Government*, 357, a. *his anſwer unto the Ambaſſadors of* Selymus, ib. a. *perplexed*, 358, b. *ſlain*, 361, a. *his dead body laid out to be ſeen of all men*, ib. a.
Canalis *the* Venetian *Admiral doth the Turks great harm*, 275, b. *with his whole family exiled*, 277, a.
Caniſia *beſieged by the Turks*, 790, b. *cowardly yielded*, 791, a. *beſieged by* Ferdinand *the Archduke*, 794, b. *the ſiege by reaſon of tempeſt and extremity of weather given over*, 795, b.
Capcapus *Governour of* Damaſco *revolteth from the* Tartars *to the* Turks, 88, b.
Capi-Aga *with ſome others executed*, 811, a.
Caraſina *yielded unto* Orchanes, 128, b.
Caraguſa *a Turk offereth a challenge unto any of the Souldiers in* Scanderbegs *Army*, 213, a.
Caragoſes Baſſa *Beglerbeg of* Aſia *in a great battel overthrown by* Techellis, 321, b. *taken priſoner*, 322, a. *horribly empaled by the high-ways ſide*, ib. b.
Caramania *by* Bajazet *united to the* Othoman *Empire*, 304, b.
Caracoza *the famous Pyrat ſlain*, 597, a.
Carazies Baſſa *ſlain*, 243, b.
Cardinal Bathor *taketh upon him the Principality of* Tranſilvania, 776, a. *in a great battel overthrown by* Michael *the Vayvod*, 778, b. *his head ſent for a Preſent unto the Emperour*, ib. b.
Caſſovia *in danger to have been burnt by the Turks*, 842, b.
Caſſan Baſſa *ſlain*, 347, a.
The Caſtle of Buda *by the Garriſon Souldiers without the conſent of their Captain yielded to* Solyman, 411, a.
Caſſanes *the* Tartar *invadeth* Syria, 87, b. *in a great battel overthroweth* Melcenaſer *the* Egyptian *Sultans Lieutenant*, ib. b. *repaireth* Jeruſalem, *and giveth it to the Chriſtians, hath* Damaſco *yielded unto him*, 88, a.
Caſtronovum *taken from the Turks, and by the Imperials unjuſtly detained from the* Venetians, 465, a. *recovered again by* Barbaruſſa, 466, a.
The Catalonians *entertained by* Andronicus *the Emperour for want of pay, ſpoil his Subjects*, 105, a. *take the ſpoil of* Calipolis, *and there fortifying themſelves, do great harm both by Sea and Land*, ib. b. *tided by the Turks, overthroweth* Michael *the Emperour in plain battel*, 106, a. *ſpoil a great part of* Thracia, ib. b. *ſeat themſelves in the Cities of* Athens *and* Thebes, 107, b.
Cauſes of the Troubles in Bohemia, 898, a.
Caytbeius *the* Egyptian *Sultan ſendeth Ambaſſadors to* Bajazet *in the behalf of* Zemes, 299, b. *dieth*, 306, b.
Cayarbeius *Governour of* Comagena *bearing a grudge to* Campſon, *hath intelligence with* Selymus, 359, b. *playeth the cunning Traitor*, 360, a. *by* Selymus *made Governour of* Caire *and* Ægypt, 376, a.
Cazianer *General of King* Ferdinands *Army againſt the Turks*, 456, b. *beſiegeth* Execke, 458, a. *to retire with more haſte, would have broken his great Ordnance*, 459, a. *a general fear in his Camp*, ib. b. *his diſhonourable flight*, 460, b. *breaketh Priſon*, 462, a. *ſhamefully murthered, and his Head ſent to King* Ferdinand, ib. b.
Cephalenia *taken from the* Turks *by the* Venetians, 313, b.
Ceremonies of the Turks at the firſt audience of Ambaſſadors, 901, a.
Chamuzes Baſſa *and* Catabolinus *the Turks Secretary hanged by* Wladus, 246, a.
Charles *the French King invadeth the Kingdom of* Naples, 308, b. *received into the City of* Naples, 310, a.
Charles *the Emperour's great preparation againſt* Solyman, 415, a. *his power at* Vienna, 419, b. *after the departure of* Solyman *returneth into* Italy, 422, a. *his great preparation for the Invaſion of* Tunes, 440, b. *he paſſeth over into* Affrick, 441, b. *landeth his Army at* Guletta, 442, b. *deſerveth the Oken Garland*, 446, b. *he marcheth towards* Tunes, 447, a. *content to be commanded by his Lieutenant*, 448, a. *putteth* Barbaruſſa *to flight*, ib. a. *hath* Tunes *yielded unto him*, 449, b. *reſtoreth it to* Mulcaſſes *now become his Tributary*, 451, a. *returneth into* Italy, ib. a. *with the* Venetians *and the Biſhop of* Rome *entereth into a Confederation againſt* Solyman, 462, b. *invadeth* Algiers, 484, b. *ſendeth a Meſſenger to* Aſſan Aga *Governour of* Algiers *for* Barbaruſſa, 485, a. *his Meſſenger and Meſſage ſcorned by* Aſſan Aga *the Eunuch*, ib. b. *his notable courage in ſtaying in the flight of his Army*, 487, a. *moſt part of his Fleet loſt by Tempeſt*, ib. b. *the miſery of his Army*, 488, a. *Horſes good meat in his Camp*, ib. b. *raiſeth his ſiege and departeth from* Algiers, 488, b. *drowneth his Horſes of great price, to make room for his common Souldiers*, 489, a. *after many troubles, arriveth at length at new* Carthage *in* Spain, 489, b. *reſigneth his Empire unto his Brother* Ferdinand, *and ſhortly after dyeth*, 529, b.
Charles *County* Mansfelt *ſent by the King of* Spain *out of the* Low-Countries *with* 2000 *Horſe and* 6000 *Foot to aid the Emperour in his Wars againſt the Turk*, 744, b. *by the Emperour appointed Lieutenant General of his Army in the Lower* Hungary *under* Matthias *the Arch-duke, and created one of the Princes of the Empire*, ib. b. *with ſeverity appeaſeth the mutinous* Germans, 746, a. *removeth ſuddenly with his Army from* Dotis *to* Strigonium, 747, a. *in a great battel overthroweth the Baſſa of* Buda *coming to the relief of* Strigonium, 749, a. *dieth at* Comara, 750, b.
Chars *in three and twenty days fortified by the Turks*, 667, b.
Chaſan Chelife *and* Schach-Culi *two hypocritical* Perſians, *Authors of the ſect of the Cuſel-baſſa's or Red-heads among the Turks*, 317, *ſtir up a great rebellion*, 319, b. Chaſan Chelife *ſlain*, 323, a.
Chendemus Baſſa *by many grave reaſons diſſuadeth* Selymus *from invading the* Perſians, 344, a. *he is by the commandment of* Selymus *unworthily ſlain*, ib. b.
Cherſeogles Baſſa *what he was, and why he turned Turk*, 329, b. *a favourer of Learning*, ib. b. *the only of great men faithful to* Bajazet, *perſuadeth him to give battel unto his rebellious Son* Selymus, 329, a.
Chios *taken by the Turks*, 554, a.
Chiroche *diſſuadeth the Baſſa's* Partau *and* Haly *from giving battel unto the Chriſtians at* Lepanto, 592, b. *encountereth with* Contarenus 596, b. *ſlain, and his Galley taken*, ib. b.

Chriſtians

Chriſtians fight againſt Chriſtians, to the Confuſion of themſelves, and benefit of the Turk, 231, b. *in ſeeking too greedily after the ſpoil, overthrown and diſcomfited in the battel at* Kareſta, 768, a.
A notable Exploit done by a Chriſtian fugitive, 813, b.
The Chriſtians great Army, 819, b.
A rich booty loſt through the negligence of certain Chriſtians, 823, a.
The Chriſtian General layeth a great Ambuſh to intercept the Turks, 824, a. *which ambuſh overthroweth them*, ib. b. *they purſue the Turks flying Army*, 826, a. *reſolve to give the Turks battel*, ib. b. *they offer the Turks battel*, 828, a. *who ſhun it*, ib. a. *take ſome booties from them*, 840, b.
A Chiaus ſent from Conſtantinople *to* Paris, *and the cauſe why*, 942, b.
Cicala Baſſa *with his Army overthrown by the Rebels in* Aſia, 844, b. *diſcomfited the ſecond time*, ib. b. *again made General of the Turks Army in* Aſia, 846, a. *his evil ſucceſs againſt the* Perſian, 858, b. *overthrown by the* Perſian, 871, a.
Cicala Baſſa *by the appointment of* Oſman *the Viſier Baſſa, commandeth the Turks great Army after his death, in the return thereof from* Tauris, 701, a. *diſchargeth the Army at* Van, ib. b. *afraid to give Aid to* Giaffer Baſſa *at* Tauris, 703, a. *reſtoreth the battel before loſt at* Kareſta, 768, a. *with a great fleet cometh to ſee his Mother the Lady* Lucretia *at* Meſſina, 774, a.
Columnius *the Popes Admiral interpoſeth himſelf as a Mediator betwixt* Don John *and* Venerius *the* Venetian *Admiral, and ſo well appeaſeth the matter*, 592, a.
Colonitz *a valiant Captain in arms againſt the Turks*, 805, a. *lyeth in ambuſh for them*, ib. a. *in vain beſiegeth* Babotz, 808, a. *retyreth to* Comara, ib. b. *his noble reſolution*, 809, a. *he oppoſeth the* Tartars, 813, a. *defeateth two thouſand Turks*, 814, a. *beſiegeth the Caſtle of* Loqua, 814, b. *and taketh it*, 815, a. *his notable enterpriſe upon the avantguard of the Turks Army*, 822, a. *ſeeking to ſurpriſe the Turks, is himſelf indangered*, 827, a. *wiſely appeaſeth his diſcontented Souldiers*, 856, b. *craveth aid from* Vienna, 857, a. *overthroweth the* Haiducks, 867, b.
A Combat fought betwixt the Lord Tiſcheuich *and the Turks General*, 937, b.
A Comet ſeen over Conſtantinople, 950, a.
Commiſſioners of the Turk, the Emperour, and Hungarians *meet together to entreat a Peace*, 877, b.
Commiſſioners appointed to appeaſe the new Troubles in Hungary, 885, a.
Compariſon betwixt Bajazet *and* Tamerlane, 157, b.
Confederation hard to truſt upon, 568, a.
Conrade *Marqueſs of* Montferrat *ſlain by two deſperate Ruffians*, 50, a.
Conrade *the Third, Emperour of* Germany, *taketh upon him an Expedition into the* Holy Land, 22, a. *cannot be ſuffered to enter into* Conſtantinople, *but is treacherouſly dealt withal by the Greek Emperour*, 23, a. *with a notable ſpeech encourageth his Souldiers to adventure the River* Meander, 23, b. *with a great ſlaughter overthroweth the Turks*, 24, a. *beſiegeth* Iconium, *and ſo returneth*, ib. a.
Conſtantine *Prince of* Bulgaria, *with the* Tartars *invade the Territories of* Paleologus *the Greek Emperour, and ſpoileth* Thracia, 82, a.
Conſtantine *the Deſpot ſent by the old Emperour* Andronicus *his Brother, againſt young* Andronicus *his Nephew*, 113, b. *taken Priſoner at* Theſſalonica, *and miſerably uſed*, 114, a.
Conſtantine *the Greek Emperour in vain craveth Aid of the other Chriſtian Princes*, 231, a. *at the winning of* Conſtantinople *by the Turks troden to death*, 236, a.
Conſtantinople *built by* Pauſanias, *deſtroyed by* Severus, *re-edified by* Conſtantine *the Great*, 231, b. *how ſeated*, ib. b. *taken and ſpoiled by the Latines*, 57, b. 58, a. *recovered from the Latines by* Alexius Strategopulus, 81, a. *betrayed unto the young Emperour* Andronicus, 119, b. *in vain beſieged by* Amurath *the Second*, 175, a. *again beſieged by* Mahomet *the Great*, 231, b. *aſſaulted by the Turks*, 235, b. *won*, 236, a.
Conſtantinople *again troubled by Fire*, 877, a. *fired the third time*, 882, b. *violent rain in the City*, 904, b. *afflicted with Graſhoppers*, 910, a. *the People much waſted by the Plague*, 920, a. *all the Dogs ſent from thence*, ib. a. *the ſituation thereof deſcribed*, 956, a.
Conſtantine *Son of* Jeremy *enters the Government of* Moldavia, 909, a. *his anſwer to the Turks Aga*, ib. b. *he and* Potosky *taken Priſoners by the Turks*, ib. b.
Contarenus *the* Venetian *Admiral ſlain*, 282, a.
Corcutus *ſaluted Emperour before his Father* Bajazet, 297, a. *kindly reſigneth the Empire to his Father*, ib. b. *given to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, and therefore not beloved of the Janizaries*, 326, a. *cometh to* Conſtantinople, 335, a. *his notable ſpeech unto his Father to perſwade him to reſign unto him the Empire before the coming of his Brother* Selymus, ib. a. *comforted by his Father, and put in hope of the Empire*, ib. b. *flyeth to* Magneſia, 337, a. *ſought after by* Selymus, *hideth himſelf in a Cave*, 341, a. *is found and taken*, ib. a. *by the commandment of* Selymus *ſtrangled*, ib. a.
Coresky *a Prince of* Polonia *marrieth the Princeſs* Alexandrina, 934, b. *a challenge ſent unto him by the Turks General*, 937, b. *taken Priſoner by the Turks*, 938, a. *his Wife carried Priſoner into* Tartaria, 941, a. *his generous reſolution*, 946, a. *he eſcapes out of Priſon*, 947, a. *and alſo out of* Conſtantinople, 948, a. *ſtrangled in Priſon*, 974, a.
Corinth *taken and ſpoiled by the Knights of* Malta, 906, a.
Cortug-Ogli *the Pyrat perſwadeth* Solyman *to beſiege the* Rhodes, 383, a.
Corone, Pylus, *and* Criſſeum, *Cities of* Peloponeſus *belonging to the* Venetians, *yielded unto the Turks*, 313, a.
Corone *beſieged by the Turks*, 423, b. *relieved by* Auria, 424, b. *abandoned and forſaken by the* Spaniards, 426, a.
Cornea *and* Serbellio, *two antient Spaniſh Captains perſuade the giving of battel unto the Turks at* Lepanto, 590, a.
Coſtly diſhes, 504, a.
Coſſacks, *they mutiny and leave Prince* Alexander, 936, b.
Count Solmes *ſurpriſing* Wiſcenburg *is taken Priſoner*, 819, b.
Cowardiſe puniſhed, 765, a.
Crete *deſcribed*, 588, a.
Croia *beſieged by* Amurath *the Second*, 221, a. *in vain aſſaulted*, ib. b. *beſieged by* Mahomet *the Great*, 273, a. *relieved*, ib. b. *again beſieged by* Mahomet, 274, b. *the third time beſieged*, 382, a. *yielded to the Turks*, 284, a.
Cubates Selymus *his Ambaſſador cometh to* Venice, 568, a. *but homely entertained there*, ib. b. *his ſpeech in the Senate of* Venice, ib. b. *for fear of the People ſecretly conveyed away*, 569, b.
Curzola *forſaken by the men, defended by Women*, 588, b.
Cuſahin Baſſa *of* Caramania *riſeth up in Rebellion againſt* Mahomet *the Third*, 779, a. *overthroweth the* Sanzacks *ſent to have oppreſſed him*, ib. b. *at the coming of* Mehemet *the Viſier Baſſa ſent againſt him, flieth*, ib. b. *forſaken of his followers, is taken and tortured to death at* Conſtantinople, 789, a.

The Cuſelbaſſa's *when and how they begun amongſt the Turks*, 317, a.
Cydan *King of* Fez *with his Army overthrown*, 915, a.
Cyprus *deſcribed*, 570, b. *how that Kingdom came to the* Venetians, ib. b. *taken from them by* Selimus *the Second*, 587, b.
Cyrene *yielded unto the Turks*, 576, b.
Czarnieuiche *corrupted, giveth the Turks paſſage over the* Danubius, *into* Valachia, 617, b. *revolteth unto the Turks*, 618, b.

D.

DAmaſco *betrayed to* Saladin *Sultan of* Egypt, 41, b. *taken and ſacked by the* Tartars, 79, b. *yielded to* Selymus, 361, b.
Damiata *and the deſcription thereof*, 62, b. *taken by the Chriſtians, being before unpeopled by the Plague*, 65, a.
Dampiere *a valiant Commander*, 869, b.
Dandalus *Admiral of the* Venetian *fleet*, 59, b.
Daout Baſſa *his death conſpired by the Great Viſier*, 976, b.
David *and* Alexius Comneni, *Nephewes to* Andronicus *the Emperour, erect unto themſelves a new Empire in* Trapezond, 59, b.
David *the laſt Emperour of* Trapezond *put to death by* Mahomet *the Great, and that Empire ſubverted*, 245, b.
Daut Chan *for his good ſervice rewarded by* Amurath *the Third*, 701, b.
Dearth in the Turks Army at Triala, 684, b.
Death of the French Ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, 901, a. *of* Amurath Seider, 905, a. *of Sultan* Achmats *Daughter*, 907, b. *of* Sigiſmund, *ſometime the warlike Prince of* Tranſilvania, 919, b.
Debreus *ſlain, and his Army overthrown by* Scanderbeg, 250, a.
Dedeſmet *the* Georgian *Widow, with her Son* Alexander *ſubmit themſelves to* Muſtapha *the Great Baſſa*, 663, b.
Delimenthes *with five thouſand* Perſians *purſueth the Turks Army*, 439, a. *aſſaileth their Camp by Night, and maketh of them a great ſlaughter*, ib. a.
Demetrius *ſubmitteth himſelf unto* Mahomet *the Great*, 241, b.
Deſcription of the Town of Arrache *or* Allarche, 900, a. *of the Grand Seigniors Chamber*, 901, b.
Deſdrot *Governour of* Stelluſa, *to the terror of the Turks in* Sfetigrade, *before their Faces executed* 195, b.
Didymoticum *yielded unto the Turks*, 131, a.
Diogenes *the Emperour diſcomfiteth the Turks*, 6, a. *himſelf by the treaſon of* John Ducas *by them again overthrown*, 7, a. *taken Priſoner*, 7, a. *honourably uſed by the Turks Sultan*, 7, b. *overthrown and taken Priſoner by* Andronicus, *hath his Eyes put out, whereof he dieth*, 8. a.
Diſcourſe of the magnificence of the Turks Court and Empire, 955, a, b.
Diſſention among the Turks, about the ſucceſſion, after the death of Mahomet *the Great*, 297, a.
Diſſention betwixt Don John *and* Venerius *the* Venetian *Admiral*, 591, b.
Dium *a Caſtle of the* Venetians *in the* Eaſt-Indies, *in vain aſſaulted by the Turks*, 451, b.
Doganes *Aga of the Janizaries whipt and diſplaced*, 230, b.
Dotis *taken by the Turks*, 769, a.
Dragut *a moſt famous Pyrat of the Turks, by* Auria *driven out of the City of* Africa, *in the Kingdom of* Tunes, 508, b. *cometh to the ſiege of* Malta, 538, b. *his Souldiers enforced ſhamefully to retire*, 540, a. *ſlain*, 541, a.
Dracula *Vayvod of* Valachia *diſſuadeth King* Uladiſlaus *from farther proceeding in his Wars againſt* Amurath, 201, b. *aideth him with his Son and* 4000 *Horſe*, 202, a. *his laſt farewel unto the King*, ib. a.
The Druſian *People what they are*, 692, a.
A Drunkard ſeverely puniſhed, 920, b.
Dulcigno, Antivari, *and* Budua, *ſtrong Towns of the* Venetians *upon the Coaſts of* Epirus, *and* Dalmatia, *yielded to the Turks*, 588, b.
The Duke of Muſcovy *his Letters and Preſents ſent unto the Emperour*, 751, a.
Duke Mercury *General of the Emperours Forces in the lower Hungary, cometh in vain to relieve* Caniſia, 790, b. *in retiring loſeth three thouſand of his men with certain pieces of great Ordnance and his baggage*, 791, a. *beſiegeth* Alba-Regalis, 793, a. *winneth it*, ib. b. *enforceth* Haſſan *the Turks General with the loſs of* 6000 *of his Turks to retire*, 794, a.
Dyrrhachium, *now called* Durazo, *taken by the Turks*, 314, a.

E.

EArthquake *moſt terrible in* Conſtantinople, 324, a.
Edward *eldeſt Son to* Henry *the Third, King of* England, *taketh upon him an Expedition into the* Holy Land, *and arriveth at* Tunes, 83, b. *arriveth at* Ptolemais, 84, a. *taketh* Nazareth, *and putteth the Turks to flight*, ib. a. *by a deſperate* Saraſin *dangerouſly wounded with an envenomed Knife*, ib. b. *cured of his wound, maketh Peace with the Sultan, and returneth into* England, ib. b.
The Egyptians *diverſly affected towards the* Mamalukes, 368, b.
Eivaſes Baſſa *hath his Eyes burnt out*, 175, b.
Elpis *the* Egyptian *Sultan beſiegeth* Tripolis, *and taketh it by force*, 86, a. *winneth* Sidon *and* Berythus, *and raſeth them, taketh* Tyre *by Compoſition, and winneth all the ſtrong Holds in* Syria *and* Palaſtine *from the Chriſtians, except only the ſtrong City of* Ptolemais, ib. a. *maketh Peace with the remainder of the Chriſtians*, ib. a.
Emanuel *the Greek Emperour with a great power invadeth the Dominions of the Sultan of* Iconium, 27, a. *loſeth a great part of his Army*, 28, a. *in danger to have been taken, notably defendeth himſelf*, ib. b. *in his greateſt diſtreſs hath Peace offered him by the Sultan, which he accepted gladly*, 30, a *he vanquiſheth* Atzapacke *the Sultans General*, ib. b. *falleth ſick and dieth*, ib. b.
Emanuel *the Greek Emperour upon hard Conditions obtaineth Peace of* Bajazet *the Great Turk, and becometh his Tributary*, 142, b. *by his Ambaſſadors offereth his Empire unto* Tamerlane, *and ſo to become his Vaſſal*, 153, a. *cometh himſelf unto him at* Pruſa, ib. b. *honourably entertaineth him, coming in private over to* Conſtantinople, 154, a.
Ambaſſadors ſent from Tamas *the* Perſian *King to* Selymus, 565, b. *hononourably entertained by the Turks at* Hadrianople, 566, a. *the* Perſian *Ambaſſador in going to viſit* Muhamet *the Viſier Baſſa, in danger to have been ſlain*, ib. b *the rich Preſents by him given to* Selymus, ib. b.
Ambaſſadors *From the Emperour to the Arch-duke* Mathias *at* Znaime, 887, a. *from the Electors of* Saxony *and* Brandenburg, *for appeaſing the Troubles betwixt the Emperour and* Mathias *his Brother*, ib. b. *from* Mathias *to the Emperour*, 888, b. *from the Elector of* Saxony, *in behalf of the Proteſtant States of* Bohemia, 894, b. *from the* Perſian *to the* German *Emperour*, 897, a. *to the Grand Seignior*, 905, a. *another*, 908, b. *the* Poliſh *Ambaſſador arreſted at* Conſtantinople, 911, b. *an Ambaſſador from the Turk to his Majeſty of* Great Britain, *and his Speech unto him*,

him, 958, b. *from* Bethlem Gabor *arriveth at the Port*, 974, a. *from the King of* Poland *to the Turk*, ib. b. *his Oration to the Grand Seignior*, 975, a. *his Remonſtrance to the Great Viſier*, 977, a. *from the Duke of* Muſcovy *to the Turk*, 976, a. *from the Prince of* Tranſilvania *to the Great Sultan*, 980, a. *the Engliſh Ambaſſador arriveth at the Port*, 765, b. *his Oration to the Grand Seignior*, ib. b. *delivereth his Letters of Credence*, 966, a. *his advice to* Delauir Baſſa, *and the Baſſa's reply*, 972, b.

Emir-Hamze *the* Perſian *Prince cometh into* Syruan, 664, b. *killeth* Caitas Baſſa; *and recovereth* Eres, ib. b. *overthroweth the* Tartars, *and taketh* Abdilcheray, 665, a. *recovereth* Sumachia, ib. a. *returneth to* Casbin, ib. a. *overthroweth the Vayvod of the Turks Army*, 679, b. *in a great battel overthroweth* Cicala Baſſa *and the Baſſa of* Caraemit, 699, b. *dareth* Oſman *the Turks General to battel*, ib. b. *with his own hand killeth the Baſſa of* Caraemit, 700, a. *killeth alſo the Baſſa of* Trapezond *with twenty thouſand turks more*, 700, b. *overthroweth* 20000 *of the Turks at the battel of* Sancazan, 701, a. *overcometh the rebellious* Turcomans, *and executeth their Leaders*, 703, a. *ſacketh* Salmas, 704, a. *putteth the Baſſa of* Reivan *to flight*, ib. b. *ſlain by one of his Eunuchs*, 705, b.

Emir Chan *having his Eyes put out, dieth miſerably in Priſon*, 686, a.

The Emperour, the French King, and the King of Polonia *intangled in their Leagues with the Turk, refuſe to give Aid unto the* Venetians *againſt him*, 570, a.

The Empire of Trapezond *overthrown and ſubverted by* Mahomet *the Great*, 245, b.

The Emperour makes fair weather with the Proteſtant States of Bohemia, 894, b.

The Engliſh Ambaſſador, Sir Tho. Glover *makes interceſſion at the Port, for the reſtoring of a depoſed Prince of* Moldavia, 902, b.

An Enterpriſe of the Chriſtians upon Albania, *diſcovered by the Turks*, 903, a.

A notable Enterpriſe of four Chriſtian Slaves, 916, a.

Eperia *by the Rebels diſtreſſed*, 875, a.

Ertogrul *with his Brother* Dunder, *and four hundred Families of the Turks, ſtay in their return towards* Perſia, 93, a. *by his good ſervice obtaineth of Sultan* Aladin *a place at* Suguta *for himſelf and his Turks to dwell in*, ib. b. *taketh the Caſtle of* Cara-Chiſar *from the Chriſtians*, ib. b.

Eubœa *taken from the* Venetians *by* Mahomet *the Great*, 277, a.

Euremoſes *his rich Preſent unto* Amurath *at the marriage of his Son* Bajazet, 133, b.

Eudocia *the Empreſs contrary to her Oath, deſirous to marry, dealeth cunningly with the* Patriarch *to diſpenſe with her Oath*, 5, b. *marrieth* Diogenes Romanus, *a Priſoner condemned to dye, and maketh him Emperour*, 6, a. *ſhe is depoſed by the Traitors* John Ducas, Pſellus, *and others, and thruſt into a Monaſtery*, 7. b.

Euſtace *Governour of the Kingdom of* Jeruſalem, *diſcomfiteth the* Saracens *in a great battel near unto* Aſcalon, *and not long after dieth*, 20. a.

F.

FAcardin *Emir of* Sidon *abandons his charge, and retires to* Florence, 921, a. *is received courteouſly of the Duke*, ib. a.

Falſhood of a Turk juſtly puniſhed, 905, b.

Famagusta *beſieged by the Turks*, 576, b. *hath a new ſupply put into it by* Quirinus, 578, b. *deſcribed*, 584, a. *the number of the defendants in it*, ib. b. *twice aſſaulted and notably defended by the Chriſtians*, ib. b. *undermined*, 585, b. *furiouſly by the Turks aſſaulted, and valiantly by the Chriſtians defended*, ib. b. *great part of the wall blown up, and the City again aſſaulted*, 586, a. *yielded up to the Turks*, ib. b.

Famine in Scodra, 290, b.

Faulconers and Huntſmen in great number in the Turks Court, 230, a.

Ferat Baſſa *ſent by* Solyman *againſt* Alis-Beg *the Mountain Prince*, 404, a. *treacherouſly murthereth him and his four Sons*, ib. b.

Ferat Baſſa *by* Amurath *choſen General of his Army againſt the* Perſians *inſtead of* Sinan, 681, a. *in the ſpace of fifteen days buildeth a Fort at* Reivan, *as he was by* Amurath *commanded*, ib. b. *breaketh up his Army at* Erzirum, 682, a. *raiſeth a new Army*, ib. b. *fortifieth* Lori, 683, a. *buildeth a Fort upon the ſtraight of* Tomanis, ib. a. *reproveth* Veis Baſſa *of* Aleppo, 684, a. *is himſelf reviled by the Janizaries and Spahi*, ib. b. *by them diſobeyed and threatned*, 685, a. *his ſtout anſwer to his mutinous Souldiers*, ib. b. *his Tents overthrown and he again threatned*, ib. b. *diſgraced, breaketh up his Army at* Ardachan, ib. b. *grievouſly complained of to* Amurath, 686, b. *by* Amurath *again made General againſt the* Perſians, 703, b. *cometh to* Van, 704, a. *putteth Succours into* Tauris, 705, a. *taketh* Genge, 707, a. *ſent by* Mahomet *General of his Army into* Hungary, 744, a. *diſgraced at his firſt coming to the Army*, ib. a. *overthrown in* Valachia, 745, a. *ſent for to* Conſtantinople, *and there ſtrangled*, 572, b.

Ferdinand *King of* Bohemia *laieth claim to the Kingdom of* Hungary, 407, b. *taketh* Buda, ib. b. *crowned King of* Hungary, 408, b. *ſeeketh for the favour of* Solyman, 409, b. *is by him rejected and threatned*, ib. b. *perſwaded by the* Hungarian *fugitives to invade* Hungary, 470, b. *diſſuaded by* Laſcus, 471, a. *ſendeth* Laſcus *to* Solyman, *and other Ambaſſadors to the Queen of* Hungary, *to demand of her that Kingdom*, ib. b. *he invadeth* Hungary, 472, a. *taketh* Peſth *and* Vacia, *and beſiegeth* Buda, ib. a. *dieth*, 534, b.

Fileck *taken by the Chriſtians*, 722, b.

Filek *yielded unto the* Haiducks, 961, a.

The Florentines *take the Caſtle of* Lango, 908, a.

Folly of the Turks, 901, a.

Fortgatſie *Lieutenant to King* Mathias *entreth* Tranſilvania *with an Army*, 902, a. *expelled by* Battori, ib. a. *his miſerable retreat*, ib. a.

The Fort of Cochina *yielded to Prince* Alexander, 928, a.

Foſcarus *a grave Senator*, 467, b. *unworthily diſgraced by the multitude*, ib. b.

Fourteen Wagons loaded with the heads of the ſlain Chriſtians, 715, b.

Francis *the French King, the more to trouble the Emperour, ſolliciteth* Solyman *to invade his Territories*, 489, b.

Francis Acciavol, *Duke of* Thebes, *by the Commandment of* Mahomet *murthered*, 241, a, b.

Frederick *the Emperour taketh upon him an Expedition into the* Holy Land, 46, b.

Frederick *Duke of* Suevia, *the Emperours Son, in his Fathers ſtead choſen General of the Chriſtians Army*, 47, a. *hath* Antioch *delivered unto him*, ib. b. *dieth of the Plague, and is buried by his Father in the Cathedral Church at* Tyre, ib. b.

Frederick *the German Emperour undertaketh an Expedition into the* Holy Land, 69, b. *crowned King of* Jeruſalem, *which is by him repaired*, 70, a.

The Frenchmen *and* Wallons *in mutiny at* Pappa, 780, b. *compact with the Turks to deliver to them the Town*, ib. b. *ſeeking ſecretly to have fled, are moſt*

moſt of them ſlain, and the reſt that were taken put to moſt horrible Tortures, 782, b.
A French *Ambaſſador feaſted by the Turks,* 901, b.
The French *Ambaſſadors men tortured by the Turks,* 947, a. *he himſelf impriſoned,* ib. b. *ſet at liberty,* ib. b.
Friuli *part of the* Venetian *Territory miſerably ſpoiled by the Turks,* 282, b. *again ſpoiled by* Scander Baſſa *and the Turks,* 311, b.
The frontiers of the Emperours Territories grievouſly ſpoiled by the Turks, 803, a.
The frugality of the Turks, 481, b.
Fulke *County of* Turin, Maine, *and* Anjou, *taketh upon him an expedition into the* Holy Land, 20, b. 21, a. *dieth of a fall off his Horſe in hunting, and is buried at* Jeruſalem, 22, b.
Funeral of the Lady Glover, *the Engliſh Ambaſſadors Wife,* 908, a.
Fuſcarinus *in his abſence, by the general conſent of the* Venetian *State choſen Admiral,* 602, b. *encourageth the Confederates to give the Turks battel,* 603, b. *in vain perſwadeth the Confederates to take the advantage of the Turks diſperſed Fleet,* 605, a. *earneſtly diſſuadeth* Don John, *and the* Spaniards *from returning without giving the Turks battel,* 609, a.

G.

GAbor *and the Turk oppreſs* Battori, 911, a.
Gabor *made Prince of* Tranſilvania *by the Turk,* ib. b. *his deſign upon divers places,* 924, a. *receiveth Aid from the Turk, and beſiegeth* Lippa, ib. b. *undertakes to ſuccour the* Bohemian *Proteſtants,* 952, a. *taketh many Towns in* Hungary 952, b. *makes a League with the* Bohemians *and* Hungarians, 953, a. *proclaimed King of* Hungary, ib.
The Gallions of Malta *defeated by the Turks,* 898, a. *they ſet upon the Turks Caravan,* ib. a. *go to ſurpriſe them of* Biſerta, ib. b. *ſink a Gallion of* Tunes, ib. b.
The Gallies of Florence *take a Turkiſh Ship,* ib. b. *win the Town of* Biſquerre, ib. b. *take divers Turkiſh Veſſels,* 899, a. *make a ſecond Voyage againſt the Turks,* 903, a. *meet with the Turks Fleet,* ib. a. *aſſailed by the Turks,* ib. a. *ſink five Turkiſh Gallies,* ib. b. *put their Fleet to flight, and take a rich Ship from them,* ib. b. *make an enterpriſe upon the Town and Caſtle of* Agliman, 917, b. *after a bloody fight take the place, and raze it,* 919, a.
The Gallies of Malta *and* Naples, *their Exploits,* 903, b. *take a* Venetian *Ship,* ib. b. *force the Iſland of* Langa, 904, a.
The Gallies of Sicily *ſail into the* Levant, 919, b. *aſſail the Turks Gallies,* ib. b.
Certain Gallies of the Turks taken by them of Florence, 898, b.
The Gallies of the Turks ſurpriſe Manfredonia, *a Town in* Naples, 918, a.
Galile *ſpoiled, and the Caſtle of* Bury *taken by the Turks,* 42, b.
Garzias *of* Toledo *Viceroy of* Sicilia *after long delay at laſt ſetteth forward with his fleet to relieve the beſieged at* Malta, 550, b. *by Tempeſt driven into the Iſland of* Æguſa, 551, b. *arriveth at* Malta, *and landeth his men,* 552, a.
Gazelles *his wholeſome counſel unto* Campſon, *for protracting the war againſt* Selymus, 358, b. *coming to have oppreſſed* Sinan Baſſa *at* Gaza, *is by him himſelf overthrown,* 362, b. 363, a. *his notable ſpeech in ſubmitting himſelf to* Selymus, 371, b. *by* Selymus *made Governour of* Syria, 379, a. *rebelleth againſt* Solyman, 382, a. *ſlain,* ib. a.
Gaza *yielded unto* Sinan Baſſa, 362, b.
George *the Deſpot of* Servia, *a Man of no Religion,* 242, b. *driven out of his Kingdom by* Amurath, 177, b. *reſtored by King* Uladiſlaus, 197, a. *denieth paſſage unto* Scanderbeg *through his Country,* 201, a. *glad to crave Aid of* Huniades, *whom he had before evilly entreated,* 212, a. *his death,* 242, b.
George *Biſhop of* Veradium *a notable man,* 470, a. *murthered in his own houſe,* 511, b.
Geordiron *the Phyſician notably deludeth the Janizaries and Spahi of the Court,* 171, b.
George Baſſa *by the Emperour appointed Lieutenant General for his Wars in the upper* Hungary, 772, b. *commanded by* Matthias *the Arch-duke, to give Aid unto* Michael *the Vayvod againſt the* Tranſilvanians, *aideth them againſt him,* 785, b. *in a great battel overthroweth the Vayvod,* 787, a. *his ſtout ſpeech to the* Chiaki *and the reſt of the Nobility of* Tranſilvania, 789, a. *his error,* ib. b. *received by the* Tranſilvanians *as the Emperours Lieutenant, until further order were by him taken for the Government of that Province,* 790, a. *ſuddenly taken Priſoner by the* Tranſilvanians, 796, a. *ſet at liberty, and aided by* Michael *the Vayvod, overthroweth* Sigiſmund *the* Tranſilvanian *Prince with a great ſlaughter, and driveth him out of his Country,* ib. b. *conſpireth the death of* Michael *the Vayvod,* 797, a. *taketh in moſt part of the Country of* Tranſilvania *for the Emperour,* ib. b. *for fear of* Sigiſmund *and the* Tranſilvanians, *flieth,* ib. b. *in battel overthroweth* Zachel Moyſes *the* Tranſilvanian *Princes Lieutenant, and bringeth that Country again under the Emperours Obeiſance,* 798, b.
Georgians, *their manner of Salutation,* 925, a.
The Germans *in* Tyrna *forced to wear* Hungarian *Garments,* 863, b.
Gervaiſe Rogers *an Engliſh man commended for his good Service at the Siege of the* Rhodes, 293, b.
Geraſimus *the Patriarch dealeth unfaithfully with the old Emperour* Andronicus, 112, a.
Giaffer *Captain of the* Janizaries *ſlain,* 444, a.
Giaffer *the Eunuch Baſſa of* Tripolis *by* Oſman Baſſa *with a Garriſon of twelve thouſand Soldiers left Governour of* Tauris, 700, a. *beſieged by the* Perſian *Prince,* 702, b. *prayeth Aid of* Cicala Baſſa, 703, a. *put to flight,* 767, b.
Godfrey *Duke of* Lorrain, *with other the Chriſtian Princes with an Army of* 300000 *fighting men undertaketh the firſt expedition into the Holy Land,* 10, b. *concludeth a League with* Alexius *the Greek Emperour,* 11, a. *beſiegeth* Nice, *and taketh it,* 113, b. *in a great battel overthroweth Sultan* Solyman *with his Turks, taketh* Antiochia *in* Piſidia, Iconium *and* Heraclea, *winneth* Cilicia, Armenia, *and* Capadocia, 12, a. *putteth the Turks to flight at the River* Orantes, 13, a. *after long ſiege taketh* Antioche *in* Syria, 14, a. *winneth* Jeruſalem *by aſſault,* 16, b. *choſen King of* Jeruſalem, 17, a. *his Letters to* Bohemund *King of* Antioche, ib. b. *in a great and mortal battel overthroweth the Turks at* Aſcalon, 17, b. *crowned King of* Jeruſalem, *and dieth of the Plague,* ib. b.
Gokara *ſurpriſed by the* Haiducks, 858, b.
The Governour of Alba-Regalis *taken,* 557, b. *his ſharp anſwer unto a* Spaniard, ib. b.
Graſhoppers ſpoil the Country about Conſtantinople, 910, a.
Great treaſure found by the Turks at the winning of Conſtantinople, 236, b.
A Greek Prieſt his notable Speech perſwading the Great Maſter of the Rhodes *to yield up the City,* 400, a. *with the moſt reſolute anſwer of a common Soldier to the contrary,* ib. b. *and that his Speech notably refelled by a Greek, and the yielding of the City urged,* 401, a.
The Greek Church by Michael Palæologus *the Greek Emperour ſubjected to the Church of Rome, and why,* 805, b.

The Greeks careleſs of the Turks firſt ſmall footing in Cherſoneſus, *jeaſt thereat*, 129, b.
The Guiſe *Lord Grand Prior of the Knights of St.* Johns *in* France, *Admiral of* Malta *taketh certain of the Turks Gallies*, 519, b.
Guletta *how ſituated*, 442, b. *beſieged by* Charles *the Emperour*, ib. b. *furiouſly battered*, 443, b. *aſſaulted and won*, 445, a. *beſieged by the Turks*, 620, a. *taken from the Chriſtians*, ib. a.
Guy *County of* Joppa *and* Aſcalon *the ninth and laſt King of* Jeruſalem, 44, a. *in a battel overthrown and taken Priſoner by* Saladin, 45, a. *ſet at liberty beſiegeth* Ptolemais, *and fighteth a great battel with* Saladin, 46, a.

H.

HAalon *Brother to* Mango *the Great Cham of* Tartaria, *with a great Army invadeth the Turks*, 79, a. *his great Victories againſt the Turks*, ib. b.
Hadrianople *yielded unto the Turks*, 131, b. *by* Amurath *the Firſt made the Royal ſeat of his Kingdom in* Europe, 132, b.
Haider *marrieth* Martha *the Daughter of the great King* Uſun-Caſſanes *by Deſpina, and hath by her* Hyſmael *afterwards King of* Perſia, 316, a.
Haider *murthered by* Jacup *the* Perſian *King*, 330, a.
The Haiducks *ſurpriſe the* Turks, 847, b. *what manner of Soldiers they are*, ib. b. *take the Caſtle of* Reouin, 848, a. *and divers other places*, 856, b. *ſlay* Copell *and* Pettinger, *two of the Emperours Captains, and ſpoil their Companies*, 857, a. *ranſack the Iſle of* Strigonium, 867, b. *do great harm in the upper* Hungary, 874, b. *incenſed againſt the* Turks *and* Tartars, *truſt neither of them*, 876, a. *raiſe new ſtirs in* Hungary, 879, a. *conſpire againſt the* Germans, 882, b. *ſix hundred intercepted by* Humanoius, ib. b. *refuſe to allow of the Pacification made at* Vienna, 886, a.
Haly-Baſſa *ſlain*, 597, a. *the Greek that ſlew him honourably rewarded*, 599, a.
Hamon *the Jew for his Treachery juſtly rewarded by* Selymus, 338, b.
Hardeck *Governour of* Rab *corrupted, yieldeth the City unto the Turks*, 734, a. *executed at* Vienna, 735, a.
Haſſan Baſſa *honourably received at* Conſtantinople *after the winning of* Alba-Regalis, 809, a. *in great danger of his Life*, 809, b. *perſuadeth the Grand Seignior to humour the mutined Souldiers*, 810, a. *his excuſe to the Mutiniers*, ib. b. *appointed General in the Turks Wars in* Hungary, 845, b. *ſent for to* Conſtantinople, 846, a. *continued General, and cometh into* Hungary, 850, a.
Haſſan Baſſa *relieveth the diſtreſſed Turks in Garriſon at* Teflis, 667, b. *breaketh promiſe with* Alliculi Chan, 668, b. *rewarded for his good Service*, 669, a. *ſent by* Ferat Baſſa *to the relief of* Teflis, 682, a. *again rewarded by* Amurath, ib. a. *left by* Ferat *with a Garriſon of* 8000 *Souldiers in the new Fort at* Tomanis, 684, a. *General of Sultan* Mahomets *Army in* Hungary, *cometh out of ſeaſon to relieve* Alba-Regalis, 794, a.
Haſſan Baſſa *the Queens Eunuch ſent Governour to* Caire, 690, b. *caſt in Priſon at* Conſtantinople, *and his evil gotten Goods confiſcated*, 691, b. *his life ſpared at the interceſſion of the Queen, and he himſelf ſet at liberty*, ib. b.
Haſſan Baſſa *of* Boſna *inciteth* Amurath *to make War upon the Emperour*, 713, b. *taketh* Wihitz *the Metropolitical City of* Croatia, 714, b. *loadeth ſix Wagons with the heads of the ſlain Chriſtians*, ib. b. *ſpoileth* Turopolis, 715, a. *deceived by the Abbot of* Siſeg, 718, a, b. *his threatning Letters unto the Abbot*, ib. b. *beſiegeth* Siſeg, ib. b. *in a great battel overthrown*, 719, b. *drowned*, ib. b.
Hatwan *beſieged by the Chriſtians*, 705, a. *taken by aſſault*, ib. b. *again forſaken by the Chriſtians*, ib. b.
Hatwan *taken and diſmantled by* Maximilian *the Arch-duke*, 829, a. *again fortified by the Turks*, ib. a. *beſieged by the Chriſtians*, ib. a. *yielded unto them*, ib. b. *abandoned by the Chriſtian Garriſon*, 851, a.
Henry *Brother to* Baldwin *choſen ſecond Emperor of the Latines in* Conſtantinople, 60, b.
Henry *Duke of* Saxony *with a great Army ſent into the* Holy Land *by* Henry *the Sixth, Emperour of* Germany, *goeth accompanied with many great Princes*, 51, b. *falling ſick of a fever, dieth*, 52, a.
Henry *the French King by his Ambaſſadour ſoliciteth* Solyman *to invade the King of* Spain's *Territories*, 518, b.
Heraclius *the Greek Emperour by the help of the* Arabians *recovereth* Siria *and the* Holy City *from* Choſroë *the* Perſian *King*, 161, a.
Hoccata *the* Tartar *by his Captains ſubdueth* Armenia *the greater*, Cholchis, *and* Iberia, 53, b. *ſucceeding his Father* Zingis, *invadeth the Eaſt and Weſt parts of* Aſia, *ſubdueth the* Eaſt-Indies, *and buildeth* Cambalu, ib. a. *driveth the Turks out of* Perſia, *and ſubdueth many Countries*, ib. b.
Horruccius *and* Hariadenus *how they of baſe Pyrats aſpired to the Kingdom of* Algiers, 428, b. Horruccius *his ſucceſs*, 429, a. *ſlain, and his Head in triumph carried about in* Spain, ib. a.
Hungary *divided into two factions upon the choice of* Uladiſlaus *King of* Polonia, 113, b. *again divided upon the diſſention betwixt King* Ferdinand *and King* John, 407, b. *becometh a prey unto* Solyman, *and by him converted into the form of a Province of the Turkiſh Empire*, 481, a.
Hungary, *the* Hungarians *miſery*, 841, a. *upper* Hungary *by the* Turks *and* Tartars *ſpoyled and burnt*, 853, b. *great Towns taken and rifled by the Rebels*, 864, a.
Huniades *by King* Uladiſlaus *made Vayvod of* Tranſilvania, 181, a. *in a great battel overthroweth* Iſa-Beg, Amurath's *Lieutenant in* Servia, ib. b. *overthroweth* Meſites Baſſa, *and killeth him with twenty thouſand Turks more*, 183, a. *of the ſpoil of the Turks ſendeth a Preſent unto King* Uladiſlaus *and the Deſpot of* Servia, 183, b. *his moſt Chriſtian ſpeech to encourage his Soldiers againſt the Turks*, 184, b. *in a great and mortal battel overthroweth* Abedin Baſſa *with his Army at* Vaſcape, 186, b. *with ten thouſand Horſemen overthroweth a great Army of the Turks by Night*, 189, a. *eight times repulſeth the Turks purſuing him in his retreat down the Mountain* Hemus, 190, a. *with a great ſlaughter diſcomfiteth* Carambey *the Baſſa of* Romania, *and taketh him Priſoner*, 191, a. *flying out of the battel of* Varna, *taken Priſoner by* Dracula, *Vayvod of* Valachia, 203, a. *by general conſent choſen Governour of* Hungary *in the minority of King* Ladiſlaus, 207, b. *goeth againſt the Turks*, 208, a. *with a notable ſpeech encourageth his Soldiers againſt the Turks*, 209, a. *fighteth three days together with* Amurath *in the Plains of* Coſſova, 209, a. 210, b. *overcome, flyeth*, 211, a. *falleth into the hands of two notable thieves*, 211, b. *in doubt of a Shepherd, is by him relieved*, 211, b. *taken Priſoner by the falſe Deſpot*, ib. b. *ſet at liberty, revengeth himſelf upon him*, ib. b. *requeſted, giveth him aid againſt the Turks*, 212, a. *his moſt Chriſtian-like death*, 244, a.
The Huſſars *moſt traiterouſly ſpoil their Friends*, 856, b.
Hyſmael *after the death of his Father* Haider *flyeth to his Fathers Friend* Pyrchales, 316, b. *his behaviour in the time of his exile*, 317, a. *recovereth his Inheritance*, ib. b. *taketh* Sumachia, ib. b. *obtaineth*

obtaineth Tauris, 318, a. *overcometh* Elyan *the* Perſian *King, and killeth him*, 318, b. *peaceably received into* Scyras, ib. b. *preacheth his Fathers Doctrine*, ib. b. *putteth* Moratchamus *to flight, and obtaineth the* Perſian *Kingdom*, 319, a. b. *the Inſcription of his Coyn*, ib. b. *cometh to his Army at* Coy, 345, b. *ſendeth an Herauld unto* Selymus, 346, a. *with* 30000 Perſians *giveth battel to* Selymus *with* 300000 *Turks*, 346, b. *wounded, retireth*, 348, b. *the cauſe why he came with ſo ſmall an Army againſt* Selymus, 352, a. *his large Territories*, ib. a. *the reaſon why he invaded not* Selymus *wholly buſied in the* Ægyptian *Wars*, ib. b.

I.

JAcup Arnaut *ſlain, and his Army diſcomfited by* Scanderbeg, 272, b.
Jacaia *ſuppoſed Brother to Sultan* Achmat, 926, a. *becometh a Chriſtian*, ib. b. *joyns with the Rebels of* Aſia, ib. b. *is defeated and wounded*, ib. b. *ſendeth to* Conſtantinople, *and corrupteth the Viſier*, ib. b. *his Life in danger at* Cracovia, 927, a. *retireth to* Prague *to the Emperour*, ib. a. *comes to* Florence, *and is honourably entertained*, ib. a. *goeth to* Naples *and* Milan, ib. b. *cometh to* Rome, ib. b.
Jagenrenter *his Cowardiſe*, 849, a.
The Janizaries *firſt inſtituted by* Amurath *the Firſt*, 132, a. 133, b. *ſtand upon their Guard, and reviling* Bajazet *their Emperour, refuſe to receive him among them*, 303, a. *in mutiny againſt* Selymus, 348, b. *up in arms againſt* Solyman *for the unworthy death of the noble* Muſtapha, 516, b. *unwilling to go in the quarrel of* Selymus *againſt his Brother* Bajazet, 523, a. *their inſolent and threatning ſpeech unto* Ferat Baſſa *their General*, 684. b. *in a Tumult at* Conſtantinople, 707, b. *in an uproar with the* Spahi, 772, b. *threaten the depoſing of their Emperour*, 779, b. *in mutiny at* Conſtantinople, 798, a.
Janizaries, *they murther* Mahomet Baſſa, 811, a. *mutiny againſt the Viſier, and the cauſe why*, 852, a. *again in mutiny*, 871, b. *mutiny againſt the Baſſa of* Buda, 880, b. *againſt the Grand Seignior, and the great Viſier ſlain by them*, 969, b. *they demand* Muſtapha, 970, a. *aſſault the Houſes of the Chriſtians*, 976.
Jathatines *Sultan of* Iconium *ſucceedeth his Father* Aladin, 60, b. *beſieging* Antiochia, *is ſlain by* Theodorus Laſcaris *the Greek Emperor*, 61, a.
Jathatines *the ſecond of that Name, Sultan of* Iconium, *maketh great preparation againſt the* Tartars, 76, b. *overthrown, flieth to the Greek Emperour* Theodorus *for Aid*, 77, a. *maketh Peace with the* Tartars, *and yieldeth them a yearly Tribute*, ib. a. *again by them oppreſſed, flyeth to* Palæologus *the Emperour at* Nice, 80, a. *dyeth in exile*, 82, a.
Ibrahim Baſſa *by* Amurath *made Governour of* Caire, 690, b. *oppreſſeth the People, and enricheth himſelf*, 691, b. *goeth againſt the* Druſians, 692, a. *ſpoyleth the Country of* Man-Ogli *the* Druſian *Lord*, 694, b. *with Fire and Sword deſtroyeth the Country of* Seraphadin, 695, a. *createth* Aly-Ebne-Carfus Baſſa *of the* Druſians, ib. b. *the rich Preſents by him given to* Amurath *and the Ladies of the Court*, 696, a. *in danger to have been taken*, 666, b. *flieth out of the battel of* Agria, 768, a. *ſent again General into* Hungary, 772, b. *cometh to* Buda, 777, b. *purpoſing War, entreateth of Peace*, ib. b. *with a great Army beſiegeth* Caniſia, 790, b. *hath the Town yielded unto him*, 791, a. *his Letters unto County* Serinus, ib. b. *returneth with his Army to* Belgrade, 792, a. *dieth*, 793, a.
Jerome *Vayvod of* Valachia, *dieth*, 886, a.
Jeſuites, certain of them go to Mengrelia, 924, b. *Shipwrecked*, 925, a. *entertained by a Prince in* Aſia, ib. b. *Jeſuites accuſed at* Conſtantinople, 933, a. *impriſoned*, ib a. *ſet at liberty*, ib. b.
Illinaſchius *abuſed by the* Hungarians, 875, b. *choſen Palatine of* Hungary, 891, a. *dieth*, 893, a.
Imailer *what men they be amongſt the Turks*, 325, a.
Imirza *ſtirreth up* Solyman *againſt his Brother* Tamas *the* Perſian *King*, 508, a. *betrayed to his Brother* Tamas, *and by him murthered in Priſon*, 1568, b.
Innocency of great force, 529, a.
John Barazes *made Emprour of the Greeks in* Aſia, 68, b. *taketh in many Iſlands of the* Ægeum, *and forrageth the Country of* Thracia *even to the Gates of* Conſtantinople, *being very aged dyeth*, 75, b.
John County de Brenne *by* Innocentius *the Pope appointed King of* Jeruſalem, 61, b. *in deriſion called* Reylamus ville, ib. b.
John Caltriot *Prince of* Epirus *for fear giveth his four Sons in Hoſtage unto* Amurath, 177, a.
John Sepuſius, *Vayvod of* Tranſilvania, *choſen and crowned King of* Hungary, 407, a. *after the battel of* Toccay *flieth into* Polonia, 408, a. *by* Laſcus *his Ambaſſador craveth Aid of* Solyman, 409, a. *cometh to* Solyman *at* Belgrade, 410, a. *by him reſtored to the Kingdom of* Hungary, 414, a. *in his old yeats marrieth* Iſabella *the Daughter of King* Sigiſmund, 469, a. *dieth*, ib. b.
Don John *of* Auſtria *General of the confederate Princes forces*, 584, b. *in a terrible fight encountreth with* Haly Baſſa *in the battel of* Lepanto, 597, a. *killeth him*, ib. a. *in doubt whether to ſend them Aid or not*, 602, b. *ſendeth word unto the Confederates to meet him at* Zacynthus, 605, b. *faileth them*, 606, a. *meeteth them at* Corcyra, ib. b. *offereth the Turks battel*, 607, a. *refuſeth to follow the Counſel of the* Venetian *Admiral*, 607, b. *breaketh promiſe with him, and returneth to* Meſſana, 610, b.
John *the Vayvod of* Moldavia *falleth into ſuſpicion with the Turks*, 614, a. *his notable ſpeech unto his Nobility and Subjects, concerning the Turks demand*, ib. b. *in vain craveth Aid of the King of* Polonia, 616, a. *with a great ſlaughter overthrow, eth the Palatine and the Turks*, 616, a. *giveth the Turks a ſecond overthrow*, ib. b. *betrayed by* Czarnieuich, 617, b. *overthrown by the Turks*, 618, a. *ſhamefully and perfidiouſly by them murthered*, 619, a.
Jonima, Ballabanus *his Brother, and* Hedar *his Son taken Priſoners by* Scanderbeg, 273, b.
Jonuſes Baſſa *ſent againſt* Techellis, *putteth him to flight*, 234, a. *hurt at the winning of* Caire, 371, a. *envieth at the unworthy preferment of* Cayerbeius, 376, a. *is himſelf ſecretly hated of* Selymus, ib. b. *put to death*, 377, b.
Irene *the fair Greek beheaded by* Mahomet *the Great*, 240, a.
Iſa *after the Captivity of his Father* Bajazet, *ſeiſeth upon the City of* Pruſa, 159, b. *overthrown in battel by his Brother* Mahomet, 162, b. *with a great Army ſent by his Brother* Solyman *againſt* Mahomet, 164, a. *burneth* Pruſa, ib. b. *dieth in Obſcurity*, 165, a.
Iſmael *laſt of the* Iſfendiars *yieldeth his Principality of* Caſtamona *and* Sinope *to* Mahomet *the Great*, 245, a.
Iſhender Baſſa *overthrown by* Aladules, *taken and ſent Priſoner to* Caitbeius *to* Caire, 551, b.
Iſlan *a Priſoner made a King*, 688, a.
Iſmael *the Son of King* Tamas *ſaluted King of* Perſia, 653, a. *murthereth eight of his younger Brethren, altereth the* Perſian *Religion, and tyranniſeth*, ib. b.

niſeth, ib. b. *by the device of his Siſter* Periaconcona *himſelf murthered*, ib. b.
The Italians, *left by the Emperour for the Aid of King* Ferdinand *in his Wars in* Hungary, *ariſe in mutiny*, 420, b. *eight thouſand of them forſake their Captains, and return into* Italy, 421, b.
Julia Gonzaga *a fair Lady of* Italy *put in great fear by* Barbaruſſa, 432, a.
Julian *the Cardinal ſent by Pope* Urban *to appeaſe the diſſention in* Hungary, *and to ſtir up the* Hungarians *againſt the Turks*, 187, b. *his effectual ſpeech in Parliament to perſwade the War*, 187, b. *cunningly perſwadeth King* Uladiſlaus *to break the honourable and ſolemn League he had before made with* Amurath, 198, *a diſanulleth the League, abſolving the King and the reſt from their Oath before given to* Amurath, 199, a. *himſelf ſlain*, 203, b.

K.

The Kingdom *of* Hungary *by* Solyman *converted into a Province of the Turkiſh Empire*, 481, a.
The King of Spain's *Edict for the baniſhment of the Moriſques or new Chriſtians*, 899, a.
The King of Fez *beſiegeth* Morocco, *and is defeated*, 914, a.
The Knights of Malta *crave Aid of* Garzias *the Viceroy of* Sicilia, 543, a. *his cold anſwer*, 544, b.
Komara *beſieged by* Siman Baſſa, 734, b.
Koppan *ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians*, 706, a.

L.

LAdiſlaus *a Child crowned King of* Hungary *at* Alba-Regalis, 177, a.
Lazarus Deſpot *of* Servia *becometh tributary unto* Amurath *the Firſt*, 134, a. *purpoſing to make war againſt* Amurath, *craveth Aid of the King of* Boſna, 136, b. *in a mortal battel overthrown in the Plains of* Coſſova *and ſlain*, 139, a.
League betwixt the Turks *and* Hollanders, 916, b.
Leopold *the Arch-duke, his proceedings in* Bohemia, 897, b.
Lepanto *yielded to the Turks*, 312, b.

Letters.

Of Achmet *Baſſa to* Collonitz *concerning a Peace*, 821, b. *of the Baſſa of* Buda *to Collonel* Alhem, 835, a. *another*, 844, a. *of* Haſſan *the Viſier, and of* Begedes Baſſa, *to the* German *Soldiers beſieged in the Caſtle of* Vicegrade, 859, a. *of* Collonitz *to a certain Nobleman, concerning the Troubles in* Hungary, 861, a. *of* Botſcay *to the Nobility and States of* Hungary, 862, a. *from a Citizen of* Vienna, *declaring the miſeries of* Hungary, 864, b. *of the* German *Emperour to the* Perſian *King*, 873, a. *from the* Perſian *to the* Spaniard, 881, a. *of Confederation betwixt the States of* Auſtria *and* Hungary, 885, b. *of the Emperour to the Reformed States of* Bohemia, *for the free exerciſe of their Religion*, 894, b. *from Sultan* Achmat *to the Emperour, and his anſwer thereunto*, 923, a. *from Sultan* Oſman *to the French King*, 949, a. *to the King of* Great Brittain, 951, a. *from* Halil Baſſa *to the Engliſh Ambaſſador*, ib. b. *from the King of* Great Brittain *to Sultan* Oſman, 966, a. *from the Grand Seignior to the King of* Great Brittain, 968, a.
Lewis *the Eighth of that Name, the French King, making an Expedition into the* Holy Land, *is by the malice of* Emanuel *the Greek Emperour therein much hindered*, 24, b. *he beſiegeth* Damaſco, *where by the envy of the other Chriſtian Princes he was enforced to raiſe his ſiege, and ſo to return home into his Country*, 25, a.
Lewis *the Ninth, the French King, making an Expedition towards the* Holy Land, *arriveth at* Damieta, 71, b. 72, a. *taketh the City forſaken by the Turks*, 72, b. *with his whole Army overthrown, and himſelf taken Priſoner*, 74, a. *undertaketh a ſecond Expedition toward the* Holy Land, *with his Sons and moſt of his Nobility*, 83, a. *overthroweth the Moors, and beſiegeth* Tunes, ib. b. *falleth ſick of the bloody flix, and dieth*, ib. b.
Lewis *the Eleventh, the French King, giveth Aid unto the* Venetians *againſt the* Turks, 314, a.
Lewis *King of* Hungary, *with an Army of five and twenty thouſand, fondly goeth againſt* Solyman, *being two hundred and ſixty thouſand ſtrong*, 405, a. *overthrown in his flight, drowned in a ditch*, 406, a.
Liſcanus *the covetous* Spaniard *dealeth uncourteouſly with* Perenus, 495, a. *himſelf in like ſort ſerved, and merrily ſtripped of his wealth by* Halis *Captain of the Janizaries*, 499, a.
Liſſa *taken by the Turks, and the bones of* Scanderbeg *digged up, and by them worn for Jewels*, 290, b.
Lodronius *encourageth his Soldiers*, 461, a. *jeſted at by an old Soldier*, ib. a. *ſlain, and his Head, with the Heads of two other Captains in a Silver Baſon preſented to* Solyman *at* Conſtantinople, 462, a.
Loſſes of the Turkiſh and Poliſh Armies in Sultan Oſman's *Expedition againſt them*, 963, a.
Lugaze, *a ſtrong place delivered to* Baſta, 828, a.

M.

MAhomet *the Firſt ſendeth ſpies into* Tamerlane's *Camp*, 160, a. *becometh famous in* Tamerlane's *Court*, 161, a. *in battel overthroweth his Brother* Iſa, 162, a. *honourably buried the body of his Father* Bajazet *at* Pruſa, 163, a. *again overthroweth his Brother* Iſa *ſupported by his Brother* Solyman, 163, b. *giveth him a third overthrow, together with the other Mahometan Princes his Confederates*, 164, a. *beſieged by his Brother* Solyman *in* Amaſia, 165, a. *upon report of his Brother* Muſa's *evil Government, goeth againſt him into* Europe, 167, a. *overthrown, flieth back again into* Aſia, ib. b. *cometh again into* Europe, 168, a. *beſiegeth* Hadrianople, ib. b. *overthroweth his Brother* Muſa *in battel, and cauſeth him being taken Priſoner to be ſtrangled*, 169, a. *wholly poſſeſſeth the* Othoman *Kingdom both in* Europe *and* Aſia, ib. b. *oppreſſeth* Orchanes *his Brother* Solymans *Son, and putteth out his Eyes*, 170, a. *taketh the* Caramanian *King and his Son Priſoners*, ib. a. *enforceth the* Valachian *Prince to become his Tributary*, ib. a. *dieth at* Hadrianople, 171, a. *his death cunningly concealed by the three great Baſſa's*, ib. a. *he worthily accounted the reſtorer of the* Othoman *Kingdom, almoſt quite overthrown by* Tamerlane, ib. b.
Mahomet *the Second, ſirnamed the Great, an Atheiſt, of no Religion*, 229, a. *murthereth his Brethren*, ib. b. *reformeth the Turks Common-wealth*, ib. b. *ſubdueth* Menteſia, 230, b. *winneth* Conſtantinople, 236, a. *ſolemniſeth his Feaſts in* Conſtantinople *with the Blood of the* Grecian *Nobility*, 237, a. *notably diſſembleth his hatred againſt* Caly Baſſa, ib. b. *firſt Emperour of the Turks*, 238, a. *amorous of the fair Greek* Irene, ib. b. *with his own hand ſtriketh off her Head*, 240, b. *beſiegeth* Belgrade, 243, a. *wounded and carried away for dead*, 244, a. *falſifieth his Faith with* David *the Emperour of* Trapezond, 245, b. *ſeeketh to entrap* Wladus *Prince of* Valachia, ib. b. *in danger to have been ſlain by* Wladus Dracula *his Ganymede*, 247, a, b. *his Letters to* Scanderbeg, 262, a. *ſueth to* Scanderbeg *to have*

have the League renewed betwixt them, 266, a. *cometh himself in Person to the Siege of* Croia, ib. *forsaketh the Siege of* Croia, 274, b. *breaketh his faith with* Paulus Ericus, *Governour of* Chalcis, 276, b. *he is no less troublesome unto the Mahometane Princes than to the Christians*, 278, a. *cometh himself to the Siege of* Scodra, 284, b. *notably encourageth his Captains and Souldiers to a general assault*, 285, b. *melancholy for the repulse of his men*, 287, a. *blasphemeth*, 289, a. *curseth* Epirus, *and so returneth to* Constantinople, 290, b. *by* Mesites Palæologus *one of his great Bassa's besiegeth the* Rhodes, 291, b. *invadeth* Italy, *and by* Achmetes *his great Captain taketh* Otranto, 295, a. *going against the* Caramanian *King, dieth by the way at* Givisen, *in* Bythinia, *not without suspition of Poyson, and lieth buried at* Constantinople, ib. b.

Mahometes *one of the Visier Bassa's by the mutinous Janizaries slain*, 297, a.

Mahometes *the Son of* Caytbeius, *with four Sultans more, one after another slain by the* Mamalukes, 306, b.

Mahometes Solymans *Son disguised, goeth to see his Brother* Achomates, 325, a. *as a Sea-fairing man cometh disguised to* Constantinople, *and so into his Fathers Court*, ib. a. *by the commandment of his suspicious Father poysoned, dieth*, 325, b.

Mahometes, *Governour of* Belgrade, *aided by the other Sanzacks, maketh head against* Cazzianer, *General of King* Ferdinands *Army*, 456, b. *wisely refuseth battel offered by* Cazzianer, *and by temporizing distresseth the Army of the Christians*, 458, b. *troubleth the Christians in their retreat*, 459, b. *giveth them a great overthrow*, 461, b. *cometh to the relief of* Belgrade, 476, a. *his vehement Oration unto* Solyman *to perswade him to take the Kingdom of* Hungary *into his own hands, and so to unite it unto his own Empire*, 480, a.

Mahomet *the* Tartar *King with his two Sons, strangled by* Osman Bassa, 688, a.

Mahomet Bassa *in despight of* Sinan *sent General of his Army for the relief of his Garrisons in* Chars *and* Teflis, 675, b. *discomfited by the* Georgians, *and his provision of Money and Victuals taken from him*, 676, b. *with his discomfited Army arriveth at* Teflis, ib. b. *his heavy Oration in the Castle of* Teflis, 677, a. *maketh a Purse for the relief of the distressed Garrison*, ib. b. *plotteth the death of* Manuechiar *the* Georgian, ib. b. *himself in danger to have been by the* Georgian *slain*, 678, a.

Mahomet *the Third saluted Emperour of the Turks*, 741, a. *murthereth his Brethren, and causeth certain of his Fathers Wives and Concubines to be drowned*, ib. a. *with much ado appeaseth the mutinous Janizaries*, ib. b. *sendeth Ambassadors unto the* Transilvanian *Prince*, 745, b. *careful of* Strigonium *besieged by the Christians*, 747, b. *perplexed*, 761, a. *causeth the continuance of his Wars against the Emperour and the* Transilvanian *to be proclaimed at* Constantinople, 762, a. *cometh to* Buda *with an Army of two hundred thousand men*, 765, b. *besieged* Agria, 766, a. *furiously assaulteth it*, ib. a. *hath it yielded unto him*, 767, a. *with* Ibrahim *the Great Bassa flyeth out of the battel of* Karesta, 768, a. *by the* Transilvanians *and* Valachians *troubled in his return to* Constantinople, ib. b. *his Ambassadour evil entreated by the* Persian *King*, 792, b.

Mahomet *the Grand Seignior sheweth himself to the mutinous Souldiers*, 810, a. *with mild words seeketh to appease them*, ib. b. *his cruelty*, 811, a. *in danger of being deposed*, 812, a. *causeth his eldest Son with divers others to be strangled*, ib. b. *seeketh to pacifie the Rebels in* Asia, *but cannot*, 821, a. *and therefore offers Peace to the Christians*, ib. a. *troubled in his Affairs*, 824, b. *dieth*, 834, b. *reasons why he was not regarded of his men of War*, 835, b. *his Issue*, ib. b. *the manner of his Monument at* Constantinople, 835, b.

The Mahometan Princes of the lesser Asia *oppressed by* Bajazet, *disguised, fly unto* Tamerlane *for relief*, 145, a.

Malta *described*, 737, a. *invaded by the Turks*, 538, a.

Mamalukes, *the beginning of their Kingdom in* Ægypt, 356, b. *their Imperious Government in* Ægypt, Judæa, *and* Syria, ib. a. *their Kingdom utterly subverted by* Selymus, 375, b. *the* Mamalukes *in Prison at* Alexandria, *by the commandment of* Selymus *murthered*, ib. b.

Manto *cruelly slain by her jealous Husband* Jonuses, 378, a.

Man-Ogli *his Letters to* Ibrahim Bassa, 693, a. *sendeth him Presents*, 694, a.

Manucchiar *his speech to* Mustapha *the Visier Bassa*, 659, b. *with his Brother* Alexander *by* Mustapha *sent to* Amurath, 663, b. *turneth Turk, and hath his elder Brothers Principality given him*, 666, b. *in danger to have been betrayed by* Mahomet Bassa, 677, b. *notably revengeth himself of the Treachery by the Bassa intended against him*, 678, a. *revolteth from the Turks, and doth them great harm*, 682, a.

Marquis S. Crucis *taketh one of the Turks Gallies in sight of their whole fleet*, 608, a.

Marriage Rites with great Pomp solemnized by the Turks, 907, a, b.

The Massagets *entertained by* Andronicus *against the Turks, spoil his Countries in* Asia, 104, a. *in their return homeward, themselves spoiled by the* Catalonians *and* Turcopuli, 106, b.

Masut *the Sultan of* Iconium *divideth his Kingdom among his three Sons*, 26, a.

Matthias *the Arch-duke, the Emperours Lieutenant taketh* Novigrade *from the Turks*, 724, b. *besiegeth* Strigonium, 726, b. *raiseth his siege*, 729, a. *shamefully put to flight by the Turks*, 733, a.

Matthias Coruinus *of a Prisoner chosen King of* Hungary, 269, a. *at the request of the Senate, taketh a great part of the* Venetian *Territory into his Protection against the Turks*, ib. a. *relieveth the Vayvod of* Transilvania, 291, a. *no less dreadful unto the Turks than was his Father* Huniades, 275, b.

Matthias *the Arch-duke cometh to* Presburg, 885, a. *prepareth for an Expedition into* Moravia, 886, b. *cometh to* Zname, 887, a. *hath the Crown of* Hungary *delivered unto him*, 889, a. *departeth with his Army out of* Bohemia, ib. b. *royally received at* Vienna, ib. b. *crowned at* Presburg, 891, a. *sends an Ambassador to* Constantinople, 913, b.

Maximilian *the Arch-duke sent to the Pope to crave Aid against the Turks*, 146, b.

Maximilian *chosen King of the* Romans, *and after crowned King of* Hungary, 533, a. *he and* Solyman *both desirous of Peace*, 560, a. *he sendeth Ambassadors to* Solyman, 561, a. *Presents given by the Ambassadors unto the Bassa of* Buda, ib. b. *his Ambassadors honourably received by the Turks at* Constantinople, 562, a. *Presents given by the Ambassadors unto the Great Bassas*, ib. a. *Presents sent to* Selymus, ib. b. *a homely Feast given to the Ambassadors Followers in the* Turks *Court*, 563, b. *the Ambassadors brought in unto* Selymus, *with the manner of the entertainment of them and their Followers*, 564, a. *a Peace con-*

concluded betwixt Maximilian *and* Selymus, 565, a.
Maximilian *the Arch-duke by the Emperour his Brother appointed General of his Army in* Hungary, 765, a. *marcheth but ſlowly to the relief of* Agria, 766, b. *flieth out of the battel of* Kareſta, 768, b.
Maylat *treacherouſly taken Priſoner by* Peter *the* Moldavian, 483, b.
Meligalus *a notable Traitor perſwadeth* Mahomet *to beſiege the* Rhodes, 291, b. *his worthy death*, ib. b.
Meledin *Sultan of* Egypt,, *and* Corradin *Sultan of* Damaſco, *ſend Ambaſſadors for Peace to the Chriſtian Princes at the Siege of* Damiata, *recovereth* Damiata, *before taken by the Chriſtians*, 63, b. *overthroweth the Chriſtians, and raſeth* Jeruſalem, 71, a. *dieth*, 72, b.
Melechſala *Sultan of* Egypt *overthroweth* Robert *Earl of* Arthois *the French Kings Brother*, 73, b. *taketh* Lewis *the French King Priſoner, and overthroweth his Army*, 74, b. *maketh Peace with the French King, and is ſuddenly ſlain by two* Mamalukes, ib. b.
Melech *the* Egyptian *Sultan invadeth* Syria, *and winneth* Damaſco *from the* Tartars, 80, a.
Melechſares *the* Ægyptian *Sultan determining to root out all the Chriſtians in* Syria *and the Land of* Paleſtine, *is by ſudden death taken away*, 86, a.
Melechſala *Sultan of* Damaſco *by the Treaſon of his Nobility diſpoſſeſſed of his Kingdom*, 41, b.
Meſites Baſſa *ſent by* Amurath *to invade* Tranſilvania, 182, a. *he with* 20000 *Turks more ſlain by* Huniades, 183, a.
Meysberg's *Regiment in mutiny*, 841, b.
Michna's *Souldiers defeated by Prince* Alexanders *Troops*, 935, a. *flieth*, ib. a. *ſends an Ambaſſador to Prince* Alexander, ib. b. *proclaimed Prince of* Moldavia, 936, b.
Michael Ducas *the Greek Emperour by* Nicephorus Botoniates *depoſed of his Empire, after he had reigned ſix years and ſix months*, 8. b.
Michael Palæologus *flieth to the Sultan of* Iconium, 76, b. *called home again by the Emperour* Theodorus, *and made Great Conſtable*, 77, a. *aſpireth, and by common conſent made Tutor unto the young Emperour*, 78, b. *himſelf proclaimed Emperour and crowned*, ib. b. *by* Alexius Cæſar *his Lieutenant ſurpriſeth* Conſtantinople, 81, a. *repaireth the decayed City*, ib. b. *cauſeth the young Emperours Eyes to be put out*, 82, a. *his Army overthrown by the Turks in* Paphlagonia, ib. b. *ſubmitteth the Greek Church unto the Latine, and for what cauſe*, 100, b. *perſwadeth his Subjects to accept of the alteration of their Religion and Ceremonies*, 101, a. *raiſeth Perſecution in the Greek Church*, ib. a. *hindered by domeſtical trouble, hath no leiſure to attend unto the danger ariſing from the Turks in* Aſia, ib. a, b. *obſcurely buried*, ib. b.
Michael Coſſi *by* Othoman *taken Priſoner, by him again ſet at Liberty*, 95, a. *Father of the honourable Family of the* Michael-Oglies *among the Turks*, ib. a. *diſcovereth unto* Oſman *the Treaſon intended againſt him*, 98, a. *enforced rather than perſwaded by* Othoman, *turneth Turk*, 100, a.
Michael *the young Emperour overthrown by the* Catalonians *and* Turks, *in danger to have been taken*, 106, a. *again overthrown by the* Turks *at* Cherſoneſus, 108, b.
Michael Horwat *by* Amurath *created Vayvod of* Valachia, 738, a. *perſwaded by the* Tranſilvanian *Prince, revolteth from the Turks, and killeth all the Turks and Jews in his Country*, 739, a. *killeth one of the Turks proud Emirs with all his followers*, ib. b. *doth the Turks great harm*, ib. b. *ſuffereth the Turks Ambaſſadors unto the King of* Polonia *by his Subjects to be ſlain*, 744, a. *ſpoileth the Turks Frontiers*, ib. a. *yieldeth his obeyſance again unto the Turk, yet refuſeth to aid him againſt the Chriſtians*, 669, a. *weary of the Turk, ſubmitteth himſelf with his People to the Emperours protection*, 770, a. *ſacketh* Nicopolis, 774, b. *with a great Army entereth into* Tranſilvania, 778, a. *in a great battel overthroweth the Cardinal* Bathor, ib. b. *ſendeth his head for a Preſent to the Emperour*, ib. b. *hath the Government of* Tranſilvania *by the Emperour confirmed unto him*, 783, a. *receiveth Preſents from the Turk*, ib. b. *in a great battel overthroweth* Sigiſmund *the late* Tranſilvanian *Prince, with the Vayvod of* Moldavia, 784, b. *tyranniſeth in* Tranſilvania, 785, a. *enforced by the* Tranſilvanians *to fly, craveth Aid of* George Baſta *the Emperours Lieutenant in the upper* Hungary, ib. a. *by* Baſta *and the* Tranſilvanians *in a great battel overthrown at* Mirillo, 787, a. *reconcileth himſelf to* Baſta, ib. b. *for fear of being betrayed unto the* Polonians, *taketh his flight into the Mountains*, 788, a. *by* Zamoſchie *the Great Chancellor driven out of* Valachia, *and another Vayvod there placed in his ſtead*, ib. b. *ſubmitteth himſelf unto the Emperour*, 796, a. *returning into* Valachia, *giveth Aid unto* Baſta *againſt* Sigiſmund *the* Tranſilvanian, 796, b. *having with* Baſia *driven the Prince out of* Tranſilvania, *with great inſolency uſeth his Victory*, ib. b. *his preſumptuous ſpeech to Baſta*, 797, a. *ſuddenly ſlain in his own Tent*, ib a.
The Mingrelians *manner of feaſting*, 925, b.
The Miſery of the Captive Conſtantinopolitans, 236, b.
Mitylene *yielded unto the Turk*, 248, a.
Modon *taken by the Turks*, 313, a.
Moldavia *invaded by the* Turks *and* Tartars, 908, b.
Monſieur Laual *a valiant Gentleman ſlain*, 867, b.
Morat, *who then reigned, by the Viſier attempted to be made Sultan, and* Muſtapha *again depoſed*, 974, a.
Moravia *ſpoiled by the rebellious* Haiducks, 863, a.
The Moriſques *chaſe the Jews out of* Pera, 917, a. *practiſe againſt the Chriſtians*, ib. a.
Moyſes *the* Tranſilvanian *Rebel overthrown by* Baſta, *flies with his Wife and all his Family to the Turks*, 815, b. *entereth* Tranſilvania *with an Army*, 817, a. *beſiegeth the Town of* Wiſceburg, *and taketh it*, ib. b. *winneth* Claudinople, 818, a. *deceived by the Turks*, ib. b. *putteth to flight the* Valachians, 818, b. *by them overthrown and ſlain*, 819, a.
Moyſes Golemus *corrupted, revolteth unto the Turk*, 253, b. *with an Army of the Turks by* Mahomet *ſent into* Epyrus *againſt* Scanderbeg, 254, a. *overcome and put to flight by* Scanderbeg, 255, a. *contemned of the Turks, flieth from* Conſtantinople, *and again ſubmitteth himſelf to* Scanderbeg, ib. b. *he with divers others of* Scanderbegs *beſt Captains by* Balabanus *taken Priſoners, and by* Mahomet *ſlain quick*, 270, b.
Muhamat *and* Partau, *two of the Viſier Baſſa's, by the inſolent Janizaries ſoulely intreated*, 559, b.
Muhamet *for fear of them for a time refraineth to come into the Divano*, 559, b. *diſſuadeth* Selymus *from the invading of* Cyprus, 567, b. *as a ſecret Friend unto the* Venetians, *putteth them in hope of Peace*, 580, a. *cunningly diſſuadeth* Selymus *from the maſſacring of the Chriſtians, by filling his Head with more neceſſary conſiderations*, 600, b. *ſtrangely murthered*, 670, b.
Muleaſſes *King of* Tunes *cruel and unthankful*, 433, a. *for fear of* Barbaruſſa *flieth out of* Tunes, ib. b. *ſumptuous in his fare*, 504, a. *cometh to* Charles *the Emperour*, 445, a. *his ſpeech unto the Emperour*, ib. b. *his behaviour*, ib. b. *his Opinion*

concerning the preſent War, 446, a. three things by him eſpecially lamented in the ſpoil made by the Chriſtians in the Caſtle of Tunes, 450, a. fearing the coming of Barbaruſſa, departeth from Tunes into Italy, to crave aid of Charles the Emperour, 503, b. ſhut out of his Kingdom in the mean time by his Son Amida, 504, a. returneth into Africk to Guletta, ib. a. going to Tunes, is by the way overthrown, taken Priſoner, and hath his Eyes put out by his own unnatural Son, 505, a. at the requeſt of Touares is ſent to Guletta, 506, a. by Charles the Emperour ſent into Sicily, there to be kept of the common charge, ib. b. refuſeth to kiſs the Popes Foot, ib. b.

Murzuſle by the tumultuous People created Emperour, attempteth to burn the Venetian Fleet, 57, a. with his own hands ſtrangleth the young Prince Alexis, ib. b. encourageth his Soldiers, ib. b. being in deſpair flyeth, 58, a.

Muſa Son to Bajazet the Firſt, his ſpeech unto his Brother Mahomet, 165, b. marrieth the Prince of Valachia's Daughter, 166, a. in the abſence of his Brother Soliman received at Hadrianople as King, ib. a. goeth againſt his Brother Soliman, ib. a. fighteth with his Brother Mahomet, 167, b. his chief Captains revolt to Mahomet, 169, a. taken and ſtrangled, ib. a.

Muſachius a Chriſtian Captain contendeth with a Turk his Priſoner for his ranſome, 250, a. is afterward ſlain, 252, b.

Muſtapha the ſuppoſed Son of Bajazet raiſeth Rebellion againſt Amurath, 173, a. being in fear, flyeth, 174, a. is ſhamefully hanged, ib. b.

Muſtapha the younger Son of Mahomet raiſeth new Troubles againſt Amurath, 175, b. is betrayed and ſtrangled, ib. b.

Muſtapha Baſſa ſent by Amurath againſt Scanderbeg, 206, b. being aſſaulted in his Camp, flyeth, ib. b. deſirous to redeem his former diſgrace, craveth leave of Amurath to enter into Epirus, and obtaineth it, 212, b. Amurath's Letters of advertiſement to Muſtapha, ib. b. fighteth with Scanderbeg the ſecond time, 213, b. is overthrown and taken Priſoner, ib. b. and afterwards ranſomed, 214, a.

Muſtapha Baſſa perſwadeth Soliman to the beſieging of the Rhodes, 383, a. upon the evil ſucceſs of the ſiege falleth into diſgrace with Soliman, 393, b. in danger with Pyrrhus Baſſa to have been executed, 396, a. made Governour of Caire, ib. b. by Soliman ſent as General of his Army to Malta, 536, b. landeth at the Port Marza-Siroc in the Iſle of Malta, 538, a. beſiegeth the Caſtle Saint Elmo, ib. a. aſſaulteth the Caſtle, ib. b. in vain giveth a ſecond aſſault, 539, a. with loſs aſſaulteth it the third time, ib. b. in moſt furious manner battereth it by the ſpace of eighteen days, and aſſaulteth it the fourth time, 540, a. with great fury giveth the fifth and moſt terrible aſſault unto the Caſtle, 541, a. with all his Army giveth the ſixth and laſt aſſault, 542, a. winneth the Caſtle, ib. b. exerciſeth moſt barbarous cruelty upon the bodies of the ſlain Knights, ib. b. in vain aſſaulteth the Caſtle Saint Michael, 546, b. at one time aſſaulteth the new City and the Caſtle Saint Michael, 547, b. he by Meſſengers certifieth Soliman of the ſucceſs of the ſiege, 548, a. leaveth nothing unattempted, 549, a. at once aſſaulteth the Towns Saint Angelo and Saint Michael, and in both places notably repulſed, ib. b. giveth a freſh aſſault and entreth the new City, 550, a. with a great ſlaughter driven out again, ib. b. deſperately aſſaulteth the Town of Saint Michael, 551, a. repulſed, raiſeth his ſiege, 552. b. put to flight by the Chriſtians, ib. b. having loſt above four and twenty thouſand of his Turks at the ſiege, departed from Malta, ib. b. he with Pial Baſſa impugneth the Counſel of Muhamet the chief of the Viſier Baſſa's, and perſwadeth Selymus to invade Cyprus, 567, b. for his hatred againſt the Chriſtians made general of his Army for the invaſion of Cyprus, 572, a. his Letters unto the Venetians in the Iſle of Cyprus, ib. b. he landeth his Army in Cyprus, 573, a. beſiegeth Nicoſia, 572, a. in vain perſwadeth them of Nicoſia to yield, 575, a. he encourageth his Souldiers, and giveth a moſt terrible aſſault, ib. b. winneth the City, 576, a. beſiegeth Famaguſta, 576, b. raiſeth his ſiege, 577, a. returneth again to the ſiege, 584, a. after many aſſaults hath the City by compoſition yielded unto him, 586, b. ſhamefully and contrary to his faith before given, murthereth the valiant Governour Bragadinus, 587, a. tyrannizeth upon his dead body, ib. b. by Amurath made General of his Army againſt the Perſians, 657, b. cometh to Erzirum, 658, a. muſtereth his Army in number an hundred and ten thouſand ſtrong, ib. a. relieveth his Soldiers diſtreſſed by the Perſians, 659, a. maketh a Bulwark of the Heads of the ſlain Perſians, ib. a. he ſurveyeth his Army at Archicheleck, and lacketh forty thouſand of his men, 660, a. fortifieth Teflis, ib. a. loſeth ten thouſand of his forragers, 661, a. revengeth their deaths, ib. b. his notable anſwer unto his mutinous Soldiers, ib. b. loſeth eight thouſand of his men in paſſing the River Canac, 662, a. famine in his hoſt, ib. b. he fortifieth Eres, ib. b. ſendeth Oſman Baſſa to take in Sumachia and Derbent, ib. b. relieveth his diſtreſſed Garriſon at Teflis, 663, a. his Army in great miſery in paſſing the ſtreights of Georgia, ib. a. cometh to Erzirum and diſchargeth his Army, ib. b. maketh preparation for the next years Wars, 666, b. aſſembleth his Army at Erzirum, 667, b. in three and twenty days fortifieth Chars, ib. b. ſendeth ſuccor to Teflis, ib. b. returneth to Erzirum, and there diſchargeth his Army, 668, b. diſcharged of his Generalſhip, and called home to Conſtantinople, 669, b. maligned by Sinan, ib. b. dealeth warily with the Meſſengers ſent of purpoſe to have ſtrangled him, 670, a. appeaſeth the diſpleaſure of Amurath, ib. b. dieth ſuddenly, 672, a.

Muſtapha Soliman's eldeſt Son in great eſtimation with the People, 512, a. ſent Governour into Caramania, ib. b. maligned by Roxolana, ib. b. in danger to have been poyſoned, 513, b. ſent for by his Father, and warned of his preſent danger, 514, a. conferreth with his Doctor, ib. b. troubled with his melancholy dream, 515, a. cometh to his Fathers Tent, ib. b. in the ſight of his Father moſt cruelly ſtrangled, ib. b. his Son Mahomet ſtrangled alſo, ib. b. a Proverb taken from his death, 517, a.

Mutius Tortona a Spaniſh Captain raiſeth a mutiny in the Chriſtian fleet at Paxo, 591, b. Tortona and his Antient hanged, ib. b.

Muzalo by Theodorus the Emperour appointed Governour to his young Son John, 77, a. envied by the Nobility, is traiterouſly murthered in the Church, 78, a.

N.

Lord Nadaſti his great Vertues, 834, a.

Naſſuf (the Great Viſier) his fall foreſhewed, 921, b. the whole courſe of his Life and Fortune deſcribed, 922, a. his Throat cut, ib. b. his great Treaſure, 923, a. another diſcourſe of the manner of his death, ib. a.

Naupactum, otherwiſe called Lepanto, in vain beſieged by the Turks, 281, b. yielded to Bajazet, 312, b.

¶ ¶ ¶ Neapolis

Neapolis *the firſt Regal Seat of the* Othoman *Kings*, 99, b.
Negligence ſeverely puniſhed, 529, a.
Neocaſtrum *built by* Mahomet *the Great*, 230, b.
Neritos, *now called S.* Maura, *taken by the* Venetians, 315, a.
Neuhuſe *hardly aſſaulted and valiantly defended*, 865, b. *diſtreſſed*, ib. b. *yielded to the Rebels*, 872, b. *reſtored to the Emperour*, 880, a.
Neuſol *ſurpriſed by, and recovered from the* Haiducks, 860, b. *by them again taken*, 863, a.
Nice *taken by the Turks*, 99, a. *recovered again by the Chriſtians*, 125, b. *again ſurpriſed by the Turks*, 126, b. *by* Orchanes *made the regal Seat of his Kingdom*, 128, a.
Nicholaus Cataluſius *Prince of* Mytilene *turneth Turk, and is executed*, 248, a.
Nicholas Karetſchen *corrupted, betrayeth* Giula *to the Turks*, 557, b. *the Traitor juſtly rewarded*, ib. b.
Nicephorus Botoneatus *diſplaceth his Maſter the Emperour* Michael Ducas, *and taketh upon him the Empire*, 8, b.
Nicomedia *yielded unto the Turks*, 127, b.
Novigrade *yielded unto the Chriſtians*, 724, b.

O.

ODenburg *beſieged by the Rebels, and by* Baſta *relieved*, 165, a.
Oſman *proclaimed Sultan*, 949, a. *his Oath to* Bethlem Gabor, 952, b. *greatly inraged at the Emperour*, 964, b. *taketh a Wife contrary to the will of his Council*, 965, b. *deſirous of Peace with the* Polack, 969, a. *ſtrangled by* Daout Baſſa, 970, b. *diſcourſe of his Life and Actions*, 971, a.
Othoman *of greater Courage and Spirit than his other Brethren the Sons of old* Ertogrul, 90, a. *amorous of* Malhatun, *a Countrey of* Muid, 94, b. *in danger for his Love*, 95, a. *by general conſent choſen Governour of the* Oguzian *Turks*, ib. b. *ſurpriſeth the Caſtle of* Calce, 96, a. *fighteth a battel with the Chriſtians at* Opſicium, 96, b. *winneth the Caſtle of* Cara-Chiſar, *and killeth the* Captain, ib. b. *ſetteth in order his little Common-wealth*, 97, a. *killeth the Captain of* Cupri-Chiſar, ib. a. *his death contrived by the Captain of* Bilezuga, 97, b. *turneth the treachery deviſed againſt him, upon the head of the Captain that deviſed it, whom he killeth, and ſurpriſeth his Caſtle*, 98, b. *ſurpriſeth the Caſtle of* Jar-Chiſar, ib. b. *taketh the Caſtle of* Einegiol, *and cruelly executeth the Captain*, ib. b. *by the good adminiſtration of Juſtice ſtrengtheneth his Government*, 99, a. *taketh the City of* Nice, ib. a. *taketh upon him the Honour of a King or Sultan*, ib. b. *maketh* Neapolis *his Regal Seat*, ib. b. *in a great battel overthroweth the Chriſtians*, 99, b. *beſieged* Pruſa, 100, a. *whilſt the Greeks are at diſcord among themſelves, layeth the foundation of the Great* Othoman *Empire that now is*, 113, a. 116, a. *dieth, and lieth buried at* Pruſa, 123, b. *the Wealth he left unto his Sons* Orchanes *and* Aladin, 125, a.
Orchanes, *his Father* Othoman *yet living, manageth the Turks Kingdom*, 125, b. *ſurpriſeth the Caſtle of* Tzupri-Chiſar, 125, b. *fighteth a doubtful battel with* Andronicus *the Greek Emperour at* Phylocrene, 126, a. *ſurpriſeth* Nice, 126, b. *hath* Nicomedia *yielded unto him*, 127, b. *committeth the Government thereof unto his Son* Solyman, 128, a. *firſt of the Turks that built Monaſteries*, ib. a. *ſubdueth the Country of* Caraſina, ib. b. *dieth*, 130, b.
Orchanes *and* Mahometes, *two of* Bajazet's *Nephews overthrown by* Chelife *and* Techellis *the Rebels*, 321, a.
Oſman Baſſa *by* Muſtapha *made Governour of* Siruan, *taketh* Sumachia, 662, b. *hath* Derbent *yielded unto him*, ib. b. *by the* Perſian *Prince driven out of* Sumachia, *flieth to* Derbent, 665, a. *kills* Sahamal *his Wives Father*, 666, a. *is by* Amurath *ſent for into* Siruan, 687, a. *laid in wait for by* Mahomet *the* Tartar *King*, ib. b. *overcometh the* Tartars *lying in wait for him*, ib. b. *by* Amurath *made chief Viſier, and General of his Wars againſt the* Perſians, 688, a. *raiſeth a great Army*, 697, a. *wiſely appeaſeth his mutinous Souldiers unwilling to go for* Tauris, ib. b. *cometh to* Tauris, 698, a. *taketh the City*, ib. b. *in thirty days buildeth there a ſtrong Caſtle*, 699, a. *giveth the City to be ſpoiled by his Souldiers*, ib. a. *leaveth* Giaffer *the Eunuch Baſſa of* Tripolis *with a Garriſon of* 2000 *Souldiers, Governour of* Tauris, 700, a. *dieth*, 701, a. *much lamented for at* Conſtantinople, ib. b.

P.

PAleapolis *by Sultan* Aladin *given to* Othoman, 96, a.
Palotta *yielded to the Turks*, 721, a.
Pallas Lippa *beheaded by* Botſcay *his Maſter*, 860, a.
Pantogles *with the Turks fleet cometh to the ſiege of* Conſtantinople, 233, a. *diſplaced*, 234, a.
Paphlagonia *and* Pontus, *with a great part of* Cappadocia *won by* Mahomet *the Great*, 245, b.
Partau *the Viſier Baſſa ſent by* Solyman *againſt the ſuppoſed* Muſtapha, *brought him to* Conſtantinople, 520, a. *ſent by* Solyman *to have brought* Bajazet *to* Amaſia, *is by him with good words ſent back again*, 522, b. *ſtandeth indifferent for giving or not giving of battel unto the Chriſtians at* Lepanto, 593, a. *encourageth his Souldiers*, ib. a. *flieth himſelf out of the battel*, 595, b.
Paradiſer *executed for yielding up of* Caniſia *unto the Turks*, 792, a.
The Patriarch of Græce *flayed alive*, 904, b.
Peace concluded betwixt King Uladiſlaus *and* Amurath *the Second*, 197, a. *by the perſwaſion of* Julian *the Cardinal unfortunately broken by* Uladiſlaus, 198. a.
Peace concluded betwixt Mahomet *and* Scanderbeg, 263, b. *betwixt* Bajazet *and* Caytbeius, 306, b. *betwixt* Bajazet *and the* Venetians, 315, a. *betwixt the* Venetians *and* Solyman, 468, b. *betwixt the* Venetians *and* Selymus *the Second*, 613, a. *betwixt* Amurath *the Third, and* Mahomet *the* Perſian *King*, 707, b.
Peace concluded betwixt the Emperour and his diſcontented Subjects in the upper Hungary, 876, b. *between him and the Turks*, 878, a. *betwixt the* Georgians *and* Turks, 925, a. *between the* Turks *and* Perſians, 950, a.
Peloponeſus *deſcribed*, 240, b. *made tributary to the Turk*, 241, a. *ſubdued by the Turks*, 242, a.
Pera *yielded unto the Turks*, 237, b.
Perenus *the noble* Hungarian, *upon the ſuſpition of aſpiring, apprehended*, 494, b. *matters furmiſed againſt him*, 495, a. *He, Valentinus and* Maylat, *three of the chief of the* Hungarian *Nobility, unworthily kept in perpetual Priſon*, 496, a.
Perſecution in the Greek Church for matters of Religion, 101, a.
Perſians *better Horſemen than the* Turks, 351, b.
The Perſian *King's Succeſs*, 845, a. *he enters into the Province of* Babylon, 897, a. *his cruelty againſt the* Armenians, ib. b.
Peſth *diſtreſſed for want of Victuals*, 806, b. *victualled*, 820, a. *again victualled*, ib. b. *ſhamefully abandoned by the Chriſtians*, 849, a. *taken by the Turks*, ib. b.

Peſth *taken by* Caſon *Admiral of the Turks fleet upon the* Danubius, 478, b. *beſieged by the Marquis of* Brandenburg, 493, a. *in vain aſſaulted*, 494, a. *the ſiege given over*, ib. b. *taken by the Chriſtians*, 802, a.

Peter *a French Hermit going on Pilgrimage to* Jeruſalem, *obſerveth the miſeries of the Chriſtians under the* Turks *and* Sarazens, 9, a. *in the Council of* Claremont *delivereth his meſſage in the behalf of the poor diſtreſſed Chriſtians*, 10, a. *he with* Gualter Senſavier *the firſt that ſet forward in the great Expedition of the Chriſtians into the* Holy Land, ib. b. *loſeth greateſt part of his Army*, 11, a. *diſcouraged, about to have ſtoln home, brought back, and inforced to take a new Oath for his fidelity and perſeverance in that War*, 13, b.

Peter Damboyſe, *Grand Maſter of the* Rhodes, *a careful Governour*, 291, b. *his chearful ſpeech unto the reſt of his Knights and Souldiers*, 292, a.

Peter Emus *for his barbarous Cruelty beheaded at* Venice, 689, b.

Petralba *yielded to* Scanderbeg, 194, b.

Petrella *yielded*, ib. b.

Petrinia *taken by the Chriſtians*, 753, a.

Petrinia *in danger to have been betrayed to the Turks*, 848, a.

Philaretas *the Greek Emperours Lieutenant put to flight by the Turks*, 6, b.

Philadelphia *taken by* Bajazet, 140, b.

Philes *a devout man, but no Soldier, undertaketh the defence of the Greek Empire againſt the Turks*, 109, a. *in plain battel overthroweth them*, 109, b. 110, a.

Philip *the Second of that Name, the French King, in going towards the* Holy Land, *ſuffereth Shipwreck upon the Coaſt of* Sicilia, 48, a. *arriveth at* Ptolemais, 48, b. *his ſpeech unto* Richard *King of* England, *and the other Chriſtian Princes, in his ſickneſs*, ib. b. *he ſweareth unto King* Richard, *not to invade his Territories in* France, *and ſo returneth home*, 49, b.

Phocas *by killing of* Mauritius *the Emperour with his Children, poſſeſſeth himſelf of the Greek Empire*, 15, b. *ſlain afterwards by them of his own Guard*, 16, a.

Pial Baſſa, Solyman's *Admiral ſent to remove the Chriſtians out of* Zerbi, 530, a. *in diſgrace with* Solyman, *ſhunneth to come to* Conſtantinople, 532, a. *by* Selymus *the Second ſent againſt the* Venetians, 572, a. *in vain attempteth the Iſland of* Tenos, ib. a.

Piſaurius *the* Venetian *Admiral doth very great harm unto the Turks*, 313, b.

Plague and Famine among the Turks, 744, a.

Plague in the Venetian *Fleet*, 574, a.

A great Plague at Conſtantinople, 901, a.

Polinus *the French Ambaſſador with Preſents from* Francis *the French King, meeteth* Solyman *coming from* Buda, 490, a. *his requeſt to* Solyman, ib. a. *returneth into* France, ib. a. *ſent back again to* Solyman, *by the way ſolliciteth the* Venetians *to take up Arms againſt* Charles *the Emperour*, ib. a. *grieved, not to find the Turk ſo ready to ſend his fleet in the Aid of the King his Maſter, as he had before hoped*, 490, a. *is ſharply ſhaken up by* Solyman Baſſa, ib. a. *brought to the ſpeech of* Solyman *himſelf*, 492, a. *by him rejected until the next Spring*, ib. a. *ſetteth forward with* Barbaruſſa *and the Turks Fleet*, 496, b. *by his Letters from* Oſtia *comforteth the Popes Legat in* Rome, 497, a.

Podolia *and* Ruſſia *invaded by the Turks*, 311, a.

The Pope and the King of Spain *fearing leſt the* Venetians *ſhould make Peace with the Turk, haſten their Confederation with that State, long before by them delayed*, 581, a. *a perpetual League concluded betwixt the Pope, the King of* Spain, *and the* Venetians, 582, a. *the League proclaimed*, ib. b.

The Popes Letters unto the King of Polonia, *to diſſuade him from invading of* Moldavia, *to the trouble of the* Tranſilvanian *Prince*, 756, b.

A Practiſe to murther the Brethren of Sultan Oſman, 973, a.

Prejanes *cometh to the* Rhodes, 391, a.

Preſents given by the Turks to the Emperours Commiſſioners, 833, b. *ſent to the Grand Seignior by King* Mathias, 890, a. *from the* Perſian *to the Emperour*, 897, b. *from the* Perſian *to the* Turk, 912, b. *from the united States to the Turks*, 916, b.

Preſents of great value ſent by the Perſian *King unto* Selymus, 566, b.

Prince Ciarcan *ſlain*, 151, b.

Princes of Germany *joyn their Forces with King* Ferdinand *againſt the Turk in* Hungary, 492, a.

Proceſſions of the Turks, 915, b.

The Proteſtant States of Auſtria *take Arms in defence of their Religion*, 892, a. *ſwear obedience unto King* Mathias, 893, a.

The Proteſtant States of Bohemia *aſſemble in the new Court at* Prague, ib. b. *raiſe their forces in defence of their Religion*, 894, b.

Pruſa *yielded unto the Turks*, 123, a. *burnt by* Iſa, 164, a. *repaired by* Mahomet, ib. a. *again burnt by the* Caramanian *King*, 164, b.

Q.

Queen Iſabella *with Child*, 469, a. *delivered of a Son*, ib. b. *that Son by the Name of* Stephen *crowned King of* Hungary, 470, a. *her anſwer unto the Ambaſſador of King* Ferdinand, *demanding of her the Kingdom of* Hungary, 471, b. *invaded by King* Ferdinand, *craveth Aid of* Solyman, 473, a. *by the commandment of* Solyman *departeth with her young Son out of* Buda, 481, a. *yieldeth up to King* Ferdinand *all the right ſhe had in* Tranſilvania *and* Hungary, 571, b.

Quinque Eccleſiæ *yielded unto the Turks*, 497, b.

Quinſay *on the Province of* Mangi, *of all the Cities of the World the greateſt*, 53, b.

R.

Rab *beſieged by* Sinan Baſſa, 731, a. *battered and aſſaulted*, 733, b. *by Treaſon yielded unto the Baſſa*, 734, a. *notably again ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians*, 771, b.

Rab *attempted by the Turks*, 877, a.

Radul *the* Valachian *aideth* Baſſa *againſt the Turks*, 881, a.

Rama *forſaken by the Turks*, ib. b.

Ramadan Baſſa *ſlain by the inſolent Janizaries*, 690, a.

Rayſchachius *for ſorrow of his Son ſlain by the Turks, ſuddenly dieth*, 476, b.

The Rebels of Aſia, *appeaſed by the Viſier*, 881, a.

New Rebels in Aſia, 882, b.

Rhodes *by the Knights Hoſpitallers recovered from the Turks in the year* 1308, 113, a. *beſieged by* Meſites Palæologus, 291, b. *for fear of the Turk, the* Rhodians *deſtroy their Suburbs and Places of Pleaſure without the City*, 389, a. *the* Rhodes *deſcribed*, 391, a. *beſieged by* Solyman, 392, b. *in five places at once by the Turks aſſaulted*, 395, a. *the diſtreſſed eſtate of the* Rhodians, *and their Reſolution therein*, 398, a. *the* Rhodes *yielded unto* Solyman, 464, a.

Richard *the Firſt, King of* England, *ſetteth forward toward the* Holy Land, 48, a. *revengeth the Injuries done to him by the* Cypriots, *and taketh Priſoner* Iſaack Comnenus *their King*, ib. b. *arriveth*

arriveth at Ptolemais, ib. b. *cauſeth all the Turks his Priſoners, in the ſight of* Saladins *Army to be executed*, 50, a. *giveth* Cyprus *to* Guy *in exchange for the titular Kingdom of* Jeruſalem, ib. b. *with great ſlaughter overthroweth* Saladin *in plain battel*, ib. b. *returning homeward, taken Priſoner by* Leopold *Duke of* Auſtria, 51, b.

Rodolph *the Emperour prayeth Aid of the* German *Princes againſt the Turk*, 715, b. *his Ambaſſador ſhut up cloſe in his Houſe at* Conſtantinople, 716, b. *his Letters to* Amurath, ib. b. *his Letters to* Sinan Baſſa, 717, a. *preſented with the ſpoil of the Turks overthrow at* Alba-Regalis, 723, b. *requeſteth Aid of the Great Duke of* Muſcovia, *the King of* Polonia, *and of the Prince of* Tranſilvania, 725, a. *holdeth a Dyet of the Empire at* Ratisbone *for the withſtanding of the Turks*, 750, a. *receiveth Aid from the Pope, the King of* Spain, *and the Princes of* Italy, 792, b.

Robert *Duke of* Normandy *by generall conſent choſen King of* Jeruſalem, *which honour he refuſeth*, 17, a

Robert *ſon to* Peter, *fourth Emperour of the* Latines *in* Conſtantinople, 68, a. *goeth to* Rome *and in his return dieth in* Achaia, 68, a.

Rogendorf, *his Name terrible unto the Turks*, 413, b. *with King* Ferdinands *Army entreth into* Hungary, *and beſiegeth* Buda, 473, b. *threatneth the Queen, derided by the Biſhop*, 474, a. *in vain aſſaulteth* Buda, ib. b. *in raiſing of his ſiege by Night, receiveth a great overthrow*, 478, a. *conveyed up the River to* Comara, *there dieth*, 478, b.

Ronzorius, *ſometime a notable Pyrat, entertained by* Andronicus *the Emperour againſt the Turks*, 104, b. *relieveth* Philadelphia, 105, a. *for lack of pay ſpoileth the Emperours Territories in* Aſia, ib. a. *ſuddenly ſlain*, 105, b.

Roſcetes *riſeth againſt his Brother* Muleaſſes *King of* Tunes, 433, a. *flieth to* Barbaruſſa, *and by him carried to* Conſtantinople, ib. a.

Roverius *robbeth* Dautius, Bajazet *the Great Turks Ambaſſador to Pope* Alexander, 307, b.

Roxolana *conſpireth with* Ruſtan Baſſa *againſt the noble* Muſtapha, *and faineth herſelf religious*, 511, b. *ſent for by* Solyman, *refuſeth to come*, 513, a. *plotteth the confuſion of* Muſtapha, ib. a. *bringeth him into ſuſpicion with his Father*, ib. a. *ſhe with* Ruſtan *put* Solyman *in fear of his Life and Empire by his Son* Muſtapha, ib. a. *laveth her younger Son* Bajazet *better than her eldeſt Son* Selymus, 519, a. *comforteth him, going in fear unto his Father*, 520, b.

Ruſtan Baſſa, *a man of a miſchievous Nature*, 512, b. *farthereth the devices of* Roxolana, *for the deſtruction of the noble* Muſtapha, 513, b. *ſent by* Solyman *with an Army into* Aſia, *to have taken or ſlain* Muſtapha, 514, a. *returneth in haſte, and with falſe ſuggeſtions ſtirreth up* Solyman *himſelf againſt his Son*, ib. b. *his exceeding Treachery at the coming of* Muſtapha *to his Fathers Camp*, 515, a. *diſgraced by* Solyman, *flieth to* Roxolana *at* Conſtantinople, 516, b. *by her means reſtored again unto his former Honour, dieth afterwards of a dropſie*, 517, b.

Ruſſewonme *a great Lord beheaded*, 867, a.

The Ruſſians *and* Tartars *make Incurſions upon the Turks*, 908, b.

S

SAcmar *yielded to the* Haiducks, 860, a.

Sahib, *after the death of Sultan* Aladin *his Maſter, taking upon him the Government, is by the Nobility thruſt out, and the Turks Kingdom in* Aſia *rent in ſunder amongſt them*, 89, a.

Sahamal *the* Georgian *cutteth off the Head of* Aider, 659, a. *ſubmitteth himſelf to* Muſtapha *the Great Baſſa*, 662, b. *ſlain by* Oſman Baſſa *his Son-in-Law*, 666, a.

Saladin *the Turk choſen Sultan of* Egypt, *killeth the* Calyph *and all his Poſterity*, 40, b. *invadeth the Kingdom of* Jeruſalem, *and by* Baldwin *ſuddenly ſallying out of* Aſcalon, *overthrown*, 42, a. *beſiegeth* Berythus *both by Sea and Land, taketh* Edeſſa *and* Carras, 42, b. 43, a. *ſpoileth the* Holy Land, 43, a. *in vain beſiegeth* Ptolemais, 44, b. *beſiegeth* Tiberias, *and by the Treaſon of the County of* Tripolis *overthroweth* Guy *the King, coming to the relief thereof, and taketh him Priſoner*, 45, a. *winneth* Jeruſalem, *with all the other Cities and Towns in the* Holy Land, *except* Tripolis, Tyre, *and* Antioch, ib. a. *beſiegeth* Tyre, *and with the loſs of his beſt Soldiers, and of his Tents, retireth*, ib. b. *taketh* Antioch *with all the Provinces and Towns thereunto belonging*, ib. b. *putteth to death the Chriſtian Captives*, 50, a. *dieth, and forbiddeth any funeral Pomp to be uſed at his burial*, 50, b.

Salvagus *a worthy Knight*, 538, b.

Salazar *a Spaniſh Captain goeth as a ſpy into the Turks Camp at the ſiege of* Malta, 548, b.

Sanguin *the Turk overthroweth King* Fulke, *coming to the relief of the Caſtle of* Mont-ferand, *and hath the Caſtle yielded unto him*, 21, a. *taketh* Edeſſa, *and there uſeth all manner of Cruelty againſt the Chriſtians*, 22, a. *beſieging* Cologenbar, *is there ſtabbed by one of his own Friends, and ſlain*, ib. a.

Sarmentus *ſlain*, 466, a.

Sarugatin, Oſmans *Brother, ſlain, and accounted of the Turks for a Saint*, 96, b.

Scanderbeg *with his Brethren by their Father* John Caſtriot *given in Hoſtage to* Amurath, 177, a. *wiſely diſſembleth his deſire for the delivery of himſelf and his Country*, 193, a. *by great policy recovereth the City of* Croia *out of the hands of the Turks*, 193, b. *hath the ſtrong Cities of* Epirus *yielded unto him*, 194, a. *ſpoileth* Macedonia, 195, b. *in a great battel overthroweth* Alis Baſſa *with two and twenty thouſand of his Turks*, 196, b. *going to the Aid of King* Uladiſlaus, *is by the faithleſs Deſpot denied paſſage through* Servia, 201, a. *ſpoileth the Deſpots Country, and ſo returneth into* Epirus, 204, a. *his reſolute anſwer unto* Amurath's *melancholy Letters*, 205, b. *putteth* Feriſes *to flight*, 206, b. *overthroweth* Muſtapha *the ſecond time, and taketh him Priſoner*, 213, b. *carefully ſetteth all things in order againſt the coming of* Amurath, 214, b. *his effectual ſpeech unto the Soldiers and Citizens of* Sfetigrade, *to encourage them againſt the coming of the Turk*, 215, a. *cunningly entrappeth ſome of the forerunners of* Amuraths *Army*, 216, a. *troubleth his great Army*, 217, b. *with his own hand killeth* Feri Baſſa, 218, b. *troubleth* Amuraths *great Army at the Siege of* Croia, 222, a. *in danger to have been ſlain or taken*, ib. a. *deceiveth* Mahomet *the young Prince in his own device*, 223, a. *flieth by night into* Epirus, 259, a. *his anſwer by Letters unto the Letters of* Mahomet, 262, b. *his anſwer unto* Mahomets *Letters concerning the renewing of the League*, 265, b. *in danger*, 271, b. Scanderbeg *dieth*, 275, a. *buried at* Liſſa, ib. a. *his bones digged up by the Turks, and of them greatly honoured*, ib. a.

Scodra *beſieged by* Solyman Baſſa, 280, a. *relieved by* Matthias *King of* Hungary, 281, a. *a yearly fee appointed by* Mahomet *to one, to put him daily in mind of the ſiege of* Scodra, ib. a. Scodra *the ſecond time beſieged by* Mahomet *the Great*, 283, a. *ſore battered*, 285, a. *the fourth time aſſaulted*, 286, a. *twelve thouſand Turks ſlain in this laſt aſſault*, 287, a. *moſt furiouſly the fifth*

fifth time assaulted by the Turks, 287, b. by composition yielded unto the Turk, 291, a.

The Scrivano rebelleth against the Turk in Caramania, and giveth Mehemet Bassa a notable overthrow, 792, b. in a great battel overthroweth him again the next year with an Army of fifty thousand Turks, 797, a. having ouer-run a great part of the Turks Dominions in Asia, dieth, 804, a. his younger Brother steppeth up in his stead, and in a great battel overthroweth Hassan Bassa, and killeth him, ib. a.

Selymus ambitious, and of a turbulent spirit, and therefore of the Janizaries and men of War better beloved than his other Brother, 326, a. aided by Mahometes the Tartar King, riseth against his aged Father, 326, b. colloureth his rebellious purpose with the Invasion of Hungary, 327, a. marcheth with his Army towards Hadrianople, 328, a. in a great battel overthrown and put to flight by his Father Bajazet at Tzurulum, 331, a. by the perswasion of the Bassa's, by his Father sent for home, 335, a. chosen General by his Father, to go against his rebellious Brother Achomates, is by and by after by the Janizaries saluted Emperour, 336, b. causeth his Father to be poysoned, 337, b. putteth three of his Fathers Pages to death for mourning for their Master, 338, a. bountifully rewardeth the Soldiers of the Court, 339, a. murthereth five of his Brothers Sons, ib. b. causeth Corcutus his Brother to be strangled, 341, a. Treason intended against him, discovered, 342, a. craveth Aid of Aladeules and the other mountain Princes against the Persians, 345, a. Selymus perplexed, ib. b. receiveth great loss in passing the River Euphrates, 349, a. he and Hysmael compared together, 350, b. Selymus with a great Army entreth into Armenia, and taketh Ciamassum a City of the Persian Kings, 352, b. vanquisheth Aladeules the Mountain King, putteth him to death, and converteth his Kingdom into the form of a Province, 354, a. invadeth Hungary, ib. b. sendeth his Ambassadors with Presents to Campson the Egyptian Sultan, 357, a. encourageth his Soldiers to go against the Mamalukes, 358, a. passeth the Mountain Amanus, and cometh into Comagena, ib. b. in the battel of Singa overthroweth the Mamalukes, 360, b. in doubt lest Sinan Bassa had been lost, becometh exceeding melancholy, 364, b. meeteth with Sinan Bassa at Gaza, 365, a. passeth the sandy Desarts, and meeteth with Tomombeius at Rhodanus, 365, a. giveth him battel, and putteth him to flight, 367, a. encourageth his Soldiers to the winning of Caire, 370, a. fighteth a great and mortal battel with the Mamalukes in the City of Caire, 370, b. causeth the City to be set on fire, 371, a. putteth Tomombeius and the Mamalukes to flight, and so taketh the City, ib. a. his Ambassadors sent to Tomombeius slain by the Mamalukes, 372, b. overthroweth Tomombeius again at the River Nilus, 374, a. causeth him being taken, to be tortured and put to death, ib. a cunningly reduceth the Arabians to his obedience, 375, a. purposing to turn his Forces upon the Christians, is struck in the back with a Canker, 379, a. his death concealed by Ferat Bassa, 381, a.

Selymus the Second by the Janizaries saluted Emperour, 559, a. appeaseth the tumultuous Janizaries, ib. b. sendeth Cubares his Ambassador to Venice, to demand Cyprus of the Senate, 569, a. rageth to have it denied him, 570, a. he invadeth the Venetians, 572, a. in his rage about to have put to death all the Christians in his Dominions, 600, a. sendeth out Uluzales his Admiral with 200 Gallies against the Christians, 602, a. desirous of Peace, concludeth the same with the Venetians, 613, a. by his Bassa's taketh Guletta from the Spaniards, and the City of Tunes, 620, a. dieth, ib. b.

Serinus Governour of Sigeth, 555, b. his comfortable and resolute speech unto his Soldiers, ib. b. burneth the new Town, not now to be longer defended, and retireth into the old, 556, a. his last speech unto his Soldiers, ib. b. slain, and his head sent to County Salma, 557, a.

The Servians in mutiny against themselves, are with a great slaughter overthrown by the Turks, 133, a.

Servia becometh tributary unto the Turks, ib. a. wholly yielded unto the Turks, 243, a.

Sfetigrade besieged by Amurath, 216, a. in vain divers times by the Turks assaulted, 218, a. by the working of a Traitor, Amurath hath the strong City yielded up unto him, 220, a.

Sigismund King of Hungary, with the Christian Princes his Confederates, with a great Army invadeth the Turks Dominions, 141, b. his proud speech upon the greatness of his Army, ib. b. in a great battel overthrown by Bajazet at Nicopolis, 142, a. hardly escapeth himself by flight, ib. a.

Sigismund Prince of Transilvania in danger by his own Subjects to have been betrayed unto the Tartars, 735, b. the Conspirators apprehended and executed, 736, a. giveth his Subjects leave to spoil the Turks, ib. a. entreth into a Confederation with the Emperour, ib. b. perswadeth Michael the Vayvod of Valachia, and Aaron the Palatine of Moldavia, to revolt from the Turk, 737, b. sendeth Aaron the Palatine with his Wife and Son Prisoners to Prague, 745, a, b. marrieth Maria Christina the late Arch-duke Charls's Daughter, 752, a. overthroweth thirty thousand Turks coming as unbidden Guests to his marriage, ib. a. in a great battel overthroweth Sinan Bassa with his Turks, ib. a. receiveth the Zaculians into his Protection, and hath from them great Aid, 753, b. putteth Sinan Bassa to flight, 754, a. by force taketh Tergovista from the Turks, ib. a. taketh also Bucaresta, ib. b. goeth unto the Emperour at Prague, 761, b. besiegeth Temeswar, 764, a. with 18000 men cometh to the Aid of Maximilian the Arch-duke going to have relieved Agria, 767, a. doubting the power of the Turk, resigneth his Principality of Transilvania unto the Emperour, 769, b. repenting himself, returneth again into Transilvania, and taketh upon him the Government, 773, b. by his Ambassadors offereth again his Principality unto the Emperour, 776, a. in a great battel overthrown, together with the Moldavian, by Michael the Vayvod of Valachia, 784, b. by the favour of the Nobility recovereth his state again in Transilvania, 796, a. in battel overthrown by Basta and Michael the Vayvod, flieth out of Transilvania, ib. b. by the favour of his Subjects, and countenance of the Polonians, recovereth again his state, 797, b. doubting him to be able to hold it against the Imperials, yieldeth it by composition unto Basta the Emperours Lieutenant, and goeth himself unto the Emperour, 798, b.

Sigismund King of Polonia's Letters unto Amurath, 706, b.

Sigismund Ragotsie chosen Prince of Transilvania, and resigneth to the Emperour, 880, a.

Silistra spoiled by the Valachians, 807, a.

Simon County of Montford sent by Philip the French King into the Holy Land, represseth the fury of the Turks, and so concludeth a Peace with them for ten years, 52, b.

Sinan Bassa the Eunuch overthrown by Achomates, 342, a. restoreth Selymus's battel against Campson, before almost lost, 360, b. by Selymus sent before into Judea, 362, a. hath Gaza yielded unto him, ib. b. discomfiteth Gazelles, coming to have

have oppreſſed him at Gaza, 363, b. *ſlain in the Battel at* Rhodania. 366, b.
Sinan *the Jew his ſhort Anſwer to* Barbaruſſa, 445, a.
Sinan Baſſa *by* Amurath *choſen General for the* Perſian *Wars*, 671, a. *relieveth* Teflis, 673, b. *loſeth ſeven thouſand of his Souldiers*, 674, a. *derided of his own Souldiers*, ib. b. *his proud Anſwer to* Amurath, 678, b. *diſplaced and caſt into Exile*, 679, a. *again received into favour*, 706, b. *overthrown in the Upper* Hungary, 708, a. *his Letters unto the Emperour*, 717, b. *ſent General of the Turks Army againſt the Emperour*, 720, a. *taketh* Veſprinium, 721, a. *hath* Palotta *yielded unto him*, ib. a. *with an Army of* 150000 *men cometh again into* Hungary, 731, a. *taketh* Dotis *and S.* Martins, ib. b. *beſiegeth* Rab, ib. b. *in aſſaulting thereof, loſeth* 12000 *of his men*, 733, b. *by corrupting of the Governour, hath the City yielded unto him*, 734, a. *beſiegeth* Comara, ib. b. *raiſeth his Siege, and breaketh up his Army*, ib. b. *craftily ſeeketh to try the Emperours mind concerning Peace*, 742, b. *ſent for home to the Court*, 744, a. *by Sultan* Mahomet *appointed General of the Wars againſt the Emperour*, 752, b. *invadeth* Valachia, ib. b. *in a great Battel overthrown by the Prince of* Tranſylvania, ib. b. *in flying in danger to have been drowned*, ib. b. *with a great Army cometh again into* Valachia, 753, b. *ſeeing the general Fear of his Army upon the coming of the* Tranſylvanians, *flieth*, 754, a. *for fear delayeth his coming to* Conſtantinople *untill his peace were made, and there, ſhortly after, dieth*, 761, a.
Siſeg *by the Turks beſieged*, 718, b. *notably relieved*, 719, b. *again beſieged and taken by the Turks*, 720, b.
Skinder Baſſa *invadeth Prince* Alexander, 932, a. *his Kinſman taken Priſoner*, 932, b.
Soldiers, Inſolency juſtly puniſhed, 830, a.
Solyman, Orchanes *his Son, by his Father made Governor of* Nicomedia, 127, b. 128, a. *taketh the Caſtle of* Zembeny *in* Europe, 129, a. *he the firſt that brought the Turks over into* Europe, *with purpoſe there to conquer and inhabit*, ib. a. *taketh the Caſtle of* Maditus, ib. b. *winneth* Calipolis, ib. b. *dieth*, 130, b.
Solyman *the unfortunate* Bajazet's *eldeſt Son, by the great Baſſa's ſet up in his Fathers ſtead at* Hadrianople, 153, a. *goeth over with a great Army againſt his Brother* Mahomet, 164, b. *by policy taketh the Caſtle of* Pruſa, 165, a. *beſiegeth his Brother in* Amaſia, ib. a. *returneth into* Europe *to appeaſe the ſtirs there raiſed by his Brother* Muſa, *and recovereth* Hadrianople, 166, a. *in his exceſs regardeth not the approach of his Brother* Muſa, ib. b. *forſaken of his Soldiers, fleeth*, ib. b. *taken Priſoner, is by the commandment of his Brother* Muſa *ſtrangled*, ib. b.
Solyman *the Eunuch Baſſa dealeth treacherouſly with the Kings of* Arabia, 451, b.
Solyman *hardly perſwaded that his Father was dead*, 581, a. *ſaluted Emperour by the Janizaries*, ib. b. *his Letters to* Villerius, *Great Maſter of the* Rhodes, 384, a. *his Oration to his men of War, declaring his purpoſe for the beſieging of the* Rhodes, ib. b. *he maketh great preparation for the ſiege*, 385, a. *his threatning Letters unto them of the* Rhodes, 388, b. *cometh himſelf in Perſon to the ſiege*, 392, a. *his cholerick Oration to his Soldiers*, ib. b. *diſplaceth his Admiral, and puniſheth him like a ſlave*, 396, a. *about to have forſaken the ſiege*, ib. b. *comforteth his diſcouraged Soldiers, perſwading them with patience to continue the ſiege*, 397, a. *his Letters to the Great Maſter and the* Rhodians, *ſent by their own Ambaſſadors*, 399, b. *his ſpeech unto the Great Maſter, at his coming to yield up the City*, 403, a. *he entereth into the* Rhodes *upon* Chriſtmaſs-day, *in the year* 1522, 404, a. Solyman *upon the diſcord of the Chriſtian Princes, and diſordered State of* Hungary, *taketh occaſion to invade that Kingdom*, ib. b. *cometh into* Hungary *againſt King* Lewis *with an Army of two hundred thouſand men*, 405, a. *overthroweth him in battel at* Mohatz, ib. b. *cometh to* Buda, 406, a. Solyman *in the quarrel of King* John, *againſt King* Ferdinand *cometh into* Hungary *with an Army of* 150000 *men*, 410, a. *without reſiſtance entreth into* Buda, *and beſiegeth the Caſtle* ib. b. *layeth ſiege to* Vienna, 411, a. *without ranſome releaſeth certain Chriſtian Priſoners*, 412, a. *loſeth his great Ordnance upon the* Danubius, ib. b. *buryeth* 8000 *of his Turks in the Mines*, 413, a. *having loſt* 80000 *of his Turks, raiſeth his ſiege, and returneth to* Buda, 414, a. *he reſtoreth the Kingdom of* Hungary *unto King* John, ib. a. *returneth himſelf to* Conſtantinople, ib. b. *maketh great preparation for the ſubduing of the Territories belonging to the Houſe of* Auſtria, *as alſo for the Conqueſt of* Germany, *with the ſhort time he prefixed unto himſelf for the performance thereof*, ib. b. Solyman *with a mighty Army cometh again into* Hungary, 416, b. *beſiegeth* Gunza, ib. b. *his proud Letters to* Charles *the Emperour*, 417, a. *runneth to meet him at* Vienna, *and ſo turneth out of the way into* Carinthia, 418, b. *the cauſes moving him ſo to do*, ib. b. *returneth towards* Conſtantinople, 420, a. Solyman, *perſwaded by* Abraham Baſſa, *reſolveth to go againſt the* Perſians, 436, b. *cometh with his Army to* Tauris, 437, a. *followeth* Tamas *the* Perſian *King into* Sultania, ib. a. *his Army ſtrangely diſtreſſed by Tempeſt*, ib. b. *hath* Babylon *with the Countries of* Meſopotamia *and* Aſſyria *yielded unto him*, 438, a. *he ranſacketh* Tauris, ib. b. *diſcouraged by the harm done him by* Delymenthes, *giveth over his Wars in* Perſia, *and returneth to* Conſtantinople, 439, b. *he with a wonderful charge prepareth a great Fleet at* Suetia *againſt the* Portugals *in the* Eaſt-Indies, 451, a. Solyman *by the French Ambaſſador incited to invade* Italy *with an Army of two hundred thouſand men, cometh to* Aulona, 452, a. *ſendeth* Lutzis Baſſa *and* Barbaruſſa *with his Fleet before him into* Italy, ib. a. *converteth his Forces prepared for* Italy, *againſt the* Venetians, 453, b. *in danger to have been ſlain in his Tent in the midſt of his Army*, ib. b. *invadeth* Corcyra, ib. b. *carrieth away above ſixteen hundred Priſoners, and doth good Juſtice upon ſuch Turks as had violated their Faith at* Caſtrum, 454, b. Solyman *angry with the ſecret Confederation between King* Ferdinand *and King* John, 468, b. *promiſeth to protect the Queen and her Son*, 473, a. *with a great Army cometh to* Buda, 478, b. *ſendeth for the young King into his Camp*, 479, a. *courteouſly receiveth him*, ib. a. *craftily ſurpriſeth the City of* Buda, 479, b. *detaineth the Nobility of* Hungary, ib. b. *diverſly perſwaded by his Baſſa's for the diſpoſing of that Kingdom*, ib. b. *he ſacrificeth after the* Mahometan *manner in* Buda, 481, a. *pronounceth the doom of* Hungary, *and converteth it from a Kingdom into a Province of his Empire*, ib. a. *his proud anſwer unto King* Ferdinand's *Ambaſſadors*, 482, a. *he returneth to* Conſtantinople, ib. b. *ſendeth his Fleet to* Barbaruſſa *his Admiral, to aid the French King againſt the Emperour*, 496, a. Solyman *with a great Army cometh again into* Hungary, 497, a. *taketh* Sarigonium, 498, b. *entereth into the City, and there ſetteth up the Mahometan Superſtition*, 499, a. *winneth* Alba-Regalis, 501, b. *returneth to* Conſtantinople, ib. b. *by the Inſtigation of* Dragut *the Pyrat*,

Pyrate, ſendeth out Sinan Baſſa *with a great Fleet to revenge the wrong done unto him by* Auria, 509, a. Solyman *amorous of* Roxolana, 512, a. *manumiſeth her*, 513, a. *marrieth her*, ib. a. *by her perſuaded, reſolveth to put to death his eldeſt Son, the noble* Muſtapha, ib. b. *goeth himſelf with a great Army into* Aſia *to kill his Son*, 514, b. *ſendeth for* Muſtapha, *who coming, is cruelly ſtrangled in his ſight*, 515, b. *his ſtout Speech unto the Janizaries up in Arms, for the unworthy death of* Muſtapha, 516, b. *he glad to yield unto the Janizaries*, ib. b. Solyman *deſirous, with as little ſtir as might be, to appeaſe the grudges betwixt his two Sons* Selymus *and* Bajazet, *ſendeth* Partau *and* Mehemet, *two of his Viſier Baſſaes, to bring them to the Provinces by him appointed for them*, 322, b. *maketh preparation againſt* Bajazet, *and ſendeth Aid to* Selymus, 323, a. *for countenancing of* Selymus, *goeth himſelf in perſon with his Army over into* Aſia, 525, a. *diſſembleth with* Bajazet, 526, a. *ſeeketh to ſtop his flight into* Perſia, *deceived of his purpoſe, procureth to have him and his four Sons ſtrangled in priſon in* Perſia, 529, a. Solyman *by his Ambaſſador* Abraham Strotza, *confirmeth his League with* Ferdinand *the Emperor for eight years*, 533, a. *his proud Letters unto the Emperor* Ferdinand, ib. a. *his Preſents ſent unto the Emperor*, 534, b. *he maketh preparation againſt the Knights of* Malta, 535, a, b. *his Oration unto his Captains for the Invaſion of* Malta, ib. b. *his Fleet arriveth at* Malta, 537, a. *with ſhame returneth*, 552, b. Solyman *purpoſing now the ſeventh time himſelf in perſon to invade* Hungary, *cauſeth a Bridge of a mile long with incredible labour to be made over the great River* Savus, *and the deep Fens toward* Sigeth, 555, b. *beſiegeth* Sigeth, ib. b. *cometh himſelf with a great power into the Camp*, 556, a. *winneth the old Town*, ib. a. *falleth ſick and dieth of the bloody Flux at* Quinque Eccleſiæ, ib. b. *his Death by* Muhamet *the Viſier Baſſa concealed, and the Siege continued*, ib. b. *his body with great ſolemnity by his Son* Solymus *buried at* Conſtantinople, 559, b.

The Spahies and Janizaries mutiny, 809, b. *their proud Speech to Sultan* Mahomet, 810, a. *their Inſolency juſtly puniſhed*, 807, a.

The Spaniards *rejoycing at the Overthrow of the* Italians *by* Salec, *are themſelves foiled by* Tabacces, 443, b.

The States of Bohemia *their Requeſts to the Emperor*, 888, a.

Stellufa, *with* Deſdrot *the Governor thereof, delivered to* Scanderbeg, 194, b.

Stephen Rozwan, *inſtead of* Aaron, *by the* Tranſylvanian *Prince placed Vayvod of* Moldavia, 745, b. *thruſt out by* Zamoſchy *Chancellor of* Polonia, 756, a. *taken Priſoner and put to death*, ib. b.

Stephen, *Vayvod of* Tranſylvania, *upon the commendation of* Amurath *choſen King of* Polonia, 652, a.

Stephen *made Vayvod of* Moldavia, 910, a. *his Tyranny and troubleſome Government*, 927, b. *&c. turneth Turk*, 936, a.

Strigonium *in vain beſieged by King* John, 415, b. *beſieged by* Solyman, 497, b. *divers times by the Turks in vain aſſaulted*, 498, a. *the ſtrength thereof by a fugitive Chriſtian diſcovered*, ib. a. *yielded unto the Turk*, ib. b. *beſieged by the Chriſtians*, 726, b. *five times in vain aſſaulted, with the loſs of five thouſand men*, 727, b. *the Siege by* Matthias *the Archduke given over*, 729, a. *beſieged by* County Mansfelt, 747, a. *twice in vain aſſaulted*, ib. a. *the lower Town taken*, 750, a. *yielded unto the Archduke* Matthias, 751, b.

Strigonium *beſieged by the Turks*, 850, a. *ſhameful Treaſon of the* Haiducks *there in Garriſon*, 852, b. *the Siege given over*, 853, a. *again attempted to be ſurpriſed*, 858, b. *again beſieged*, 867, a. *the inſolency of the Garriſon-Soldiers inforce the Governor to yield the Town*, 870, b.

Styria *and* Auſtria *ſpoiled*, 864, a.

Styria *foraged by the Turks*, 791, a.

Suguta, *by Sultan* Aladin *given to* Ertogrul, 93, b.

Samuchia *taken by* Oſman Baſſa, 662, a. *recovered by the* Perſian *Prince*, 665, a.

Swartzenbourg, *by two* Italian *Priſoners flying out of* Rab, *informed of the ſtate of the Town*, 770, a. *conſulteth with the Lord* Palfi, 771, a. *ſurpriſeth that ſtrong Town*, ib. b. *in vain attempteth to have ſurpriſed* Buda, 776, a. *cometh to* Pappa *to appeaſe the* French *and* Wallons *there in mutiny*, 780, b. *beſiegeth the Town*, 781, b. *ſlain*, 782, a.

Syrgiannes *appointed by* Andronicus *the Emperor to obſerve the doings of young* Andronicus *his Nephew, treacherouſly diſcovereth the ſame unto him*, 111, a. *cunningly coloureth his Treaſon*, ib. b. *contemned of the younger* Andronicus, *revolteth again unto his Grandfather*, 113. b. *apprehended, impriſoned, and his Houſe raſed*, 115, a.

T.

TAmas, *the* Perſian *King, hearing of the coming of* Solyman *to* Tauris, *flieth into* Hircania, 438, b. *in fear of* Bajazet, *killeth his Followers, and impriſoneth him with his Sons*, 527, b. *ſendeth Ambaſſadors with Preſents to* Solyman, 528, a. *the cauſe why he would not by any means let* Bajazet *go out of his hands*, ib. b. *his Anſwer unto the* Venetian *Ambaſſador, perſuading him to take up Arms againſt the Turk*, 584, a.

Tamerlane *his reaſonable and modeſt Anſwer unto the other* Mahometan *Princes, craving Aid againſt* Bajazet, 145, a. *in their behalf ſendeth Ambaſſadors with Preſents to* Bajazet, ib. b. *provoked by the proud anſwer of* Bajazet, *the ſollicitation of the oppreſſed Princes, and the perſwaſion of* Axalla, *reſolveth to make War upon him*, ib. b. *his honourable Parentage and Anceſtors*, 146, b. *the cauſes why ſome report him to have been a Shepherd or Heardſman*, 147, a. *he himſelf not delighted in Blood*, ib. a. *marrieth the Daughter and Heir of the Great Cham of* Tartary, *the ground of his Greatneſs*, ib. a. *ſetteth forward againſt* Bajazet, 148, a. *his great Camp ſtill like unto a well govern'd City*, ib. b. *the number of his great Army*, 149, a. *he taketh* Sebaſtia, *and burieth all the People quick*, 194, b. *ſtayeth the coming of* Bajazet, 150, a. *diſpoſeth of the order of his battel*, 151, a. *fighteth a great and mortal battel with* Bajazet, 151, b. *taking him Priſoner, cauſeth him like a wilde Beaſt to be ſhut up in an Iron Chage*, 152, b. *refuſeth the Empire of* Conſtantinople, *offered him by* Emanuel *the Emperours Ambaſſador*, 153, a. *goeth privately himſelf to* Conſtantinople, 154, a. *much delighted with the ſcituation and Pleaſures of that City*, ib. a. *ſpoileth the Turks Dominions in* Aſia, ib. a. *reſtoreth unto the poor Mahometan Princes oppreſſed by* Bajazet *all their antient Inheritances*, ib. b. *in a great battel overthroweth the Sultan of* Egypt *near unto* Aleppo, ib. b. *winneth* Damaſco, ib. b. *cometh to* Jeruſalem, 155, a. *taketh* Damiata, ib. a. *aſſaulteth* Caire, 155, b. *driveth the Sultan out of* Caire, 156, a. *purſueth him to* Alexandria, ib. b. *chaſeth him into* Lybia, ib. b. *leaveth* Calibes *to govern the Countries of* Egypt *and* Siria, 157, a. *conquereth* Meſopotamia *and* Babylon *with the Kingdom of* Perſia, ib. a. *returneth*

turneth to Samarcand, 158, b. *the great power he continually kept*, 162, a. *his death*, ib. a.
Tangrolipix *the Turk ſent to aid the* Perſian *Sultan*, 3, b. *by conſent of the Soldiers choſen Sultan of* Perſia, ib. b. *firſt Sultan of the Turks*, ib. b. *having ſlain* Piſaſiris *Calyph of* Babylon *in battel, joyneth his Dominions unto his own*, ib. b. *invadeth the Greek Emperors Dominions*, 4, a. *putteth to death his Brother* Habramie, ib. b.
Tancred *created Prince of* Galliley, *winneth* Apamea *and* Laodicea, 18, a. *after the death of young* Bohemund *created King of* Antioch, 19, a.
Tarſus *in* Cilicia *yielded unto* Bajazet, 304, a.
Tartar-Han's *Letters unto the King of* Polonia, 758, a.
Tartar-Cham, *why ſo ready to ſerve the Turk in his Wars*, 846, ib. *dieth*, 887, b.
The Tartars *ſpoil many places in* Hungary, 813, a. *repreſſed by Count* Serini, 813, b. *defeated by the* Huſſars, 814, a. *defeated by the* Coſſacks, 928, b. *defeated by the* Troianoski, 935, b.
Tauris *taken from the Turk by the* Perſian, 825, a.
Tauris *yielded to* Selymus, 548, b. *who, contrary to his promiſe, exacteth a great ſum of Money from the* Taurinians, *and ſo departeth*, ib. b. *ſacked by* Solyman 438, b. *taken by the Turks*, 698, b. *hath a new Caſtle therein built by the Turks in ſix and thirty days*, 699, a. *miſerably ſpoiled*, ib. a.
Taurica Cherſoneſus, *with the* Tartars Præcopenſes *and* Deſtenſes *ſubdued by the Turks*, 281, b.
Techellis *invadeth the Turks Dominions*, 319, a. *overthroweth* Orchanes *and* Mahometes, Bajazet's *Nephews*, 321, a. *diſcomfiteth* Caragoſes *the Viceroy of* Natolia, ib. b. *killeth* Alis Baſſa, 323, a. *flyeth into* Armenia, 324, a. *robbeth a Caravan of Merchants, and therefore burnt at* Tauris, ib. a.
Temeſwar *taken by the Turks*, 511, a.
Temurtaſes, Bajazet's *Lieutenant in* Aſia, *taken Priſoner by* Aladin *the young King of* Caramania, 144, a. *again ſet at liberty, hangeth the* Caramanian *King*, ib. a.
Teuffenbach *taketh* Sabatska, 732, a. *winneth* Fileck, ib. b. *beſiegeth* Hatwan, 725, b. *overthroweth the Baſſa of* Buda, ib. b. *giveth the ſame Baſſa a ſecond overthrow*, 729, b.
Theobald *King of* Navarre *maketh an unfortunate Expedition into the* Holy Land, 70, a. *with* Lewis *the French King goeth againſt the* Moors, 83, a. *in his return dieth of the Plague in* Sicilia, ib. b.
Theodorus Laſcaris *flieth into* Bythinia, *and poſſeſſing himſelf of many Countries, taketh upon him the Name of the Greek Emperour at* Nice, 59, b. *he killeth* Jathatines *the Turkiſh Sultan*, 61, a.
Theodorus Laſcaris, *Son to* John Bataſes, *choſen Emperour*, 76, b. *aideth the Sultan of* Iconium, 77, a. *falleth ſick and dieth*, ib. a.
Theupulus *Earl of* Paphos *unworthily hanged by the faithleſs Baſſa* Muſtapha, 587, b.
Thracia *ſpoiled by the Turks*, 173, b.
Tockai *taken by the Rebels*, 875, b.
Tomombeius *by the general conſent of the* Mamalukes *choſen Sultan of* Egypt, 362, a. *maketh great preparation againſt the Turks, and ſeeketh to entrap them*, 365, b. *his devices diſcovered*, ib. b. *he fighteth a great battel with* Selymus, *and is put to the worſe*, 367, a. *raiſeth new Forces at* Caire, ib. b. *fortifieth* Caire, 368, b. *fighteth a great battel in the* City, 370, b. *overcome, flieth*, 371, a. *driven out of* Caire, *raiſeth new Forces in* Segeſta. 372, a. *diſtreſſeth the Turks in paſſing the Bridg made over* Nilus, 373, a. *giveth a notable attempt to have gained the Bridge*, ib. b. *repulſed and put to flight*, 374, a. *taken and brought to* Selymus, ib. a. *tortured and ſhamefully put to death*, ib. a.
Totiſa *yielded to the Turks*, 865, b.
Tranſilvania *miſerably diſtreſſed*, 840, a. *the troubles ſecretly maintained by the Nobles*, ib. a. *new Troubles*, 843, a. *the Rebels ſurpriſed and ſlain*, ib. a. *the miſerable State of that Province*, 843, b. *new Troubles raiſed*, 901, b.
Tranſilvania *given by* Solyman *to the Child King* John's *Son*, 483, b.
Trapezond *yielded to* Mahomet *the Great*, 245, b.
Treachery of the Polonian *General*, 936, b.
Tripolis *in* Barbary *beſieged by* Sinan Baſſa, 509, a. *battered*, ib. a. *the weakeſt places thereof, and fitteſt to be battered, by a fugitive Chriſtian diſcovered to the Turks*, ib. b. *upon hard Conditions yielded to the proud and faithleſs Baſſa*, 511, a.
Troubles in Moldavia, 902, a. *new Troubles*, 908, b. *in* Tranſilvania, 910, a.
Tumult at Pera, 933, b.
Tunes *beſieged by* Lewis *the French King*, 83, b. *yielded to* Charles *the Emperour*, 449, b. *by him upon an eaſie Tribute again reſtored to* Muleaſſes, 451, a. *again yielded to the Turks*, 620, b.
Turks, *their original Beginning diverſly reported*, 1, a. *deſcended from the* Scythians, 2, a. *the cauſes why they left their ancient and natural Seats in* Scythia, *to ſeek for other in Countries more Southerly*, ib. b. *where they firſt ſeated themſelves in* Aſia *after their departure out of* Scythia, ib. b. *their firſt Kingdom erected in* Perſia *by* Tangrolipix *their firſt Sultan*, 3, b. *the Turks firſt called into* Europe *by the* Catalonians, 106, a. *they differ not from the* Perſians *about the Interpretation of their Law, but about the true Succeſſor of their falſe Prophet* Mahomet *only*, 314, b. *They raiſe an Army*, 804, b. *cowardly retire for fear of the Chriſtians*, 805, a. *carrying a Convoy of Victuals to* Buda, *overthrown by the Chriſtians*, ib. b. *the Convoy recovered by the Turks*, 806, a. *again taken from them by the Chriſtians*, ib. a. *overthrow the Garriſon of* Peſth, ib. a. *bathing themſelves at* Buda, *by them of* Peſth *ſurpriſed and ſlain*, ib. b. *ſeeking to ſurpriſe* Palotta *are overthrown*, 807, a. *three of their Spies taken*, ib. b. *overthrown by* Collonitz, ib. b. *together by the ears among themſelves*, 811, b. *defeated by Collonel* Sultze, 823, b. *again overthrown*, 825, b. *their Army ſtealeth by night out of* Hungary, 828, b. *overthrown by the Vayvod of* Valachia, 834, a. *the manner of their burials*, 836, b. *treacherouſly ſeek to ſurpriſe* Peſth, 838, a. *ſeek in vain to ſurpriſe* Lippa, 842, a. *overthrown by them of* Peſth, 843, a. *their unreaſonable demands for Peace*, 848, b. *troubled with Civil Wars*, 857, b. *betrayed by the* Haiducks, 864, a. *thinking to ſurpriſe others, are themſelves ſurpriſed*, 877, a. *repair to* Buda *in Multitudes*, 882, a. *their Army for* Tranſilvania, 917, a. *threaten War in* Hungary, 920, a. *their courſes there*, 923, b. *defeated at* Vaſſelloy, 932, a. *the Greatneſs of their Empire, and their beginning*, 955, a.
Turqueminus *choſen Sultan of* Egypt, 111, b.
Tzihanger *refuſeth the noble* Muſtapha *his Brothers Wealth and Treaſure offered him by his Father* Solyman, *and for ſorrow killeth himſelf*, 516, a.

V.

VAcia *ſhamefully betraied by the* Haiducks, 558. b.
Valachia *ſpoiled by the* Tartars, 847, a. *the Vayvod expelled his Country by* Battori, 901, b.
Valachia *when firſt ſpoiled by the Turks*, 140, b. *invaded by* Mahomet *the Great*, 247, b. *oppreſſed by the Turks*, 737, b. *in great Troubles*, 798, b.
Valmes *fortified by* Mahomet *the Great*, 274, a.

Valetta *the Grand Maſter of* Malta *advertiſed of* Solyman's *purpoſe for the Invaſion of him and his Knights*, 536, a. *his effectual ſpeech unto his Knights*, ib. a. *his great preparation againſt the Turks coming*, ib. a. *his whole ſtrength*, 537, b. *he certifieth* Garzias of Toledo, *Viceroy of Sicilia, of his Eſtate*, 538, a. *ſendeth a new ſupply into the Caſtle of S. Elmo, twice before aſſaulted by the Turks*, 539, a. *diſappointed of a ſupply to have been brought him by his own Gallies*, ib. a. *his Letters to* Garzias *the Viceroy of* Sicilia, 540, b. *he ſendeth three of his Knights to know the ſtate of them in the Caſtle S.* Elmo, 541, b. *encourageth his Soldiers after the loſs of the Caſtle*, 542, b. *his Chriſtian-like Letters to the Governor of the City of* Melita, 543, a. *his reſolute anſwer to the Meſſengers ſent unto him from the Great Baſſa*, ib. b. *he receiveth a ſmall ſupply from* Sicilia, 544, b. *maketh hard ſhift to ſend News of his diſtreſs to the Viceroy of* Sicilia, 546, a. *his comfortable ſpeech unto his Soldiers at ſuch time as the Turks were entred the new City*, 550, a. *his great carefulneſs*, 552, b. *his Letters to the Grand Prior of* Almaine, *concerning the manner of the Turks proceedings in the Siege of* Malta, 553, a.

Venerius *the* Venetian *Admiral, and* Barbadicus *their Proveditor perſwade the reſt of the Chriſtian Confederates to give battel unto the Turks at* Lepanto, 590, a. *coming to the relief of* Don John, *is encountered by* Partau Baſſa, 595, b. *in danger*, ib. b. *at the requeſt of the Spaniards diſplaced, but not diſgraced*, 601, b.

The Venetians *with a great Fleet ſpoil the Coaſts of* Lycia, Pamphilia, *and* Cilicia, 13, b. *in the diviſion of the Greek Empire amongſt the Latines, had for their ſhare all the rich Iſlands of the* Ægeum *and* Ionian, *with the famous Iſland of* Candy *or* Crete, 59, a. *enter into Confederation with other Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turk*, 265, b. *they with their Confederates do the Turks great harm*, 277, b. *receive a great overthrow from the Turks at the River of* Sontium, 282, b. *their Merchants in* Syria *impriſoned by* Campſon Gaurus *the* Egyptian *Sultan*, 321, a. *their Senators diverſly affected towards the Confederation with the Emperour and the French King againſt* Solyman, 467, b. *they refuſe to yield up* Cyprus *unto* Selymus, *demanding the ſame*, 569, a. *make great preparation for their own defence, and crave Aid of the other Chriſtian Princes*, 570, a. *what Princes promiſed them Aid*, ib. a. *weary of the delays and croſs dealings of the Spaniards their Confederates, conclude a Peace with* Selymus *without their Knowledge*, 613, a.

Veradinum *beſieged by the Turks*, 773, b. *relieved by the Lord* Baſta, 774, a.

Veſprinium *taken by the Turks*, 721, a.

Veſprinium *yielded to the Rebels*, 864, a.

Ufegi Baſſa *taken Priſoner*, 340, a. *put to death*, ib. b.

Vicegrade *taken by the Chriſtians*, 752, a.

Vicegrade *yielded to the* Turks *by the* Haiducks, 859, a.

Victor Capella *with a notable ſpeech perſwadeth the* Venetians *to take up Arms againſt* Mahomet *the Great*, 264, a.

At Vienna *a ſtrange Accident of two Citizens*, 842, a.

Vienna *by* Solyman *beſieged*, 412, a, b. *badly fortified*, ib. b. *the Walls blown up*, 413, a. *thrice aſſaulted*, ib. a. *worthily defended*, 413, b. Solyman *glad to forſake the ſiege*, 414, a.

Villerius *choſen Great Maſter of the* Rhodes, 382, b. *his Letters to* Solyman, 384, a. *his careful proviſion for defence of his City*, 385, b. 387, a. *his notable ſpeech unto the* Rhodians, ib. a. *his worthy Commendation*, 390, a. *in vain craveth Aid of the Chriſtian Princes*, ib. b. *recovereth the Spaniſh Bulwark from the Turks*, 395, b. *his reſolute Opinion concerning* Solyman's *demand for the yielding up of the* Rhodes, 399, b. *his anſwer unto* Solyman, *offering unto him moſt honourable entertainment*, 403, a. *he departeth from the* Rhodes *with his Knights upon* New-years-day, 404, a.

Viſnovisky *a valiant Prince poiſoned by a Prieſt*, 932, a.

A Viſion in the Air at Modina Talnobi, 953, b.

Uladiſlaus *King of* Polonia *choſen alſo King of* Hungary, 178, a. *ſendeth Ambaſſadors unto* Amurath *lying at the ſiege of* Belgrade, 179, a. *goeth himſelf in Perſon againſt the Turks*, 188, b. *taketh* Sophia, ib. b. *ſpoileth* Bulgaria, 189, a. *highly commendeth* Huniades *for his good Service*, ib. b. *enforced with the Difficulty of the paſſage of the Mountain* Hemus, *retireth with his Army*, 190, a. *by the perſwaſion of* Huniades *and others retireth, and in vain ſeeketh to have opened the Mountain paſſage*, 191, b. *in his retreat much troubled with the Turks*, 192, a. *in great Triumph returneth to* Buda, ib. b. *upon moſt honourable Conditions concludeth a Peace with* Amurath *for ten years*, 197, a. *by ſolemn Oath confirmeth the League he had made with* Amurath, ib. a. *abſolved of that his Oath by* Julian *the Cardinal of S.* Angel, *reſolveth for the proſecution of his Wars againſt the Turks*, 199, a. *by his Ambaſſadors and Letters craveth Aid of* Scanderbeg, ib. b. *ſetteth forward againſt the Turks*, 201, b. *fighteth the great and unfortunate battel at* Varna, 202, b. *is there himſelf ſlain*, 203, a.

Ulufales *in the battel of* Lepanto *taketh twelve of the* Venetian *Gallies*, 590, a. *ſeeing the reſt of the Turks fleet diſcomfited, flieth himſelf*, ib. a. *is by* Selymus *the next year ſent out with two hundred Gallies againſt the* Venetians *and their Confederates*, 602, a. *meaning nothing leſs, maketh ſhew of battel*, 604, b. *cunningly retireth*, ib. b. *flieth from* Navarinum *into the Bay of* Modon, 607, a. *returneth with his weak Fleet to* Conſtantinople, 612, a.

Uranacontes *by* Scanderbeg *appointed Governor of* Croia *againſt the coming of* Amurath, 220, b. *with chearful ſpeech encourageth his Soldiers*, 221, a. *rejecteth* Amurath's *Preſents, and threatneth the Baſſa by whom they were ſent*, 225, a.

The Uſcoques *what manner of People they are*, 943, a.

Uſtrot Baſſa *of* Van *inciteth* Amurath *to make War againſt the* Perſians, 654, b. *by* Amurath *commanded to begin the War, which he readily performeth*, 655, b.

Uſun-Caſſanes *the* Perſian *King ſendeth Ambaſſadors with Preſents to* Mahomet *the Great*, 344, b. *marrieth* Deſpina *the Daughter of* Calo Johannes, *Emperour of* Trapezond, 278, b. *in a great battel overthroweth* Zenza *the* Perſian *King, and killeth* Cariaſiuphus *his Son, the laſt of the Poſterity of the Mighty* Tamerlane, 279, a. *in a great battel overthrown by* Mahomet *the Great*, 280, a. *his death*, ib. a.

W

Walpo *treacherouſly yielded unto the Turks, and the Traitors juſtly rewarded*, 497, a.

The Walloons *overthrow the* Turks *and* Haiducks *at* Presburg, 864, a.

War betwixt the Grand Seignior and the King of Poland, *and the cauſe why*, 963, a.

War in Barbary, 900, a.

Wars by Amurath *the Third proclaimed againſt the Emperor* Rodolph, 86, b.

Waſwood *an old Janizarie, his preſumptuous ſpeech unto* Mahomet *the Great Sultan*, 745, b. *taken out of Priſon by the reſt of the Janizaries*, 746, a.
Water dear ſold, 447, b.
The Wife of Prince Coresky, *being Priſoner in* Tartary, *ſendeth a Meſſenger to ſeek her Husband*, 945, b. *who brings her Tidings of him*, 942, a. *and ranſoms her*, ib. b.
Wiglaſe *in vain attempted by the* Haiducks, 861, b.
Wihitz *the Metropolitical City of* Croatia *taken by the Turks*, 714, b.
William *King of* Sicilia *invadeth the Tirant* Andronicus's *Dominions, taketh the City of* Dyrrhachium, *paſſeth through* Macedonia *and ſpoileth the Country, meeteth with his Fleet at* Theſſalonica, *which he alſo taketh by force and ſpoileth*, 36, a.
William Long-Eſpie *Earl of* Sarisbury, *with a band of tall Soldiers goeth into the* Holy Land, 72, a. *his ſtout anſwer unto Earl* Robert *the French Kings Brother*, 73, b. *valiantly fighting is ſlain*, ib. b.
Wladus *Prince of* Valachia *putteth* Mahomet *the Great in fear*, 246, b. Wladus *cruel*, 247, a. *dieth in battel againſt the Turks*, ib. b.
Wine for a ſpace running down the Streets of Conſtantinople *as if it had been Water after a ſhower of Rain*, 798, a.
Wolfgangus Hoder *upon the* Danubius *doth good ſervice againſt the Turks*, 412, b.

X.

XAycus *Pay-Maſter of the* Rhodes *intrapped by the Turks, and ſent Priſoner to be tortured at* Conſtantinople, 386, b.
Xene *the fair Empreſs, the young Emperour* Alexius's *Mother, maliciouſly accuſed of Treaſon, and ſo wrongfully condemned*, 34, a. *by the commandment of* Andronicus *ſtrangled in Priſon, and ſo poorly buried*, 34, b.
Xerif *troubleth the Kingdoms of* Fez *and* Morocco, 914, a. *his beginning*, ib. a. *his Children grow potent*, ib. a. *they kill the King of* Morocco, ib. a. *feared by the King of* Fez, ib. a. *diſſention between the Brethren, and eldeſt taken Priſoner by the younger*, ib. b.
Xerif Mahomet *aſſaults the King of* Fez, ib. b.
Xiphilinus *by* Alexius *ſent over to* Andronicus, *dealeth unfaithfully in his Meſſage*, 32, a.

Y.

YOland *Daughter to King* John *crowned Queen of* Jeruſalem, *and after by her Father given in marriage to* Frederick *the Emperor*, 67, b.

Z.

ZAcharias Groppa *fighteth a Combat with* Alhemaze *a Turk*, 254, a.
Zachel Moyſes *the* Tranſilvanian *Prince's Lieutenant, in battel overthrown by* Baſſa, 798, b. *flieth unto the Turks*, 800, a.
Zacynthus, Neritus, *and* Cephalenia *taken by* Achmetes Baſſa, 291, a.
Zamoſchie *the Great Chancellor of* Polonia *ſtaieth the* Tartars *from the invading of* Moldavia, 755, b. *invadeth* Moldavia *himſelf*, 756, a. *his Letters unto* Clement *the Pope in defence of himſelf and of that he had done in* Moldavia, 759, a. *driveth* Michael *the Vayvod out of* Valachia, *and placeth another in his ſtead*, 788, b.
Zanius *the* Venetian *Admiral with a Fleet of* 117 *ſail, cometh to* Corcyra, 574, b. *he with the Confederates ſetteth forward towards* Cyprus, ib. b. *upon the foul diſagreement of the great Commanders returneth*, 577, b. *diſcharged of his Office, and ſent in bonds to* Venice, 878, a.
Zeffer Baſſa *recovereth the Government of* Boſna *from* Zellaly, *and ſhortly after dieth*, 841, a.
Zellaly *formerly a Rebel in* Aſia, *reconciled to the Grand Seignior, cometh into* Boſna, 832, a. *defeateth* Zeffer Baſſa *the Governour of that Province, and ſeateth himſelf therein*, ib. a. *by the Grand Seignior ſent for to the Port*, 832, b. *refuſeth to come*, ib. b. *made Governor of* Temeſwar, 841, a.
Zembenic *Caſtle, the place where the Turks began firſt to ſettle themſelves in* Europe, 129, a.
Zemes *riſeth in Rebellion againſt his elder Brother* Bajazet, 298, a. *overthrown in battel by his Brother, flieth to* Caytbeius *the Sultan of* Egypt, ib. b. *he with the* Caramanian *King goeth againſt his Brother* Bajazet, 300, a. *flieth to Sea*, ib. b. *delivered unto Pope* Innocent *the Eighth*, 303, b. *by Pope* Alexander *delivered to* Charles *the French King*, 307, b. *dieth within three days after, being before by the Pope poyſoned, as is ſuppoſed*, ib. b. *his dead body ſent to* Conſtantinople, *and honourably afterwards buried at* Pruſa, 308, a.
Zenza *the* Perſian *King in a great battel overthrown and ſlain by* Uſun-Caſſanes, 279, a.
Zerbi *Iſland invaded by the Chriſtian Fleet, ſet forth for the recovery of the City of* Tripolis *in* Barbary, 529, b. *the Caſtle of* Zerbi *yielded unto the* Spaniards, 530, a. *a great part of the Chriſtian Fleet oppreſſed at* Zerbi *by the ſudden coming of* Pial Baſſa *the Turks Admiral*, ib. b. *the Caſtle of* Zerbi *beſieged by the Turks*, 531, a. *yielded unto the Turks*, ib. a. *the Turks in Triumph return with Victory to* Conſtantinople, 531, b.
Zingis *paſſing over the Mountains* Caucaſus *and* Tauris, *conquereth the Turks Dominions*, 53, a.
Zoganes Baſſa *by the device of a wicked Chriſtian, bringeth ſeventy of the Turks Gallies eight miles over Land into the Haven of* Conſtantinople, 233, b. *perſwadeth* Mahomet *to continue his ſiege*, 234, a.
Zolnoc *a ſtrong Fortreſs of the Chriſtians in the upper* Hungary *taken by the Turks*, 511, a.

A D-

THE HISTORY OF THE Turkish Empire,

From the YEAR 1623, to the YEAR 1677.

CONTAINING THE

REIGNS

Of the Three last

EMPERORS,

VIZ.

SULTAN MORAT,

OR

AMURAT IV.

SULTAN IBRAHIM,

AND

Sultan MAHOMET IV, his Son,

The Thirteenth EMPEROR, now Reigning.

By Sir *PAUL RYCAUT*,

Late CONSUL of *Smyrna*.

LONDON,

Printed by *J. D.* for *Tho. Basset*, *R. Clavell*, *J. Robinson*, and *A. Churchill*, MDCLXXXVII.

The Epiſtle Dedicatory to the KING.

May it pleaſe Your moſt Excellent Majeſty:

I Cannot, without ſome deſpondency of Mind, and awful fear of the Greatneſs of Your Majeſty, make an Offering at Your Sacred Feet of ſo ſmall an Eſteem and inconſiderable Value, as theſe following Hiſtories. For having travelled long in remote Countries, and reſided no leſs than eighteen Years in *Turky*, the World may reaſonably expect ſome rich Returns unto Your Majeſty in Perſian Silks, and Tyrian Purples, or in the fineſt Carpets, and other Gayeties, in which the ſoftneſs and luxury of the Leſſer *Aſia* did anciently abound: and may now judg me a Bankrupt, or ill Husband of my Talent, when they ſee me at Home trembling in Your Royal Preſence, with a Gift no more worthy than a few Sheets of Paper; which being a Sacrifice inferior and beneath the acceptance of ſo Great a Monarch, I might reaſonably fear, that they would take fire at the heat of Your juſt diſpleaſure, were they not with all humility and reverence conſecrated to the Royal Clemency. For in this glorious Title and Attribute, Your Majeſty (as is notorious to the World) exceeding all the moſt Serene and moſt Clement Emperors that ever were, expects not from me, either Gold or Jewels, but rather a true Account of my Time, how I have ſpent it in the Service of God, and of your Majeſty: and how I have adminiſtred that Publick Truſt and Intereſt which was committed to my Management. Accept therefore, *GREAT SIR*, theſe following Diſcourſes, to diſcharge part of the Account of my Time, with other Treatiſes which have been the Employment to fill up my vacant Intervals: the remaining account of my Hours are not to be juſtified by my own Report, but by the Teſtimony of others, whoſe Wiſdom and Goodneſs will be as ready to own my Induſtry and Faithfulneſs in their Concernments, as they will be to excuſe and pardon my Infirmities.

Ever ſince the time of Your Majeſty's happy Reſtauration, my Lot hath fallen to live and act within the Dominions of the Turk, and there to move in a Publick Capacity; which though it was in an Adminiſtration of one of the loweſt Note and Degree, yet the great Influence which the flouriſhing Eſtate of that Trade hath on the common Good of *England*, nouriſhed in me a ſecret Pride and Satisfaction in that Employment, which called and raiſed up all my Endeavours to acquit my ſelf therein with Prudence, Faithfulneſs, and Induſtry; there being the ſame Regularity required in the Stars of the lower, as in thoſe of higher Magnitude.

This hath been the firſt, and indeed the only Affair I ever managed for the Publick: for before Your Majeſty's bleſſed Return, the Character noted on my Family of being Loyal, as it made them at firſt active and zealous in the Service of Your Glorious Father, ſo afterwards it famed them for their Sufferings, and rendred them and me uncapable of Office. But Your Majeſty returning like the Sun, to animate and cheriſh all living Creatures, with an equality proportioned to their ſeveral Capacities, hath been pleaſed alſo to beſtow a Ray of Your benign Influence on my ſelf; whereby having received Comfort and Refreſhment, I do with all ſenſe of my Duty, and with entire Devotion, pray unto the King of Kings for the Happineſs, long Life, and immortal Glory of Your Majeſty, and with all reverence and humble ſubmiſſion, devote and conſecrate my ſelf, for ever to remain,

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble, moſt Dutiful,
and moſt Obedient Servant,

PAUL RYCAUT.

TO THE

READER.

READER,

THE *Reign of Sultan* Amurat, *or* Morat, *being imperfectly wrote in* Knolls *his Hiſtory, conſiſting for the moſt part of abrupt Collections; I have thought fit, for the better compleating of the Reign of that Sultan, and the whole Body of our Turkiſh Hiſtory, to deliver all the particular Tranſactions thereof with my own Pen: whereunto alſo I have added the Reign of Sultan* Ibrahim, *never before publiſhed in the Engliſh Tongue; the particular Occurrences of which being acted before my time, were for the moſt part extracted from Venetian Writers, who by reaſon of their Vicinity to the Turk, have been always moſt curious, and concerned to note and obſerve the Affairs of that Empire.*

But the other part of this Hiſtory beginning from the Year 1660, *and continued to the Year* 1677, *is the Product of my own Obſervations, being Matters tranſacted in my time, which being part ſeen by my ſelf, and in part received from good and probable Advices, I call by the Name of my* MEMOIRS, *in regard that I am little obliged to other Writers for thoſe Collections; and therefore, by God's Aſſiſtance, aſſume the chief Merit of that Work to my ſelf: which I deſire and heartily wiſh, good Reader, might, for thy ſatisfaction, and the benefit of the World, be ſtill continued, and the Thread of Hiſtory drawn out unto future Ages: as alſo that thoſe Errors and Miſtakes, of which I have been guilty herein, might be corrected and amended.* Farewel.

THE

My Brothers folly, and my want of years
Let loose the reignes of Rule to Mutiniers;
But as wth time my strength, and wit improve,
I all reforme wth feare, and not by love.
But mighty force I Babylon subdue,
From whence a peace with Persia doth ensue,
And when gainst Christiã foes, I do designe
To turn my armes, dye with excesse of wine.

1623. 1623.

THE REIGN OF Sultan MORAT, OR AMURAT IV.

The Eleventh EMPEROR; AND Twenty firſt MONARCH OF THE TURKS.

THE weak Underſtanding of Sultan *Muſtapha*, and his inability for Rule, cauſed the Affairs of State, both at Home and Abroad, to move diſorderly and irregular. *Where Violence and Injuſtice prevail, there is ſo little diſtance between the moſt eminent Height of Grandure, and the loweſt Abyſs of Miſery, that a Prince may in a moment ſtep from one unto the other.* The Janiſaries and Military Officers commanded more now than the Civil, all things being guided by the Air and Fancy of the Souldiery, who placed and diſplaced with that wind of Favour and Diſpleaſure, which is agreeable to the Humour of a Multitude, and the Licentiouſneſs of Arms. For at the ſame time there were three Emperors, ſeven Great Viziers, two Captain-Paſha's, five Aga's of the Janiſaries, three Treaſurers, ſix Paſha's of *Çairo*; and in proportion, the Changes and Alterations were as many in all the Provinces of the Empire. All this Confuſion evidently proceeding from the weak and almoſt ſenſleſs Underſtanding of *Muſtapha*; the Miniſters and People concurred, as it were, in an univerſal Conſent to dethrone him a ſecond time, and exalt into his Place Sultan *Morat* Brother to *Oſman*, who was murdered the Year before. The Principal Actors in this Contrivance, were *Kioſem* the Mother of *Morat*, and the Mufti. But in the execution hereof, three Difficulties occurred: The firſt was *Chuſaein* Paſha the Great Vizier; who by reaſon of the Inabilities of *Muſtapha*, being become abſolute Lord and Soveraign of all, would be unwilling to aſſent unto that Propoſition, which might degrade him of his Dignity, and diveſt him of his Power. A ſecond Obſtaſtacle was the Fancy and Humour of the Souldiery, who having with much Zeal and Paſſion exalted *Muſtapha* to the Throne, it might be doubted, that in maintenance of the ſame Humour, they would with equal obſtinacy perſevere in their Election. A third was the Poverty or low Ebb of the Exchequer, which at that time was in no capacity to ſupply that Donative to the Souldiery, which was uſual and cuſtomary at the Inauguration of every Sultan. To forward and haſten this Change, and ripen this Plot, the News of the Rebellion of *Abaſſa* did much contribute; who with a Body of fifteen thouſand Horſe, roved over all the Plains of *Kara-biſar*, calling himſelf Avenger of Sultan *Oſman*'s Murder, and Enemy of the Janiſaries; by whoſe Mutiny and Conſpiracy he was put to Death: in ſatisfaction for which, he not only killed all Janiſaries which fell into his hands; but their Wives, Children, and thoſe allied to them, he deſtroyed with implacable Malice and bloody Rage. Upon this Advice, the Janiſaries at *Conſtantinople* being moved with equal Fury and deſire of Revenge, applied themſelves to their Aga, propoſing a ſpeedy Union with the Spahees, for ſuppreſſing this Rebellion before Time gave it greater growth, and made the Humour more ſtubborn and difficult to be purged. At the ſame time alſo came Letters from *Cicala* Paſha, (who was diſpatched into *Aſia* with a ſtrong Party, to give a ſtop to the farther Progreſs and Advance of *Abaſſa*) adviſing that upon his near approach to the Enemy, ſo general a Fear poſſeſſed his Souldiery, that moſt of them

1623. disbanded and forſook their Colours; and that at preſent he had no more than five hundred Janiſaries, and two hundred Spahees under his Command, which he found to be an unequal Match to contend with the increaſing Power of *Abaſſa*. This Intelligence ſerved happily the occaſion of the Mufti, Vizier, and Aga, to give a turn to the deſired Change, and ſupplied them with an Anſwer to the Janiſaries, that they were ready to yield compliance unto their Addreſs, but that the Incapacity of their Soveraign obſtructed their Proceedings, and that the Defect in the principal Wheel diſordered all the Motions of good Government. At which Reply the Janiſaries becoming more unquiet, aſſembled themſelves in a tumultuous manner at the Moſch of Sultan *Solyman*; where making an * Ayack Divan, (ſo called, becauſe they ſit not down, but ſtand on their Legs, to denote the preſent haſte and urgency of their Affair) it was enacted, by an unanimous conſent of the Civil and Military Power, That young *Morat*, or *Amurat*, ſhould be promoted to the Throne, and that *Muſtapha* ſhould be depoſed: And becauſe the Exchequer was at its loweſt Ebb, and wholly exhauſted by miſcarriage of the Officers, the Souldiers were contented to diſpenſe with their Donative; which they relinquiſhed in conſideration of the Publick Good, reſerving ſtill their Title and Claim thereunto at times of a more happy Inauguration. With this News the Vizier immediately mounted on Horſe-back to ſignify this Univerſal Decree to *Muſtapha*; but he found him ſo ſtupid, as if he had been inſenſible of the Meſſage; and his Mother wanting Power to reſiſt this ſtrong Convulſion, gave way to Neceſſity, and ſeemed to embrace what ſhe could not oppoſe.

* Ayack *in Turkiſh ſignifies a Foot.*

Thus *Muſtapha* falling from the Heaven of his Throne to the Abyſs of his Priſon, ſeemed to return unto his Centre; for being only by the Wild-fire of Fortune carried as far aloft, as the force of popular Powder could reach, he afterwards by the meer weight of his earthly Temper returned with the like quickneſs of Motion to the place from whence he aſcended.

Hereupon Sultan *Amurat*, a Youth of about fourteen years of Age, was brought forth to the People, and placed in the Throne with all the Acclamations and Rejoycings of the People. And being taught by his Mother in a feigned manner to refuſe acceptance of the Empire, he pretended that the Exchequer was exhauſted, and that therefore he was not able to demonſtrate the Affection and Eſteem he had for them; and that ſince they had killed their former Sultans, he was fearful leſt the tenderneſs of his Age ſhould betray him to the like Violence: but the Souldiery having not the patience to hearken to his Excuſes, immediately carried him to the Divan, where having cloathed him in White, they ſeated him on a Safraw, erected with four Pillars, ſtudded with precious Stones; the Covering of which was of Crimſon-Velvet, richly embroidered with Gold and Oriental-Pearl. And being ſo ſeated, the Mufti with all reverence approached, and kiſſed his Hand; and then turning to the People, he demanded of them, If they were contented with that Prince whom they now beheld in the Seat of the Ottoman Kings? To which they having given aſſent by their loud Acclamations; *Morat*, with a becoming gravity, encharged the Mufti to take care that Juſtice and the Law be executed, and ſo retired to his Lodgings with general ſatisfaction. The next morning he was carried by Water to the Moſch of *Job* in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*, where according to the Solemnity of the Ottoman Empire, having performed his * *Corban*, or Sacrifice, and having his Cemiter girt to his Side by the Emirſheriff, he mounted on Horſe-back, and with a magnificent Train entred by the Gate of *Adrianople*. In the mean time *Muſtapha*, who was more worthy to bear a Fool's Cap than an Imperial Diadem, was conducted to Priſon, and more narrowly guarded than formerly; howſoever no Man offered to take away his Life, the Perſons of Fools and Idiots being ſacred in eſteem of the Turks, and the leaſt Injury offered to them accounted Irreligious and Unlucky.

Amurat *installed.*

1623.

* Which is a diſpenſing of Mutton to the Poor.

Morat was of a lively Countenance, full-fac'd, dark Hair, of a black and lively Eye, ruddy and ſanguine Complexion, and in every degree of a promiſing and hopeful Aſpect: but his exteriour appearance did not correſpond with the internal Cruelty of his violent Spirit, having ſome ſimilitude with the Swan, which hath white Feathers and black Fleſh.

The Great Vizier who aſſiſted at this Solemnity, was (as we have ſaid) *Chuſaeth* Paſha, a Perſon of Self-intereſt, who had waſted and conſumed the Treaſury, and converted a great part thereof to his own Benefit; he was a Tyrant, hated of all Men, and ſupported himſelf by no other Art than bribing of the Souldiery: And to his other Crimes he added, that of having unjuſtly perſecuted *Halil* Paſha, and deprived him of his Office, his Power not reaching to the taking away his Life; which being reſerved for better Times, he was again recalled from his Retirement, and by ſpecial Command of the Sultan, was unwillingly reſtored to the Office of Vizier, being beſt pleaſed with a quiet and pacifick Life, to which his melancholy Temper had naturally diſpoſed him. In the mean time *Chuſaein* Paſha being terrified by the ſenſible touches of his own Conſcience, took his flight by way of the Black Sea; and being out of the reach of Juſtice, a Fine was ſet of Five thouſand Zechins, and of Lands to the Revenue of an hundred thouſand Aſpers a Year, to be given unto him who ſhould bring his Head. Many of thoſe who had ſold him their Friendſhip and Favour, being affrighted with this Sentence, voluntarily diſgorged the Rewards they had received; and amongſt the reſt, the laſt Aga of the Janiſaries, who had been his Kahya or Steward for the ſpace of three months, reſtored 8 hundred thouſand Dollars as an Atonement for his Sin, and a Ranſom for purchaſing his own Life and Office. At length, by force of the foregoing Reward, *Chuſaein* Paſha was betrayed and taken alive; and being brought to *Conſtantinople*, was immediately ſtrangled before the Gate of the Divan.

Many were the Difficulties which this young Sultan was to encounter; the greateſt of which was the Inſolence of the Janiſaries, who feeling themſelves empty of Mony, began to repent of the prodigal and eaſy remiſſion of their Donative, and in a tumultuous manner to redemand it again. There was no Argument or Debate to be uſed againſt Men of the Sword, who hearkned to no other Reaſon than their own Wants; and to ſatisfy them, there was no other Remedy than Compliance, wherefore all Officers and Perſons not employed in Military Affairs were forced to contribute towards a large Tax, and a ſhameful Demand was made for the Loan of Thirty thouſand Zechins from the four Chriſtian Ambaſſadors reſident at the Port, that they alſo as Friends might yield an aſſiſting hand towards the preſent Urgency of Affairs: ſo little conſi-

deration

1624 deration and ſhame have Turks to lay open the Nakedneſs and diſtreſs of their Country even to Strangers and Enemies of it. And indeed ſuch was the Inſolence and uncontroulable Power of the Souldiery, that their Deſires and Commands were Laws, and their Determinations Rules for their Sultan and his Subjects.

This Humour of Uſurpation and unlimited Power, wearied all the Officers of the Empire, and inclined them ſecretly to approve the Cauſe of *Abaſſa* Paſha of *Erzirum*, who declared and ſtiled himſelf Enemy to the Janiſaries; and of *Bechir* Paſha of *Babylon*, who was joined with him. The Vizier alſo finding his Power abridged by the Arbitrary Will of the Souldiery, moved ſlowly and coldly into *Aſia*, where all the Force he could make, conſiſted of no more than fifty thouſand new and unexperienced Men, ſuch as were uncapable to contend with a more numerous Army of veterane Souldiers; to which alſo the Beglerbei of *Anatolia* joined himſelf, as did all other the chief Timar-Spahees, who conſpired together to confound and deſtroy the Pride and Government of the Janiſaries. The Vizier alſo was of the ſame Party, and coldly at firſt anſwered the Requeſt of the Janiſaries, when they earneſtly pſelled him to lead them againſt *Abaſſa* their common and mortal Enemy: At length, being fortified with the Force of the Timar-Spahees, he told them plainly, That if they would go and fight, he would be a Spectator of the Succeſs, but would not engage himſelf in a Quarrel wherein the Blood of *Muſſelmen* might be ſpilt on one ſide and the other: by which means the Rebels in *Aſia* took Head, increaſed in Force, and every day rendred them in a more formidable and dangerous poſture.

But this was not all the Trouble which enſued; for the Tartars having refuſed that King whom the Grand Signior had appointed them to receive, declared for *Mehmet* his Brother: who was ſeconded by the Votes of the Generality, and maintained by the ſtrongeſt Nerve of that Nation. The Vizier was unwilling to ingage in this Quarrel, alledging, That a Civil War was the worſt of Evils, and that it was better to connive at a preſent Inconvenience, than in this diſtracted Time of Affairs, to pollute the Empire with the Blood of Tartars, who were their Brethren, and of the ſame Religion and Alliance with them. Howſoever the Divan was of another Opinion, and reſolved to diſpeed the Captain-Paſha with a Force ſufficient to re-inſtate *Gherey* (for ſo the Elder Brother was called) in the Government of that Kingdom. But yet the Inſtructions given, rather directed him to act with Dexterity than with Force, ſuppoſing that the Authority of the Turks abetted with the preſence of a conſiderable Force, would create an inclination in the Tartars to Obedience, ſo ſoon as they diſcovered them to appear on their Coaſt. The Captain-Paſha being arrived at * *Caffa*, declared, That he was ſent by the Grand Signior, not to exclude either one or other of the Pretenders, but only to be Witneſs of a free and fair Election; that ſo all Civil Diſcord ceaſing, that Party might be choſen who was moſt pleaſing to the generality of the People. To which end two Standards were erected, one for † *Gherey* the Elder Brother deſired by the Turks, and the other for *Mehmet* beloved of the Tartars. The People in multitudes ran to the Standard of *Mehmet*, and but few to that of *Gherey*; which demonſtrated at how mean a rate the Tartars eſteemed the Protection and Favour of the Port. The Captain-Paſha vexed hereat, denied to give his Aſſent to the Confirmation, on pretence, that he was firſt to demand the Grand Signior's Pleaſure; but at length was perſwaded by *Gherey* to land a Force of about eight thouſand Men to own and maintain his Cauſe, on hopes, that rather than ingage againſt the Turks, the People would condeſcend to Terms in his Admiſſion and Favour. The Tartars not being in the leaſt diſmayed hereat, arrayed themſelves in a warlike Poſture, and feigning Fear and Flight, allured the Turks to a purſuit of them, until they had brought them to a place where thirty thouſand Horſe lay in ambuſh; which on a ſudden ariſing and encompaſſing them round, had entirely deſtroyed them, had not *Salil* the Brother of *Mehmet* given a ſtop to the ſlaughter, on hopes, that ſuch a teſtimony of Friendſhip would reconcile the Spirits of the Turks, at leaſt might render his Brother's preferment more tolerable and grateful to the Turks. In this conflict, *Ibrahim* and *Chuſaein* who were Viziers of the Bench, the Kahya and a Capigibaſhe of the Seraglio were ſlain, whoſe Bodies were afterwards tranſported to *Conſtantinople*, ſix hundred Janiſaries and as many Sea-men were killed, and fifteen hundred Priſoners were taken, whoſe Liberty was procured at a mean Ranſom, for the ſake of that Faith and Religion which they jointly profeſſed; they alſo took thirty Pieces of Cannon, and might alſo have become Maſters of the whole Fleet conſiſting of thirty ſix Gallies, had they been deſirous to have proſecuted their Victory to the utmoſt advantage: and moreover in that conjuncture of Affairs, when a general conſternation had overſpread the principal parts of the Ottoman Dominions, when the Councils were feeble and faint, and that a languiſhing Pulſe beat in all the Government, had the Tartar with an Army of fifty thouſand Horſe then ready to march, made up to the Walls of *Adrianople*, it might have proved ſuch an opportunity for diviſing and deſtroying this Empire, as hath not offered at any time ſince that Occaſion. But the two Brothers, *Mehmet* and *Salil*, ſtiling their War forced and defenſive, uſed that moderation in their Victory, which might not provoke a deſire of Revenge in the Turks. The Captain-Paſha being thus permitted to depart from *Caffa* with his Fleet, ſailed to *Varna*, a Port in the Black Sea, about two hundred miles diſtant from *Conſtantinople*; where the News of this Defeat being arrived, put all the City into confuſion, and raiſed the Viziers at midnight to conſult of thoſe Remedies and Expedients which were agreeable to the preſent emergency of Affairs. The Great Vizier *Ali* was of opinion, that the Grand Signor ought to condeſcend to Terms of Accommodation, tho to the diſadvantage and diſreputation of his Power; and that accordingly a Letter ſhould be wrote to *Mehmet* the Tartar, beginning with the uſual Complements of Friendſhip and Salutation; and afterwards declaring, That it was never the intention of the Port to ingage in a War againſt him, the late conflict having only proceeded from a miſtake and miſinterpretation of Orders; and that there was no other deſign, than to compoſe the Civil Differences amongſt themſelves, by advancing that Prince to the Kingly Dignity who was moſt pleaſing and grateful to the People. This Advice was approved by the reſt of the Council, and a Meſſenger diſpatched with the Letter, accompanied with a Cemiter and Veſt of Sables, which are the Signals of the Sultan's Favour. In the mean time the People murmured at the puſillanimity of the

1625

* *The chief City of the Krim Tartar.*

† Gherey *the Name of the Family.*

1625. Government, ſaying, That they had ſent an Ambaſſador to thank the Tartar for not ſeizing their whole Fleet, and acknowledg their Obligation to him for the Blows and Wounds he had given their Army. The Tartars alſo gloried in this ſubmiſſion, and took the boldneſs to vaunt of their Linage and Deſcent to be more Ancient and Noble than that of the Ottoman Family; and that in this time of decay and degenerate procedure of that Monarchy, it appertained to the Greatneſs of the Tartars to ſtir up the Fire and ſnuff the Lamp, that the Splendor of that Empire might become more bright and ſhining than in former Ages. And ſo little reſpect did they now maintain for the Port, that they ſurpriſed two Ambaſſadors ſent from the Moſcovite in their way to *Conſtantinople*, robbed and killed them, as alſo the Turkiſh Chiaus that was with them, leſt his Teſtimony ſhould be brought in for an evidence againſt them.

1626. During theſe Troubles, the Coſſacks taking advantage of the Captain-Paſha's abſence in *Tartary*, entered the *Boſphorus* with about an hundred and fifty Sail of Saicks and Boats; theſe Boats and Veſſels which the Coſſacks uſe, are built long and light, with ten Oars of a ſide, and two Men to an Oar; the Head and Stern are not unlike, ſo that they hang the Rudder ſometimes at one end, and ſometimes at the other, being not obliged to turn their Veſſel, but without loſs of time to proceed with that end which happens to be foremoſt. Each Boat carries fifty ſelect Men armed with Fire-arms and Cemiter, in the management of which they are very expert; and are a People ſober, enduring Labour and hard Diet; and ſo ſpeedy in their Incurſions, that they foreſtal the Advices, and commonly ſtrike before they threaten. With theſe Boats and People (as we have ſaid) they entred the *Boſphorus*, where they burnt ſeveral Villages and Houſes of Pleaſure; on the Grecian ſide they burnt *Boyucderi* and *Yenichioi*, on the Aſian ſide *Stenia*. The appearance of this Enemy ſo near the Imperial City, cauſed a general Conſternation, not unlike that at *London*, when the Dutch entred the River of *Chatham*. To oppoſe this Force, there was not one Gally in readineſs, ſo that Saicks, Chimbers, and ſmall Boats were armed, to the number of four or five hundred, and man'd with ſuch people as the preſent haſte and expedition offered; the great Chain was then brought forth to croſs the *Foſphorus*, which the Grecian Emperors uſed at the Seige of *Conſtantinople*: and Ten thouſand Men were iſſued from the City to defend the Shoar from depredation and farther miſchief. The Turkiſh Fleet faced the Coſſacks to give them a ſtop, whilſt they hovered about the middle of the Chanel in form of a Half-Moon, and ſo continued the whole day until Sun-ſet; when with the night they returned into the Sea, carrying with them, beſides their Booty, Glory ſufficient to have entred the Chanel, and without blows or oppoſition, to have braved the Capital Seat of the Ottoman Monarchy, and the moſt formidable City of the whole World. Not many days after they returned again with a greater Force than before, which put the City into the like conſternation; and having hovered about three or four days at the Mouth of the Black Sea, they burnt the Pharos or Lantern with certain Villages thereabouts, and being laden with Spoils and Glory, they again returned into their own Country. Thus we may obſerve, how bold Enemies are made with the weakneſs of a State: a Horſe is ſoon ſenſible of his Rider, when backed by a faint Hand, and an unaccuſtomed Lightneſs, but a ſtiff Rein and a cloſe Knee makes him obedient to his Ruler. All people having diſcovered the imbecillity of the Government, made head againſt it: and the young Sultan had thoſe for his Enemies in the time of his Nonage, which in his ſtrong and fiercer years became the moſt ſubmiſſive and Fawning Slaves in the World.

The form of the Coſſacks Boats.

1626.

And though at this time the Turkiſh Miniſters were corrupt and rebellious, and the Souldiery mutinous; yet *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of *Tranſylvania*, a Chriſtian, was obſervant to the Port, demanding Licence to wage War againſt the Emperor, which was eaſily granted, and upon payment of the uſual Tribute of Ten thouſand Hungars, the Ambaſſador, with thirteen of his Followers, received Coſtans or Veſts of Honour, and a promiſe of Succour and Protection, as the Condition of his Affairs ſhould require. Thus we ſee, that whilſt the Turks themſelves endeavoured to rent in pieces their own Monarchy, to which one would have thought, that the Chriſtians had moſt reaſon to contribute; yet ſuch was the unhappy Fate of Chriſtendom, that *Gabor* was the only Perſon at that time to court the Turks; and that for no other Reaſon, than that he might be ſupported and abetted in a War againſt the Emperor and other Chriſtian Princes of *Germany*.

Bethlem Gabor *deſires aſſiſtance againſt the Emperor.*

The Army of *Bethlem Gabor* conſiſted of above Thirty thouſand Men, with which he marched over all *Hungary*, having taken moſt Towns of conſideration, unleſs *Presburg*, alias *Poſſonium*, *Rab*, and *Komorra*. But if we penetrate into the depth and foundation of this War, we ſhall find that it had a deeper Intereſt than that of *Gabor*, and had its Original from the Diſcord and Civil War of *Germany*. For the Houſe of *Auſtria* being at that time in a condition to render it ſelf formidable, and in a poſture to create a jealouſy in all the Princes ſubjected to it, did under colour of ſubduing the Palatine of the *Rhyne*, oppreſs alſo the Liberty of the Empire, and of the ſeveral States which compoſed it. For after the Emperor, againſt the Conſtitutions of the Golden Seal, and the Senſe of the Electoral Colledg, had diveſted the Palatine and his Children of their Eſtates and Dignity, not ſo much by Force of Arms, as by Deceit and Breach of Promiſe; inſtead of disbanding the Army, which was to have been performed according to Agreement, new Troops were added; and though the Proteſtant League was diſſolved, yet the Catholick Combination, with all its Adherents, remained armed and immoveable to compel the Proteſtants to a reſtitution of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenue, notwithſtanding the Articles of Peace to the contrary: ſo that the Princes and Towns of the Lower *Saxony* entring into a new League, raiſed an Army under the Command of *Chriſtian* of *Brunſwick*, Biſhop of *Alberſtadt*. *Bethlem Gabor* having his Intereſt adjoyned to this Party, entertained the ſame Deſires and Intentions, to ſuppreſs the Greatneſs of the Emperor; and having the juſt complaint to alledge of wanting his annual Penſion of Fifty thouſand Crowns, as was agreed by the Treaty of *Niclasbourg*, he reſolved to force it by Arms, and take part with the Princes of the Proteſtant Religion which he profeſſed: but becauſe his Srength and Power was not ſufficient, without the aſſiſtance of the Turks, he not only obtained their permiſſion and approbation of this War, as we have ſaid before, but by paiment of Fifty thouſand Dollars preſented to the firſt Vizier, and of Forty thouſand by way of annual Tribute, he procured an

Auxiliary

1626. Auxiliary Force of Fifty thouſand Turks and Tartars; with part of which, commanded by *Budiani*, he made an Irruption into the Lower *Auſtria*; and with the other, *Bethlem* himſelf, about the beginning of *October*, entred into *Moravia*, defeated the Regiment of *Tiffenbach*, retook the Town of *Turnova*, and routed the Count of *Montenegro* General for his Imperial Majeſty before the Town of *Ghoding* on the Frontier of *Moravia*, which he afterwards beleagured and held beſieged until the 20th of *November*, when *Staniſlaus Turzow* a Hungarian Palatine became Mediator of the Peace, and at length obtained a Truce: the principal Articles of which were as followeth.

1. That on both parts Arms be laid down for ten months, and all Acts of Hoſtility ceaſe; that on neither ſide any attempt ſhould be made either by force or fraud to take any Caſtles, Forts, Cities, or places of Defence during this time; and that both Germans, Hungarians, and Turks ſhould be alike comprehended.

2. That if the Emperor were deſirous to treat and conclude a final Peace with the Grand Signior, he ſhould uſe *Bethlem Gabor* as Mediator, and do nothing therein without his privity.

3. That all Places and Forts taken by the Prince of *Tranſylvania* in his late Expedition, and that all Cities and Caſtles now in poſſeſſion of either, ſhould ſo remain without any alteration.

4. That all Paſſages ſhould be open for free Trade of Merchants, and all other the Subjects and Friends of either ſide.

A Truce being thus concluded, the Turks in their return made great havock, carrying with them great numbers of poor Chriſtians into Slavery, which *Gabor* out of compaſſion ſeemed willing to redeem with a low price at his own charge; which the Turks refuſing, carried thoſe miſerable Wretches into Captivity. The Count *Eſterhaſi* Governour of *Newhauſel* for the Emperor, being highly incenſed at this treacherous Action, contrary to the Truce ſo lately concluded, having drawn out a ſufficient Force from the neighbouring Gariſons, fell on the Rear of the Turks in their March towards *Buda*, and charged them ſo home on the Banks of the River *Niter*, that he killed five hundred of them on the place, took all their Baggage, with divers Priſoners, and gave liberty to many Chriſtian Slaves. The next day but one after he charged another Party of them, as they attempted to paſs a Bridg, which the night before he had cauſed to be broken down; of which having killed a great number, the reſt ſaved themſelves by ſwimming: howſoever many Chriſtians procured their liberty thereby, and a conſiderable Booty was made of Horſes, Camels, Waggons, and all Proviſions. The other Troops conſiſting of greater numbers, were worſe treated than the former; for *Eſterhaſi* having received a Recruit of Horſe from *Reiffemberg* Governor of *Komorra*, and *Breuner* of *Jarvarin* or *Rab*, he proceeded boldly to meet the Turks, and joyning Battel with them, he ſlew twelve hundred on the place, gave liberty to fourteen hundred Chriſtians, took divers of their principal Commanders, with all their Bag and Baggage, beſides a conſiderable quantity of Gold and Silver, in Plate and Mony. Nor were *Reiffemberg* and *Breuner* leſs ſucceſsful over thoſe who paſſed through their Quarters to joyn with the Gariſons of *Alba Regalis* and *Caniſia*, having killed ſeven hundred of them, and taken all their Baggage. Moreover Count *Serini* in his Journey towards *Vienna*, defeated ſix hundred of them, and preſented their Colours to the Emperour: and *Eſterhaſi* in like manner after his ſeveral Exploits, offered thirty Cornets at his Feet, with ſix Priſoners of Quality, one of which was Kinſman of *Bethlem Gabor*. 1626.

Theſe Rebuffs cooled the courage of the Turks a little, and altered the reſolution of the Council for carrying forward the War on the ſide of *Germany*, as was intended, had the Succeſs anſwered expectation: For theſe Misfortunes abroad, and inteſtine Troubles at home, with Peſtilence and Famine, which at the ſame time greatly afflicted the parts of *Conſtatinople* (whereby an hundred thouſand People died) abated the Mettle of the Turks, and cauſed them to take new Meaſures in all their Determinations: and for that reaſon Ambaſſadors were ſent both to *Vienna* and into *Poland* to renew the Articles of Peace, and ſo to confirm the League, that whilſt the Sultan was imployed in his Wars with *Perſia* and the Eaſtern Countries, nothing ſhould intervene from the Weſtern Parts to trouble or obſtruct his Progreſs, or recal him from his Enterprife. For now the Rebellion of *Abaſſa*, joined with *Bechir* Paſha of *Bagdat*, growing daily more conſiderable, and his ſtrength increaſing to that condition, that he was able to keep the Field in deſpight of the Grand Signiors Forces, he adventured to quarter within five days March of *Conſtantinople*: and at the ſame time Letters coming from *Haſiſh* Paſha General of the Army in the Province of *Bagdat*, that the King of *Perſia* was entred into the Dominions of the Turk with a powerful Army, a general Conſternation ſeized the whole Turkiſh Court, the wiſeſt and ſtouteſt having occaſion to call up for all their Wiſdom and Courage to aſſiſt at a Time when the Government was aſſailed on all ſides, both at home and abroad. Various were the Counſels and Propoſals in what manner to proceed in Times of ſuch emergency. Firſt it was reſolved to proclaim a War both againſt the King of *Perſia*, and the Rebels in *Aſia*, and that whoſoever took of the Grand Signior Pay, from one Aſper a day to higher value, ſhould be in readineſs to ſerve in the War, upon penalty of loſing his Eſtate, of being accounted a Rebel, and his Wife and Children ſold for Slaves. But the more ſober and moderate ſort judged it policy to take off *Abaſſa*, by ſending him a general Pardon, with a conceſſion of all his Demands, upon condition, that he ſhould turn his Arms upon the King of *Perſia*, who was the common Enemy of their Country and Religion: but the Janiſaries would by no means aſſent to this Agreement, with a Perſon to whom they bore a more inveterate hatred, than to the Perſian himſelf, as he did alſo to the Janiſaries. For that he might better juſtifie his pretence of Revenge, he declared, That being one day in a Moſch at his Prayers, the murdered *Oſman* appeared to him, and taking him by the hand, ſaid, My faithful *Muſſulman*, ſince thou art the moſt generous of all my Slaves, I command thee to revenge my Death, with the Blood of ſixty thouſand Janiſaries and Spahees; good Fortune ſhall accompany thy Arms, and Victory ſhall crown thy Labours. During theſe Intrigues and Difficulties of Reconciliation, *Abaſſa*, ſpoiled the Leſſer *Aſia*, and the Perſian King conquered the City and Province of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, took *Kur Aſan* Paſha, an old Souldier, Priſoner, poſſeſſed himſelf of *Moſul* and *Lesko* on the Perſian Sea; and meeting no conſiderable oppoſition, he divided his Army into four parts. The firſt was diſpatched into *Meſopotamia*, commanded by the King himſelf. The ſecond made Incurſions into *Paleſtine*. The third infeſted the

Coaſt

1626. Coaſt of the Black Sea: and the fourth marched towards *Mecha*, with hope and deſign of ſharing all the parts of the Eaſtern Empire.

Ali Paſha, who oppoſed the King in *Meſopotamia*, was ſlain, and his Army wholly defeated, ſo that the Province became a Prey to the Enemy: the ſucceſs in *Paleſtine* was equally fortunate by the revolt of *Damaſcus*, a place of great Riches and Importance; the Coaſt of the Black Sea was grevioufly infeſted, and a Port taken near to *Trapezond*; and little oppoſition being made at *Balſora*, the Town was taken by that Army in their March towards *Mecha* and the parts of the Red Sea, where they rendered themſelves Maſters of *Medina*, the City of their Prophet *Mahomet*.

To repair theſe loſſes, and to encounter numbers ſo ſtrong and valiant in all parts, the Vizier was diſpeeded with a powerful Force to the Town of *Bagdat*; but by reaſon of Mutinies and Tumults amongſt the Souldiery, Matters found not the ſucceſs expected: and the Gariſon making valiant and vigorous Sallies againſt the imbecility of the Turkiſh Souldiery, which were always moſt obſtinate and ſtout to oppoſe their own Commanders, obtained an advantage in every Attempt; by which diſcouragement many forſaking their Colours, the Siege was raiſed with diſhonour, and the Intereſt of the Turk impaired, and almoſt irreparably loſt in thoſe Provinces. This News arrived at *Conſtantinople*, that the Camp was riſen and fled by Night, that they were forced to burn their Tents and Proviſions, and to break their great Artillery and caſt them into the *Euphrates*: that the Miſeries in the Army had been ſuch by Famine and Peſtilence, and want of all Proviſions and Ammunition, that the like was never known: that the Vizier had beheaded three of his Paſha's, that ſo he might caſt the whole blame upon them; and that now retreating with his Army into the Turkiſh Dominions, the Perſians purſued them in the Rear, and for ten days did execution on them, making the beſt uſe they could of their Victory; which Relation filled the Hearts of all People with ſadneſs, and diſordered the Counſels with confuſion. The Cauſe of which ill Succeſs, according to cuſtom, being imputed to the General, he was deprived of his Office, and ſacrificed to the Fury of the Janiſaries.

The Siege raiſed at Bagdat, *& the Turks overthrown.*

Theſe Troubles were increaſed at *Conſtantinople*, by the Addreſſes which the Prince of *Tranſylvania* made unto the Port by his Kapi-Kahya or Agent, repreſenting to the Grand Signior, That he wanting Heirs Male to ſucceed him in his Principality; the States at a Diet had, with common conſent, elected his Lady for his Succeſſor; and therefore deſired confirmation from the Port. In excuſe of her Sex, he alledged the urgent Neceſſity of the preſent Times, which perſwaded rather to admit of the Government of a Woman, than that his Principality ſhould, for want of an Heir, fall into the Hands of the powerful Family of *Auſtria*. To make good this Demand, Duke *John* of *Weymar*, and Count *Manſfelt*, arrived in *Siliſtria*, to whom the Prince of *Tranſylvania* joined his Troops: and *Mortezа* Paſha of *Buda* wrote to the Port, that he was marching towards *Vatz* to meet the Prince, and confer with him concerning theſe Deſigns. The Emperor's Reſident at *Conſtantinople* greatly exclaimed againſt theſe Proceedings; which ſomething troubled the Counſels of the Turks, who in that Conjuncture were unwilling to give beginnings to a new War; ſo that beſides fair Words, they promiſed to write ſuch Letters to the Paſha of *Buda*, as ſhould give a ſtop to the Inveſtiture of the Princes. But, to ſay truly, the Inſtructions given were in ſuch ambiguous terms, that they in effect left the whole Matter to the Diſcretion of *Mortezа* to act, as he judged moſt agreeable to the State of Affairs on the Frontiers, and ſecurity of the preſent Peace.

Duke of Weymar *and Count* Manſfelt *join with the Prince of* Tranſylvania.

1626.

Thus did the Turkiſh Court ſeek to ward off the blow of a War with *Germany*, and yet ſecretly nouriſhed and encouraged it, by giving Orders to the Paſha of *Buda* to take up his Winter-quarters with the Prince of *Tranſylvania*, and to follow his Directions; but yet ſo to govern Matters with Caution, as not to engage too far on uncertain Grounds or doubtful Hazard, but to embrace Propoſitions of Peace, if offered with Honour and Security. In proſecution of theſe Rules, *Mortezа* obſerving, that *Weymar* and *Manſfelt* having united their Forces with *Gabor*, had formed a conſiderable Army, and were able to fight with *Walleſtein* General of the Imperialiſts; joined alſo his Forces to theirs, judging it a prudent and politick Deſign to wage a War at the Blood and Expence of others. With theſe Encouragements, and with the favour of a good Opportunity, the Confederates fell upon the Army of *Walleſtein* near the River *Gran*; who not being able to withſtand their Force and Fury, was put to flight, and purſued in the Rear with great ſlaughter; and endeavouring to paſs the River on two Bridges of Boats, were cloſely followed by the Prince's Forces, who gaining the Paſs, put the whole Army into great amazement, and reſolved to purſue them to the Gates of *Presburg*, or *Vienna*.

The Emperor's Army defeated.

Notwithſtanding this Succeſs, the Prince of *Tranſylvania* obſerving the backwardneſs of his Allies to contribute the Succours of Men and Mony which they had promiſed; and fearing that the unfortunate Eſtate of the Turkiſh Affairs ſhould cauſe the Sultan to diſown the War, diſpeeded a Meſſenger to the Emperor in the Winter-ſeaſon, to excuſe the Conſtraint upon him of taking up Arms, and to offer Terms of Accommodation and Peace. But the Emperor refuſed all Treaties, until ſuch time as *Gabor* had ſeparated himſelf from his Allies, and from aſſociation with the Turk: Upon which Anſwer, *Gabor* retired to *Caſſovia*, and *Mortezа* to *Peſth*. This Compliance gave beginning to a Treaty at *Komara*, where the Commiſſioners on part of the Emperor, of the Grand Signior, and Prince of *Tranſylvania*, aſſembled. All Parties ſeemed inclinable to War, and yet with occult Intentions to make Peace, being neceſſitated thereunto by the urgency of their diſtinct Intereſts. The Emperor was urged by his Wars with the Proteſtants of *Germany*, and apprehenſion of Forces from *England* in favour of the Elector Palatine, then King of *Bohemia*. The Grand Signior was entombred by the unfortunate condition of his Wars in *Aſia*: And *Bethlem Gabor*, jealous of being diſowned by the Port, deſerted by his Allies, and expoſed to fight and contend ſingly with the Emperor. In ſhort, *Gabor* concluded a Peace with the Emperor apart, which gave ſome Jealouſies and diſpleaſure to the Grand Signior: Howſoever he diſſembled his Diſcontent, and willingly intereſſed *Gabor* with *Mortezа* as Commiſſioner for him; who being variouſly diſpoſed, yet moved with the conſiderations of their common Advantage, work'd all Differences into a Compoſition of Peace; the Articles of which being brought to *Conſtantinople* by an Internuncio from the Emperor, and delivered in preſence of the two Ambaſſadors of *Gabor*, they were accepted

Peace concluded between the Emperor and Gabor.

1626. accepted by the Chimacam, and ratified by the Grand Signior.

Articles of Peace concluded between the Emperor of *Germany* Ferdinand the Second, and *Bethlem Gabor*, in the Month of *December* 1626.

I. THE *Prince of* Tranſylvania *doth promiſe, by the Faith of a Chriſtian, never to move Arms, or uſe any Hoſtility againſt the Majeſty of the Emperor, or the Houſe of* Auſtria, *or their Succeſſors, much leſs to enter into their Dominions with an Army; nor to aid his Enemies, or keep a Correſpondence with them: Not to plot any Innovation in the Kingdom of* Hungary, *or other Chriſtian Countries: Nor to ſtir up or provoke the Turks, Tartars, or others, to invade them: Not to entertain or aſſiſt in any evill Counſel againſt his Majeſty, nor to give ear to the Requeſts and Deſires of his Enemies; but rather to reveal all their Conſpiracies and Wickedneſſes, which ſhall be made known unto him; and by all means to demonſtrate and ſhew a ſincere mind truly deſirous of Peace, and ſollicitous of the Common Good.*

II. *That the Prince ſhall inſtantly depart with his whole Army, out of the Territories and Cities of the Emperor; and that he ſhall reſtore as well all Goods belonging to the Imperial Treaſure, as thoſe of his faithful Subjects.*

III. *That he ſhall remove from him the Rebel* Mansfelt, *and all other his Followers and Adherents, deſirous to invade the Dominions of the Emperor: And that he ſhall not aid any Stranger whatſoever, who at his Inſtance hath entered into the Territories of his Majeſty with Count* Mansfelt; *to whom Letters of Publick Safety ſhall be given, that they may return by twenty or thirty in a Troop, conditionally, that in no place of their Retreat they ſhall joyn with the Enemies of the Emperor.*

IV. *That ſeeing it is fit, for Eſtabliſhment of the Peace, that the Inhabitants of Countries and Cities belonging to the Prince, by conſent of the Emperor, ſhould remain, during his Life, in Obedience and Fidelity to him; and that thoſe Inhabitants ſhould do Homage to the Emperor, (ſaving their corporal Oath to the Prince) to keep inviolate theſe Articles, That they ſhould have leave, by Letters of full Authority and Power, granted them by the Prince in their firſt Aſſemblies and Conventions, to make ſuch Oath of Homage.*

V. *That at the ſame time of performing the Homage and Oath, beſides the Oath before the laſt War, they ſhall take a new Oath according to the Agreement between the Prince and the Commiſſioners of the Emperor.*

VI. *The Prince ſhall procure, that all Places upon the Confines, which were taken by the Turks in the laſt War, be reſtored; and that all Captives, taken Priſoners, ſhall be ſet at liberty: And that the Prince ſhall procure the freedom of all ſuch the Emperor's Subjects as ſhall be in the Turkiſh Captivity.* 1626.

VII. *That all the Subjects of the Emperor, lately incited and drawn to the Service of the Prince, ſhall be free from their Oath: and if the Prince hath any of their Writings Obligatory in his Hands, that he ſhall reſtore them: And that theſe Conditions being confirmed, all other things formerly treated, ſhall remain in their former State and Vigour.*

VIII. *That if any other Difficulties ariſe, they ſhall be accommodated with Fidelity and Quietneſs by Commiſſioners on both Parts: And that all thoſe who in the laſt Commotions have ſerved the Prince, ſhall be abſolved according to the Treaty and Agreement at* Vienna.

IX. *That all the Inhabitants of Cities and Countries, which have ſerved the Prince, ſhall be abſolved; only thoſe excepted, who have voluntarily taken up Arms againſt the Emperor; for whom the Prince only ſhall intercede, excuſing always private Men, who have done private Wrongs; for they ſhall, according to Law and Cuſtom, ſeek their Reſtitution by Civil Action.*

X. *That all other Articles of Peace concluded at* Nichilsburg *and* Vienna, *ſhall remain in their former Vigour and Force: And that all Goods of the Emperor's Clergy, poſſeſſed by the Prince from the Tear 1619, to this preſent Day, ſhall be reſtored; except the Abbies of* Replana *belonging to the Seminaries of* Strigonium, *for which the Prince ſhall pay yearly to the Emperor five hundred Florens.*

Theſe Articles being thus agreed, and ſigned, and approved by the Sultan, in the Month of *September* following 1627, the Articles between the Emperor and the Grand Signior were alſo agreed at *Komara*; the which are as follow, tranſlated out of the Turkiſh, word for word.

THAT *ſeeing the Peace eſtabliſhed formerly at* Zitwar, Vienna, Komara, *and* Chiarman, *hath remained in the ſame State, and in the ſame Articles, without any alteration, it ſhall not be violated by any new occaſion of Contention.*

That the Differences of Vaz, *whereof is made mention at the preſent, ſhall reſt in the ſame State that the Commiſſioners on both ſides ſhall agree.*

That the new Forts built upon the Confines of Croatia, *contrary to the Peace, ſhall be demoliſhed. To which purpoſe our ſaid Deputy* Mehmet, *and our Viſier* Morteſa *Paſha, ſhall meet upon the Frontiers of* Buda *with your*

1626. *your Deputies, at the Time appointed by the Treaty; and thereupon the places on both ſides ſhall cauſe to be demoliſhed the Forts built contrary to the Peace: Wherein if they find any Impediment, they ſhall chuſe able and valiant Men to perform and execute the ſaid Service.*

That after the Approbation of this happy Peace, your great Ambaſſador ſhall come to Komara, *and ours ſhall repair with our Imperial Letters to* Strigonium: *and there one of them adviſing the other, yours ſhall ſet forward to our happy Port, and ours ſhall advance to you. For ſo it is agreed by our Imperial Order, both carrying with them the new Imperial Capitulations.*

That all Complaints of Villages ſubject to both parts, ſhall be laid aſide, and no Violences, Taxes, or Contribution, contrary to our former Convention, ſhall be exacted. And all Forts built in the common Confines, ſhall be raiſed. And reciprocally it ſhall be made known, according to the ancient Treaty, what great Men do dwell amongſt our Tributaries. And for the execution of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Articles of the Peace of Zitwa, *the Tenth of* Vienna, *and the Fourth of* Komara *and* Chiarman *(for ſuch was then the Aggreement) two Capigi-Paſha's of our high Port ſhall be deputed and diſpatched, the one to this ſide, and the other to that ſide of the* Danube. *And upon your part you ſhall ſend two ſuch qualified Perſons to the ſame places: who being met together with the Deputies of* Morteſa *Paſha, and the Palatine of* Hungary, *ſhall rectify all Diſorders, and ſee that good Juſtice be done on both Parties; for ſo it is our moſt High Pleaſure.*

That the Slaves which have been taken during this our Treaty, ſhall be freed and ſet at liberty without any Ranſom. And thoſe who were taken before the ſaid Treaty, ſhall be exchanged and Redeemed, according to their Qualities and Eſtates, by the interpoſition of Morteſa *Paſha, and the Palatine of* Hungary *deputed for that purpoſe.*

For the Good of poor People on both ſides, the Commiſſioners have thought fit to conclude this renewed Peace for Twenty five Years, from 1627. *Whereunto we have given our Imperial Aſſent.*

That all Merchants, and other our Subjects on both parts, ſhall have ſafe paſſage and conduct through both our Dominions: And we have given command to our Paſha's, Beglerbeghs, Generals, Beghs, and Captains, upon our Confines, to apprehend, bring into Juſtice, and puniſh all ſuch as ſhall any way diſturb or moleſt them contrary to the Peace. As likewiſe the Palatine of Hungary, *and other your Miniſters ſhall do on your part, if they find any ſuch Offenders.*

That our Beglerbeghs, Sanzacks, Captains, and Governors; and your Generals, Commanders, and Captains, ſhall upon occaſion imploy all ſuch Perſons as are lovers of the Peace and Common Good.

That there ſhall be no Damage or Hurt done to any of our Subjects in any of your Kingdoms or Dominions, neither by Sea nor Land; as there ſhall none be done to yours in our Dominions. 1626.

That all by-paſt Wrongs, Enmities, and Unkindneſſes, on both parts, ſhall be forgotten and laid aſleep: and that this happy Peace ſhall be ſincerely and firmly continued and kept inviolate.

Upon Condition that the Emperor perform and obſerve all the aforeſaid Articles, and that there follow no Action from any Miniſters, contrary to the ſaid Peace: We promiſe and ſwear, by God our Creator, who made the whole World of Nothing; and by the Honour which we bear to our moſt high Prophet Mahomet Muſtapha, *That there ſhall not be done, during the whole Term of the ſaid Peace, the leaſt Hurt or Damage to the Subjects, Countries, Kingdoms, Caſtles, or Forts of the ſaid Emperor, by any of our Miniſters or Armies, nor to any Chriſtian Slaves ſubject to our happy Port.*

By theſe Articles we may obſerve, that both Parties were deſirous of a preſent Peace, rather than one which was durable; for things are ſo ſlubber'd over to ſerve the preſent Occaſion, that they leave all Diſputes undecided, till Time ſhould happen more proper to interpret them with the Sword, than with the Pen: like Sores obducted by an unskilful Chirurgion, which feſtering within, muſt be again opened before they are cured: howſoever they ſerved the turn of *Gabor*, whoſe Intereſt it was to maintain an ill Correſpondence between the two Emperors.

Peace being thus concluded between *Ferdinand* the Second and Sultan *Morat*, gave ſome reputation to the Affairs of the Turks: ſo that notwithſtanding the late ſucceſs of the Perſian in their War, by raiſing the Siege of *Bagdat*, and overthrow of the Turkiſh Army; yet that King finding himſelf now engaged alone, and ſingly to contend with the Ottoman Power, feared the Puiſſance of that Empire, leſt being rouſed and heated with the ſenſible Pinches of the late Diſgrace, they ſhould call up and invigorate all their Forces to a Revenge, which might at length tend to a ruin and deſtruction of *Perſia*, unleſs Fortune, which attended the firſt auſpicious beginnings with Succeſs, did alſo continue conſtant, and ſtill accompany their Arms, which could hardly be expected. 1627.

Wherefore on theſe Conſiderations becoming more faint in proſecution of the War, the Perſian diſpatched an Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, furniſhed with various Propoſals and Projects for a Peace; but ſtill Mattters driving ſo as to reſerve the City and Province of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, in the hands of the Perſian, the Treaty became ineffectual, in regard the Vizier (who was then called *Halil* Paſha) judged it a high and an irrecoverable diſreputation to the Empire, to be diſmembred of ſo principal a part of it. Wherefore the Ambaſſador being diſpatched away with ſome neglect, the Turks armed with that diligence and heat, that they entred *Perſia* with an Army of an hundred and fifty thouſand Men; with which appearance the people being diſmayed, ſuffered *Tauris* to be taken without much oppoſition. From hence marching to *Bagdat*, they found

1627. found the City well provided and defended with a numerous Garison, from whence many Sallies were made with variety of Fortune, till at length the Turkish Souldiers being wearied and tired with incessant labour and watchings, many of them fled from their Colours: and with such diminutions, the Army being much abated in its Numbers, the Vizier withdrew them from the Persian Dominions.

Another Expedition into Persia.

Some Months after the Turkish Army being reinforced, the Vizier entring again into *Persia*, overthrew the Trucmen who opposed him in his March, and destroyed the Gregorians, who were Friends to the Persian, with a very great slaughter; took *Morèc* their General, and cut off his Head: And adding to these Victories, the report of having taken some few inconsiderable Towns, his Expedition ended without other Advantages, or Progress of their Arms. This ill Success much troubled the Councils at *Constantinople*; for they considered that they had now waged an expensive, laborious War, for the space of three Years, without any Effect agreeable to the Blood and Charge which maintained it, but rather to the Loss and Damage of the Empire. The Souldiers abhorred the length and tediousness of the Way, and the misery of the March, being to pass over vast Countries and Desarts, where there was nothing besides Rocks, Sands, and Barrenness. Many Horses, Camels, and other Beasts of Burden, perished for want of Nourishment; and where Provisions were to be had, the Price was so excessive, that the Timariots and other Souldiers had not a Purse to defray their Charges. The Enemy likewise was very strong, for the Sofi was at the Head of forty thousand brave Horse, which daily infested the Ottoman Camp, beat their Convoys, and cut off their Provisions, and so obstructed them that they could not advance.

Proposition made by the Persian for a Peace.

The Vizier *Halil*, then General, being discouraged by these Disasters, was inclinable to accept of the Proposition made by the Persian, *viz.* That *Babylon* should remain to his eldest Son in Fee, and to his Heirs and Successors, acknowledging to the Grand Signior a Tribute as great as the yearly Revenue which proceeded from it, at the time when it was in the Hands of the Sultan. But this middle Way seemed an Expedient dishonourable to the Greatness of this Empire, and that which argued pusillanimity and want of courage in the Government, and therefore was rejected by the Council of State, as well as by the Military Men. Howsoever the Persians taking their Measures by the disposition they discovered in the Vizier thereunto, adventured to dispatch an Ambassador to *Constantinople* with tender of the same Project; but as he was coldly and faintly received, so he was in a few days dispatched with few words, and little respect,

Rejected by the Turk.

as if he had been sent as a Spy to discover the State and Condition of the City, and the Inclination of the Prince, rather than to obtain any Benefit by the Treaty. For now *Amurat* growing into Years, increased in Spirit, and discovered a Martial Courage; he began to leave his Delights, and Walks in Gardens, and the society with his Mother and Women, and to assume thoughts of War and Government: such as entertained him in softness and luxurious Pastimes, were reproved by the Ministers about him, and by them perswaded to buckle on his Armour, and to delight in Martial Exercises: So that now new Measures were taken in all Affairs: And in the first place, *Halil* the Great Vizier was recalled from being General in *Persia*, and the Pasha of *Darbiquier* put into his Place; and though he was Brother-in-Law to the Grand Signior, yet being esteemed at Court as a Person who had amassed great Riches in his Employment, he was forced to disgorge five hundred thousand Crowns as an ease of his Burden, and an Atonement to pacify the Sultan for the Fault of his Misfortunes and ill Success.

1627.

In these Times of Licentiousness and Revolt, the Pirats of *Algier* and *Tunis*, began also to cast off their Respect and Reverence to the Ottoman Empire; for being become Rich by the Prizes they had taken on Christian Vessels, they resolved to set up for themselves, and to esteem the Peace which Christian Princes had made with the Grand Signior, not to concern them; but as if their Governments had been independent, demanded a particular Treaty, and distinct Articles with themselves: So that now daring to do any thing, six Vessels of *Tunis* chased some Christian Ships into *Rhodes*, and there attaqued them, notwithstanding that the Castle shot at them. They afterwards took a Dutch Ship, which had laden at *Alexandria*: and entring the Port of *Salines* in *Cyprus*, they engaged with two Venetians; the lesser Ship made a good resistance, but having no help, she was thrice fired, and at last burnt: the other being a Ship of eight hundred Tuns, was cowardly set on fire by the Mariners, and abandoned, escaping ashore with their Boats. Then they sailed for *Scanderone*, where finding a Dutch Ship and a Polaca, they took both, and then landed. The Aga of the Scale, with all the Inhabitants, fled; so that finding no opposition, they ransacked and robbed all the Ware-houses, and afterwards set them on fire: The greatest Loss fell upon the English and Dutch, the first lost about ten thousand Dollars, and the latter about thirty thousand.

The Pirats of Tunis and Algier trouble the Seas.

Of these Losses, and breach of Peace, the Christian Ambassadors much lamented; and complained, that if some Remedy were not applied thereto, all Trade must be given over, no Security being to be expected in the Articles and Faith of the Grand Signior: To which, though the Vizier and Great Men did seem to yield a favourable Ear, and promise Redress: Yet being corrupted with some share of the Spoils, and sweetned with part of the Robbery, they began to reject the Memorials of the Ambassadors, and to allow the Pleas of the Pirats, as grounded on some solid Foundation of Reason and Religion, suffering them to publish Discourses, that the Turks were obliged to maintain a perpetual War with the Christians, as Enemies to their Law and Alchoran; and though Policy may suggest some Conveniencies by Peace with them, yet those Considerations are Matters of Sin rather than of Reason.

To make all this good, the Divan of *Tunis* sent two Deputies to remonstrate the great Benefit and Advantage the Port received by the Depredations and hostile Acts which they committed on the Christians: And to inculcate this Argument the better, they declared, That they had lately taken two Gallies of *Malta*, out of the Spoils of which, they presented unto the Sultan two Stirrups of Gold, with divers Slaves; two of which were Cavaliers, one of the Roman, and the other of the French Nation: those which were Youths, and comely in shape and feature, were entred into the Service of the Seraglio; and the more strong and robustous, were committed to the Service of the Gallies; so that the Turks were inwardly pleased with these Piracies, howsoever gave good words to the Christian

1627. Ambaſſadors, promiſed much, and effected nothing.

At that time Trade flouriſhed greatly in thoſe Parts, and had done much more, had it not been interrupted by the Piracies of *Barbary*; and the Trade was eſpecially ſo great with *Venice*, that a Turkiſh Merchant called *Rodul* Aga, whoſe whole Negotiation and Dealing was for that place, died worth a Million of Soltanees; of which, for want of Children, the Grand Signior became the ſole Heir.

But one Accident happened about this Time on the Seas, worthy to be recounted: The Seas (as we have ſaid) ſwarming then with Pirats, the General of *Candia*, with three Gallies, coaſting on the Seas for defence and protection of Merchant-Ships, arrived in the Port of *Andro*; from whence eſpying a Gally plying cloſe under the Shore, and believing her to be a Corſaire, or Pirat, made up to her; and becauſe it was about the glimpſe of the Evening, ſo that ſhe could not be well known or diſtinguiſhed, the General raſhly charged her; and meeting a ſtout reſiſtance, many were killed before it was known that the Gally belonged to the *Archipelago*, commanded by *Dervis Bei*, one of the Grand Signior's Captains: but ſo ſoon as the Miſtake was diſcovered, the Candiot General demanded of the Turk a thouſand Excuſes, returned him his Gally and Slaves again, and whatſoever was taken from him, beſtowing with them an infinity of Complements, ſuppoſing that thereby the Spirit of the Turk being ſomewhat appeaſed and mollified, he would repreſent this Encounter with the more favourable Terms and Advantage at the Port. Notwithſtanding which Offices of Kindneſs, *Dervis Bei*, without farther loſs of time paſſed up to *Conſtantinople*, bringing his Gally in without Lantern, ſhot thorough, ill treated, and ſhattered, feigning himſelf alſo to be wounded; related, that he had loſt forty four Levents, and ſeventy ſeven Slaves which were killed; and that all the Haratch or Tribute-Mony, which was collected for the Grand Signior's Service from the ſeveral Iſlands, was robbed and embezled by theſe Candiots. His Complaints were aggravated by many Circumſtances, and being aſſiſted with the Clamours of other Beys or Captains of Gallies; the Noiſe and Diſpute was exceeding high in the Divan, urging, that the Venetians were obliged to make good a Loſs, which they had cauſed rather out of Malice than Miſtake.

A Fight at Sea by miſtake.

At that time *Georgio Giuſtiniano* reſided at *Conſtantinople* for the moſt Serene Republick; who to oppoſe the high Clamours of theſe Complainants, ſhewed Courage, and accompanied his Anſwers with Prudence and Reſolution, which are often very convincing in the Turkiſh Court. They alledged, that the Peace was broken. He anſwered, That it would not be the firſt time; and that they ought not to yield entire Credit to the Relation of Perſons paſſionate and partial in their own Cauſe: that ſuch Accidents as theſe, were as ordinary and common in the World as Cold and Heat, as fair and foul Weather; and that ſo ſoon as the Error was diſcovered, and the Gally known not to belong to *Barbary*, but to the Grand Signior, it was punctually and entirely reſtored, with all the Excuſes imaginable.

In ſhort, this Buſineſs which had ſo bad an Aſpect at the firſt, by the dexterity of this Miniſter, and giving ſomething to *Dervis Bei*, whereby to ſtop his Mouth, the Complaint ceaſed, and all farther Proceedings were ſuperſeded.

The Wars in *Perſia* being unſucceſsful, it was 1627.
propoſed in Council, that a Peace ſhould be made, if poſſible, with *Abaſſa* Paſha; that his Demands, whatſoever they were, ſhould be granted, and promiſes given him of Honours and Preferment: But the inveterate Enmity and Hate which the Janiſaries bore him, and the difficulty there was to perſwade *Abaſſa*, that the Overtures made him were free and candid, and not mixed with Treachery and Deſign, were Obſtructions not to be obviated or overcome. Wherefore *Abaſſa* keeping mutual Intelligence with the Perſians, and receiving aſſiſtance and ſuccours from them, was become very formidable and ſtrong, and the Town of *Erzirum* well fortified with Works and a numerous Garriſon. Howſoever the Janiſaries, his mortal Enemies, preſſing the Vizier to proceed againſt him, at length obliged him to beſiege the Place; which having done, and cloſely begirt it, the moſt forward and brave amongſt the Janiſaries, were the firſt to ſcale the Walls, but were repulſed by the valour of ſtout and reſolute Souldiers; for they knowing that there was no other ſafety but in their Arms, and no other Mercy than an ignominious Death, being the juſt Reward of their Rebellion, refuſed to give or receive Quarter: Wherefore they made frequent Sallies on the Enemy, and as many Janiſaries of them as they took Priſoners, they immediately hanged about the Walls, as a ſpectacle of Horror to their Aſſociates. This Reſolution and Cruelty, deterred the Turks from their frequent Aſſaults and Storms made upon the Town; and the many Batteries and Fortifications, rendred the Place almoſt impregnable; ſo that there ſeemed no other hopes to remain, but to overcome them by a long Siege and Famine: But *Abaſſa* had ſo well provided againſt this Danger, with ſuch plenty of Proviſions, that the Turkiſh Army began to be more ſtraitned for want of Suſtenance than the Beſieged: ſo that becoming weary and diſcouraged amidſt ſo many Difficulties, they raiſed the Siege with ſuch diſorder and haſte, that they left ſeveral Pieces of Cannon behind them; and retiring with ſome confuſion, were charged in the Rear, ſo that many Janiſaries fell a Sacrifice to the hate and revenge of the Enemy.

1627.
Propoſals of Accommodation with Abaſſa.

Erzirum beſieged.

The Siege raiſed.

The News of this Succeſs coming to *Conſtantinople*, was ill received; but the Diſaſter thereof, according to the uſual Cuſtom, was attributed to the Vizier who was General; for which Cauſe he was deprived of his Office, and the Selictar Aga (who carries the Sword before the Grand Signior) was put into his place, a Perſon of a fierce, bloody, and cruel Diſpoſition.

To theſe, new troubles were added out of *Tartary*. For *Mahomet* the King of that Country, exalted to the Princely Dignity (as we have already declared) by the Favour and Election of that People, though contrary to the ſenſe and pleaſure of the Port, was now fallen from the good eſteem which they conceived for him, becauſe he gave ſome hindrance to their uſual Incurſions on the Polonians and Coſſacks, out of memory and gratitude to the aſſiſtance they had contributed towards his Election; for which reaſon being, as it were, famiſhed for want of their uſual Depredations, they refuſed to obey his Commands; and then openly threw off their Obedience to him as their Prince. The Turks, who always envied this Dignity to *Mahomet*, rejoiced to ſee this Diſcord between him and his People, and therefore thought it time to make uſe of this occaſion to re-inſtate *Gherey* the elder Brother

New Troubles from Tartary.

1627. Brother into the poſſeſſion of his Kingdom; whom the Turks, for his better ſecurity, having placed at *Rhodes*, the uſual Retirement of the Tartarian Princes, diſpatched a Squadron of Gallies to fetch him from thence to *Conſtantinople*; where being arrived, he was received with a magnificent and Princely Entertainment by the Sultan: that ſo the Fame thereof forerunning his arrival in *Tartary*, the people might be better prepared to concur with the Port in their acceptance of him for their King. He was afterwards conducted to *Caffa*, the Grand Signior's Town in *Tartary*, with a ſtrong Fleet of fifty Gallies, where at his firſt landing he was received by *Cant-Emir*, a rich and powerful Tartar, and Chief of the Turkiſh Faction, and by many others with great honour and ſolemnity, with whom alſo a conſiderable Party moſt willingly engaged. But the Coſſacks of *Poland* and Circaſſians, Friends to *Mahomet* the Brother, joyning their Troops to his Forces, became too Strong for the Turks; for giving them Battel near the Incloſures of the *Danube*, at a place called *Bandet*, they defeated them, and killed three or four thouſand of their Men, putting all to Fire and Sword round about; and entring on the Seas with their Fleet of Boats, took five of the Turkiſh Gallies: with which ill Succeſs, the Tartars, which took part with *Cant-Emir*, being diſcouraged, abandoned their Colours and fled; ſo that *Cant-Emir* was forced to take Sanctuary in *Caffa*, which being a Town belonging to the Grand Signior, it was hoped, that the reverence they owed to that Name, would cauſe them to refrain all Violence thereunto. But the Tartars, provoked by this late effuſion of Blood, loſt all reſpect to that Government; ſo that beſieging the Town, they aſſaulted and took it, and therein the Son of *Cant-Emir* whom they cut in pieces, the Father eſcaping in a diſguiſe from the City.

The News hereof arriving at *Conſtantinople* was greatly diſpleaſing, and cauſed many ſerious Debates and Conſultations thereupon; the wiſeſt and moſt ſober of the Council was for diſſembling the Matter, and with their uſual dexterity to ſuffer what they could not remedy: for that it was by no means adviſable in the preſent conjuncture of Affairs, to proceed unto an open Rupture with the Tartars, fearing leſt the Chriſtians, Perſians, and other Enemies ſhould make a benefit of this Occaſion, and joyning with a Nation ſo ſtrong in Horſe, ſhould dangerouſly preſs upon the Empire, and force them to the ultimate extremity of Affairs. Wherefore an Envoy Extraordinary was ſent to the Tartars, who covering the inward ſentiments of Regret and Anger, which the Sultan conceived for the late Diſgrace, ſeemed to wonder at the Cauſe and Reaſon of the laſt Engagement, as if it had been acted without the knowledg or order of the Grand Signior; and thus with gentle Terms inſinuating, that the Surrender of *Caffa* would be very acceptable to the Port, and that which would atone for all miſcarriages, and be ſuch an offering of Pacification, as would reconcile all paſt Differences, and reſtore a perfect Correſpondence between the Sultan and them: the Tartars readily aſſented to the Demand, upon condition, that the Turks ſhould impoſe no other King upon them than him, whom by general conſent they had elected for their Prince.

1628. Though Differences were thus concluded with the Tartars, yet the Coſſacks continued ſtill their Enmities, entring the Black Sea with eighty Saicks, which they ſo infeſted, that the Turks could for that Year avail themſelves little of their Navigation in thoſe Seas: ſo that the Turks, to curb theſe Inſolencies, gave Orders to build two Forts at the Mouth of the Black Sea: the Poliſh Ambaſſador made Complaint hereof, and proteſted againſt it, as an Act contrary to the Capitulations of Peace; but the Turks eſteem little of the Air of Bravadoes, whilſt they are not accompanied with ſomething elſe more ſolid than their own Levity.

1628.

But the grand Concernments which buſied the Thoughts of the Turks, was the Rebellion of *Abaſſa*, and the War in *Perſia*, the management of which was the charge and care of the Selictar Aga lately made Vizier, called *Serches* Paſha. His Head-quarters were at the beginning of this Year taken up at *Iconium*, called by the Turks *Comie*; and *Abaſſa* was encamped at *Kaiſaria*, againſt whom the Vizier marched; and being nearly approached, the Janiſaries earneſtly urged, that Battel might be given the Enemy; but the Vizier having received Inſtructions not to engage, if poſſible, but rather to enter into a Treaty, and to propoſe Terms of Accommodation, delayed the Time, and with various Excuſes, eluded the preſent premures of the Janiſaries; at which they became ſo angry, that they flew into an open Mutiny, cutting the Cords of his Tents, ſtoning him, and wounding him in the Head: by which open Violence, the Vizier being compelled to make known his Orders, he aſſembled the chief Commanders of the Spahees and Janiſaries, giving them to underſtand, that the Grand Signior's Pleaſure was, to make up the Difference with *Abaſſa*, as the only means to conclude an inteſtine and unnatural War, and to be able to withſtand the Perſians, and regain the Country and Reputation which the Turks had loſt. This Propoſition ſeemed plauſible to the Commanders at the General Aſſembly, and more eſpecially, becauſe it was the Pleaſure and Injunction of the Grand Signior; but more difficult it was to incline the rough and obſtinate minds of the Janiſaries to a reſolution ſo different to their Natures, and ſo contrary to that Revenge which they had deeply rooted in their Hearts, and ſworn to execute: howſoever the perſwaſions which the Officers uſed to their inferiour Souldiers, putting them in memory of the Blood of their Companions, and how deſtructive the continuance of ſuch a War muſt neceſſarily prove for the future by thoſe large effuſions of Blood which they muſt expect farther to make, were ſo prevalent upon them, that at length they condeſcended to a Treaty, and to receive *Abaſſa* for a Friend and a Fellow-Souldier. *Abaſſa* at firſt ſuſpecting ſome Treachery, refuſed to give a private meeting to the Vizier; but the Vizier giving his Brother the Beglerbegh of *Caramania*, and the Paſha of *Anatolia* for Hoſtages, the Day and Place for a Conference was appointed; where both Parties meeting, Articles were agreed, That *Abaſſa* ſhould ſtill continue to be Paſha of *Erzirum*, his Son Paſha of *Boſra*, his Cahya, or Lieutenant, to be Paſha of *Maraſch*, (all which were Places on the Confines of *Perſia*) a general Act of Pardon and Amneſtie was to be given to *Abaſſa* and his whole Army, and the Articles ſworn unto in the moſt ſolemn manner by the Vizier, and confirmed in the publick Camp of the Janiſaries, who alſo promiſed to maintain this Word and Promiſe of the Vizier; to all which the Grand Signior gave his Hand, and affixed his Royal Signature.

The Janiſaries mutiny.

They conſent to treat with Abaſſa.

Abaſſa reconciled to the Grand Signior.

A Reconciſiation being in this manner compleated, the City of *Erzirum* reſigned it ſelf to

1628. the Obedience of the Grand Signior, and the Army of *Abaſſa* was employed on the Confines of *Perſia*, and converted againſt the Enemy. The Vizier alſo was appointed to proceed on the ſame Enterprife; but his Army was ſo ill provided of all Neceſſaries, that he made his Excuſe, and refuſed to march forward: But on the contrary, he returned to *Conſtantinople* in company with *Abaſſa*; where, with many demonſtrations of Friendſhip and Reſpect, he was conducted to the preſence of the Grand Signior to receive Honour, and the Reward of his Penitence, and return to Obedience. The approach of theſe two great Perſonages near to *Conſtantinople*, made much noiſe and rumor in the City; ſome blamed the weakneſs of the Government for accepting an Enemy unto Favour, and that the crowning of his Rebellion with Rewards, was to encourage others in the like Practices.

The Vizier and Abaſſa make their Entry into Conſtantinople.

The Vizier was alſo murmured againſt for leaving the Army and the War, contrary to the Royal Command, by ſuch as were emulous of his Greatneſs: But as Envy is converted into Veneration, and ceaſes as Smoke doth, when it is blown up by the Flame of Succeſs and Glory; ſo thoſe who were emulous of theſe Perſons, ſubmitted to all obſequious Offices towards them; and diſſembling their Malice, went to meet them as far as *Scutari*, that they might add to their Train and Equipage, and help at the Solemnity of their Entrance. All People now caſt their Eyes on the Vizier and *Abaſſa*, as the two great Men of this Age; the firſt was eſteemed for his dexterous and ſucceſsful management in bringing over *Abaſſa* to his Submiſſion and Obedience; for though he was not famed much for his great Feats of Arms, yet this Reconciliation of *Abaſſa* was accounted a Maſter-piece of Policy, and better Service than a Victory. *Abaſſa* alſo drew the Eyes of the People, who crowded to ſee ſo great a Captain, that could contend with the Port, and put all *Aſia* into Diſturbance, and in concluſion could make the ſame Arms ſerve his Maſter, which had lately before given a check and ſtop to all the Ottoman Force. The Vizier was the firſt introduced to the Royal Preſence, where being graciouſly received, he was preſented with a Veſt of Sables and a Cemiter ſet with Jewels. *Abaſſa* was afterwards admitted, and having performed his Obeiſance by touching the Ground with his Forehead after their faſhion; he declared, That he never was other than a faithful Vaſſal to the Sultan, and that he had taken up Arms for his ſake, that he might ſubjugate the inſolence of the Janiſaries, and with their Blood revenge the Death, and ſacrifice to the Ghoſt of his murdered Brother *Oſman*; that they might learn to reverence their Princes for the future, & learn to know how ſacred the Blood is of their Soveraign. The Grand Signior ſeemed kindly to accept this Apology, and as a Token thereof, beſtowed three Veſts upon him; which was a treble Honour of that kind, and made him Paſha of *Boſna*; on which employment he immediately entred: And though when ſuch offices are beſtowed, it is commonly the cuſtom for that Perſon, who is inveſted in the Employment given, to kiſs the Sleeve of the Grand Signior publickly by way of Thanks: Yet, leſt ſuch Demonſtration of Honour ſhould ill affect the Eyes of the Janiſaries, and cauſe murmuring and repinings amongſt the moſt envious of the Souldiery, his laſt Audience was deſigned privately, and his Diſpatch procured in more ſecret and familiar manner, and therefore more obliging than was uſual.

1628.

The Jews at Conſtantinople how treated

To yield ſome aſſiſtance to the preſent growing Charges of the Empire, the Vizier impoſed a heavy Tax on the Chriſtians and Jews; on the firſt it was levied with all ſeverity; but the Jews found more favour by their Arts, and ſecret management of Affairs, for they are a People of ſome Authority and Power in *Turkie*: they are curſed by particular Perſons, but careſſed by the generality: they are Slaves in all Countries, and yet acquire ſomewhat of Maſterſhip and Propriety: they are Vagabonds, and yet every Country is their own: they cannot buy Lands, and yet daily increaſe their Fortunes: they multiply in abundance, becauſe they all marry, and are not deſtroyed by Wars: they are great Confidents of the Turks, and Enemies to the Chriſtians. In ſhort, Covetouſneſs in *Conſtantinople* is like a publick Courtiſan, to whom the Jews are the Panders and Ruffians.

1629.

The Grand Signior paſſing one day through the Streets, unhappily met with the Ambaſſador of the Prince of *Tranſylvania*; who becauſe he did not immediately deſcend from his Horſe in token of Reverence, he cauſed him and his whole Family to be impriſoned; but being afterwards excuſed by the Chimacam, to have only been a matter of inadvertency, his Omiſſion was pardoned, and ſo releaſed from his Reſtraint.

The Souldiery having for a long time been governed by a looſe and gentle hand, continued their licentious way of living, committing many outrages on the Merchants and Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*; againſt which many Decrees having been publiſhed, and Proclamations made, without any effect or notice of the Souldiery, the Vizier was unwilling to dally longer; and therefore taking a Spahee and a Janiſary, hanged them up, and cut off their Heads: and with ſuch courſe and method of Severity, he ſo abated the haughty Stomachs of the Souldiers already mortified by the aſſumption of *Abaſſa* into favour, that they began to yield unto Command, and to behold their Rulers with an eye of Reſpect, as thoſe which were ſeated in ſome degree above themſelves; for till now there was ſcarce a common Janiſary, but who thought himſelf to be the Creator or Elector of his General, and therefore to be little inferior to him in Power and Dignity.

And as this Vizier was ſevere towards the Souldiery, ſo he demeaned himſelf with equal rigour towards the Paſha's and Grandees of the Court; which though it was an Humor in the Vizier at that conjuncture, laudable and neceſſary; yet it procured him ſuch enmity, as removed him at a diſtance, and cauſed him to be ſent into *Perſia* to command the Army, and by that means to expoſe him to the hazard and difficulties of doubtful Succeſs in a dangerous War.

The Vizier being departed, the Grand Signior appeared in publick on Horſe-back, together with his Brother by his ſide, an unuſual ſight amongſt the Turks: But the Queen-Mother, who in abſence of the Vizier ruled much, commanded that it ſhould be ſo. The Grand Signior had this Year a Son born, which cauſed great rejoycing at *Conſtantinople*, becauſe there were few Males at that time ſurviving of the Ottoman Line; but ſcarce was the Feſtival ended before the Child died.

But let us now for a while withdraw our Diſcourſe from the Wars of *Perſia*, and look to the Actions in *Poland* and *Tranſylvania*. *Mehmet* the late King of *Tartary*, who was ſo diſpleaſing to the Port, (as we have already related) was now dead; to whom ſucceeded a Kinſman

of

1629. of his called *Jembeg Gheray*, univerſally pleaſing and acceptable to that People.

This new King, to demonſtrate his Proweſs, and to act ſomething acceptable to the Port, diſpatched forty thouſand Horſe into *Podolia* and *Ruſſia* to ſack and ravage the Country; which dividing themſelves into ſeveral Parties, made their Incurſions as far as *Socal*. But in the mean time the Polonians and Coſſacks having formed a ſtrong Body of Horſe under the Command of *Stephen Chmieleskie*, met them at their return near to *Burſtinow*, where they gave them a total overthrow. And in like manner *Staniſlaus Lubomiskie*, encountred another Party, and overthrew them, leaving thirty thouſand ſlain on the plaee, and taking two thouſand Priſoners, amongſt which was the younger Brother of the Tartar King.

The Tartars overthrown by the Polanders.

This Defeat, as it was the greateſt that ever was given to the Tartars, ſo it is probable, that had it been well proſecuted at that time by the Polonians, they might have entred the *Cherſoneſus Tauricus*, and without much oppoſition have put an end to that Kingdom: But *Sigiſmond* King of *Poland* had other Deſigns in hand; ſuch mixed Monarchies as that, being better able to defend their own Dominions, than to acquire or conquer others.

To this News ill received at *Conſtantinople*, ſupervened the unexpected Death of *Bethlem Gabor*; unexpected, I ſay, becauſe that though he had been long labouring under the Diſeaſes of Dropſy and Aſthma, yet the greatneſs of his Soul, and activeneſs of his Spirit, maſtered for a long time his Indiſpoſition, ſo that he ſeldom or never omitted his Counſels and Buſineſs; and to the very time of his Death, was meditating and contriving Deſigns, whereby to preſerve his Dominions, and enlarge them. And indeed the Government of *Tranſylvania* required no leſs than ſuch a ſtirring Spirit: for being ſeated between two ſuch powerful Monarchs, as the Emperor and the Turk, there was need of dexterity and courage to ſteer between the Rocks of ſuch oppoſite Intereſts: Sometimes it was neceſſary to join with one, and anon with the other. So *Sigiſmond Battori* Prince of *Tranſylvania*, uniting his Forces with the Emperor's, in ſeveral Conflicts overthrew the Turk, and kept the Scale in an equal Ballance. *Gabor* on the contrary inclined to the Turks, and ſupported his Intereſt with the Ottoman Power, following ſuch Maxims as had been more ruinous to Chriſtendom, had he transferred them to a Son to imitate and purſue; but dying without Iſſue, the Government devolved to his Princeſs, by Vote of the States of the Country, and by Confirmation of the Turk, as we have already intimated.

The Death of Bethlem Gabor.

Gabor knew ſo well how to deal and treat with the Turks, that he gained an abatement of ten thouſand Dollars of the annual Tribute; he managed his Affairs ſo ſubtilly with the Emperor, that he was always invited to a Peace, and accordingly made his Advantage by the Treaty.

The other Princes of Chriſtendom in like manner courted him, and particularly the Cardinal *Richelieu* employed one *Bornemis*, a Gentleman of *Tranſylvania*, a Lover of the French Intereſt, to be always about him; by whoſe means, and with the aſſiſtance of twenty thouſand Crowns of yearly Penſion, he obliged him to make War on the Emperor, at ſuch Seaſons as it ſhould be intimated unto him to be moſt conducing to the advantage of *France*.

At length, as we have ſaid, giving way to mortality, he died on the 15*th* of *November*, after he had reigned eighteen Years: he was a Prince of great Abilities, but exerciſed them ill to the damage of Chriſtendom; howſoever he was a Souldier of extraordinary Courage and Conduct, having begun to manage his Sword at ſeventeen Years of Age; and as it is ſaid, had been engaged in forty two ſeveral Fights. His Widow *Katherine*, Siſter of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, rendred an account to the Port of this Accident, and the Grand Signior immediately returned Anſwer by *Sulficar* Aga, condoling the Misfortune, and encouraging her to a dependence on the Port: which ſhe accepting with due Reſentment, promiſed Obedience to the Grand Signior, and begged his Protection. But the weather was too boiſterous and rude for a Veſſel to be navigated well under the Pilotage of a Woman; for the ſituation of the Country, between two mighty and potent Monarchs, required more than a Feminine Mind and Courage to free and defend it from the Plots, Snares, and Violence with which it was, as with a toile, encompaſſed by thoſe two great *Nimrods* of the Eaſt and Weſt. And though the Sultan undertook to defend his Female Ally, yet the diverſion of the Ottoman Arms in *Perſia*, the inteſtine Diſtractions, and the Minority of the Emperor were ſuch burdens on the Foundation of Empire, and obſtructions to great and Heroick Atchievements in behalf of the diſtreſſed Princeſs, that all the Promiſes made to her were unavailable and ineffectual. For *Stephen Bethlem*, a Kinſman of the deceaſed Prince, a Man conſpicuous in his own Perſon and Eſtate, as well as for the ſeveral Governments divided amongſt his Sons, and the intereſt he had gained in his Country, procured means to convoke the States at *Claudiopolis*, and inſinuating the foregoing Inconveniences of a Female Government, ſo prevailed with the Aſſembly, that they perſwaded the Princeſs to yield up her Soveraignty to *Stephen Gabor*, as one better capacitated for Rule and Soveraignty than her ſelf. *Stephen* having thus obtained his intent, entred into a ſerious Conſultation with his Friends and Relations, whether he ſhould labour to confirm the Government to himſelf, and entail it to the Family, or renounce it to ſome other. The firſt ſeemed a Matter very dubious and difficult; for that *Bethlem Gabor* his Predeceſſor, had diſobliged the principal Boyards or Barons of the Country, and thereby derived an envy and hatred to all his Family: His long and violent Government annexed to the Intereſt of the Turk, had not only rendred his Memory odious to his own People, but likewiſe to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which would be ready to continue the like prejudice and averſion to any of the ſame Family, as it did to the laſt thereof.

The Widow of Bethlem Gabor *perſwaded to quit her Government.*

For which Reaſons, after due and mature conſideration, it was reſolved to offer the Government to *George Ragotskie*, a Perſon rich in Mony, and of great Intereſt, by reaſon of the Juriſdiction and Caſtles which he poſſeſſed in *Hungary*, belonging to his own paternal Inheritance; and in purſuance thereof, they ſent *Stephen* the ſecond Son, and *Solomon* a Kinſman of that Family, for Ambaſſadors to *Ragotski*, repreſenting to him, that they had preferred his Merit before the Intereſt of their own Family; and therefore deſired him, that he would be pleaſed to take upon himſelf the Regency of the Principality.

The Principality offered to Ragotski.

The offer of Government was a ſavoury Bait to the Palate of *Rogotski*; which he embraced with

1629.

1629. with ſingular affectation and contentment, and was eaſily perſwaded on this occaſion, to take a Journey to *Waradin*, one of the principal Fortreſſes and Places of conſideration in that whole Province, and was there received by *Stephen* the Ambaſſador, Governor of the Citadel, with firing all the Cannon, and with the common Joy and Feſtivity of the whole City. But in the midſt of this Mirth, an unexpected Meſſenger arrived with News, that the States had with common conſent elected another Prince, which was *Stephen Bethlem*, Father of the Ambaſſador, and Author of this Counſel.

Ragotski was ſtrangely ſurpriſed with this Intelligence, and the Ambaſſadors were put to the bluſh to ſee their Negotiations under ſuch a ſhameful defeat: Howſoever reſolving to continue conſtant to their firſt Election, and to renounce the Intereſt of their own Family, they ſtill maintained the ſame obſequious Offices of Honour and Reverence towards *Ragotski* as formerly.

And notwithſtanding the Orders received from the States to abſtain from any other demonſtrations of Honour to *Ragotski*, than what were ordinary towards a private Perſon of his Quality and Riches; and that he ſhould retire from the Confines of *Tranſylvania* to the Precincts of his own Caſtles: yet they ſtill perſiſted to execute their firſt Commiſſion, and ſo to attract People to his Party; that the number thereof daily increaſing, it was at length agreed, that the firſt Election not being fair, the Point in Controverſy ſhould be determined at *Saxburg*, a City of *Saxony*.

The States General being aſſembled; *Ragotski* accompanied his Pretenſions with a large effuſion of Gold, the moſt powerful and moſt convincing Argument imaginable: to which he added, That he had no deſign to affect the Principality, had not the ſame been firſt offered to him from *Stephen Gabor* the Father by the Hand of his Son: That it was very improper for that Perſon to offer a Dignity to another, which he affected for himſelf: that it was in the power of the Tranſylvanians, not to have offered him the Principality; but having once choſen him to it, they could not, without his diſparagement and prejudice, retract from their Election.

In ſhort, theſe Conſiderations, aſſiſted by the Intereſt of the Princeſs Dowager, ſo far prevailed, that *Stephen Bethlem* was put aſide, and *Ragotski*, who attended the ſucceſs of the Matter at *Waradin*, was with common conſent elected Prince; from whence being with great Acclamations, and a general concourſe of the People, conducted to *Alba Julia*; he there took the uſual Oath with much Solemnity and Magnificence: and with Princely Magnificence, entertained and treated the two Ambaſſadors, *Stephen* and *Solomon*, and diſpenſed freely his Money unto divers, who before being Enemies, were now reconciled, and become his Friends and Admirers. Liberality in a Prince, is the moſt reſplendent Gem in all his Crown, and is a Light ſo forcible, that it dazles Envy it ſelf, and puts out all the Eyes of Suſpicion and Jealouſy.

Ragotski choſen Prince.

1630. By this time the Great Vizier was far advanced with his Army into *Perſia*, having been encouraged to proceed by the feigned Flight, or rather Retreat of the Enemy, who burned, deſtroyed, and laid waſte all round them, as they retired; which put the Turks to ſuch inextricable Difficulties, that in two months March, they had all the Inconveniencies and Miſeries to contend with, which commonly attend Armies in ſtrange Countries; the Plains through which they travelled were abandoned by the Inhabitants, and void of Proviſions; the Mountains were covered with Snow and comfortleſs: and what was worſt, the Perſians kept all the narrow Paſſages ſo ſtrongly guarded, that the Vizier was now more in danger of Famine than of the Sword: but being a Perſon of great Senſe and Experience in Military Affairs, he prudently diſingaged himſelf from the intricacy of theſe Dangers; and encamping his Army in the Plain of *Amedan*, he ſo provoked the hot Spirits of the Perſians, that they reſolve to aſſault him on that ſide of his Camp, which they judged to be the moſt weakly defended: of which having ſome advertiſement, he ſecretly laid an Ambuſcade in the way; which ſo happily ſucceeded, that he killed eight thouſand Perſians on the place: but howſoever the Victory coſt ſo dear, and was ſo bloody, by the loſs of the ſtouteſt Janiſaries, and the braveſt of the Souldiery, that the News thereof made little noiſe or rejoycing at *Conſtantinople*.

1629.

A Victory gained by the Turks over the Perſians

With this Intelligence the Vizier demanded new Recruits; for that beſides the abatement of his Numbers by the laſt Engagement, the Multitudes of the Enemy increaſed, and his own Souldiers fled from their Colours; of which many being obſerved to enter *Conſtantinople*, notwithſtanding the ſevere Decrees of Martial Law publiſhed againſt them, put the Grand Signior into a high Choler and Indignation. And being deſirous to reinforce the Vizier's Army with all the Recruits that he was able, Proclamations were made, that all the Militia at *Conſtantinople* ſhould immediately paſs over unto *Scutari* under their reſpective Commanders; and that whoſoever received one Aſper of Pay from the Grand Signior in quality of a Souldier, ſhould immediately paſs the Chanel into *Aſia*, and follow their Leaders to the War. But ſo great was the abhorrency which the Souldiers had to this March into *Perſia*, calling it the Sepulchre and Cemetery of the Turks, that few or none would obey, every one flying, hiding, and ſhifting for himſelf as well as he could: During which Fears and Troubles, the Ways from *Perſia* were ſo obſtructed by the *Curdes*, that in the ſpace of three or four Months, no News arrived at *Conſtantinople* from the Army; which cauſed as great apprehenſions and affrightments there, as if the Empire had been reduced to the utmoſt extremity. Nor did the Sultan want Jealouſies and Fears of receiving Affronts from the Emperor, and King of *Poland*; the firſt of which had a fair opportunity preſented of regaining all *Tranſylvania*, eſpecially at a time when that Country was divided by two ſeveral Factions: but more preſſing and troubleſom were the Coſſacks, who daily infeſted the Black Sea; and to the great reproach of the Imperial City, perpetually diſturbed it with Alarms, paſſing up almoſt in ſight of *Conſtantinople*. Of which Complaints being made to the Polonian Ambaſſador, he anſwered with ſome indignation, That the Coſſacks had reaſon for what they acted; for that ſince the Tartars had, by Orders from the Grand Signior, made their late irruption into that Country, as they could well prove from the Commiſſion taken amongſt the Baggage of the Prince of *Tartary* in the laſt Defeat, the Coſſacks might with all juſtice aſſume to themſelves a method of Revenge.

The difficulty of ſending Men into Perſia.

The Coſſacks trouble the Turks.

But the Grand Signior not being able to ſupport this Affront, or to ſee himſelf braved on the very Banks of his Imperial Seat, and his Villages

1630. Villages and Towns round about burnt and pillaged by a crew of Free-booters and Pirats, caſt all the blame on the Chimacham; to whom, in his rage, he gave ſuch a blow with his Fiſt on the Face, that Blood iſſued from his Noſe; and had not the Queen-Mother interceded for him, he had been delivered into the Hand of the Executioner to take away his Life. Nor was the Captain-Paſha in leſs danger at his return; becauſe, that upon his aſſurance, that the Coſſaks would not for that Year make any attempt in the Chanel of *Conſtantinople*, the Grand Signior had aſſented, that the Fleet of Gallies ſhould that Summer make a Voyage into the *Archipelago*: Which Miſtake having been the cauſe of all this Affront, the Captain-Paſha was to ſhare in the blame, and had likewiſe in the puniſhment, had not good Friends interpoſed between him and Danger.

Nor were the Coſſacks ſatisfied with their late Plunder, but ſpeedily made another return with two hundred Boats; and though the whole Fleet of Gallies were then in Port, yet they had the boldneſs to proceed as far as *Pompey*'s Pillar, and thereby to hinder all Proviſions from paſſing to *Conſtantinople* by way of the Black-Sea. And what gave greater fear than all this, was the News which came at the ſame time, that the Poles were on the Frontiers with thirty thouſand Horſe; to whom immediatly a Chaous, or Envoy was diſpatched with Propoſitions very advantagious to the Crown of *Poland*, conditionally; that the continual Irruptions made by the Coſſacks ſhould be ſtopped, and they reſtrained within the due Terms of Peace and Moderation.

The Chaous found a civil Reception from the *Poles*, and promiſes of Compliance, in regard that the King had ſome Intentions of making War upon the Muſcovite.

But whilſt theſe things were in agitation, and that the Chaous was ready to return, behold, on a ſudden News came, that ten thouſand Tartars were broken into *Podolia*; which put all things back again, and ſo changed the ſtile of Affairs, that inſtead of Articles of Peace, the Chaous was again returned with the Menaces of War, and with Reproaches for the laſt perfidious Action.

Notwithſtanding all theſe Troubles abroad, the puiſſance of the Ottoman Empire might have been able to have ſtruggled with greater Difficulties, had not its own Inteſtine Diſtractions rendred all things dangerous, and of a malevolent Aſpect.

The Diſorders in the Ottoman State.

The Government was at that time chiefly in the hands of the four Brothers-in-Law, who had married four Siſters of the Grand Signior's; and for that reaſon were powerful, and employed in the principal Offices of State, and commonly drew contrary to the Opinions of the *Mufti* and Chimacham; which two laſt were not well accorded between themſelves, for that the latter encroached on the Office of the Mufti, to the great ſcandal and diſcontent of all the Religious and Literate Men in the whole City; howſoever they both joined in conſultation by what means they might beſt ſecure themſelves and the Government from the Luſts and evil Deſigns of this quadruple Fraternity; but their Wiſdom and Intereſts were too weak to contrive Remedies againſt ſuch high Oppreſſions; for beſides the Violences daily practiſed by the Brothers, the extravagant Humors in the Sultan himſelf, added to the Diſorders of State, and increaſed the Diſcontent and Diſſatisfactions of the People: For though *Morat* was naturally endowed with a good Wit and Parts, was ſtout, and of a good Courage: yet as his perpetual Debauchery in Wine rendred him in appearance but of a weak Underſtanding, mixed with much Levity, ſo it cauſed his Acceſſions of the Falling-ſickneſs (to which he was ſubject) to return often, whereby the ſtrength of his Brain was daily weakened and impaired. He was negligent alſo in the performance of thoſe Ceremonies which his Anceſtors were accuſtomed to obſerve; nor did he live with that gravity and regular Courſe which is agreeable to the Grandeur of ſo great a Prince: for ſometimes he would go out of his Seraglio with no other Attendance than of three or four Men, which were for the moſt part Buffoons, players upon the Gittern, and Eunuchs; and with no better an Equipage would he ſometimes be ſeen on Horſe-back, or in his Boat rowed on the *Boſphorus* with ſix Oars only: by which Actions, and other ſallies of Youth, he created ſuch a contempt towards his Perſon, that evil Men grew factious and weary, and entred into Conſpiracies againſt his Life, whilſt the good Men feared and preſaged the ruin and downfal of the Empire: for neither Juſtice, nor Order, nor Obedience, prevailed; no Offices were conferred for Merit, but by Mony, or ſome other unlawful Means; there remained no Counſellors of true Faith and Integrity, nor Souldiers almoſt, either of experience for Sea or Land-adventures. The People, being burdened by double Taxes and Impoſts, were mutinous, and ready to take the leaſt Fire of Rebellion; the Souldiery were diſorderly for want of Diſcipline and their conſtant Pay: the Paſha's of remote Provinces grew inſolent, taking upon themſelves rather an abſolute than a depending Soveraignty.

1630.

In ſhort, all things looked with that black appearance, that nothing ſeemed to keep the Frame of Empire together, but only the expectation of good Succeſs to the Army in *Perſia*; the which, as it depended on uncertain Events, ſo the Ottoman Monarchy was then ſhaking, and ſtood tottering on its deepeſt Foundation.

Wherefore all People being intent to hear of good News from *Perſia*, were much pleaſed to underſtand, that the Vizier having, by advantage in the laſt Engagement, laden his Army with Plunder and Spoils, was now preparing to beſiege *Bagdat*; for whoſe good Succeſs, Prayers were daily made in the Moſchs; and the Schoolmaſters ſurrounded the Streets with their young Scholars, ſinging out Prayers with the *Amen* at every Period, according to the Cuſtom of that Country.

The Vizier prepares to beſiege Bagdat.

The Vizier marched towards *Bagdat*, and began to beſiege it about the 10th of *September*: In order whereunto, he amaſſed great abundance of all ſorts of Proviſions, and made his Magazine of them at *Moſul*, two thouſand Camels, each laden with two Sacks of Cotton, every Sack being of about ten foot long, were carried to the Siege, for ſhelter of the Souldiery, and to fill the Ditches.

The Vizier having paſſed part of his Army over the River *Tigris*, the reſt with the Cannon remaining on the hither ſide, he diſpatched *Naſuf* Paſha of *Aleppo*, with ſix thouſand Spahees, to take a view of the Place, and to diſcover the Avenues unto it. In his way thither, he met with eight thouſand Perſian Horſe ſent to reinforce the Gariſon, which he valiantly engaged; but being dangerouſly wounded, was forced to retreat, with the loſs of almoſt half of his Men, part killed, and part taken: thoſe which were

1630. were carried Priſoners to *Bagdat*, were treated with all civility by the Governor, who gave them a view of the Gariſon, which conſiſted of twenty thouſand effective Men; ſhewed them their Stores and Proviſions, and that there was ſcarce an unuſeful Mouth in all the City to devour them.

The Siege. Notwithſtanding this Diſaſter at the beginning, the Vizier nothing diſmayed, proceeded on his Deſign, ſpending the whole Month of *September* in making his Approaches. In the Month of *October*, he mounted eighteen Pieces of great Cannon, which for the ſpace of twenty five days battered continually the Curtain between the two Baſtions, on which were four Pieces of Cannon not perceived by the Turks; there was alſo a deep and large Ditch not diſcovered by them, for that it was planked over with Boards, and covered with a green Turf, ſo that it appeared like plain and firm Ground: the Breach being made, and ſeemingly undefended, the Turks reſolved to make an Aſſault; wherefore the Vizier, on the 20th of *November*, commanded the Spahees, under the Conduct of the Beglerbei of *Anatolia*, accompanied with Paſha's, Sangiacks, and other Perſons of Note; as alſo with Janiſaries, to the number of thirty thouſand, to enter the Breach: which being performed, and great numbers crowding on the Turf, the weight of them preſſed down the Planks; and therewith the whole Engine giving way, five or ſix thouſand were in a moment taken, as it were, in a Pit-fall, and ſwallowed up without any poſſibility of Succour to be yielded from their Companions. After which on an inſtant there appeared fifteen thouſand Men on the Breach and on the Baſtions; which with their Cannon, and continual Vollies of Muſket ſhot, ſo galled the Spahees, that they broke their main Body, and killed the Beglerbei of *Anatolia*, with other Perſons of Note and Quality, and made the whole Army to retreat.

The Siege raiſed. Two days after this Diſgrace, the Vizier raiſed the Siege, and marched towards *Moſul*; and the Perſians encouraged with this Succeſs, purſued the Turks with eight thouſand Horſe, aſſailed the Rear-guard of the Enemy; and though the Conduct and Care thereof was committed to the charge of the Paſha's of *Aleppo* and *Damaſcus*, yet the Perſians killed three thouſand Turks, and had defeated the whole Rear of the Army, had not the Spahees turned their Horſes, and withſtood the ſhock with great Valour.

Notwithſtanding this diſhonourable Retreat, the Vizier loſt not his Courage, or hopes of taking the Town; in order unto which, he appointed all things neceſſary to renew the Siege again in the Months of *September* and *October* following, for that the foregoing Months are either too rainy, or too hot in thoſe Countries, to undertake a Deſign or Enterprize of that Nature: He fortified all the ſmall Places in thoſe parts round, and quartered his Souldiers in them; ſo that having all conveniencies of living, they might be induced to continue, and not abandon their Colours: eſpecially he took care to fortify *Illay*, a place of about two days journey from *Bagdat*, reinforcing the Gariſon with ſix thouſand Men, under the command of three Beglerbegs, in regard that it was a very conſiderable Paſs, and the principal Magazine and Granary of Corn and other Proviſion.

At the ſame time he ſent Letters to *Conſtantinople*, repreſenting the ſtate of his Affairs to be in a hopeful condition; and deſiring Recruits both of Men and Mony, gave great aſſurances of conquering the City at the next Attempt. 1630.

The Poles and Turks make Peace In this perilous Condition of the Ottoman State, one would have imagined that Chriſtian Princes would have ſeen their own Intereſt, and made uſe of their advantage; but God not having as yet fixed a Period to the Bounds of the Empire, was pleaſed, by his ſecret Providence, to divert both the Emperor and King of *Poland* from making War with the Turk, inclining them to employ their Arms on their Chriſtian Neighbours. For though the Chaous (as we have ſaid before) was returned from *Poland* with diſdain, and an angry Meſſage, yet the Chimacam, when he made *Moſes* Vayvod of *Moldavia*, encharged him to perform all Offices of Mediation between the Grand Signior and the Poles, perſwading them to reſtrain the Incurſions of the Coſſacks, and to ſend an Ambaſſador to the Port. In which Affair *Moſes* ſo well performed his Negotiation, that applying Lenitives to the Anger of the Poles, he reduced them to Articles of Peace, and to promiſes of reſtraining the Coſſacks, on condition, that the Turks reciprocally forbid and withhold the Tartars from joining or affording aſſiſtance to his Enemies the Muſcovites.

Theſe Conditions being agreed, the Ambaſſador was ſent from *Poland* to *Conſtantinople*, where he was received with as much Joy, as he was expected, with Impatience. The Coſſacks and Tartars were two ſorts of people which lived equally on Spoils and Booty; the firſt, as offenſive to the Turk, as the latter to the Pole; and therefore as it was an equal Benefit, ſo it was an Agreement of even Terms, to counterchange the Caution given reciprocally for one and the other. *The Coſſacks and Tartars compared.*

But the Engagement for ſuch wild People, was more eaſily given than performed; which becauſe it was a Point agreeable to both Parties, it was expreſſed with the moſt clear Words and ſtrict Terms poſſible.

The Poles were weary and grieved to ſee their Provinces depopulated by the Tartars, who yearly carried away ſome thouſands of Souls. The Turks on the other ſide were not leſs infeſted with the Coſſacks, who captivated their People, burnt their Towns and Villages, and kept them in continual Alarms.

But becauſe theſe People are hardly reſtrained from their Robberies and Pillaging, the Poles, as a Remedy, reſolved to carry the Coſſacks to the War againſt the Muſcovite; and better to ſecure the Tartar, the Poliſh Ambaſſador was obliged to pay them twenty thouſand Florins yearly, and ſix thouſand pair of Boots, according to the ancient Articles of Peace. On which Conſiderations the Tartars were engaged never to enter *Poland* in a hoſtile manner, but to ſerve that King in his Wars againſt all Nations whatſoever, the Turks only excepted.

In this manner were the Turks this Year freed from all apprehenſions of Alarm from the Coſſacks, and of War with *Poland*. And the Emperor was ſo buſied concerning the ſurprize of *Mantoua*, and engaged in the Quarrel about that Dutchy, and with ſome ambitious thoughts relating to *Italy*, that the Turks hoped to have proſecuted their Wars in *Perſia* without fear of Diverſion from the Weſtern Parts. But yet the Affairs towards the parts of *Germany* were not ſo well ſecured, but that the turbulent Spirit of *Ragotski* adminiſtred ſubject for Diſſention; for being lately ſeated (as we have ſaid) in his Principality, he was doubtful whether it were 1631. *Troubles in Hungary.*

moſt

1630. moſt for his intereſt to incline unto the Emperor, or to the Turk; and whilſt both Parties courted his Friendſhip, and cheapned his acknowledgments, (for of neceſſity he muſt be a Vaſſal to one or the other) the Heyducks who were Tenants to the Lands of *Gabor*, refuſed to return to the Obedience of the Emperor, demanding protection from the Grand Signior. The jealouſy of thoſe ill Conſequences which this Commotion might produce, alarmed all the Country: and the Emperor and *Ragotski* being hereby raiſed to a mutual Defiance, advanced their Troops one againſt the other upon the Frontiers: But all *Hungary* trembling with fear of thoſe Calamities which enſue from War, ſeveral of thoſe concerned, interpoſed ſo far towards an Accommodation, that Deputies were appointed to meet at *Caſſovia* to treat of Peace. But in the mean time the Palatine of *Hungary* paſſing eight thouſand Men over the River *Tibiſcus*, to make ſeiſure of a certain Fort built by *George Baſſa*, ſo alarmed and awakened *Ragotski*, that he diſpatched a Gentleman to him to demand the Cauſe of this Motion; and not receiving an anſwer agreeable to his expectation, he advanced upon him with an Army of ten thouſand Men, and engaging him with great reſolution, killed four thouſand on the place, and ſo cauſed him to retire: from theſe beginnings all the miſchiefs of a bloody War had certainly enſued, had not *Ragotski* refuſed to receive Succours from the Turk; but he depending on his own ſtrength (having fifteen thouſand Men in Arms for defence of his Hereditary Lands in *Hungary*) contemned all external Aſſiſtances, as ſavouring too much of vaſſalage and dependance: howſoever the Paſha's of the Frontiers aſſembled their Forces, and yet acted with ſuch caution, as not to proceed to an open Rupture; for the Wars in *Perſia* being unſucceſsful and preſſing, required moderation and Lenitives on this ſide, that ſo the differences now on the Frontiers might be transferred to an opportunity more ſeaſonable for diſpute.

1631. *The G. Signior affrighted with Lightning.*

In the month of *September* Sultan *Morat* being at his ſmall Seraglio called *Daout* Paſha, and ſleeping there one night in his Bed, he was on a ſudden awakned by a terrible Lightning; which entring his Chamber, ſurrounded his Bed, leaving ſeveral Marks on his Sheets and Quilts; and whilſt he ſought ſome place to hide himſelf in, it paſſed under his Arm, and burnt part of his Shirt; the affrightment of which ſo aſtoniſhed him, that he remained for ſome time in a ſwound, which for ever after did much impair the ſtrength of his Brain: He now began to be ſenſible that there were other Thunder-bolts than thoſe that proceeded from his own Throne; and, like *Tiberius*, learned to tremble at the Voice of God, whilſt he heard him ſpeak in the Clouds: *Nec Deum unquam niſi iratum pertimuit, & turbatiori Cœlo fulminantem.* And ſo affected was the Sultan with this Accident, that afterwards he diſmiſſed divers of his Buffoons from the Court; and particularly a Mute, whoſe ridiculous Geſtures were his common Divertiſement, and for ſome time cauſed him to abſtain from Wine; and as a farther token of his Converſion and Thankfulneſs to God for this eſcape, he ordered five thouſand Dollars to be given in Alms to the Poor, and Korban to be made of three hundred Sheep; and the Friday following, he ſolemnly went to the Moſch, to render Thanks unto God for having ſo prodigiouſly preſerved him from the Executioner of his Vengeance.

During all this time the Great Vizier wanting Succours and Supplies of Men and Mony, had great difficulty to contain his People in their due Obedience, or within the Bounds of their Quarters; for they were apt to leave their Colours, and would really have diſbanded, had not their Spirits been daily held up with the hopes and amuſements of Pay and Recruits. 1631.

The four Brethren-in-Law, which greatly apprehended leſt their Power and Authority ſhould be abated by the return of the Vizier, exerciſed all the diligence they were able to make new Levies, the reinforcement of which might inſtil new Courage into the Souldiery, and be a means to continue the Vizier in thoſe parts; but the Mufti obſtructed all Levies on the ſide of *Greece*, and the Frontiers of Chriſtendom, alledging, That the beſt Souldiers being ſent from thoſe parts, would hazard the Empire, by expoſing and laying it open to the Incurſions of the Chriſtians: by which contrary Opinions and Delays, the Vizier wanting the Aſſiſtance expected, the *Perſians* recovered all the little Fortreſſes which they had loſt the Year before, with the conſiderable place of *Illay*; which being taken by Aſſault, and by an abſolute force of Sword and Arms, the greateſt part of the Garriſon conſiſting of eight thouſand Men, commanded by the three Paſha's before-mentioned, were cut off; which was an important loſs to the Turks; not only for the ſlaughter of ſo many brave Souldiers, but alſo for the quantities of Proviſions, being the Granary and Magazine for the whole Army. Therein were likewiſe taken forty Field-pieces carrying eight pounds Bullet; with a great Chain of Iron, which uſually encompaſſes the Treaſury which is carried into the Field. With this ill ſucceſs the Vizier retreated from *Moſul* as far as *Mirdin*, from whence he redoubled his Inſtances for Supplies for Men and Mony. *Illay retaken from the Turks.*

At length it was agreed, that an Army of thirty thouſand Tartars ſhould be ſent thither; but *Ragotskie* adviſing, that he was upon the point of breaking with the Emperor, it was ordered, that their number ſhould be reduced to ten thouſand: the which taking their Journey into *Perſia*, by the way of *Circaſſia*, were there encountred by *Han Gherey*, the Prince of *Tartary*, (whom we formerly mentioned to have been depoſed by that People) and by him obſtructed in their paſſage, the Van-guard of their Army being cut off by him; ſo that they were forced again to retreat and to embark their Men and Horſe at *Caffa*, to be tranſported by Sea to *Trapezond*; which as it was a matter of great trouble, ſo it was a courſe unpractiſed by the Tartars. The Grand Signior being unable to render a more conſiderable Succour than this unto his Army, which was now reduced to the weak number of two thouſand Janiſaries, and three thouſand Spahees, he reſolved to condeſcend to Terms and Articles, as the only means to ſave his Honour, and the remainder of his Forces.

In order unto which, he releaſed a Perſian Lord from his Impriſonment in the Seven Towers, and qualified him with the Title of Ambaſſador, beſtowing upon him an Equipage of Men and Horſe agreeable to his Character, with four thouſand Dollars to defray his Expence. And that the King of *Perſia* might be aſſured of the Sultan's real Intentions and deſires of Peace, he recalled his Army in the Spring, whereby all Acts of Hoſtility ceaſed: And thus the Vizier being returned to *Conſtantinople*, that Pride and Rigour which he exerciſed towards all in the time of his proſperity, laid him low by Misfor-

1631. tunes in the eſteem of his Enemies; who gladly embracing the opportunity to diſgrace him, with all the terms of Obloquy and Detraction, deprived him at length of his Office. One of the four Brothers-in-law married to one of the Grand Signior's Siſters, and Prime of the Cabal, being conſtituted Vizier in his ſtead. Nor did the late Vizier eaſily eſcape with his Life, until he had repreived it with an Atonement of an hundred thouſand Zechins of Gold, and ſome choice Horſe; which he preſented to the Sultan; the like Example other Paſha's his Companions followed in proportion to their Eſtates and Employments; by which Preſents the empty Treaſury was in a manner recruited, and the preſent Neceſſities of the Sultan relieved.

The Vizier deprived of his Office.

But this new Vizier enjoyed not long either his Honours, or his Life; for the firſt Act he performed, was to mitigate the *Valedé Sultana*, or Queen Mother, to obtain a Hatteſheriff, or Writing, under the Grand Signior's Hand for cutting off the Head of *Caſref* Paſha, the *Spaheeler Agaſi*, or General of the Spahees, which being executed by *Mortiſa* the Commander in Chief in *Perſia*, his Head was brought and thrown at the Gates of the Divan.

1632. The Spahees aſtoniſhed at this Spectacle, and enraged to ſee that Head on the Ground which they ſo much eſteemed and loved, forgot all the Terms of Duty and Obedience to their Superiors; and without regard to the Place wherein they were, even within the Walls of the Grand Signior's Court, they threw Stones at the Vizier, and beat him from his Horſe; which though the Grand Signior, and all the Viziers highly reſented, as the moſt ſcandalous Indignity that could be offered to the Majeſty of a Supreme Ruler, and to all Government, yet their Counſels rather ſought Remedies to ſuppreſs the Mutiny, than to make Propoſals of executing Juſtice on the Offenders; for the Spahees ſeconded by the Janiſaries, (who were glad of any cauſe to make a Commotion) aſſembled in the *Hippodromo*, from whence they ſent an Arz to the Sultan, requiring the Heads of the Great Vizer, and of divers others, as well within as without the Seraglio. The Grand Signior denying poſitively to aſſent hereunto, the Souldiery as plainly threatned to depoſe him, and place his Brother in the Throne; at which barbarous Reſolution the Grand Signior being affrighted, his youthful conſtancy was ſo ſhaken, that he wrote to his Mother to deſire her excuſe, in caſe he aſſented to the death of her Son-in-law the Great Vizier; for that the Storm of the Military Fury was ſo great, that he could not endeavour to protect him without the loſs of his Life and Crown: wherefore the Vizier being turned out of the Gates of the Seraglio, he was immediately butchered in the preſence of the Sultan.

Mutiny of the Spahees joined with the Janiſaries.

Nor did the impetuous Rage of the Souldiery end here, but they proceeded farther to demand the Head of the Janiſar-Aga, or General of the Janiſaries, who was reputed the chief Inſtrument of the Death of *Caſref*, becauſe he was a principal Favourite to the Grand Signior; but he wiſely taking divers off with Mony and Preſents, ſowed diviſion between the Janiſaries and Spahees; ſo that ſome Difficulty ariſing hereupon, the determination of his Death was deferred for a while; howſoever they proceeded to demand, that the Mufti ſhould be diſcharged of his Office, and that the Teſterdar, or Treaſurer, ſhould be delivered into their hands.

To the firſt the Grand Signior aſſented; but being willing to ſave the other, he pretended, that he was eſcaped and fled; but when he was found, he ſhould run the ſame Fate with the Vizier. But the military Sedition not being appeaſed with this Anſwer, they roved through the whole City, and *Galata*, and other parts of the Suburbs: the Spahees perſiſting to require the Head of the Janiſar-Aga, and not finding him in his Houſe, they plundered it, and departed; and meeting with a Youth, a Favourite of the Grand Signior's, they killed him; and ſo returning with the like Fury to the Seraglio, they required admiſſion to the New Vizier and Mufti. *Regep* Paſha, another of the Brothers-in-law, was then made Vizier, who with the new Mufti trembling at theſe Tumults, were careful to treat the Souldiery with all lenity and condeſcenſion imaginable, deſiring them to declare their Grievances, and whatſoever might give them Satisfaction ſhould be granted. The ſeditious Souldiers replied, That they were reſolved to ſee the Grand Signior's Brother, for that when the preſent Sultan did not govern well, they might know from whence to produce another of better Abilities, and more agreeable to the Deſigns of the Empire.

1632.

That neceſſity which cauſed the late eaſineſs of condeſcenſion to former demands, made way alſo for compliance with this; ſo that the young Prince being brought forth, they obliged the Sultan not to attempt any thing againſt his Life, and cauſed the Vizier and Mufti to become Caution and Security for it.

Nor did theſe Conceſſions contribute towards a Pacification; but rather their Inſolence increaſed thereby, renewing their Exclamations at the Gates of the Seraglio for the Heads of the Janiſar-Aga and the Teſterdar; not would they be ſatisfied with anſwer, that theſe Men were not found in the Seraglio, but ſtill perſiſted in their rude Out-cryes and Menaces, loſing all reſpect and reverence to the Sultan and the Superiors; ſo that the Grand Signior reſolved once to ſally out upon them with his own Guard; but trying their Temper and Reſolution, he diſcovered moſt of them to be poiſoned with the like Spirit of Sedition, and combining with the others as Aſſociates in the Treaſon.

The Viziers, and other principal Officers, perceiving the Mutiny to increaſe daily, and not knowing to what degree it might ariſe, made it their buſineſs to ſearch out for thoſe proſcribed by the Souldiery: at length the Aga was happily diſcovered by a certain Perſon, to whom a Reward was given of a thouſand Zechins, with the Office of Zorbaſi or Captain; and the Aga confeſſing that he had counſelled the Death of *Caſref*, he was immediately ſtrangled, and his Body hanged upon a Tree to publick view. The like Fate befel the Teſtardar, who being alſo taken, was killed and hanged up together with the Body of the Aga.

All which Perſons thus inhumanely murdered by the Souldiery, were the Enemies of the preſent Great Vizier *Regep*; for which cauſe the Grand Signior ſuſpecting that he ſecretly contrived and nouriſhed theſe Rebellions, never after looked on him with a gracious eye. Of which the Vizier being ſenſible, combined with the Souldiery; and judging it almoſt impoſſible to ſet himſelf right in the Affection of his Maſter, he courted the Favour of the Militia, as the only means to protect his Life, and maintain his Power. But as the revenge of Princes is not like a Thunder-bolt, which wounds on a ſudden, but rather like a Mine which requires time to form, and is then ſprang, when it may do the beſt

1632. *The Vizir ſtrangled by Order of the Grand Signior.*

beſt execution: ſo in the ſame manner, the Grand Signior diſſembled his hate towards the Vizier, until one Night being preſent with him in the Seraglio to ſee certain Fire-works, he called him aſide, and whiſpered to him, that he ſhould go into his private Lodgings; where being entred, the Door was ſhut upon him, and he ſtrangled by certain Eunuchs, who were appointed to attend him for that purpoſe. But little benefit or riches did the Grand Signior reap by his death; for the Vizier having for ſome time expected this Blow, had concealed his Treaſure, and conveyed it away for the uſe of his Poſterity.

The like hatred did the Sultan conceive againſt the Souldiery, reſolving in his mind to execute his Revenge, eſpecially on the Janiſaries, as the moſt turbulent Fomenters of Rebellion and Treaſon, and to vent his Anger, either by the Cord or Sword, or ſome other more expedite way, as opportunity preſented: and to prevent or oppoſe the like Seditions for the future, he fortified the Seraglio, and brought Arms in thither by night, chuſing into his Guard ſelect Men of Courage and Faithfulneſs: and being ſenſible, that the being of his Brother attempered his Soveraignty, and drew away the Hearts and Eyes of his Souldiers and People from fixing entirely on his own Perſon; he therefore intended to cut him off; but the Caution and Security given by himſelf, and chief Miniſters, to preſerve his Life, diverted him from this Reſolution.

In place of the deceaſed Vizier, *Mehmet* late Paſha of *Cairo* was conſtituted, and the Seal conſigned to him; with whom the Grand Signior conſulting of the preſent Emergency of Affairs, often uttered his diſpleaſure againſt the late Seditions, and ſignified his Intention to redreſs them for the future; in order unto which, he cauſed the Heads of the moſt mutinous Spahees to be cut off, and on various Pretences ſeparated the Souldiery each from other into divers Parts; ſome numbers of Janiſaries he commanded to march to the Confines of *Perſia*, and cauſed many others of them to be killed by Night; and by various other Means greatly weakned the Chambers, both by diminiſhing the Numbers, and taking off ſuch who were the Men of beſt Courage and Conduct: many Bodies were found ſwimming in the *Boſphorus*, and known to be Spahees; great part of the Lands belonging to the Timariots was taken away, and the Pay of the Spahees was abated; and divers Offices of Profit and Honour were taken from the Militia, that ſo Men might be made ſenſible of the Indignation of their Prince, and that there is no Sport or Jeſting with the Anger of a provoked King, who knows no other mean of his Paſſion, than the total evaporation of his Choler and Vengeance.

To maintain and make good theſe ſeveral Acts of Juſt Puniſhment, young *Morat* growing in Courage with his Years, mounted on Horſe-back, well Armed, and like a Souldier, attended with a ſelect Party of Cavalry, paſſed through the moſt publick Streets of the City in a huffing manner, and caſting a ſtern Eye upon the Souldiery and People as he went, and making a hundred Paſſes through the midſt of them, ſtruck them with an awe of his Majeſty, and admiration of his Warlike and Martial appearance; with which Severity and Gallantry the Souldiery being affrighted, began to conſider, that they were not longer to be governed by a Woman, or a Child, but by the moſt brave Prince that ever ſwayed the Ottoman Scepter; and thereupon for the future reſolved upon an impartial Submiſſion and Obedience unto him. To encourage them in which, and to reconcile their Spirits and Affections to him, *Morat* oftentimes aſſembled his Souldiery at *Ackmeidan*, where he exerciſed with them, ſhooting with the Bow at Marks and at Rovers, rewarding thoſe who ſhot beſt, with adding an Aſper a day to their Pay; beſides which, he diſtributed ſix thouſand Hungars amongſt them, to demonſtrate that wiſe Princes are uſed to mix Lenitives with their Rigour. 1632.

Theſe Mutinies and Seditions in the Capital City, encouraged Rebellious Spirits in divers other places: ſo that a certain Bold and Audacious Fellow, drawing a number of Miſcreants after him, poſſeſſed himſelf of the City of *Pruſa*: another of the ſame Temper, called *Elia* Paſha, made himſelf Maſter of *Magneſia*, where he committed all the Outrages which Enemies inflict on a Conquered People; and being about twenty four miles diſtant from *Smyrna*, ſo affrighted the People of that Place, who were Merchants, and ſuch as lived by Trade, that they fled with their Wealth, and ſuch Things as were portable, leſt they ſhould be expoſed to the Robbery and Spoil of Thieves and Rebels. But the Beglerbey of *Anatolia* ſuffered not *Elia* to reign long in his luſt, but giving him Battel in thoſe Plains, wholly defeated him, and ſent twenty of the Heads of the chief Commanders to the Sultan for a Preſent; and purſuing *Elia* and the reſt of his Army to *Magneſia*, beſieged him in that City. The Grand Signior being adviſed hereof, and fearing leſt the Siege ſhould take up too much time, and move other ill Humors in that Country, diſpatched Orders to offer Terms and Conditions of Accommodation with *Elia*, which were ſecretly treated, and great Promiſes made him of Favour and Rewards from the Grand Signior. The eaſie Fool accepted the Conditions, and embraced the Promiſes; and leaving his City of *Magneſia*, proceeded confidently to *Conſtantinople* to receive the gracious Rewards of the Sultan for his paſt Services. At his Entry into the Seraglio in place of the *Kapuſlar-Kahyaſee*, or Maſter of the Ceremonies, he was received by Officers with a Cord in their Hands, who beſtowed on him the gracious Reward of his Maſters ultimate Favour. *Rebellion in Anatolia.*

Theſe Rebellions were no ſooner ſuppreſſed in *Aſia*, but that other Mutinies of the Janiſaries, for want of Pay, began at *Buda* in *Hungary*, where they threw Stones at their Aga, and purſued him to the very Palace of the Paſha, electing another into his place. They alſo cut in pieces the Governour of *Peſt*, and beſtowed his Office upon his Lieutenant. *Mutinies at Buda.*

To remedy theſe Diſorders, and extinguiſh the Mutiny, the Grand Signior ſent Commiſſioners to examine the Matter, and to render him an account of the Grievances and Demands of the Souldiers: but they fearing to be ſurpriſed with ſome ſevere Acts of Juſtice, prevented or foreſtalled the Inquiries of the Commiſſioners, by acknowledging their Fault, and demanding Pardon, with ſurrender of four of the Ring-leaders to Puniſhment; declaring, That by their ſeducement and evil perſwaſions, they were debauched into that diſorderly courſe of Proceedings: the Sultan accepted the Submiſſion, and all things were quieted in *Hungary*.

Howſoever new Troubles aroſe in *Moldavia*: for that People being oppreſſed over-much by their Prince *Alexander*, made an Inſurrection againſt him, and drove him out of the Country, who for refuge fled to *Conſtantinople*. And the *Troubles in Moldavia.*

1632. People desirous that one *Bernoschi*, a Polonian by Nation, might be put into his Place: To obtain his Confirmation, he came to the Port, and offered himself before the Grand Signior; but *Morat* suspecting, that to obtain the Principality for himself, he had secretly instigated and nourished the late popular Commotions, caused his Head to be cut off in the Publick Divan.

Amurat had now born to him a seventh Daughter, by his Slave called the *Shining Star*; and though he was much troubled that she had not brought him forth a Son and Heir, yet so much was she beloved by him, that he resolved to create her Queen, had not his Mother declared against it, as a thing not usual for any Woman to be honoured with that Title before she had supplied the Inheritance by the Birth of a Male Child.

And that he might now totally extinguish the Fire of Sedition amongst the Souldiery, he caused *Ferdum Efendi* and *Saluc* Aga, two prime Chiefs of the Spahees, with eight principal Janisaries, to be put to Death; after which severity, fearing another Insurrection, he passed the Water, and retired to his Seraglio at *Scutari*, where he fortified himself.

It happened about that time, that a Turkish Woman, a Slave, was found aboard a French Ship, ready to sail from *Constantinople*; which the Turks highly resented, and aggravated the Crime so much against the French Ambassadour, that they imprisoned his Son then embarqued, and would have confiscated the Vessel and Her Lading. In those days the Christian Ambassadors resident at that Court, kept better Union and Correspondence among themselves than they do at present; so that all of them, as concerned, joined together to represent before the chief Ministers, that such a Fault merited not so grand a Forfeiture, for that it was most probable to have been committed without the privacy either of the Ambassador, or Commander of the Ship. The Ambassadors then resident were Sir *Peter Wych* for *England*, the Sieur *Marcheville* for *France*, and *Pietro Foscarini* for *Venice*; at whose warm and urgent Instances the Turks condescended to release the Vessel, and the Goods laden upon her, with free liberty to depart. Howsoever it being represented to the Grand Signior by the Captain-Pasha (who is Admiral of the Seas) that one *Baldasar*, an Armenian by Nation, but Dragoman or Interpreter to the French Ambassador, was a principal Instrument to move the Ambassadors to unite in this Pretence; and being observed to manage the Interest of his Master with warm and earnest Sollicitations, the surly Sultan grew so angry, that one of his own Slaves should presume to manage a Dispute with him, in Fury and Rage, commanded that he should be immediately empaled; and that he might be assured that his Sentence took effect, he would see him with his own Eyes on the Stake before he would pass the Water to his Seraglio at *Scutari*. The resolution was so sudden, and the Execution so speedy, that there was neither Ear lent to hear, nor Time given to mediate in his behalf; and the Act being performed, complaints would not serve to redress a tyrannous Action now past Remedy, and not to be recalled: Wherefore as the Ambassadors were forced to acquiesce, and patiently endure the Affront; so if they would have resented it, they could scarce have found one amongst their Interpreters of so bold a Spirit, who durst have opened his Mouth after so terrifying an Example. The truth is, the Dragomen, or Interpreters to Ambassadors at *Constantinople*, are required to be Men of Learning, Courage, and Courtship; their studies ought to endue them perfectly with the Turkish, Greek, and Arabick Languages, with some knowledg also of the Persian, and with good Elocution, and readiness of Tongue: their constancy and presence of Mind is always necessary at their appearance before those Grandees or Great Men, who are ever proud, haughty, and arrogant in all their Expressions and ways of Treaty, the which they commonly manage towards Christian Ministers with the same respect which we use towards our Servants, or our Slaves. And therefore by reason of this and other Presidents of like nature, Dragomen have been always timorous in representing the true sence of the Ambassadors and Consuls; at least have so minced and tempered their words, that they have lost much of that Vigour and Accent which is necessary to inculcate perfectly a Business into the Understanding of a Turk, especially if you intend to incline him to Reason and Justice. Wherefore it would be an excellent Qualification for an Ambassadour himself to understand and speak the Turkish Language, or at least to have a young Man by his side of the English Nation, educated in the Turkish Court, who should be ready to explicate those Matters which are too thorny and prickly for Subjects of that Country to handle.

The French Interpreter impaled.

1633. Had all the foregoing Troubles, Mutinies, and Misfortunes encountred the Spirit of an easie and a gentle Sultan, certainly the Fate of this *Amurat* had been the same with that of *Osman*, who retiring within his Seraglio, could never have appeased the Seditious Humor with all the Concessions he could give an unreasonable multitude: but being a resolved and busling Prince, he at first gave some few steps backwards, as if he would yield somewhat to the impetuosity of that Torrent which he could not resist; yet it was only like a Ram, who retires, that he may butt with the greater force. Howsoever the Politicians and sober Men attributed the true cause of all these Commotions in the Souldiery, to have no other Foundation than the ill success and miseries which attended the War in *Persia*; for the way being long, and the Countries hot, barren, and for the most part void of all comfort, the Souldiers abhorred the Fatigues and March thither; and hated to consider, that they should be made a Sacrifice to the lust of voluptuous Ministers, who, to gain Estates and Riches out of those Monies which were designed to carry on the War, did not care, whilst they lived at Ease and in Delights, what Labours, Wants, and Dangers attended the Militia.

These Considerations made likewise some impression in the Sultan, who therefore inclined to hearken unto those Propositions of Peace which were brought him by an Ambassador from *Persia*; and being accompanied with very great Presents, the Peace was clapt up and concluded on a sudden. But as Things quick in their Birth and Production, are not long-liv'd, nor long durable; so this Peace was broken the same Year with an inconstancy equal to that inconsideration with which it was agreed and signed. For no sooner was the News hereof flown into the Eastern World, than the Great *Mogol* dispatched his Ambassador with Letters to the Grand Signior, perswading him to make War again with the Persian, promising to assist him therein, by stopping up the Passage of *Nachivan*, which is a City in the Lesser *Armenia*, built upon the River *Araxes*, and is the common Road into the *Indies*.

The Peace made with Persia, and speedily broken.

1633. *Indies.* The which Motion, as it was pleaſing to *Morat*, ſo being accompanied with Indian Curioſities and Preſents of an ineſtimable Value, the Ambaſſador was graciouſly received, and treated with ſuch Feaſts and Entertainments as are not uſually known amongſt the Turks; and returned again with Letters, giving hopes, that he would ſpeedily take an occaſion to break with the Perſian. But thoſe who had experienced the Difficulties of a War with *Perſia*, and obſerved, that in the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs it might be more eaſily and with advantage waged on the ſide of *Hungary*, endeavoured, with many pregnant Arguments, to perſwade the Grand Signior thereunto, giving him to underſtand, that *Guſtavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, being victorious over the Emperor in *Germany*, had taken many Towns and Cities of great ſtrength; and having overthrown him in divers Battels, had ſlain or taken his beſt Captains and moſt Martial Men of Valour; and that other Chriſtians, who were deſirous to abate the pride of the Auſtrian Family, were ready to embrace the ſame Conjuncture, whereby they might entirely ſhake off the Yoke and Servitude to the Imperial Tyranny.

Perſwaſions for a War againſt the Emperor.

Theſe Advantages being well repreſented, took place eaſily in the mind of *Morat*, ſo that he diſpatched expreſs Orders to the Paſha of *Buda* to aſſemble his Forces, and put all things in a readineſs on the Frontiers: in compliance with which, though the Paſha ſet forth his Tents, and made great appearance of a March, yet ſome ſecret Deſigns cauſed him to move ſlowly, and to affect a Peace rather than a War; ſo that receiving an Ambaſſador from the Emperor at *Peſt*, he readily Admitted him, and gave him ſafe Conduct and Convoy unto *Conſtantinople*: at which time Advices coming, that the Great *Guſtavus Adolphus* was ſlain, and that the Affairs of the Swedes went backwards and unſucceſsfully in *Germany*, altered all the Meaſures of the Ottoman Counſels; and though *Ragotski* endeavoured all he was able to foment the Differences, and encourage the Turks to a War, having beſides other ſpecious Pretences, an Army of thirty thouſand Men in a readineſs to joyn with the Turks againſt the Emperor; howſoever the Turks looking on the Condition of the Swedes as deſperate, and the Proffers of *Ragotski* to be uncertain, and of no true Foundation, and the State of Affairs amongſt themſelves to be turbulent and unſettled, gave a kind Reception to the Emperor's Ambaſſador, and ſigned the Agreement for continuance of the Truce.

A Peace made between the Emperor and Grand Signior.

By this, and other Actions of like Nature, *Ragotski* loſt much of his Eſteem with the Emperor and the Grand Signior; the firſt always looked on him as an Ambitious Prince, exciting the Turk againſt him, and ready on the leaſt Occaſion to enter his Country with Fire and Sword: The other looked on him as a Falſe Friend, who never made Proffers, but thoſe which ſquared with his own Deſigns and Intereſt; and particularly he had diſguſted the Port, by preſuming to inſtate one *Matthias* in the Principality of *Walachia*, and to eject another conſtituted there by Authority of the Grand Signior, called *Stridia Bei*, or Lord *Oyſters*, becauſe his Father was a Fiſher-man, and gained a good Eſtate by the Trade of Oyſters; howſoever it being the Grand Signior's Pleaſure to ordain ſuch a Perſon to that Office, it was a Preſumption, and a bold Piece of Uſurpation in *Ragotski*, to diſpoſe of that Government, by virtue of his own ſingle Power: Howſoever the Grand Signior, to avoid Contention with the reſolved Spirit of *Ragotski*, confirmed *Matthias*, upon Condition of a double Tribute paid for the Inveſtment to the Principality. 1633.

But beſides theſe Reaſons for a Peace with the Emperor, the Deſigns the Grand Signior entertained of making War upon *Poland*, with the Aſſiſtance of the Muſcovites and Tartars, and of diſpoſſeſſing *Emir Facardin* of his Government, were ſtrong Inducements to make fair Weather on all other ſides of the Neighbouring Princes. The Envy which the Riches and Greatneſs of *Emir Facardin* (who was a Prince inhabiting in the Parts of *Arabia*, to whom a large Tract of Land, with ſeveral Fortreſſes did belong) had contracted to him from the Paſha's of *Damaſcus*, *Tripoli*, and *Gaza*, cauſed them to accuſe him before the Grand Signior of Rebellion, and other enormous Crimes: The Plea againſt him was managed eſpecially by the Paſha of *Tripoli*, who alledged, That he was an Enemy to the Mahometan Law, deſtroyed the Moſchs, kept correſpondence with the Malteſes and the Corſairs of *Ligorn*, permitting them freely to take Water in his Country; that he openly favoured the Chriſtians, ſuffering them freely to build Churches in his Country. That he continually fortified his Caſtles, and encroached on the Lands and Territories of the *Emirs* his Neighbours. In ſhort, his Riches were ſo great, that every one feared and envied him, and therefore repreſented his Caſe in that Manner, that the Grand Signior reſolving to deſtroy him, ſent great Forces into thoſe Countries, under the Command of the Paſha of *Tripoli*, to whom he commanded the Paſha's of *Damaſcus*, *Gaza*, *Aleppo*, and *Cairo* to join their Forces: and for better expedition, the Captain-Paſha was appointed to equip his Fleet, to tranſport Men and Ammunition into thoſe parts.

Preparations of War made againſt Emir Facardin.

The Captain-Paſha in his Paſſage by Sea, encountred two Engliſh Ships lading Corn in the Gulph of *Vola*, called the *William* and *Ralph*, and *Hector*: this being a prohibited Commodity, not to be tranſported under penalty of forfeiting Ships, Goods, and Liberty of the Men, moved the Paſha, with the ſight of ſuch a Booty, to command his Gallies to ſeize the Veſſels; which being only two, it was imagined that they would immediately yield and ſurrender without conteſt. But theſe bold Brittons knowing the Conſequences of ſuch a Surrender, reſolved not tamely to yield themſelves, at leaſt to ſell their Liberties, Lives, Ships and Goods to the Turks at the deareſt Rate they were able: wherefore cutting their Cables, put themſelves under Sail, and got into the main Sea, fighting with the whole Fleet above three hours; ſometimes they were boarded by one Gally, ſometimes by two at once; but plying their Quarter-deck Guns with ſmall Shot, and defending themſelves manfully with their half-Pikes, they often cleared their Decks, and put off the Enemy with great ſlaughter: the Captain-Paſha being aſhamed to ſee ſuch Reſiſtance made by two ſuch Veſſels againſt his whole Force, reſolved to enter his Men at the Gun-room Port of one of the Ships, and running the Prow of the Gally into the Stern-port, the valiant Crew of the Gun-room clapt an Iron Spike into the Trunnel-hole of the Prow, whereby the Gally being wedged faſt to the Timbers of the Ship, they brought their Stern-chaſe laden with croſs Bars, pieces of Iron, and Parteridge-ſhot to bear upon them; which raking them fore and aft, killed the Captain-Paſha himſelf, with near three hundred out of the

A Fight of the whole Turkiſh Fleet againſt two Engliſh Ships.

The Capt. Paſha ſlain.

1633. the Baſtard Gally. At length having ſpent all their ſhot, they charged their Guns with pieces of Eight, and being over-powered by numbers of their Enemies, and not able farther to reſiſt, they ſet fire to their Ships, which blowing up, deſtroyed two or three of the Gallies which laid by their ſides, together with thoſe Men which were then fighting aboard at handy-blows on the Deck with the Defendants; ſo that none of the Engliſh were taken, unleſs three or four fiſhed out of the Water.

An end being in this manner put to the Fight, the Turks gained the Victory, with the loſs of twelve hundred Slaves killed and wounded, beſides Turks, and were forced into Port, where they remained a full Month to repair their Gallies; the which Fight affected all Turks with an aſtoniſhment of the Engliſh Bravery, or Obſtinacy, (as they call it) and is a Matter remembred and talked of to this Day, eſpecially by the Son of the Captain-Paſha who was ſlain, called *Omem*, Paſha *Ogli*, who is Paſha of *Rhodes* at preſent, (as I remember) and commands three or four Gallies; for which reaſon he is ſo inveterate an Enemy to the Engliſh, that to ſatisfie his Revenge, he buys what Engliſh Slaves he can get into his Gallies, and ſells none out under a double Price or Ranſom.

The News of this Fight coming to *Conſtantinople*, provoked the Grand Signior to the height of Indignation; howſoever the Officers either being aſhamed of their Loſs, or entertaining ſome ſecret admiration of the Engliſh Bravery, ſuffered the Matter to be compounded for the Sum of forty thouſand Dollars, of which the Engliſh paid only their ſhare with the French and Venetians, whom (for I know not what Reaſon) the Turks equally concerned in the Occaſion.

Whilſt the Turks were appointing a new Captain-Paſha, and again refitting their Fleet, the Paſha of *Damaſcus* diſpatched a Summons to *Facardin* to ſurrender *Seida* up to him, with other Caſtles and Places of Strength. The Old Man reſided then a *Barut*, where pretending to be retired from all Buſineſs, anſwered, that he had reſigned the whole Government into the Hands of his Son *Ali*, as he had already teſtified by Publick Acts: that he was but a Subject, and a Souldier under his Son, and therefore to him they ought to make their Applications. *Facardin* had at that time an Army of twenty five thouſand Men, the which he divided into two Bodies, commanded by his two Sons. *Ali* his eldeſt he ordered with twelve thouſand Men (a thouſand of which were Maronites, and two thouſand Druzes) to march to *Saphet* for hindering the conjunction of the Emirs of *Feruc* and *Therabith*, and the Paſha's of *Gaza* and *Damaſcus*, whoſe Forces being joined together, did not compoſe a greater Number than that of *Facardin*.

Ali entercountring with them, and being a briſk and hot-metled Prince, engaged and charged them ſo whom, that he defeated them, and killed eight thouſand of their Men; but ſuch a Victory as this not coſting him leſs than ſeven thouſand of his Men, was in effect his own Overthrow; for being the next day charged again by the Enemy, both ſides fought with that obſtinacy, that (as is reported) there remained not above an hundred forty ſix of all the Souldiers which followed *Ali*; and he himſelf having his Horſe mortally wounded under him, and being out of Breath, Weary, and Faint, yielded himſelf to a common Souldier, who promiſed him Quarter; but afterwards having him in his power, he ſtrangled *him* with *his Match*, and cut off his Head and his little Finger on which he wore his Seal-Ring, and ſo preſented both to the Paſha. But this proud Conquerour refuſed to accept this Preſent without Ceremony, until firſt the Head had been perfumed with Sweet Waters, the Beard combed out, and covered with a rich Turbant, and having kept this Trophy for ſome days by him, he ſent it afterwards to *Conſtantinople*.

The Son of Facardin overthrown

1633. *And is ſtrangled.*

But before the News of this Defeat reached the Ears of old *Facardin*, the Captain-Paſha with his Fleet of Gallies arrived at the Port of *Tripoli*; to whom *Facardin* being deſirous to ſhew all Friendſhip, and profeſs Loyalty to the Grand Signior, he cauſed his Army to retire into the Parts of Mount *Libanus*, whilſt he himſelf, with about three thouſand Men, between Domeſtick Servants and his Guards, went to *Seida*, from whence he ſent two * *Caramoſauls* laden with Proviſions and Refreſhment to the Captain-Paſha for a Preſent, aſſuring him, that he was an humble Vaſſal to the Grand Signior, and was ready to obey all his Commands; and becauſe the Sultan may probably have received ſiniſter Reports relating to the Arms he had taken up, he aſſured him, that they were no otherwiſe deſigned, than to ſuppreſs the Robberies of the Arabs, and the Incurſions of their Kings; and that he was ready to conduct his Army to any Place, where his Maſter the Grand Signior ſhould think fit to employ them. But theſe fair words could not divert the Captain-Paſha from his Reſolutions to enter the Port of *Seida*, nor from his Inſtructions of demanding, and upon refuſal of forcing poſſeſſion of the Caſtle; which as it was the moſt conſiderable Fortreſs, and the moſt pleaſant Seat of all his Dominions, ſo he could not, without much regret and ſorrow, hearken to ſuch a Propoſition: wherefore that the Paſha might not perſiſt in this Demand, he ſecretly proffered him an hundred thouſand Zechins as a Bribe to himſelf, and his Son *Manſour* to be carried for a Hoſtage and Earneſt of his Faithfulneſs to the Grand Signior. The Captain-Paſha liked well the hundred thouſand Zechins and the Hoſtages, but ſtill required the Surrender of the Caſtle with them; on which whilſt *Facardin* deliberated, News came of the Death of his Son *Ali*, and the Deſtruction of his Army, with which, loſing all Courage, he yielded his Caſtle of *Seida* to the Captain-Paſha, retiring himſelf to his City of *Barut*: nor could he reſt quietly at that Place; for being purſued, he was forced to quit it, and retire with his Maronites and Druzes into the Mountains, leſt being incloſed within the Walls of a City, he ſhould fall alive into the Hands of his Enemies.

* *A ſort of Veſſel or Ship ſo called by the Turks.*

And now all good Fortune forſaking unhappy *Facardin*, the Maronites and Druzes his Subjects revolt to the Paſha of *Damaſcus*, his Palaces and Gardens of Pleaſure were all ruined, his Friends forſook him, his two remaining Sons were loſt, one carried to *Conſtantinople* for a Hoſtage, and the other ſlain in Fight; his Towns of *Gazir*, *Saphet*, St. *John d'Acria*, and others were ſurrendred to the Paſha of *Damaſcus*: only ſome few ſtrong Places in the Mountains remained to him, where living in League with *Reba* a King of the Arabs, he committed all the Spoils he was able on the Lands belonging to the Paſha of *Damaſcus*. But being hunted from one Mountain to another, and from one Cave to another, he was at length forced to ſurrender upon Conditions, that he ſhould have liberty to proceed unto the

1633. the Grand Signior with his own Equipage of three hundred Men, and Trumpets ſounding, and that he might carry with him all his Treaſure conſiſting of a Million of Zechins all in Gold, together with other Riches, which were carried by fourteen Camels; and that he ſhould not be conducted as a Priſoner in Triumph, but that he ſhould with freedom approach the Preſence of the Sultan, like other Paſha's, who are in Grace and Favour.

Theſe Propoſals being granted, *Facardin* with his two young Sons began his Journey to *Conſtantinople*, and being about two days journey from thence, he diſpatched eight Cheſts of Gold before him, to prepare and make his way to the Grand Signior; who being pleaſed with the Gold, and greatly rejoyced to receive the Submiſſion and Homage of one who had ſo long ſtood out in Rebellion, he went out in a Diſguiſe and Habit of a Paſha to ſee and diſcourſe with that Perſon, of whom there had been ſo general a Rumor; and having accordingly encountred with the Emir, he ſate down in his Tent with him, deſiring him to relate the Story of his Life, with the ſeveral Particulars of his late Misfortunes. Emir *Facardin* well knew the Perſon of the Grand Signior; but feigning as if he was unacquainted with whom he diſcourſed, and that he took him for ſome Paſha, began to recount the Courſe of his Life, the Reaſons why his Enemies falſely ſuggeſted evil Reports of him to the Grand Signior; how he was forced, for defence of his Life, to take up Arms, and what ill Succeſs accompanied his Affairs; all which he repreſented with ſuch Quickneſs and Eloquence, that the Grand Signior pitying his Misfortunes, promiſed to be his Advocate, and mediate with the Grand Signior in his behalf.

The day following *Facardin* made his Entry in a Triumphant manner, and received a moſt favourable Audience from the Grand Signior; and all the Paſha's and great Men in conformity to their Maſter, and in hopes of ſharing ſome part of his Gold, ſhewed him a like kind favourable Countenance and Aſpect.

But finding afterwards that *Facardin* increaſed daily in the eſteem of the Grand Signior, and that the old Rebel was become a new Favourite, and that he was likely to over-top and out them, they generally conſpired together, taking the Mufti on their ſide, to accuſe him of many Crimes, and more particularly that he was a Chriſtian, and an Apoſtate from the Mahometan Faith. This Point of Religion ſo ſenſibly touched the Grand Signior, that he reſolved to condemn him in a manner Solemn and Extraordinary; for mounting one Day on his Throne, he commanded *Facardin* to be brought in, and placed on a low Chair; where ordering his Crimes whereof he was accuſed to be recited, he paſſed a formal Sentence of Death upon him: but *Facardin* ariſing to juſtifie himſelf, was not permitted to ſpeak, only he obtained a quarter of an hours reprieve to make his Prayers, and afterwards was ſtrangled by the hands of two Mutes.

1634. *Morat* growing now into Years, took into his own Hands the Reins of Government, reſolving to rule Singly and Abſolutely, and to make himſelf rather Feared than Beloved: He degraded four Viziers at once, and baniſhed them into *Cyprus*, confiſcating their Eſtates, for no other Reaſon, than becauſe they had denied him the uſe of their Mules and Camels on occaſion of his Service.

He became extremely ſevere againſt the Souldiery, cruſhing them with all imaginable Rigour on the leaſt appearance of Reluctancy to his Commands; declaring, That he expected Blind and Silent Obedience from all, but eſpecially from his Souldiery.

1634. *Morat exerciſes ſeveral Acts of Tyranny.*

He impoſed a great Tax upon Copper; and becauſe he had ſeveral Warehouſes filled with that Mettal, which had for many Years lain by, he forced the People to buy it at his own Rates. At which Aggrievance the Commonalty growing deſperate, began to Mutiny and Rebel; but *Morat* put a ſpeedy ſtop thereunto, by cutting off the Heads of fifty of the moſt Seditious, and ſo paſſed to *Pruſa*, with the Attendance of ſix Gallies.

He cauſed a Kadi to be hanged, to the great Diſpleaſure and univerſal Reſentment of the Ulemah, who are Students in the Law; who to make known their Aggrievance, and Conſult a Remedy, aſſembled in great Numbers at the Houſe of the Mufti.

The Queen-Mother being acquainted with this Meeting, and fearing the ill Conſequences thereof, gave immediate Advice to the Sultan; who with like Expedition diſpatched a Boat to bring over the Mufti and his Son to *Pruſa*; who were no ſooner arrived, than they were ſtrangled, not being permitted to ſpeak for themſelves, or to alledge any Plea or Excuſe for their Lives. This Act of Cruelty, beyond the Example of former Ages, and never practiſed by the moſt tyrannical of his Predeceſſors, ſtruck a Terror on the whole Empire; for Men obſerving the unjuſt Rigour which was executed on the Head and Chief of their Law, the Oracle and Mouth which reſolved their difficult Problems, and whom the World ſo reverenced and honoured, that few Examples have been of Capital Puniſhment executed on his reverend Head, feared, that Innocence was not ſufficient to ſecure their own leſs conſiderable Eſtates from his Fury and Violence.

There is a particular Death allotted for Mufties, which is, by braying them in a Mortar, which is kept in the ſeven Towers at *Conſtantinople*, and there ſhewed to Strangers; which Inſtrument hath been ſeldom made uſe of.

Morat being greatly addicted to Wine, was ſenſible of the ill Effects of it in himſelf, and that the heat of debauchery inclined him to Violence and Cruelty, and from hence collecting how dangerous this Humour of Drunkenneſs was in his People, eſpecially in his Souldiery, for that much of the late Seditions might be attributed thereunto, he publiſhed a moſt ſevere Edict againſt Wine, commanding all Taverns to be demoliſhed, the Butts to be broken, and the Wine ſpilt. It was the common Cuſtom of the Grand Signior to walk the Streets in diſguiſe; when meeting with any drunken Perſon, he would impriſon him, and almoſt drub him to Death. It was his fortune to meet a Deaf Man one day in the Streets; who not hearing the Noiſe of the People, nor the Rumor of his Approach, did not ſo readily ſhift out of the way, as was conſiſtent with the fear and dread of ſo awful an Emperor, for which default he was ſtrangled immediately, and his Body thrown into the Streets.

Morat deſtroys the Taverns.

All People feared and trembled at theſe Practices, and were as careful to look out abroad for the Grand Signior, leſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed with the bluſter of his preſence, as Mariners are of being taken unprovided by ſome ſudden Guſt or Hurricane; for there was ſcarce a Day, that one Innocent or other was not ſacrificed to his Fury and tyrannical Fancy. One

1634. One *Thomas Zanetti*, a Venetian Merchant, who had built a lofty Jardac, or a high Room of Proſpective on the top of his Houſe, was accuſed to the Grand Signior to have deſigned that Place for no other end, than that he might with a long Glaſs overſee the Chambers of the Ladies, and the Gardens, and Walks of the Seraglio: For which Reaſon, without farther inquiry, he was hanged in his Shirt on the top of his Jardac, with a red Streamer in his Hand, that ſo the Grand Signior might be ſure that the Sentence was executed. The Eſtate of *Zanetti*, whether belonging to himſelf or Principals, was confiſcated; but in regard the Goods, for ſecurity, were privately conveyed to the Ware-houſes of ſeveral Frank Merchants, ſtrict ſearch was made for them; but in regard the Marks and Numbers were altered, they could not be diſtinguiſhed: wherefore the Grand Signior concluding, that all the Frank Merchants had combined together to deceive him, he impriſoned every Man of them; nor would he releaſe them, until they had paid forty thouſand Dollars for their Ranſom and Liberty.

Hangs a Venetian Merchant.

After which, upon pretence of a Plot, or Agreement of the Franks to defend themſelves from the leviation of this Tax, the Turks ſearched their Houſes for Arms; in taking of which they were ſo rigorous, that they ſpared not ſo much as a Birding-piece; nor yet the Sword of Sir *Peter Wych*, then Ambaſſador for *England*, though he alledged, that it was the very Sword with which his Majeſty had conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon him.

But from theſe Tranſactions at Home, let us paſs to the Wars in *Poland* and *Perſia*. That Invincible Prince, *Vladiſlaus* King of *Poland*, had gained ſuch good Succeſs againſt the Czar of *Muſcovy*, that the Czar was forced to demand Aſſiſtance from the Turks. The Grand Signior, though he had lately made a Peace with *Poland*, and ſworn to maintain the Articles of *Chocin*, concluded by his Predeceſſor Sultan *Oſman*; yet the continual Depredations which the Coſſacks made, did always adminiſter reaſonable Pretences for a War: To which *Abaſſa*, one of his chief Counſellors, a valiant and preſumptuous Captain, did much incite him; for promiſing to himſelf the Conduct of that Army deſigned againſt *Poland*, did much flatter the Sultan and himſelf with the Fancy of mighty Succeſs.

The Turks make War on the Poles.

The War being thus reſolved upon, the Turk, who commonly ſtrikes before he Quarrels, gave Orders to *Abaſſa* to make Levies of Men in *Moldavia* and *Valachia*; and to put the Tartars in Arms, and the Militia of *Buda*, and of the Parts along the *Danube* into a warlike Poſture, and with all Expedition to enter *Poland*.

Abaſſa who had with wonderful diligence put his Troops in readineſs, ordered the Tartars, with a Body of fifteen thouſand Men to enter *Poland*; which they performed with ſuch celerity, that paſſing the River of *Tyre* above *Chocin* and *Rinczug*, they in a few hours laid waſte for the ſpace of ten Leagues round *Kemenitz*, and ſo retired with their Booty into *Moldavia*: howſoever their haſte was not attended with ſuch good ſpeed, but that they were overtaken on the 4th of *July* by *Staniſlaus Koniſpolzki*, General of the Poliſh Army, with no greater Force than two thouſand five hundred Horſe; howſoever ſurpriſing them whilſt they were feeding their Horſes, he put them into ſuch Confuſion and Diſorder, that he eaſily recovered all their Booty, and took five of their chief Men Priſoners; of which the Son-in-Law of the *Cantemir* was one. But this was a faint Refreſhment in reſpect to that terrible Storm of ſixty thouſand Men, compoſed of Turks, Tartars, Moldavians and Valachians; which under the Command of *Abaſſa* had already paſſed the *Danube*.

1634.

Koniſpolzki the Poliſh General, having not ſufficient Force to oppoſe them in open Field, nor time to aſſemble a greater Army, gathered what Supplies he could from the Coſſacks and Lords of that Country, and therewith encamped himſelf upon a Hill between the River *Tyr* and the Town of *Chocin*, that he might be the better able to ſuccour *Kemenitz*, which the Enemy deſigned to aſſault.

Abaſſa who contemned this weak Force of the Poles, reſolved, without farther conſideration, to attack them in their own Camp, and force them to fight; of which the Poles being well adviſed, placed ſeveral Pieces of Artillery, and lined all the Hedges and Ditches with Muſquetiers, where the Turks were neceſſarily to paſs, drawing out their whole Army into Batalia; the Turks who haſtened the neareſt way to charge the Enemy, fell into the Ambuſh, where having loſt about five hundred Men, they began to make a ſtand, and to conſider of ſome more advantageous way to their Deſign. Wherefore *Abaſſa* taking another Courſe, which he judged to be free from all concealed Dangers, ordered the Tartars to charge the Right Wing, and the Moldavians and Valachians the left of the Enemy, and he with his Turks would fight the main Body. The Tartars with great Reſolution performed their part, and had wholly defeated that Wing, had not *Wiſnovitzki*, with ſome Troops and a Train of ſmall Artillery, come in ſeaſonably to their Succour: The Moldavians and Valachians fought ſo faintly againſt the Enemy, whom they conſidered to be Chriſtians, Brothers, and Neighbours, that they ſoon turned their Backs and fled, but were not far purſued by the Poles.

A Fight between the Turks and the Poles.

Abaſſa receiving this Repulſe, ſounded a Retreat, and immediately repaſſed the River *Tyr*, and marched with all the haſte he was able, ſtopping no where, until he arrived at *Rinzur*, about thirty Engliſh *miles* from the place of the Fight; and arriving at length on the Banks of the *Danube*, he gave Licenſe to his Souldiers to diſperſe into their Winter-Quarters; in the mean time *Abaſſa* diſpatched Advice to the Grand Signior of the Particulars of the Fight, and of his great Victory, by an entire defeat of the Poliſh Army. The Grand Signior believed the Report, which none durſt to contradict, and which was confirmed by the Rumour of an Ambaſſador coming from *Poland*. For the Poles being at that time engaged in a War with *Muſcovy*, and apprehenſive of another with *Sweden*, judged it not ſeaſonable to provoke the Turk, but rather, by way of Accommodation, diſpatched an Ambaſſador with a Train of three hundred Men, to make Complaints againſt the late Acts of Hoſtility committed by *Abaſſa*, as if he had moved his Arms without the Orders or Knowledg of the Sultan.

An Ambaſſador ſent to the G. Signior from Poland.

About that time that the Ambaſſador approached near to *Conſtantinople*, the Grand Signior had another Son born, but of a weakly and ſickly Temperament, howſoever great Joy was expreſſed, and all the City was enlightned with Torches, Bonefires, and Fire-works; and that the Grand-Signior might evidence his Greatneſs and Magnificence to the Ambaſſador, he took this Occaſion of the Birth of a Son, to make a ſolemn Entrance into the City, and to make

the

1634. the greater Show, he armed all the Citizens and Inhabitans.

Before the Grand Signior would grant Audience to the Ambaſſador, he ordered that *Abaſſa* ſhould treat with him, and underſtand his Buſineſs and Deſires. *Abaſſa* carried himſelf high in the Negotiation; he pretended the Damages and Charges of the War, the Demoliſhment of certain Palancas, which were the Places of Refuge for the Coſſacks; and the Tribute of ten Years paſt, with Security of paiment for the Time to come. The Ambaſſador poſitively refuſed to hearken unto any Terms about Tribute; and that for other Matters, the Preſents which he had brought to the Grand Signior, would reaſonably anſwer.

His Preſents were,
A Coach lined with Velvet, with ſix very fine Horſes.
A Baſon, and Candleſticks of Silver richly gilt.
Four Clocks, ten Veſts of Sables, ſix Quivers of Arrows, with ſome Hunting Dogs.

Being at length admitted to Audience, and thereunto conducted by the Aga of the Spahees, and the Chaous Baſhee: The Grand Signior asked the Ambaſſador, which was not uſual, *For what Reaſon he was come thither?*

To which he anſwered; *That he was come to bring his Majeſty Advice of the Coronation of his King; and to eſtabliſh a Peace, if his Majeſty ſhould judg fit to accept thereof.*

To which the Sultan replied; *That all Chriſtian Kings ought either to receive the Ottoman Laws, or pay him Tribute, or try the ſharpneſs of his Sword.* And taking a Cemiter in his hand which hung by him, he drew it half out, and ſaid; *With this I will ſubdue my Enemies; and though my War in* Perſia *continues, I do not fear to undertake another in* Poland.

To which the Ambaſſador returning a modeſt Anſwer, was diſmiſſed of the Royal Preſence.

And now the Grand Signior, to put a good face on the Buſineſs, and to make the World believe, that he deſigned what he ſpake, he proclaimed a War with *Poland*, and ordered his Tents to be carried abroad, ſuppoſing hereby to draw the Poles to his own Terms of Agreement. And in purſuance hereof he mounted on Horſeback, and rode in ſtate through the City, his upper Veſt was made after the Hungarian Faſhion lined with Sables; in his right hand he carried a Quiver of Arrows, in his left two drawn Swords, on his Turbant he wore a large Plume of Feathers, encompaſſed with a Circle of Diamonds; and in this manner entring his Tents, he proceeded to *Adrianople*. But before his departure, the Count *Puchen*, Ambaſſador from the Emperor, arrived with other ſumptuous Preſents, offering Incenſe and Gifts of Peace at the Throne of this Greatneſs.

But before we relate the Tranſactions at *Adrianople*, and the Succeſs of Affairs at that Place, let us recount ſeveral diſmal Accidents at *Conſtantinople*.

The ſeveral Miſchiefs by Water and Fire.

The Grand Signior returning by Sea from a place called *Stravoſta* in the Bay of *Iſmit*, anciently the Bay of *Nicomedia*, where he had for ſome time held his Court and great Divan, he was followed by ſeveral Veſſels appointed to tranſport the People, in one whereof were ninety five Perſons embarked, all of them Paſha's, Aga's, and chief Officers of the Court; the Veſſel was over-ſet by a ſudden guſt of Wind, and all the People drowned, excepting three Sea-men which ſaved themſelves by ſwimming. More conſiderable were the Miſchiefs by Fire; For on occaſion of ſome Fire-works made in one of the Grand Signior's Chiosks, or Houſes of Pleaſure, the Fire took ſo fiercely on the Tavan, or wooden Works of the Sieling, that it endangered the whole Palace, and had conſumed all, but that many Hands and active Men gave a ſtop to the farther Progreſs. 1634.

A terrible Fire at Conſtantinople.

This Fire was but a fore-runner of a greater, which began the 16*th* of *September* in that part of the City of *Conſtantinople*, which is called *Hiacab*, being between the Wall and the Port, where live Tavernes, Butchers, Fiſhmongers, and others who ſell Proviſions. The Fire took firſt in one of thoſe Houſes which had been a Tavern, and are Buildings only made of Deal-boards and Timber; which combuſtible Matter flamed out ſo violently, that it took hold on all the Houſes round, and was ſo quick in its Motion, as if it had taken by a Train, or that ſome wicked People with Fire-balls had employed themſelves in the Miſchief; the Fire took its Courſe againſt the Wind, burning on one ſide and the other to the Hiſtorical Pillar, and to the Moſchs of Sultan *Mahomet*, and Sultan *Selim*; ſo that in a ſhort time one third of the City was reduced to Aſhes.

It is difficult to expreſs the lamentable Deſtruction was made hereby, what Riches, what Palaces, and Moveables were conſumed in it, there being twenty thouſand Houſes reported to be burnt; which Miſery is beſt repreſented by the remembrance of our calamitous Incendiation at *London*; the greateſt difference between one and the other was, that that at *Conſtantinople* was more quick in its Motion; for it burnt a larger compaſs of Ground in one third of the Time, than ours did at *London*, for that City for the moſt part conſiſting of ſlight Buildings of Wood, met not the reſiſtance which ours ſometimes did againſt the Walls of Brick and Stones.

The Fire being extinguiſhed, and Men having time to lament and think, began to impute the Cauſe and Fault to thoſe whom they moſt ſuſpected; ſometimes they accuſed the Perſians for having fired the City, for which Crime one of them the next Year ſuffered Death. Some attributed the Cauſe of all to the Janiſaries; and that they, out of hatred to the Inhabitants, or for the ſake of Plunder, if they did not begin, yet at leaſt increaſed the Fire; which they the more ſuſpected, becauſe the Janiſaries refuſed not only to work themſelves, alledging, that they expected Orders from their Aga, but likewiſe hindered and diſcouraged others. Howſoever the Grand Signior not wanting on his own part to contribute all Aſſiſtance poſſible, ſent four thouſand Men out of his Seraglio to work about the Fire, not excuſing the very Officers of his Royal Chamber from contributing their Authority and perſonal Aid; ſome of which ventured far into the Fire, to demonſtrate their Courage, Activeneſs, and Obedience to the Commands of their Emperor: but all this was too little againſt an obſtinate and an invincible Enemy, for the Fire flamed, and proceeded, until it wanted Nouriſhment and Food to conſume.

In fine, twenty thouſand Houſes were burnt, two hundred Moſchs, and the Library of the Muſti, which for the Number of the Arabick and Perſian Books, was curious, and of high eſteem. The Albengs, or Habitation of the

1634. Janiſaries containing three hundred Chambers, of which each Chamber was capable to receive four hundred Men, were all burnt and reduced to Aſhes.

The which fatal and miſerable Spectacle, did a little touch the Heart of Sultan *Morat*; ſo that he gave out conſiderable Sums to comfort the Diſtreſſed, who had moſt ſuffered by this Calamity, and to raiſe from its Aſhes his conſumed and languiſhing *Conſtantinople*; which being revived and flouriſhing, was again miſerably conſumed by Flames, in the Month of *April* 1660. But ſuch is the beneficial and commodious ſituation of that Place, and the Riches thereof by Trade, and the Preſence of the Ottoman Court, that the Inhabitants again rebuilt it in fewer Years than could be imagined.

But now to return to the Grand Signior at *Adrianople*, we find him reſolutely deſigned to make a War upon *Poland*, to which he was induced by the Perſwaſions of *Abaſſa*, and the preſent conjuncture of Advantage to join with the Moſcovite, it ſeeming great Policy not to ſuffer the Countries of *Moſcovy* to be over-run; or the Poles, who is a warlike and dangerous Nation, to grow Puiſſant and Powerful by his Succeſs and Conqueſt over his Neighbours: Wherefore Preparations were made on all ſides for the War; great Quantities of Proviſions and Ammunition were ſent into *Moldavia* by way of the Black Sea and the *Danube*.

Reaſons for a War with Poland.

The Tartar *Han* ſent word that all his Forces were in readineſs, and expected nothing but their Orders to march. The Beglerbey of *Greece* made his Rendezvous at *Philippolis* with an Army of thirty thouſand Men, where he attended to join with the Forces of *Boſna*, *Siliſtria*, and other parts of *Europe*. *Moldavia* and *Walachia* made an appearance of Levying Men, and joining with the Turk; but their Hearts were towards the Poles, with whom they kept a ſecret correſpondence, and would be ready to adhere on the leaſt Opportunity.

In ſhort, the Army of the Turks was ſo great, and all his Affairs in that readineſs, that he ſcorned to incline an Ear to Propoſitions of Peace; in which Opinion *Abaſſa* humoured and perſwaded him, that the Poles were ſo fearful of his Forces, that they had already yielded to Terms of compounding for a yearly Tribute. All which proved falſe; for in the mean time *Vladiſlaus* King of *Poland*, remitting nothing of the Heat and Vigour of his War againſt the Moſcovites, he was ſo ſucceſful therein, that he forced an Army of eighty thouſand Men, which he had beſieged in their Camp, to lay down their Arms, and ſurrender themſelves; which was an Action ſcarce to be credited, at leaſt to be parallel'd in any Hiſtory: and with this Conqueſt he might have proceeded to the Capital City of *Moſco*, and concluded the War and that Empire: But God's Providence, which governs all things, altered this Counſel, and diverted thoſe victorious Arms to the Siege of *Bial*; which Town being well fortified and gariſoned, withſtood many Aſſaults of the Enemy, and blunted the Spirits and Swords of the Conqueror; for loſing much time in this Siege, other Towns made uſe of the Opportunity to provide and fortify themſelves; whilſt the Poles growing weary, and wanting Pay, raiſed divers Mutinies and Seditions in the Camp. Theſe Difficulties and Inconveniences inclined the King *Vladiſlaus* to bend a favourable Ear to the many Supplications and Inſtances which the Moſcovites made for Peace: So that the Plenipotentiaries being aſſembled, it was agreed, that the Dutchy of *Smoleſco* and *Czermieſchou*, which two hundred Years paſt had been taken from *Poland* and *Lituania*, with many other Towns and Countries, to the extent of two hundred Leagues, ſhould be reſtored to the Kingdom of *Poland*.

The Victory which the Poles obtained over the Moſcovites.

1634. *They make a Peace.*

The News of this ſudden Peace coming unexpectedly to Sultan *Morat*, cauſed his Bravadoes againſt *Poland* to ceaſe, and to turn the ſtile of his Fury and Indignation againſt the Moſcovites; whom he vilified with all imaginable Terms of Perfidiouſneſs and Cowardiſe, and abuſed and impriſoned their Ambaſſadors. He conſidered that he had provoked an Enemy who was Victorious, Valiant, and Powerful, and one who at any time was able to contend with his united Force, much more whilſt it was ſeparated and disjoined by his War in *Perſia*: wherefore in all haſte he diſpatched an Ambaſſador into *Poland*, called *Shahin* Aga, deſiring to renew the ancient League and Articles of Peace. This Ambaſſador found the King at the Diet in *Warſaw*, where he publickly endeavoured to excuſe his Maſter for the late Acts of Hoſtility; aſſuring them, that they were not performed according to his Maſter's Deſires, and Original Intentions, but as they were moved and guided by the evil Suggeſtions and Artifices of *Abaſſa*, who being ſolely culpable of this Fault, by giving ill Counſels to his Maſter, he aſſured them, in the Name of the Sultan, that he ſhould receive ſuch Puniſhment as they ſhould think fit to inflict upon him. Hereupon the King *Vladiſlaus* gave this Anſwer, That ſince the Grand Signior could ſo eaſily infringe the Articles of that Peace which had been ſolemnly and ſacredly eſtabliſhed, it was now his Part, and the Wiſdom of that grave Aſſembly, to contrive ſuch Conditions and Bonds wherewith to oblige his Maſter, as could not eaſily and at his Pleaſure be broken or avoided. And at the ſame time the Poliſh Ambaſſador being returned from *Conſtantinople*, and diſcourſing in the Diet of the Pride and Perfidiouſneſs of the Turks, and the Scorn wherewith they received Chriſtian Ambaſſadors, ſo incenſed the Spirit of the whole Aſſembly, that with a general Conſent they approved the words of the King, adding, That they would no longer be ſubject to the Inſults and Falſities of that Tyrant, whom they would make to know, that they wore as well Offenſive as Defenſive Arms; and were not of that abject Spirit, or mean Condition, to permit the Sultan to violate the moſt Sacred Articles of Peace, and then at his pleaſure to ſalve them with a fawning Acknowledgment, or a flattering Speech. In this manner the Turkiſh Ambaſſador was returned, whilſt the King *Vladiſlaus* went into *Podolia* to take a view of his Armies; which he found to conſiſt of eighty thouſand fighting Men, all well accoutred, of good Courage, and ready to follow their King to the Walls of *Conſtantinople*.

The Turk ſends an Ambaſſador into Poland to divert a Peace.

The fear of the Motion of this great Army, in a Conjuncture when the Wars broken out again in *Perſia* were not proſperous, affected the Mind of *Morat* with much terror; ſo that he became very ſollicitous to find out, and make ſome ſubſtantial Propoſition in order to an Accommodation. One of the Viziers called *Mortezа*, was very active in this Buſineſs, plying continually the General *Koniſpolzki* with Letters, Offers, and Expedients for a Peace: To facilitate which, and ſhew that the Grand Signior did heartily relent, *Abaſſa* was ſtrangled by two Kapugees, and given for a Sacrifice to appeaſe the Anger of his Enemies; a Perſon who was a ſtout

Abaſſa ſtrangled.

1634. ſtout Souldier, and one who had performed great and ſignal Services in the War of *Perſia*.

But the Poles not being pacified with this ſingle Act of Penitence, but thirſting farther after the Blood of the Turks, deſired to Spoil and Pillage their Richer Provinces. Howſoever at length the Council of *Poland* entring into more ſerious Debates, conſidered, that the Troops lately come from *Muſcovy*, were but in a bad condition; that the part of their Army, which conſiſted of Voluntiers, would not endure a long and tedious War; and that the Expence and Charge of this great Army was immenſe and almoſt inſupportable: for which Reaſons it was reſolved, that a Peace ſhould be made, which was ſoon afterwards concluded, and agreed on theſe following Articles.

Articles of Peace agreed between the Poles and the Turks.

That the Vaywods of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, ſhould be confirmed by the Grand Signior, with the Conſent and Recommendation of the King of *Poland*.

That *Cantemir* and his Tartars ſhould abandon the Country of *Buckzac*; and in caſe of refuſal, that then the Turk and Tartar *Cham* ſhould join their Forces to expel them from thence.

That the Poles ſhall ſuppreſs all Acts of Hoſtility of the Coſſacks in the Black Sea.

That the Turks renounce for ever all Demands, or future pretence of Tribute from *Poland*: and that they ſhall build no new Forts on the Frontiers.

That the Navigation on the River *Nieper* ſhall remain free and undiſturbed to the Poles. That all other Articles ſhall remain as formerly in their true Force and Virtue.

A Difference between the French Ambaſſador & the Captain Paſha.

In this Year happened out great Differences between the French Ambaſſador and the Turkiſh Officers. The firſt Diſguſt had its Original from the Year 1631, when the Marqueſs of *Marcheville* going Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, was in his Voyage met off of *Scio* by the Captain-Paſha and his Fleet of Gallies, who immediately ſent off a Boat to adviſe him, that he ſhould ſtrike his Flag, and make ready the Preſents which were due to the Grand Signior's Admiral. *Marcheville* duly conſidering, that this Submiſſion would blemiſh the Honour of his Maſter, and the Dignity of his Character, refuſed Compliance either in one or the other; howſoever that he might teſtify the Friendſhip and good Correſpondence which he came to confirm between the two Kings, he ſtood off at ſome diſtance, and fired five Guns to ſalute the Grand Signior's Standard: But the Captain-Paſha not contenting himſelf herewith, required the Ambaſſador to come aboard and ſpeak with him; which after divers Meſſages from one Veſſel to another, the Ambaſſador was counſelled to perform, not knowing how far otherwiſe he might engage the Honour of his Maſter. *Marcheville* being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, did greatly complain of the Affront and Violence he received from the Captain-Paſha; which though the Grand Signior and other Miniſters ſeemed not to approve, yet the Ambaſſadour received little other ſatisfaction than fair Words and Promiſes, that his Honour ſhould be again repaired.

At the Arrival of the Sieur *Marcheville*, the Count *Ceſi*, who was the former Ambaſſador, was to return into *France*; but the Debts which he had contracted by a certain way of living, were ſo great, that the Creditors would not ſuffer him to depart without paiment; for Default of which, he endured many Affronts offered to his own Perſon, and was detained at *Conſtantinople* until this Year 1634; during which time the Marqueſs *Marcheville* managed all the Affairs of the Embaſſy; who keeping ſtill in mind the Affront offered him before *Scio*, watched all Opportunities to diſparage the Actions and Perſon of the Captain-Paſha; who at length returning from the Black Sea, where he had ſome Succeſs againſt the Coſſacks, was graciouſly received by the Grand Signior; and being advertiſed, how, during his abſence, the French Ambaſſador had endeavoured to blaſt his Reputation by many Inſtances of Diminution, which he often inculcated by his Druggerman, took Advantage of the Grand Signior's good Humor, to vent before him the reſentment which he conceived thereof: The Grand Signior, to gratify the Paſha, promiſed to hang the Druggerman; which the Paſha acknowledged as a ſingular Favour, and returned from the Preſence of the Sultan full of Joy and Contentment. But better to cover his Malice, and to enſnare the poor Wretch, he ſent a Meſſenger to the Ambaſſador, aſſuring him that he deſired his Friendſhip; and that there might be a right underſtanding between them, he perſwaded him to ſend his Druggerman to him, that by his Mouth he might ſignify the eſteem he had for the Ambaſſador, from whoſe Spirits he was willing to take off all Jealouſies and Umbrages of Diſcontent. 1634.

The French Druggerman hanged.

The Ambaſſador not ſuſpecting the perfidiouſneſs of the Paſha, ſent his Druggerman to him; who being come within his Power, was immediately hanged by the Grand Signior's expreſs Command, and ordered that he ſhould remain on the Gallows with his Velvet Cap on his Head, which in this Sultan's Reign all Druggermen wore to diſtinguiſh them from others.

The Ambaſſador complained greatly of this Affront, and Violation of Articles, to the Chimacam and other Officers, but could receive no other Anſwer or Satisfaction, than that the Grand Signior might execute Juſtice as he pleaſed on his Subjects, without asking leave, or concerning the King of *France* or his Ambaſſador in the Matter.

But *Marcheville* not reſting ſatisfied with this Reply, ſtill proſecuted his Pique and Animoſity to ſuch a height, that the Captain-Paſha farther incenſed thereat, obtained Authority from the Grand Signior to diſpatch him away: ſo that ſending one day for *Marcheville*, and firſt reproaching his Contrivances and Deſigns againſt him, told him plainly, that it was the Grand Signior's Pleaſure that he ſhould depart at that inſtant; to which he conſtrained the Ambaſſador ſo precipitately, that he would not give him time to adverтiſe his Servants, or make up his Baggage; but forced him aboard a French Ship then in Port, which he immediatly compelled to ſail; and the Wind being contrary, cauſed the Veſſel to be toaed abroad by two Gallies into the open Sea of the *Propontis*.

The Sieur Marcheville forcibly ſent away.

After the injurious departure of this Ambaſſador, the Count *Ceſi*, who had been detained at *Conſtantinople*, for the Reaſons before denoted, took again upon him the Function of Ambaſſador. To execute which, in better advantage of Trade and Commerce, he was adviſed to a compliance with the Captain-Paſha, and to uſe ſuch Means as might mitigate that Acrimony of Spirit which this Paſha nouriſhed againſt the French Nation.

Theſe Diſputes between the French and the Turkiſh Officers, revived certain Diſguſts and Averſion againſt all the Frank Nations, which favoured the Latine Rites; ſo that in deſpight

1634. to them, the Grand Signior reſtored again *Cyrillus* the Patriarch to the Patriarchal Juriſdiction, who had long been perſecuted by the Jeſuits, and by their Means been depoſed, promiſing that for the future he ſhould continue undiſturbed, in oppoſition to all thoſe of the Roman Religion.

The Peace (as we have ſaid) being concluded with *Poland*, the Grand Signior was more at leiſure to attend the Wars in *Perſia*; with the Labours and Toils of which the Janiſaries being wearied, began new Troubles and Seditions in the Camp; the which Diſorder *Morat* attributing to the negligence or cowardiſe of the Officers, as wanting Courage to ſuppreſs them, ſummoned the Janiſar-Aga to appear before him, and without long Proceſs or Excuſe cut off his Head, and confiſcated his Eſtate to the Exchequer, which amounted to a Million and ſeventy thouſand Dollars: another Janiſary alſo, more rich than ſeditious, was in like manner ſacrificed, and an hundred and ſixty thouſand Dollars of his Eſtate added to the Treaſury of the Sultan. The Paſha alſo of *Damaſcus*, with ſeveral other Officers of the Army enriched with Spoils of the People, fell a Sacrifice to *Morat*'s Avarice and Cruelty; to whom Riches and Blood were ſo pleaſing, that none acquired a higher degree of Grace in his Favour, than thoſe who could give him notice of opulent Men, who having found Riches, he undertook to find them Guilty, and to prove their Wealth ſo corrupted by extortion and violence, that nothing could hallow or purifie it but his Coffers.

Acts of Cruelty.

The next News from *Perſia* brought advice, that that King at the Head of a powerful Army was encamped in the Country about *Van*, with which the Turks not having ſufficient Force to fight, the Vizier wrote to the Grand Signior, that his Preſence was neceſſary to increaſe the Army, and encourage the Souldiery; whereupon he reſolved to leave *Adrianople*, and tranſfer his Court to his Seraglio at *Scutari*, that ſo remaining on the Banks of *Aſia*, he might be nearer to his Buſineſs, both to receive Intelligence, and adminiſter Supplies; and becauſe Seditions and Diſcontents in the People do always obſtruct the Motion of Publick Affairs, he not only ruined the Taverns and Tabacco-ſhops, but forbid Coffee-houſes, and other idle Places of Concourſe; nay to Barbers Shops no more than one was ſuffered to enter at a time; for thoſe being places of reſort, Treaſon was frequently vented there, Men of that Profeſſion being notorious through the World for their Talk and Intemperance of Language: And farther, to reſtrain Meetings and ſecret Conventions, ſtrict Orders were given, that after an hour and half in the Night, all Fires and Candles in the City ſhould be extinguiſhed, which was the general Diſcontent of all People.

The G. Signior returns to Scutari.

But what ſhewed much of the fierce Spirit of the Sultan, was a certain Fury which he conceived on this occaſion. On a certain day, riding on his Horſe, thirty Indian Pilgrims met him in the way to demand his Charity, and being in a different habit to what the Turks wear, and not accuſtomary in that Country, the Grand Signior's Horſe ſtarted at the ſight of them; and being ſpurred for bogling in that manner, the Horſe capred and reared an end, ſo that he threw his Rider; at which the Grand Signior being highly enraged, drew out his Cemiter, and with his own hand killed his Horſe, and inſtead of Alms, prepared a place of Entertainment in the Gallies for thoſe unhappy Indians.

1634. The Grand Signior being returned to his Palace at *Scutari*, which is ſeated on the Aſian ſide oppoſite to *Conſtantinople*, applied his whole Mind entirely to the Affairs in *Perſia*; and being reſolved to march thither in Perſon, he put abroad the Horſe-tail, which is a ſignal of departure, he viſited the Sepulchres of his Anceſtors, made his Corban, which is a diſtribution of Fleſh to the Poor, for a Bleſſing on his Enterpriſe. The Officers of the Army contended to out-vy each the other in their Preſents to the Grand Signior, ſome furniſhed him with Royal Tents, others with curious and light Arms; and others with Horſes and Furnitures of value. Great Sums of Mony were extracted out of the Exchequer for Military Preparations and Paiments of the Souldiery. The Charge of Affairs, in abſence of the Grand Signior, was committed to the Boſtangi-baſhee, who was made Chimacam of *Conſtantinople*; and ſo with a fierce Spirit, and aſpect full of Indignation and Anger, he mounted his Horſe at the Head of an Army of an hundred thouſand; he departed from *Conſtantinople* about the end of *April*.

1634. *The G. Signior reſolves to go to* Perſia *in Perſon.*

But before we recount the particulars of what ſucceeded in *Perſia*, it is requiſite to caſt our Thoughts back to the Troubles of *Tranſylvania*, occaſioned by the competition of *Stephen Bethlem* and *George Ragotski*, for that Principality.

1635.

Bethlem (as we have ſaid before) being grieved and diſcontented at his hard Fortune in being put by the Government, and reſenting the Puniſhment which *Ragotski* inflicted on his Son for the Crime of Manſlaughter, he went to *Buda*, and there renewing his old Complaints to the Paſha, he was, with Recommendations from him, accompanied to the Port; where being introduced to the Preſence of the chief Miniſters, he at large declared the Merits and good Services of his Family towards the Sultan: 'That for this 'Reaſon only, in diſhonour and deſpight to the 'Ottoman Empire, he was excluded from the 'Government, and therefore challenged its Aſſiſtance to re-eſtabliſh him therein; in conſideration of which, he promiſed the ſame Faithfulneſs and Devotion to the Sultan, which was 'profeſſed and maintained by his Anceſtors, and 'was natural to the Family of *Gabor*. That as 'to *Ragotski* it was apparent, that he entertained 'different Principles; that he was a Perſon of 'elated Thoughts, and a Turbulent Spirit, and 'was ever united in Combination with the Em'peror, Germans, and other Enemies to the Ot'toman State.

Bethlem renews his Complaints to the Grand Signior.

His Reaſons to be re-inſtated.

The Turks moved with theſe Reaſons, reſolved to favour *Stephen*, and to diſcountenance *Ragotski*; and though the Conjuncture of Affairs was ſuch, as that any other Engagement in War, beſides that of *Perſia*, did not ſquare with the preſent Deſigns; yet at all times it was judged convenient to ſow the Tares of Diſcord, and promote Differences amongſt Chriſtians, which have ever produced Advantages to the Mahometan Cauſe. And likewiſe the Paſha of *Buda* was commanded to enter *Tranſylvania* with a Force ſufficient to contend with *Ragotski*; and leſt the Emperor ſhould be allarm'd with this Commotion, a Chiaus was diſpatched to give him a perfect underſtanding of the Reaſons, why an Army marched into *Tranſylvania*; the Deſign of which was not intended in the leaſt manner to Impeach the Articles of Peace between him and the Grand Signior, but only to diſplace a Man of a furious and turbulent Spirit, and to ordain another in his ſtead of a more ſober and quiet Temper, by whoſe Moderation and Prudence, the Peace between

The Turks ſend an Army into Tranſylvania.

1635. tween the two Empires may be improved and continued.

Ragotski implores Aid from the Emperor.

Ragotski ſtartled at this Deſign intended againſt him, aſſembled the States of his Country, to determine and conſult concerning a Remedy, and immediately diſpatched a Meſſenger to the Emperor, to deſire and implore his Imperial Succour and Protection: and though *Ragotski* was ſenſible of the diſparity of his Strength, in compariſon of that of the Turks; yet neither did his Counſels nor Behaviour betray Fear or want of Conſtancy.

The Hungarians ſeconded thoſe Inſtances which *Ragotski* had made at the Imperial Court, and the Party which he had made at *Vienna* brought the matter to a debate in Council, which was argued on both ſides with ſolid and convincing Reaſons. Thoſe who ſpake in diſfavour of *Ragotski*, alledged, That all Aſſiſtance contributed to him would be a juſt Cauſe and Pretence to the Grand Signior to make War with the Emperor. That *Ragotski* himſelf was of an unquiet Temper, not unlike to *Gabor* his Predeceſſor, who had often bid Defiance to the Emperor, and over-running all *Hungary* and *Auſtria*, had often erected his Standard in the ſight of *Vienna*. To protect and cheriſh a Perſon of this Diſpoſition, was no other than to nouriſh a Serpent or Viper in their Boſom; who being elevated at the expence of the Empire in ſucceſſes againſt the Turk, would convert that Power which he had gained to the damage of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, combining with the Faction of other Princes to procure its deſtruction. Let us therefore, ſaid they, ſtand at a gaze, and as Men on the Shore, or in a good Port, behold the agitation of Ships in the Ocean; perhaps the change of a Prince in *Tranſylvania* may turn to our Benefit, and one may ſucceed into the place, of ſuch a mild Temper and ſerene Diſpoſition, as may better agree with the Maxims of this Court, and may cultivate that Peace which can only render theſe Countries happy.

It is debated in Council.

Howſoever there were other Opinions to the contrary, amongſt which it is ſaid, that D. *Annibal Gonzaga*, a Perſon acquainted with the State of *Tranſylvania*, and of the Turks, and Director of the Imperial Army, delivered himſelf in this manner.

May it pleaſe Your Sacred Imperial Majeſty.

IF Ragotski *had been the Lawful Son and Hereditary Succeſſor of* Gabor, *who was an Enemy to your Majeſty, we might then apprehend the evil Conſequences of a Son, that traces the ſame Path and Footſteps of his Father. But here is another Perſon, another Prince, in Emulation different, and by Enmity hating the Houſe of* Gabor; *wherefore I cannot imagine how this Prince can poſſibly entertain Maxims of like Nature with the other. For my part I believe, that it behoves your Majeſty to maintain a good Correſpondence with the Princes of* Tranſylvania, *by a cloſe Union againſt the Turk; your adjoining Countries being like contiguous Buildings, which are ſtrengthned by a mutual Support: Let us therefore ſupport it; for if it depends not on us, it will be overrun, and remain oppreſſed without us. To aggravate the Faults of* Gabor *to the diſparagement of* Ragotski, *is no Logical Conſequence, unleſs you will argue, That the Faults of the Guilty are to be puniſhed on the Innocent. Let us therefore conſider, which agrees beſt with the Security of the Empire; that* Tranſylvania *ſhould remain in the Hands of* Ragotski, *or of the Turk; or that we had better ſtrike againſt the Rock of Jealouſie, which we conceive againſt this Tranſylvanian, or on that ruinous Rock of the Turkiſh Power. The Ottoman Councils commonly look aſquint, they caſt their Eye on the Prince, when their ſight aims at the Principality; and threaten the Perſon, when they deſign to vent their Fury to the ſubjection of his Country. The true Intent of the Turk is to reduce* Tranſylvania *to the ſame Condition with* Moldavia *and* Walachia, *and to incorporate this, with infinite other Provinces, into the groſs Body of his Empire. It is notorious to all the World, that the Emperors, your Predeceſſors, have loſt a large Tract of Land by the Turks; and your Loſſes will every day be greater, as their Conqueſts increaſe: And when their Dominions in* Europe *are ſo enlarged, that they are able to quarter their Aſiatick Cavalry in theſe Countries, your Dangers muſt neceſſarily be inevitable and full of Terror. For I compute, that when the Turk deſigns to make War upon us, he marches with an hundred thouſand Men, and perhaps ten thouſand Camels, beſides other Beaſts of Burden: ſo numerous a Body as this cannot be maintained until the Graſs be fully grown, which is not until the middle or end of* June; *and from that time they have more than a month or ſix weeks March before they arrive upon our Confines; the which conſumption of Time, prolongs their Enterpriſes, and protracts the time of our Damages. But if once they become Maſters of* Tranſylvania, *and that that Country be laid to* Moldavia, Walachia, *and other parts of* Hungary, *they may then commodiouſly winter amongſt us, and begin their Wars and Attempts upon us early in the Year, and purſue them until the laſt ſeaſon of the Autumn: and in this manner, whilſt we are debating and taking our Meaſures in our Diet, they will fatten themſelves, and ſatiate their Appetites with our Spoils. It is good therefore for us to defend* Auſtria *in* Tranſylvania, *keeping the Fever as far from the Heart as we are able. Let us ſuppoſe, that* Ragotski *is the moſt ungrateful Man in the World; and that after we have ſupported and ſuccoured him, that he will reverſe his Arms upon us: Howſoever he is not ſo ſtrong and conſiderable as to do us much hurt, and therefore it were better to have him our Neighbour and our Enemy, than the Turk, though our Friend; the firſt can only adminiſter ſome little cauſe of Jealouſie, but the other may deſtroy and ſupplant us; the firſt is but like a putrid Fever, which is cured with every ſmall Evacuation; but the latter is a Peſtilence, which dilates and diffuſes it ſelf, and is deadly and irrecoverable. Let not the Scruple neither of breaking with the Turk trouble us; for*

1635.

1635. *for we may adminiſter Aſſiſtance under-hand, and without noiſe effect our Buſineſs, without arriving at the extremity of a Rupture. It is folly and weakneſs in us to be charmed by the Flatteries of the Turks, and the fair words of this Chaous; or to imagine, that when they have over-run all* Tranſylvania, *they will ſtop in the midſt of their Career, before they arrive at the Gates of* Vienna; *no, their Intentions are to lull us aſleep, and to deſtroy our Neighbour firſt, and then us; they cannot devour us both at once, but husband their Diet, and reſerve us for another Meal. The Turk is like a Serpent, who lies quiet and coiled up all the Winter; not becauſe he wants either a Sting or Poiſon, but being benummed with cold, wants warmth and heat to give it Motion and Operation. This is my Senſe and Opinion, which I moſt humbly tender before the greater Wiſdom of Your Sacred Majeſty.*

The Emperor refuſes Succour to Ragotski.

Notwithſtanding theſe convining Arguments, the Reſult of the Council determined otherwiſe, and *Ragotski* was left to ſhift for himſelf, and to ſtand upon his own Legs; which was a pernicious Reſolution, and that which was afterwards the cauſe of the ſubjection of *Tranſylvania* to the Turk, and the Original of many Miſchiefs to the Empire; but thus was the Fortune of the Turks, more favourable to them than to the Chriſtian State.

Ragotski being thus abandoned by the Imperialiſts, and expoſed to the Mercy of an inſatiable Enemy, though his Courage was good and reſolute, yet he began to deſpond of his Force, unable to deal with ſuch an unequal Match as that of the Turks; And his Subjects being fearful of the Event, perſwaded him to give way, and reſign his Rule to the hands of *Gabor* his Competitor; *Ragotski*, that he might not ſeem to neglect the Counſel of his Subjects and Friends, and to gain Time, pretended to hearken to their Advice; and accordingly entred into a Treaty with *Gabor*. During which Debate he ſecretly obtained ſome Forces from *Poland*, by connivance of that Government: and the Hungarians being his Friends, privately favoured him, knowing that the Conqueſt of *Tranſylvania* would be a ſtep to their Deſtruction; and being at length well fortified and recruited, he began to declare openly, that he found no ſecurity to himſelf in this Surrender, for that a Place was denied him, wherein he put his chief hopes of Defence; and therefore that he was reſolved to ſupport and maintain his State and Cauſe in the beſt manner that he was able.

Ragotski obtains Succours under-hand.

The Turks enter Tranſylvania.

Hereupon the Turks entred *Tranſylvania* with an Army of twenty five thouſand Men under the Command of the Paſha of *Buda*: *Ragotski*, to obſtruct their March, diſpatched his General *Cornis* with ſeven thouſand Men, to prepoſſeſs an advantageous Ground, with Order to entertain, but not fight the Enemy, until he could come up to him with the groſs of his Army.

The Turks perceiving their advantage in number, reſolved to engage the Enemy before they were reinforced with new Succours; to perform which they made a Detachment of twelve thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand Janiſaries, and ſome Field Pieces, commanded by the Paſha himſelf and *Stephen Gabor*. *Cornis* not being able to diſingage himſelf, or avoid fighting, made a Vertue of Neceſſity, and put his Forces into form of Battel; and exhorting his Men to follow his Example, aſſured them, that Victory was ſooner acquired by Valour than Numbers, and that Fortune was always more favourable to the Valiant and Brave, than to the Cowardly and puſillanimous. 1635.

They fight with Cornis.

Cornis unſheathing his Sword, fought in the Head of his Men, and led them through the thickeſt of his Enemies, the firſt rank of which not being able to ſuſtain the furious Charge of the Chriſtians, gave way; and being diſordered, the firſt Squadrons ran foul of the ſecond, and at length all of them betook themſelves to a ſhameful flight. The Tranſylvanians took all their Canon and Baggage, with ten Enſigns, and killed three thouſand Turks. The Paſha of *Agria* was wounded, and *Olac* Bei of *Temiſwar* was taken Priſoner; and the whole Army had that day been defeated, had not the Janiſaries, who fortified themſelves in a thick Wood, given a ſtop to a farther purſuit. *Ragotski* likewiſe in divers ſucceeding Skirmiſhes overthrew the Turks, killing many Paſha's and Souldiers of Quality, and at length remained ſole Maſter of the Field.

Are overthrown.

The Turks retired to *Lippa*, and *Stephen* to *Temiſwar*, whilſt *Ragotski* made his Incurſions into the Country of the Turks, burning and ſpoiling two thouſand Villages; with which being terrified and beaten into terms of Reaſon, they agreed to ſuffer *Ragotski* to injoy his Government, conditionally, that the Goods and Eſtate of *Gabor* in *Tranſylvania* ſhould be reſtored unto him: and thus *Ragotski* eſtabliſhed himſelf in the Government, and obtained a Confirmation thereof from *Conſtantinople* to his Son, accompanied with Preſents and Ornaments of a Prince. And this Example ſhews us in what manner we are to deal with Turks; Reſolution and Rigour are better Arms againſt them than Complements; and with an Enemy it is more advantageous to make Peace with Weapons in our Hands, than to condeſcend to the hard Terms which a Tyrant pleaſes to impoſe on an eaſie and unprovided People.

Peace is made.

So ſoon as this News arrived the Ears of the proud Sultan, he was ſo incenſed, that in a fury he would have deſiſted from his preſent War in *Perſia*, to vent his Revenge upon *Tranſylvania*; but the cooler and more moderate Counſels of wiſer Friends, adviſed him to defer the execution of his Anger, until he could diſcharge it more to the purpoſe, and in a Conjuncture when it would fall more eaſy on himſelf, and more heavy on his Enemy: Howſoever in the mean time *Ragotski* made ſuch uſe of this remote Diverſion of the Ottoman Arms, by advantaging himſelf of an Alliance with the Coſſacks, and by the ill Correſpondence and Diffidence which at that time intervened between the Tartars and the Port, that he not only avoided the Revenge threatned by *Morat*, but obtained an eſtabliſhment of the Inheritance to his Son.

By this time Sultan *Morat* was arrived at *Erzrum*, which is a City belonging to the Turks on the Confines of *Perſia*; where the firſt Act which he performed of Juſtice, was to cut off the Head of the Paſha for his Oppreſſion and Extortions inflicted on his People.

Morat at Erzrum.

Entring into *Armenia*, he was grieved to ſee the upper and lower Provinces ſo miſerably deſtroyed and waſted by the War; to recover which, he commanded the People, under pain of Death, to return again to their Ancient Habitations within the ſpace of twenty days; but they

1635. they being ſetled in other Cities, where perhaps they had purchaſed Houſes and Lands, could not poſſibly comply with the Severity of this Decree; and therefore were conſtrained to buy a Diſpenſation and releaſe from the Penalty for a Sum of Mony.

About the beginning of *July*, in the parts of *Erzrum*, *Morat* made a general Review and Muſter of his whole Army; with which thoſe he brought from *Conſtantinople* joined to Recruits by the way, and thoſe Forces which had waged War in *Perſia*, amounted to near the number of three hundred thouſand fighting Men, but ſuch as were admirably well diſciplined, not only by the Severity of their Soveraign, but by the example he ſhewed them of Frugality and Patience: for he often marched afoot in the midſt of the Heats; he was very temperate in his Diet, though he was naturally of a glutto-nous and luxurious Palate: for ſeveral Months he made uſe of no other Pillow for his Head than his Saddle, no other Blanket or Quilt than the Covering or Foot-cloth of his Horſe.

The Grand Signior's Patience & Labours.

Being arrived near to the City of *Revan*, he beſtowed that Largeſs on the Souldiery of a Dollar a Man, which is accuſtomary to be given at all times, when the Grand Signior marches in Perſon, and then made known to them his Intentions of beſieging that Place; and in caſe he took it not in the ſpace of ten days, that then he would leave it begirt with forty thouſand Men; and dividing his Army into three Bodies, he would enter the Bowels of *Perſia* by divers ways. The Tents of the Grand Signior, and of all the Camp, were pitched, Batteries raiſed, the Trenches opened, and all Matters laid in the formal manner of a Siege. The Gariſon within, commanded by Emir *Gumir*, conſiſted of fifteen thouſand Men, fitted and provided with all ſorts of Ammunition, and wanted neither Courage nor Proviſions; howſoever at the end of nine days, the City was furrendred to the Sultan, upon Terms of Quarter to the whole Gariſon, both for Life and Freedom of Eſtate: And becauſe this Governour Emir *Gumir*, a principal Noble-man of *Perſia*, had by corruption thus voluntarily delivered up the City, he acquired a place of high Grace and eſteem in the Favour of the Grand Signior; to which his courtly manner of indulging his Humour, and complying with him in his Wine and Feaſts, (to which the joy of this preſent Succeſs priviledged him to return) gave him daily a new Title to receive extraordinary Honours from him.

Revan betrayed and ſurrendred by Emir Gumir.

The News of this proſperous Succeſs was poſted to *Conſtantinople*, as the firſt Eſſay of the good Effects of the Sultan's Preſence, and was there celebrated with Feaſts, Joy, and Lights, according to the Turkiſh Faſhion, called *Dunalma*; to perform which, the Turks obliged likewiſe the Chriſtian Ambaſſadors, ſaying, That if they were Friends, they ought to evidence their Satisfaction, by demonſtrations of Joy in the proſperity of their Ally.

Rejoycing and a Feſtival kept for it at Conſtantinople.

The Feſtival was kept for the ſpace of four days; during which two Brothers of the Sultan, *viz.* *Bajazet* and *Orchan* were ſtrangled; the latter of which, as is ſaid, was ſo brave, and of that Courage, that he killed four of his Executioners before he ſubmitted his Neck to the fatal Cord.

The Turks entring farther into *Perſia*, inconſiderately fell into an Ambuſh, where twelve thouſand of their Men were defeated; howſoever the remainder of the Army not being diſcouraged with this Encounter, proceeded on their March, making moſt miſerable Havock and Deſtruction of all before them, carrying that Dread and Terrour to the Countries round, that all People fled, leaving their Houſes and Things not portable, to the poſſeſſion of the Enemy. Howſoever the Turks found greater Difficulties than they expected; for meeting frequently Parties of the Perſian Cavalry, which were practiſed to manage their Horſe and Sword, were often defeated, at leaſt endured and ſuſtained the ſhock of Bloody Skirmiſhes; and then the Perſians retiring into the Mountains known to them, but unknown to the Turks, which ſerved them better than fortified Places, returned again when any Advantage or Booty appeared, which perpetually vexed and wearied the Enemy; and burning all Things which might afford them relief, rendred that fruitful Country more Deſolate and barren than the Deſarts of *Lybia*, or the Sands of *Arabia*.

1635. *The Turks enter farther into Perſia.*

In this manner the Turkiſh Army being deſtitute of all ſorts of Proviſions and Refreſhments, were forced to retire to the Country of *Tauris*; which being haraſſed and impoveriſhed like other Provinces, cauſed a miſerable Famine in the Camp, whereby Multitudes of Horſes and Camels periſhed for want of Nutriment; at which the Grand Signior being highly incenſed againſt the Inhabitants of *Tauris*, committed their City to the Will and Mercy of the Souldiery, who having pillaged and ſacked it, left it a miſerable ſpectacle of Fire and Sword.

Tauris deſtroyed.

The King of *Perſia* ſeeing in what manner the Troops of his Enemy were wearied and conſumed, took hold of this Opportunity as ſeaſonable to propoſe certain Articles of Peace by an Ambaſſador, to which *Morat* ſeemed to incline a flexible Ear; but lodging his Souldiers in their Winter-quarters in the parts of *Damaſcus* and *Aleppo*, he took his way towards *Conſtantinople*, with intention to eaſe the Hardſhips and Labours of the Summers War, by a voluptuous Eaſe and Winters paſtime in the delights and ſoftneſs of the Seraglio.

The 16*th* day of *December* he arrived at *Conſtantinople*, having paſſed from *Iſmit* through the Gulph of *Nicomedia* with the attendance of fourteen Gallies: he made his Entry by the Jews Gate, and not by that of *Adrianople*, as was accuſtomary; he was mounted on one of the beſt of his Horſes, and cloathed with a Coat of Mail, a Casket on his Head, with three Feathers adorned with Pearls and precious Stones; his Sword was girt to his ſide with his Bow and Quiver, his Beard was in a rough and neglected manner, which made him appear more Fierce and Martial; the Chimacam came after him, accompanied with the Traitor who ſurrendred *Revan*. This Feſtival for his return was celebrated for the ſpace of a whole week, during which time the Shops were ſhut, the Doors and Outſides adorned with green Boughs and Paintings, and by Night the Streets with Torches were made as clear as the day: howſoever the People ſecretly murmured, that the War was not proſecuted, and the Advantages taken, when Fortune began to ſmile and favour their Enterpriſes; and that now deſiſting in the middle way, the Work was again to be begun, and all the foregoing Blood and Treaſure was ſpent and conſumed to no purpoſe. Theſe Murmurings of the People were not without ſome Ground and Cauſe; for after the departure of the Grand Signior, the Perſians put themſelves again into the Field, and recovered the Country which they had loſt; and having offered

Feſtival for return of the G. Signior.

1636.

1636. offered a Sum of Mony to *Morteſa* Paſha to ſurrender *Revan*; which he refuſing to accept on Principles of Fidelity and Honour, they prepared to lay cloſe Siege to the Place: the Janiſaries were alſo diſpleaſed to ſee themſelves neglected, and caſt out of the Guard, and their Places ſupplied by the Boſtangees; nor leſs diſguſted were the Lawyers to ſee ſeveral of their Judges and Kadies hanged, and their Heads cut off, upon pretence of Sedition and Faction. His ill Humor more increaſed to the height of Tyranny, by reaſon of certain twinges which he ſuffered of the Gout, which is not uſual in Perſons of his Age, not ſurpaſſing twenty ſix years; and becauſe his Phyſician, a Jew, forbid him wholly to drink Wine, as poiſon to his Diſeaſe and Complexion, he was ſo enraged, that he drove him from his Preſence with Indignation; and immediately conceived ſuch Anger and Prejudice againſt the whole Nation, that he cauſed their Houſes to be ſearched, and their Jewels taken from them. But what was moſt ſtrange, was his horrid averſion to Tobacco, the taking of which, by any Perſon whatſoever, he forbid upon pain of Death; which Sentence he ſo rigorouſly executed, that he cauſed the Legs and Arms of two Men, one that ſold Tobacco, and the other that took it, to be ſawed off, and in that manner expoſed to the view of the People: he alſo cauſed two others, a Man and a Woman, to be impaled alive, for the ſame Offence, with a Roll of Tabaco about their Necks.

His averſion to Tobacco.

As the Gout cauſed him to be froward and ill-natur'd, ſo more eſpecially when ill news came from *Perſia*, he was obſerved to be more raving and tyrannical than ever. His Army in *Perſia* wanting Proviſions, disbanded; *Morteſa* Paſha Governour of *Revan* being killed, the Souldiers rebel, open the Gates, and yeild themſelves to the Perſian; for which Offence the Janiſaries fearing the Juſtice of their Maſter the Grand Signior, two thouſand of them took up Arms in Service of the Enemy: the ſenſe hereof vexing *Morat* to the Soul, he cauſed the Regiſter of the Janiſaries to be hanged, and another of their principal Officers to be beheaded, and ſtrowed the Streets of *Conſtantinople* with dead Bodies, ſome for one cauſe, and ſome for another, which ſtruck the whole City with a general Dread and Conſternation.

Revan regained by the Perſian.

The Grand Signior's Severity & Cruelty.

He often walked in the night, puniſhing Quarrels and Diſorders of the Streets, and meeting two Women wandring in the dark, he cauſed them to be cut in pieces.

He put his Cook to Death for not dreſſing his Meat well, or not ſeaſoning his Sauces according to his Palate.

In his Seraglio ſporting with his Arms, he wounded himſelf with a Dart in the thigh; and by accident wounded the Son of *Mehmet* the late Vizier with a Carbine-ſhot, of which in a ſhort time after he died.

The Perſians having taken *Revan* (as we have ſaid) inſtituted Chambers of Janiſaries in that place after the Turkiſh faſhion, paying them in the ſame form as at *Conſtantinople*; and to allure the Spahees to enter into his Service, he offered to all that came in twelve Aſpers a day of conſtant Pay; and declared, That their Faith and Law had no difference from the Mahometan.

The Grand Signior receiving theſe Advices with extreme indignation, proclaimed his Intentions to return again into *Perſia*; and though the Deſign pleaſed not the Militia, who were weary of the War, yet his Power was too great to be reſiſted, and his Humors too violent to be diverted by ſober Counſels; for having ſubjected and abſolutely ſubdued the Inſolence of the Souldiers, and ſuppreſſed the Arrogance of the Lawyers and Church-men, he ordered every thing according to his Arbitrary and Uncontroulable Pleaſure; which being rendred Extravagant and Unſupportable, by reaſon that in his Cups, and at the time of his Debauchery, he would often take his Counſels and determine his Reſolutions, were notwithſtanding with more patience endured, upon hopes that they would not be laſting, and that Exceſſes would accelerate his Death, and the end of their Oppreſſions. 1636.

The Paſha's of greateſt Note and Riches he put to Death, and confiſcated their Eſtates to his Exchequer; and whereas Avarice and Cruelty were equally predominant in his Nature, there was ſcarce a day wherein he made not ſome demonſtration of thoſe Diſpoſitions.

The Engliſh Ambaſſador making ſome inſtances for the releaſement of Engliſh Slaves from Captivity, was forced to purchaſe their Liberty by giving two Ruſſians, or other Slaves in the place of one Engliſh-man.

He took a ſingular delight to ſit in a Chiosk by the Sea-ſide, and from thence to ſhoot at the People with his Bow and Arrows, as they rowed near the Banks of the Seraglio; which cauſed the Boat-men afterwards to keep themſelves at a diſtance from the Walls of the Seraglio. And as he likewiſe took pleaſure to go from one Garden to another on the *Boſphorus*, ſo if he obſerved any ſo bold, as to put forth his Head to ſee him paſs, he commonly made him pay the price of his Curioſity by a ſhot from his Carbine.

In all his Gardens and places of Pleaſure, his chief Recreation was Drinking, in which his principal or almoſt ſole Companions were Emir *Gumir* the Perſian who betrayed *Revan*, and a Venetian of the Family of *Bianchi*, who having been taken by the Turks, when he was young, was placed in the Seraglio, and educated in all the Learning and Cuſtoms of it, and becoming as well a Proficient in Drinking, as in other Vices, he was made a Favourite and Companion to *Morat*. And thus did they follow this trade of Drunkenneſs ſo conſtantly, that the Health of the Grand Signior began to impair; and at length he became ſo ſenſible of his Extravagancies, that he incharged the Chimacam not to obey him after Dinner: and when in the heat of his Wine he took a humor to ride through the Streets, the Janiſaires and Officers would ſometimes run before to adviſe the People to withdraw, and ſometimes drive them away with Stones, that ſo they might eſcape the hazard of this capricious Tyrant.

As it cannot be expreſſed in what Dread and Fear the People ſtood of him, ſo neither in what Veneration he was with his Servants, who obſerved the looks and every caſt of his Eyes; had learned his Nods, and the meaning of every Motion and Geſture of his Body. It happened once, that a Paper falling caſually from his Hand out of a Window, the Pages ran in all haſte down the Stairs, ſtriving who ſhould be the firſt to take it up; but one more deſirous than the others to evidence the Zeal of his Service, took the neareſt way and leaped out of the Window; and though with the fall he broke the Bone of his Thigh, yet being the firſt that took up the Paper, he came halting to preſent it with his own Hand: this bold readineſs in his Service ſo pleaſed the Grand Signior, that being cured, he was afterwards preferred to one of the

1636. the moſt conſiderable Offices of the Empire. Thus was *Morat* revered in his Seraglio, as he was feared aboard, his Servants having the ſame awe of him, as *Bagotes* the Eunuch had of *Alexander* the Great, who holding the Pot of Incenſe and Perfumes whilſt his Maſter ſlept, ſuffered his Hands to burn to the Bone, rather than to awaken him by moving out of his place. *Q. Curtius.*

But it is time now to leave off farther Diſcourſe of the Extravagancies of *Morat*, and to return to the Wars in *Perſia*; howſoever before the departure of the Grand Signior, it will be requiſite to recount ſomewhat of the State of Affairs in *Europe*.

Diſturbances in Poland and Hungary.

On the Frontiers of *Hungary* and *Poland*, there wanted not Exerciſes and Skirmiſhes to employ and practiſe the Souldiery, and keep them in Breath.

The Poles heightned with their good Succeſſes, would not longer endure the Incurſions of the Tartars, complaining againſt the Turk, that he had given Orders, and ſecretly abetted them in their Robberies and Invaſions, againſt the Articles of the laſt Peace; and therefore to avenge themſelves, the Poles appeared on the Frontiers with forty or fifty thouſand Horſe: but the Grand Signior not willing in this Conjuncture to break with the Poles, abſolutely diſowned any ſuch Order or Permiſſion given to the Tartars; and being willing to continue the League, that he might oblige the King of *Poland*, gave liberty to all the People of that Nation, and to the Ruſſians, who had been taken ſince the laſt Treaty, poſitively prohibiting all People from buying, or keeping any of the Subjects of that Country for Slaves, during the continuance of this Peace.

The Turks confirm the Peace with Poland.

In *Hungary*, though the Ambaſſador had but lately brought a Confirmation of the Peace from *Conſtantinople*; yet the Turks pretending that the Articles were not complied with, continued to trouble and diſturb thoſe Frontiers; for four thouſand of them being gotten into a Body, burnt certain Villages, made divers Slaves, and battered the Caſtle of *Raab*; but being repulſed by that Gariſon, and by that of *Komorra*, they again made Head, and encamped within three Leagues of *Presbourg*: The which gave great trouble to the Emperor, both becauſe he had lately declared a War againſt *France*, and becauſe he apprehended, that thoſe Commotions of the Turks were deſigned to no other end, than to engage him to renounce all aſſiſtance and ſuccour to be given unto *Ragotski*.

Send Forces againſt Ragotski.

We have already recounted in what manner the Turks had eſpouſed the Quarrel of *Stephen Gabor*, and reſolved to eſtabliſh him in the Principality of *Tranſylvania*, with the Ruin of *Ragotski*; which now being deſigned to be done by open Force, ſeveral Troops were ſent to the Frontiers of *Tranſylvania*; which ſo alarmed the Hungarians, that they put themſelves on their Guard, and obliged the Eſtates of *Auſtria* and *Hungary* to contribute toward the Succour of the Tranſylvanian Prince.

The Emperor remained long in ſuſpenſe what courſe to ſteer, until at length the Perſwaſions of the Confederate Princes, the ſhame of abandoning a Friend and an Ally for a Prey to the Turks, and the fear of diſpleaſing his Hereditary Dominions in *Hungary*, who conſidered *Tranſylvania* as the Bulwark of their Country, induced him to promiſe ſecretly, and underhand, Aſſiſtance to *Ragotski*.

As to the Turks themſelves, the Effects did not correſpond with their Menaces: for though they had gathered an Army of twenty thouſand Men at *Buda*, they not only were diſappointed of their Deſign upon *Newhauſel*, but were openly repulſed, and ſhamefully expelled the Frontiers by the Palatine of *Hungary*: And *Ragotski* being recruited by Succours from the Emperor, and by an Alliance with *Poland*, defied the Forces of the Turk, and contemned the Reports of ſixty thouſand Men preparing to march againſt him. 1636.

For indeed the Grand Signior had too great an Incumbrance on his Shoulders by the War in *Perſia*, to attend unto a perfect and ſtudied Revenge againſt *Ragotski*; for *Revan* being recovered by the Perſian, (as we have already declared) was a Matter of high Moment; and what diſtracted all his Counſels, and weakened his Hopes.

When News came firſt of the Siege of *Revan*, Orders were given to the Vizier to Beſiege *Bagdat*, as a means to cauſe a diverſion of Arms; but the Souldiery entertaining an averſion to this Enterpriſe, unanimouſly refuſed to March, or to proceed farther than *Erzrum*. *Jambolat Ogli*, who commanded the Army before the Arrival of the Vizier, had ſtrangled a Paſha, and taken his Eſtate to ſupply the Wants of the Army; and had likewiſe put to Death ſeveral Spahees and Janiſaries for Mutiny; and becauſe they had declared an unwillingneſs to this War. The Souldiery prepared to addreſs themſelves to the Vizier for Juſtice againſt theſe violent Proceedings: but he not willing to hear them, endeavoured to divert their Complaints, which cauſed a greater Commotion and Storm than before. And though *Jambolat* pleaded his Orders and poſitive Commiſſion from the Grand Signior for what he had acted; yet that Allegation not being accepted by the Multitude as a juſtifiable Plea, the Vizier was forced to condeſcend to their Deſire, and ſtrangle *Jambolat*, as he had done the others, being the only Means to quiet and compoſe this Trouble of his Army.

Mutiny in the Turkiſh Army.

But as after ſome great Storm, there is always remaining for a while a ſwelling and fluctuation in the Waters, ſo there ſtill remained on the Spirits of the Souldiery, Diſcontents and unquietneſs of Mind: Wherefore the Vizier fearing leſt the Enemy taking advantage of the preſent Seditions, ſhould charge them at a time of Diſorder, he retired at a diſtance from them into the Plains of *Erzrum*: But he was not able to continue long in thoſe Parts for want of Fuel, and of Wood and Planks to ſecure them againſt the Rains and Snow; for it being Winter, which is rigorous and cold in that Country, their Tents were not ſufficient proof to defend them againſt the Extremity of the Weather.

Whilſt the Turkiſh Army remained at this Place, advice came, that the Perſians had Beſieged *Van*, which is a ſtrong Fortreſs ſituate on an inacceſſible Rock, on the Frontiers of the Province of *Diarbequir*. And though the Perſians were not able to take this Place, neither by Storm nor Famine, yet during this Siege, they made uſe of their time to ruin all the Country of *Diarbequir*, which they left ſo deſolate, that the Turkiſh Army could not quarter there, nor extract the leaſt Proviſion or Subſiſtence from thence.

Van beſieged by the Perſians.

To all theſe Misfortunes a greater was added by the Treachery of a certain *Curd*, one who pretending to be ill ſatisfied with the Perſian Party, voluntarily offered himſelf to the Service of

1636. the Turks; and having done them ſome little Services, by being their Guide through certain difficult Paſſages, he gained a confidence ſo far with them, as that deſigning to ſurpriſe a quarter of the Enemy, they committed themſelves to his Guidance and Conduct; who having brought them into a narrow Paſſage, where an Ambuſh of the Enemy lay, he then turned his Coat, and fought againſt the Turks, of whom 15000 were killed and taken in this Snare.

Fifteen thouſand Turks killed in an Ambuſh.

In ſhort, all Matters of this War proceeded croſs and unfortunate for the Turks; for beſides their unlucky Fights with the Enemy, their own Seditions in the Camp were greater Miſchiefs; for now enduring no longer theſe pungent Miſeries, under the pretence of wanting Pay, they cut in pieces the Treaſurer of the Army, two Aga's of the Spahees, and the Chaouſbaſhee of the Janiſaries.

Mutiny of the Souldiers.

This News arriving at *Conſtantinople*, when *Morat* was afflicted with a grievous acceſſion of the Gout, ſerved to redouble his Pains; in which raving againſt the Conduct of his Officers, he immediately deprived the Vizier of his Charge, and ordained *Biram* Paſha, late Chimacam, to ſucceed him in his Employment.

A new Vizier ſent to the Army.

The new Vizier immediately ſet forth the Horſes Tail, which is a ſignal of departure, with ſound of Drums and Trumpets, making Corban, which is a diſtribution of Mutton to the Poor, in divers Places: His Retinue was ſpeedily equipped with ſuch ſumptuous Magnificence, that it looked rather like the Train of an Ambaſſador, which intended to make Peace, than to the Troops of a General, whoſe Buſineſs was nothing but Blood and Deſtruction. And indeed Matters ſeemed to be inclining that way, the Perſians having far advanced in this Negotiation; for they wiſely pondering the immenſe Force of the Ottoman Empire, with which they were now contending, judged it the moſt politick courſe to make Peace, under the auſpicious Planet of their good Fortune; for not knowing how long that might remain conſtant, they might, ſo ſoon as the Wheel turns on the other ſide, be forced to accept Terms of leſs Advantage than at preſent they might promiſe to themſelves under their happy Stars.

A Perſian Ambaſſador ſent to the G. Signior.

Wherefore a Propoſition being made of ſending an Ambaſſador to the Grand Signior, he accepted of it; and accordingly arrived at *Conſtantinople* in the Month of *Auguſt*, when the Vizier was ſcarce in the middle of his Journey. The Grand Signior entertaining ſome real Inclinations to Peace, laid aſide ſomething of his uſual Grandeur and State, giving the Ambaſſador Audience in a few days after his arrival; and as nothing mollifies the hard Mettle of a Turk's Spirit, like a gentle Shower of Gold, and the emulgent ſoftneſs of Rich Preſents; ſo *Morat* underſtanding of Gifts with which he came accompanied, afforded to the Ambaſſador an eaſy Ear and a pleaſing Countenance.

The Preſents for the Grand Signior, beſides thoſe for the Court, were theſe that follow.

Eight Indian Horſes of great Price.
Forty Dromedaries.
An hundred and fifty Meticals of Musk. As much Ambergrieſe made up in ſeveral Bags; all ſealed up with the King's own Seal.
Thirty bundles of the beſt black Sables.
Eight large Carpets mixed with Gold and Silver; with divers others of Silk, very rare and precious.
Many Pieces of the fineſt Linnen to make Turbants. 1636.
A great number of the rareſt Girdles. Porceline to a great value.
Divers Pieces of Satin and Velvet, with Golden Flowers.
Fifty Pieces of Silken Stuffs.
Eight Bows of excellent Work.

Theſe Preſents ſo well diſpoſed and prepared the Mind of the Grand Signior towards an Accommodation, that he beſtowed a kind Aſpect and gentle Words on the Ambaſſador, ſo that all the World expected that a Peace would have enſued.

And indeed one might well have believed his Reality in this Intention, ſince the ardent Paſſion he had to be revenged of *Ragotski*, availed more with him than all other Conſiderations in the World. His Honour alſo called him to give a ſtop to the Progreſs of the Moſcovites, who had taken *Aſac*; and the Tartars and Coſſacks gave ſome ground of Jealouſy, that before long they deſigned ſome Action on the Turkiſh Territories: the Reaſons whereof we ſhall diſcourſe in this following Year.

We have already related, ſome Years paſt, 1637.
on what Terms the Tartars ſtood with the Turk, how they refuſed to accept that King which the Port recommended to them, though the eldeſt and firſt of the true Line: how they fought and overthrew the Forces which the Grand Signior ſent to compel them to the Election he deſired; and this laſt Year, upon pretence of a War with *Cantemir*, they refuſed to ſend their Army againſt the Perſian, as had always been accuſtomary to do againſt the Enemies of the Sultan, whenſoever required.

Troubles in the leſſer Tartary.

The Paſha, Muftee, and Kadi of *Caffa* (which is the Grand Signior's Town in *Tartary*) urged the Tartar *Han* to prepare and forward his Forces, according to the Duty and Obligation which was incumbent on him; and enlivening their Arguments with Reproaches of Cowardiſe and Ingratitude; ſo far provoked the *Han*, that he cauſed them all three to be ſtrangled.

Notwithſtanding this high Provocation, the Grand Signior diſſembled the Injury, leſt a due Reſentment ſhould raiſe them into an open Rebellion: and diſſembling an approbation of the Fact, as done with Reaſon and Juſtice, ſent to the Tartar *Han* a Sword and a Veſt, as Signals of his Favour: And farther ſuſpecting, leſt in proſecution of ſo ſenſible a Blow, the Tartar joining in League with the Coſſacks and Moſcovites, ſhould make himſelf Maſter of *Caffa*, he prudently touched the Wound with a gentle Hand, offering to ordain ſuch a Paſha, as ſhould be warranted with his Aſſent and Approbation.

The Tartar being overcome by ſuch Lenitives as theſe, proteſted that he never entertained other Thoughts, than to maintain his Faith and Allegiance inviolable towards the Grand Signior; and that the Alliance he had made with the *Nogay* Tartars, and the Forces now raiſed, were maintained with no other Deſign, than to ſuppreſs the Rebellion and Inſolence of *Cantemir*.

This *Cantemir* being a Perſon of a bold Spirit, and daring in all his Actions, did oftentimes, by virtue of his own Authority, lead a ſtrong Party to the Field, being followed by the braveſt and ſtouteſt Souldiers of *Tartary*; for which Reaſon being hated by the Tartar *Han*, and his Life often attempted, and his own Spirit not ſupporting a Subjection to any other, he paſſed the

Cantemir makes a new Colony.

1637. the *Nieſter*, and retired with his own Troops, and ſuch others as would follow him, into the Country of *Budziak*, near to *Beliegrod* and *Kilia*, confining on the Frontiers of *Moldavia*; where he intended to plant and form a new Colony and Government.

In a ſhort time, divers chief Captains being deſirous to follow the Enſigns of ſo famous a General, came in to him; and multitudes of People forſaking the Sands and barren Rocks of *Tartary*, came crowding into this Country; that the Plains of *Budziak* not being capable to contain them, they paſſed into *Moldavia*; where incroaching on the Lands of the proper Inhabitants, gave a Jealouſie as if they intended to take poſſeſſion of the whole Province.

The Poles being jealous of theſe ill Neighbours, which lay at the Gate of their Country, ready to enter on all occaſions, had made Proviſion in their laſt Articles of Peace with the Grand Signior, that he ſhould force them to return, and urged that Point by the Ambaſſador with all earneſtneſs.

The Tartar *Han* alſo finding his Countries depopulated and weakened by ſo large an Evacuation, made alſo his Complaints and Addreſſes to the Port. But the Grand Signior looking on this Colony, as an increaſe of his Dominions, and to be compoſed of ſuch People whom Neceſſity muſt render obedient; and that they could eaſily, at his Command, make Irruptions into *Poland*, *Hungary*, and *Tranſylvania*, ſeemed deaf to all Applications in this Buſineſs; and as if they were a People in whom he had no part, ſhewed no concernment for them, though ſecretly he promiſed them his Protection.

Hereupon *Vladiſlaus* King of *Poland*, being wearied with Delays, reſolved by force of Arms, to drive out this deteſtible Neighbourhood: But the Tartar *Han*, whom this Buſineſs more nearly concerned, being more ſpeedy in execution than the Poles, having raiſed an Army of thirty thouſand Men, encountred *Cantemir* with twenty thouſand, and charged him ſo furiouſly, that he killed ſeven thouſand of them on the Place, and put the reſt to flight, purſuing them through the Plains of *Dobruc* on the other ſide of the *Danube*.

He is overthrown by the Tartar Han.

The Grand Signior, who had all this Time remained a Spectator of this Succeſs, began now to take the part of *Cantemir*, and ſeverely to reprove the Proceedings of the Tartar *Han*, for having diſturbed *Cantemir*, whilſt he was preparing to ſerve him in the Wars of *Perſia*. But the Tartar, having ſhaken off much of his Reſpect and Reverence towards the Grand Signior, deſpiſed the Menaces which he vented againſt him, and proceeded in his own Buſineſs, compelling his People to return again to their Country, and to their Ancient Habitations. *Morat* being forced to ſuffer what he could not remedy, ſummoned *Cantemir*, with all diligence, to render himſelf at *Conſtantinople*; where being arrived, he was at firſt regarded with a favourable Eye; but his Son ſoon after having in a private Quarrel killed a Tartar near the Walls of the Seraglio, was for that Fact juſtly ſtrangled by Order of the Grand Signior; the day following, *Cantemir* was alſo impriſoned, and in a ſhort time underwent the like Fate with that of his Son.

Cantemir put to death.

During theſe Troubles, a Nephew of *Cantemir* feigning himſelf to be diſguſted with his Uncle, revolted to the Party of the Tartar *Han*, with no other than a treacherous Deſign to take away the Lives of the two Brothers; the which he compaſſed at a time of their hunting, when being far remote from their Attendance, following their Game in untroden Paths, he ſet upon them with an hundred Villains, and perfidiouſly took away their Lives. The News hereof was highly applauded at *Conſtantinople*, and the Traitor extolled as a Perſon of mighty Courage and wonderful Ingenuity; ſo that now different Counſels, and new Meaſures, were taken concerning the Affairs in *Tartary*.

1637.

The King of Tartary killed.

Bechir Gherry, Brother to thoſe Princes of *Tartary* which were killed, was then at *Jamboli*, a City in *Thrace*, retired thither under the Protection of the Grand Signior, for fear and jealouſie of Treachery from his elder Brother. *Morat* cauſed him to be brought to *Conſtantinople*, where he was ſumptuouſly received, and conducted to Audience by the Chimacam, who gave him the upper-hand, which is the Left amongſt Men of the Sword, as the Right is amongſt Men of Learning or of the Pen; for as the right Hand governs the latter, ſo the firſt is appendent to the left Side.

Bechir Gherey ordained K. of Tartary.

The Bodies of the two dead Brothers were brought to *Conſtantinople*, where fetulent or ſtinking, they were expoſed to the ſight of *Morat*; who to gratify his own Humour of Revenge, cauſed them to be thrown into the Sea.

This good News from *Tartary*, was attempered with a worſe from *Aſac*, which the Moſcovites and Coſſacks had beſieged. This Town is ſituated at the Mouth of the River *Tanais*, upon the declining of a Hill; it is in form four-ſquare, and may be about twelve hundred Paces in Compaſs. Before it fell into the Hands of the Turks, it was a famous Scale for all ſorts of Merchandiſe, eſpecially for Butter, Cheeſe, ſalt Fiſh, Leather, Slaves, and other Commodities brought hither by Turks, Tartars, and Moſcovites. The Venetians when they addicted themſelves more to Traffick and Commerce than they do at preſent, took this Scale for their Way into *Perſia*. The Town was fortified with ancient Walls, flanked with capacious Towers, and with a Caſtle which being in the middle, and on the ſide of the Water, divides the Town, as it were, into two equal parts. The Gariſon conſiſted not of above three or four hundred Men; for being a place remote from powerful Enemies, it fell not under any great jealouſie, nor was it deemed worthy of the Charge of numerous Defendants.

Aſac beſieged.

The City being in this weak Condition, the Coſſacks ſoon made themſelves Maſters of it; which after they had ſacked and pillaged to the utmoſt, they conſidered it as a place worthy of better Fortifications; and therefore applying themſelves to raiſe new Works, and repair the Old, they ſoon made it a Fortreſs of Strength and Conſideration. This happening at a time when the Turks were diverted by the Perſian War, the Coſſacks injoyed this new Conqueſt for the ſpace of four Years without moleſtation, until that in the Year 1641, it was recovered with much Blood and Slaughter by the Arms of Sultan *Ibrahim*, as we ſhall hereafter recount in the ſequel of this Hiſtory.

Is taken by the Coſſacks.

And now becauſe the taking of this Place was the Original from whence the Diviſions and Civil Wars between the Poles and Coſſacks derived their beginning, and was the Occaſion that the Coſſacks revolted from their juſt Obedience, to the Protection of the Turks; the Relation will not only be curious, but a digreſſion neceſſary to the clearer Light of the preſent Hiſtory.

1637. *The Cauſe of the Civil War between the Poles and Coſſacks.*

Vladiſlaus the Fourth King of *Poland* being wearied with conſtant Complaints of the Robberies and Incurſions made by the Coſſacks upon the Turks, contrary to Articles and Treaties of Peace, was at length perſwaded by his Barons and Counſellors, that the only Means to ſuppreſs the Violence of this unruly People, was to diſarm them; and taking away their Weapons of War, to ſupply them, in lieu thereof, with the Shovel and Mattock, with Ploughs and Pruning-Hooks: by which induſtrious Diverſion, from a wicked Life of Blood and Robbery, to honeſt Husbandry and lawful Arts of living, they might with time be rendred uſeful to their own Prince, and capable of Faith and juſt Communication with their Neghbours. It is not one Age paſt ſince theſe people were called Coſſacks, derived, as is ſuppoſed, from *Coſai*, a word in their Language which ſignifies a Goat, perhaps becauſe of their Agility of Body, or becauſe their Garments are chiefly made of Goats Skins. *The Coſſaks Country deſcribed.*

Pellibus & laxis arcent mala frigora bracchis,
Oráq; ſunt longis horrida tecta comis.

The Country inhabited by them, was at firſt on the Banks of the River *Boriſthenes*, about fifteen Leagues in length to the entrance into the Euxine Sea, where it is reported, that *Ovid* was baniſhed; and ſome ſay, that from him a Village thereabouts called *Ovidona* derives its denomination; and hereunto we may afford the greater belief from one of his Elegies, in his Book *De Triſtibus*, which ſeems to deſcribe this Country, and the fierceneſs of the Inhabitants. *Eleg.* 8. *lib.* 5.

Quam legis à Scythicâ tibi venit Epiſtola terrâ,
Latus ubi æquoreis jungitur Iſter aquis.
Miſta ſit hac quamvis inter Gracóſq; Getáſq;
Amalè placatis plus trahit ora Getis;
Sarmaticæ major Geticæq; frequentia gentis,
Per medias in aquis ítq; reditq; vias.
In quibus eſt nemo, qui non Coryton, & arcum,
Teláq; vipereo lurida felle gerat.
Vox fera, trux vultus, veriſſima mortis imago,
Non coma, non ullâ barba reſecta manu.

At preſent the name of Coſſacks, and their Country alſo, is of a far greater extent than it was formerly; for they call now all ſuch in *Poland* Coſſacks, that are light Horſe armed with Bow and Arrow and Fire-arms: and their Country ſince the late Commotions is meaſured from the fartheſt parts of the Palatinate of *Chiovia*, for the ſpace of an hundred and twenty Leagues on one ſide, and the other of the *Boriſthenes*, which comprehends likewiſe all the Country of *Ukrania*. This Country was always inhabited by the moſt Warlike People of *Ruſſia*; for that being ſubject to the frequent Incurſions of the Tartars, neceſſary Defence, and conſtant practice in Arms, endued them with a Bold and Martial Spirit.

Ukrania is a Country ſo fertile, that it may compare with the moſt fruitful Soil in the World, producing ſuch quantities of Corn, with little labour, that the Husband-men being made negligent by their abundance, produced with little Toil, have leiſure to apply themſelves to Violence and Rapine. They have no Wine, but uſe themſelves much to Strong-waters. Their Houſes are not built of Wood or Stone, but of Oſiers, interwoven and daubed over with Earth and Lime; ſo that they uſe no Nails or Iron: they have no Merchants unleſs in *Kiow*; nor do they ſerve themſelves of Phyſicians or Apothecaries. Their learned Language, or the Tongue wherein they write, is the Sclavonian, anciently called the Illyrian: ſo that in all things this People is rude and barbarous; and though their manner of Government and Policy is not refined or methodically diſpoſed, yet nevertheleſs it is ſolid and of deep Foundation, appropriated to the nature and diſpoſition of that People. 1637.

This honeſt Deſign of King *Vladiſlaus*, to reduce this People to a juſt and an induſtrious courſe of living, not agreeing with their Temper and Cuſtoms, they rather reſolved to leave their Country, and betake themſelves to various Fortunes; ſome of them paſſed into *Moſcovia* to plant a Colony in thoſe uninhabited Parts: a Body of them, to the number of ſix thouſand, joining together, reſolved to paſs into *Perſia* to offer their ſervice unto that King; and being on their Journey, as far as the *Tanais*, they encountred with a Party of Moſcovite Coſſacks, who inhabited certain Iſlands of that River; with whom entertaining Diſcourſe, they underſtood that *Aſac* might eaſily be ſurpriſed by them, if they could agree to unite Forces, which together might compoſe a Body of ten thouſand Men: The Importance of the Place being well conſidered, it was reſolved, that the March into *Perſia* ſhould be ſhortned, and this City be ordained for the ultimate End of their Travels and Place of Repoſe. According to this counſel *Aſac* being aſſaulted and taken, (as we have already intimated) the Coſſacks fortified it in the beſt manner that they were able, making an Arſenal for their Boats and Saicks, whereby afterwards they did much more infeſt the Turks than before.

The other Coſſacks who continued in their Country, being much perſecuted by the Poliſh Nobility, choſe *Kmminieſchi* for their General, (the Son of a Noble Family in *Lituania*, but baniſhed and degraded of his Honour for his Criminal Offences) and rebelled againſt the Government. At firſt not being able to reſiſt the Force of *Poland*, they retired within the Woods; but joining afterwards with other Coſſacks, they iſſued forth at the beginning of the Spring, beat the Poles, and carried away a conſiderable Booty. Afterwards joining with the Tartars, they made their Incurſions as far as *Zamoſca*, within twenty Leagues of *Warſaw*; and ſo Matters continued with various Succeſſes not appertaining to this Hiſtory. Only thus far it is pertinent to the Matter diſcuſſed for us to have ſhewn, That the Counſels of *Poland* were in a great Error, when they reſolved to change the Life, and alter the Humour of this Warlike People, which being protected in their Priviledges, and encouraged in their Wars, would at all Times, as occaſion ſerved, have been ready to have ejected great numbers of good Souldiers into the Ottoman Territories, and might ſtill have been conſerved to ballance the Power of the Tartars, which now daily infeſt and ruin the Borders of *Poland*.

Theſe People were like Ill Humors, which being vomited out into the Dominions of the Turk, eaſed and made healthy the Body Politick of *Poland*; but being conſerved within the Stomach, cauſed Syncopes, Convulſions, and ſuch Commotions, as have of late Years ſhaken the whole Body of the Poliſh Kingdom: and at length withdrawing themſelves entirely from all Obedience, together with that large Province of *Ukrania*, as they have weakned that Govern-

1637. Government; ſo now of late years ſeeking protection from the Turk, have added to his Kingdom, and enfeebled that of *Poland*.

When the News arrived firſt at *Conſtantinople* that *Aſac* was beſieged, the Captain-Paſha going then to inſtate *Bechir* into his Kingdom of *Tartary*, received Orders to relieve *Aſac*, and if poſſible, to raiſe the Siege; but the Succours coming too late, and the Town being taken, the loſs thereof was not eſteemed important enough to divert either Thoughts or Forces from the Perſian War.

Preparations for the War in Perſia.

For now *Morat* reſolving to proſecute the War in *Perſia*, which could not be ſucceſsful without the united Power of his whole Empire, conducted by his own Perſon; he reſolved to make a ſecond Journey into thoſe Parts, and with his own Hand to knock at the Gates of *Babylon*. To prepare and diſpoſe all matters in order hereunto, he in the firſt place countermanded his Decree, which prohibited a farther increaſe of the number of Janiſaries; for now being deſirous to augment his Army beyond the account of ancient Regiſters, he opened the Janiſaries Door, (as they call it) and enrolled ſix thouſand more into that Order.

To conſerve ſtill the Order of this Militia, he appointed Officers ſtrictly and ſeverely to take the Decimation of the Chriſtian Children in *Europe*, and leſt (as was uſual) they ſhould be corrupted by the Parents, who often give Preſents, whereby to blind the Eyes of the Miniſters, that ſo they may overſee their Children, or in lieu of the comlieſt and moſt fit for Service, accept of the Sickly and Impotent, or ſuch as are unworthy of the Bread and Education given them by the Sultan, he moſt ſeverely injoined this Service, and under a thouſand Menaces encharged the care hereof to be executed without Favour or Partiality to any. He carefully reviewed the Books of the Timjar-Spahees, counting the number exactly that every Country yields, and comparing them with thoſe muſtered in the Field, he confiſcated the Lands of thoſe that wanted, being forfeited for non-appearance: he would admit of no Excuſe or Delay to the Matter in hand. The Superintendant of the Ordnance but making a Scruple about the Proportion of ſome Guns, as too weighty and unwieldy for ſo long a March, loſt his Life, for doubting or making a difficulty in what the Grand Signior propoſed or deſigned.

And that no Commotions at home might divert or call him back before his Buſineſs was perfected, he encharged his Paſha's of the Frontiers to live quietly with their Neighbours, and to be ſure to give no occaſions of Complaint, or Cauſe for War during his abſence; recommending to the prudence of the Paſha of *Siliſtria* the care of compoſing certain Differences between the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*.

Having ſecured Matters as well as he could at home, he ordered the Horſe-tail to be ſet forth at the gate of the Divan, and all Paſha's and Officers of the Army did the like at their own Doors. His Troops began now to grow numerous; the Spahees and Timariots appointed for the Guard of the Grand Signior's Tents, together with other Cavalry, which hold their Lands under Service, amounted unto two hundred thouſand. From the hundred ſeventy two Chambers of Janiſaries he drew forth thirty thouſand. From the Topgees or Gunners, whereof there are no more than twelve hundred in their Chambers at *Conſtantinople*, yet make up twelve thouſand in other parts, he drew out three thouſand for the preſent Service. The Shepherds and Plough-men of *Bulgaria* made up twenty thouſand; which with Water-bearers, Smiths, Bakers, Butchers, and all other Tradeſmen which followed the Camp; were in vaſt Numbers: ſo that the whole Army, with the Attendants belonging thereunto, were at a moderate calculation computed to amount unto near five hundred thouſand Men; whereof three hundred thouſand were fighting Men. 1637.

The Peſtilence, which is the Epidemical Diſeaſe of *Turkie*, and which abates the Numbers and Pride of that People, raged this Year greatly in *Conſtantinople*, and in the parts of *Romagnia*; it entred into the Seraglio, and amongſt others, took away the only Son of the Grand Signior of two or three Years old. This cauſed *Morat* to paſs moſt part of the Summer at a Palace on the *Boſphorus*, where he recreated himſelf with his drunken Companion the Perſian Traitor; and hereby he contradicted the Proverb, *That Princes love the Treaſon, but not the Traitor*; for *Morat* it ſeems loved them both, entertaining this Fellow in his Boſom: His Cloaths, his Garb, his Horſes, and Equipage, might rival with that of the Sultan's; He took place of the Chimacam in all Publick Appearances; and what was moſt ſtrange, he preceded the Mufti; which was a new Form never before practiſed, and would have afforded matter of Wonder and Diſcourſe, but that the World conſidered this Novelty, as a Method agreeable to the extravagant Humor of the Sultan.

Amongſt his Paſtimes, nothing was more pleaſing than ſome Divertiſement acted with Blood; he ſhot the Son of a Paſha with his Gun, for daring to approach near the Walls of his Seraglio, ſuppoſing that he came with curioſity to diſcover his Pleaſures, and manner of voluptuous Recreations: For the ſame Reaſon he would have ſunk a Boat laden with Women, as it glided ſlowly by the Banks of the Garden. He would himſelf behold two Thieves impailed, which were condemned to die for robbing ſomething out of his Seraglio. He commanded the Head of the Treaſurer of *Cyprus* to be cut off in his preſence; as alſo the Maſter of his Muſick, for daring to ſing a certain Air which ſeemed Perſian, and to praiſe the Valour of that Nation. The Paſha of *Temiſwar* he put to Death at a full Divan, for fighting unfortunately againſt *Ragotski*.

The extravagant Pleaſures and Cruelties of Morat.

To theſe ſevere Acts of Cruelty, which he called Juſtice, he added one not unpleaſant; A certain Greek called *Stridia Bei*, or Lord *Oyſters*, who had been Prince of *Walachia*, and one whom we have before mentioned, having, by his oppreſſion and haraſſing that People, amaſſed a conſiderable Sum of Mony, eſſayed a ſecond time, by force thereof, to obtain the Principality; and making his Offer and Requeſt before the Grand Signior, he was heard with ſome railery: At length the Grand Signior told him, That he was too proud and aſpiring, and therefore ordered the tips of his Noſe and Ears to be cut off, telling him, that that was to clip the Wings of his Ambition.

But that before his departure for *Perſia*, he might conſummate his Acts of Tyranny, he practiſed one upon his Brother, a Youth of twenty two Years of Age, of great Hopes, and good Endowments. He was conducted to the preſence of his Brother, at the Biram, to pay his Reſpects, as is uſual at that Feſtival; and having performed the Ceremony, he enlarged himſelf in high Praiſes and Admiration of the Grand Signior's

1637. Signior's Generoſity and Bravery; who for recovery of *Bagdat*, was contented to expoſe his Perſon to the Inconveniences of a long Journey, and the Dangers of a hazardous War, and that therein he equalled, if not ſurpaſſed, the Glory of his Anceſtors: Which courtly and rational manner of Diſcourſe did not pleaſe *Morat*, but rather adminiſtred Subject of Jealouſy, fearing that he knew too much; and that as he could Speak well, ſo he might Act accordingly; wherefore the ſame Day he cauſed him to be ſtrangled, to the great Sorrow of the People, and deteſtation of his Abominable Tyranny: But to amuſe the Minds of the Multitude, and ceaſe their Murmurings, he cauſed it to be divulged abroad, that fourteen of his Women in the Seraglio were with Child: which was all falſe, there remaining none of the Ottoman Race beſides his Brother Sultan *Ibrahim*, who was Weak, as well in Body as Underſtanding, and whoſe Imperfections ſecured and compounded for his Life: And to ſuppreſs the Diſcourſe about his Brother's Murder, he changed it into a talk about his Preparations for War, and his departure for *Perſia*. Wherefore the Forerunners and Harbingers of the Army being ſent away with Labourers to repair Bridges, and to level the Ways for the more eaſie paſſage of the Cannon. *Morat* paſſed over to his Tents at *Scutari*, cloathed in a Coat of Mail, and with a Head-piece ſet with Precious Stones, and his Sargouch or Feathers claſped to it with Buckles of Diamonds.

As he landed at *Scutari*, he was received by three Squadrons of Souldiers, each Squadron conſiſting of four thouſand Men well Armed, and richly Attired; the Garments of one Squadron of which were provided at the Expence of the Grand Signior, and of the other two at the Charge of his Favourite, and of the Captain-Paſha: the latter of which preſented to the Grand Signior thirty Purſes of Mony, for beſtowing on him the Honour to command that Gally which tranſported him to the Aſian Coaſt. The Ambaſſador ſent from *Perſia* was detained at *Conſtantinople* until this time, and after the Turkiſh Faſhion not permitted to depart at his own liberty; but being now ordered to follow the Camp, his Port and Quarters were aſſigned, that ſo he might be a Spectator of that Tragedy which was now to be acted. All things were now diſpoſed in good Poſture, with much Solemnity, in order to a March; the Conacks, or days Journies, with their Places of Quarters, were laid out in an hundred and twenty days of March from *Scutary* to *Babylon*, and ſeventy days of Otorack or Repoſe. The Journies with the groſs Body of ſuch an Army could not be long; and the joyning with other Forces in the way, required leiſure and time.

1638. In ſhort, the Horſe, after the Turkiſh manner, having eaten their Graſs and been ſoiled, this powerful Army decamped from *Scutari* about the end of *May*. The firſt day of Otorack or Repoſe was appointed at *Iſmit*, where the Grand Signior made a review of his Army; ſuch as were Aged, and unable to endure the Fatigues of a long March, he diſmiſſed, giving them half Pay for their Lives, with the Name of Otoracks, which is the ſame with *Milites Emeriti* among the Romans: with exact Order therefore and ſevere Diſcipline, to which their fierce Monarch had reduced them, marched this numerous Army; no Villages were abuſed, nor Country-people plundred, and all things were purchaſed with ready Mony; And the Grand Signior himſelf being rendred more gentle and tractable in the Field than in his Seraglio, heard all Complaints, and diſtributed Juſtice with an equal and impartial Hand. 1638.

The March of the Turkiſh Army.

In the mean time, at *Conſtantinople*, due care was taken to keep things Quiet and in Order; the Boſtangibaſhee, like Lord High Chamberlain, had the Charge committed to him of the Seraglio, and the Moveables of it; he frequently made his Rounds both by Sea and Land, puniſhed thoſe whom he found in Taverns; nor would he ſuffer any Candles to be lighted after two hours in the Night. The Chimacam, and the Captain-Paſha, likewiſe executed their Offices with all care and ſeverity in their reſpective Stations.

At this time, to the great diſſatisfaction of the Greek Nation, *Cyril* the Patriarch, who had been in *England*, and greatly affected with the Diſcipline of our Church, was depoſed, impriſoned in the Seven Towers, and ſtrangled: in his place one *Carfila* was ordained Patriarch, and his Commiſſion or Baratz obtained from the Grand Signior at the expence of fifty thouſand Crowns, one Moity whereof was paid from *Rome*, the whole Deſign againſt *Cyrillus* being managed by the Jeſuits and other Religious living at *Galata*, who accuſed him before the Turks, of keeping a ſecret Correſpondence with the Moſcovites and Coſſacks; for which loſing his Life, *Carfila*, a pretended Friend to the Roman Faction, was inſtituted Patriarch. Cyrillus *the Patriarch ſtrangled.*

The Grand Signior marching with his potent and numerous Army, all the World remained at a gaze what the Iſſue ſhould be of this mighty Enterpriſe; yet moſt were of Opinion, that the Honour and Riches of the Ottoman Empire being now at Stake, the War could not otherwiſe conclude than with the Conqueſt of *Babylon*. All that could be feared, was ſome diverſion by the Chriſtian Princes; who taking hold of the preſent Conjuncture, ſhould enter the Frontiers with a powerful Army, and thereby force the Sultan to return. But as to *Poland*, the Jealouſy ſoon vaniſhed. When the News came of a Civil War between the Poles and the Coſſacks, and that ten thouſand of the latter were ſlain in a Battel, this Intelligence came moſt ſeaſonable and grateful to the Port, expecting now a Meſſage from the Coſſacks, deſiring Succour in their Extremity; for ſuch Accidents as theſe have nouriſhed the Turkiſh Intereſt, which hath grown out of the Civil Diſcords of Chriſtian Princes.

By this means, as the Apprehenſions of War by Land ceaſed, ſo there appeared ſome Clouds of Storm at Sea; which doubtleſs might have produced a War with *Venice*, had the Turks been at leiſure to attend it; for ſixteen Gallies belonging to *Algier*, *Tunis*, and *Biſerta*, well armed with Slaves and Souldiers, and provided ſufficiently with Cannon, Powder, and Bullet, Commanded by *Ali Picenin*, united together and formed a ſmall Fleet, with deſign to rove over the Adriatick Sea, and infeſt the Coaſt of *Italy*. Their Intentions were to plunder the Riches of *Loretto*; but being hindred by contrary Winds, from entring ſo high into the Gulf, they made a deſcent in *Puglia*, and ſacked all the Country of *Nicotra*, carrying away a great Booty, with Slaves, and amongſt them ſeveral Nuns which they proſtituted to their Luſt; thence they paſſed over to the ſide of *Dalmatia*, and in ſight of *Cataro* took a Veſſel, and made Prize of all Ships which they met in thoſe Seas; the Rumor of which made great noiſe over all *Italy*, the People exclaiming againſt their Princes for ſuffering *The Pirats of* Algier *and* Tunis *infeſt the Gulf of* Venice.

1638. fering their Lives and Eſtates to remain ſubject to the petty Force of a few Pirats: For the Veſſels of *Malta* and *Florence* were disjoined, and roving after purchaſe in the *Archipelago*, took little notice of what was acted in the Gulf. The Spaniards, after their faſhion, were ſlow in Arming, and ſpent the Summer in Preparations, till the Pirats, laden with Booty, were departed towards the Winter; ſo that none remained to take care of *Italy*, and the Venetian Gulf, but *Venice* only, to whom the Dominion of thoſe Seas are rightly appropriated.

To ſuppreſs therefore the Inſolence of theſe Pirats, the Republick ſet forth a Fleet conſiſting of twenty eight Gallies and two Galleaſſes, under the Command of *Marin Capello*, with Inſtructions to ſink, burn, and deſtroy thoſe Pirats, either in the open Seas, or in Harbour of the Turks; for that by the Articles of Peace, between the Grand Signior and the Venetians, it was agreed, That no Port or Harbour of his ſhould be privileged to afford entertainment or protection to any Free-booter or Pirat of that nature.

It happened about that time, that the Malteſes and Florentines cruſing in the *Archipelago*, had done great Miſchief to the Turks in thoſe Seas; to revenge which, and to prevent farther damage, the Captain-Paſha ſent Orders to theſe Veſſels of *Barbary* immediately to come to his Aſſiſtance; to which they were now more eaſily perſwaded; for being already laden with Booty and Spoils, they contented themſelves with a change of their Station. But to give a farewel to thoſe Parts, they firſt reſolved to ſpoil, and plunder *Liſſa*, alias *Leſina*, an Iſland belonging to the Republick; but being overtaken by the Venetian Fleet in their Voyage thither, near to *Valona*, a Port and Harbour belonging to the Turks, they put themſelves under the Defence of the Town and Caſtle, which received them willingly to their Protection, notwithſtanding all Articles and Agreements to the contrary.

Capello blocks up the Pirats in Valona.

The Venetian Fleet ſaluted the Caſtle without a Shot, deſiring, that according to the Capitulations of Peace, the Pirats might be rejected, and commanded to abandon their Port: in anſwer hereunto the Turks replied with a Shot, making known their Intentions to defend their Friends: wherefore the Venetians retiring at ſome diſtance came to an Anchor, deſigning to block up the Port. Many days had not paſſed before the Pirats endeavoured, by help of their Oars, and a gentle Gale, to make their eſcape; and being, with the gray of the Morning, advanced without the Port, they were eſpyed by the watchful Venetians, who dividing their Fleet into two Squadrons, charged them with high Courage; the Fight continued for the ſpace of two hours, during all which time the Caſtle of *Valona* fired at the Venetians, and ſhot down a Maſt of one of the Galleaſſes, a Splinter of which wounded *Lorenzo Marcello* the Commander; at length five of the Gallies of the Pirats being diſabled, and many of their People killed, they began to fly, and retire again under the Protection of the Town; as alſo did the Venetians to their Place of Anchorage.

A diſtinct Advice of all Particulars being diſpatched to *Venice*, the Senate wrote to *Capello*, That ſince the reſpect which the Republick owes to the Ottoman Court was not unknown to him, he ſhould by no means make any attempt againſt thoſe Pirats upon the Land, but meeting them fairly at Sea, he ought then to make uſe of all the valour and force he was able.

In the mean time the Duke of *Medina las Torres*, Vice-King of *Naples*, diſpatched an Expreſs to *Capello*, with Letters applauding the generoſity of the Deſign, wherein he was now engaged for the Glory of his Republick, and the Common Good of all Chriſtendom, proffering to ſupply him with Refreſhments and Ammunition, and what elſe might ſupply his Occaſions; expecting, that by ſuch Encouragement as this, he might be induced to Aſſault the Enemies in *Valona*, without reſpect to the Grand Signior, or any Inconveniences which might ariſe thereby. On the contrary the Governour of the Caſtle, and Kadi of the Town, wrote a Letter to *Capello*, putting him in mind, that he was within the Grand Signior's Dominions, and that he ſhould be careful how he offered any Violence to thoſe Places, which would certainly prove a Violation of the Peace, and be the Original of an inevitable War.

1638.

Capello had now lain a whole Month before the Port, having all the time injoied fair Weather, and a ſmooth Sea, againſt the hope and deſire of the Turks, who expected that by means of ſome Storm, the Enemy would be forced to remove their Quarters to ſome ſecure Harbour, and thereby afford them an opportunity to eſcape. But *Capello* growing weary of ſuch tedious Attendance, reſolved to expect no longer, nor yet to loſe the preſent Advantage of rendring himſelf Maſter of the Veſſels of the Enemy: wherefore dividing his Fleet into ſeveral Squadrons, he advanced near the Port, firing ſeveral Shot at the Tents of the Pirats, of which one from a Galeaſs ſtruck a Moſch; and arming with ſtore of Men the Galeots and Brigantines, they entred the Port, and to the aſtoniſhment and vexation of the Turks, poſſeſſed all the ſixteen Veſſels, and brought them to their Admiral: which though they had diſfurniſhed of all their chief Booty, yet their Cannon and Arms remained, of which there were twelve Pieces of great Braſs Guns, beſides others of Iron, with divers Falcons and leſſer Arms.

He aſſaults them in the Port.

The Intelligence hereof being carried to *Venice*, Orders were given, that all the Veſſels ſhould be ſunk in the Port of *Corfu*, excepting only the Admiral of *Algier*, which was to be brought to the Arſenal of *Venice*, there to remain as a Trophy of Victory, and for a perpetual Memory of this Glorious Atchievement. Howſoever this Exploit was variouſly interpreted at *Venice*, and approved, or diſproved, according to the diverſity of Humors. The younger Men applauded it as an Action of great Gallantry, excuſing his Tranſgreſſion of the Senats Orders by a tranſport of Paſſion and Zeal towards his Country, and deſire of Glory. But the Senators, and Men of mature Judgments, highly reſented this Breach of their Orders, which as they are ſtrictly Enjoined, ſo they expected that they ſhould be punctually Obeyed. That this action was a ſufficient and Juſt Cauſe alone to kindle a War, and that it was a matter intolerable, that a ſingle Citizen ſhould of his own Head and Humor, preſume to act ſuch things, as muſt neceſſarily involve the Publick in a War, contrary to their Pleaſure, and in oppoſition to their expreſs Commands. For which Crime and other ſubſequent Defaults, *Capello* was afterwards forced to juſtify himſelf, as will be ſignified in the ſequel of this Hiſtory.

The Particulars of this Advice, were by an expreſs Meſſenger diſpatched to *Luigi Contarini* the Bailo or Ambaſſador for the Venetians at *Conſtantinople*, a Perſon of great Reputation and Eſteem,

1638. Eſteem, having been converſant in the principal Courts of Chriſtendom, and employed for the ſpace of ſeven years at *Munſter*, where he was Aſſiſtant with the Nuntio *Chigi*, afterwards *Alexander* the 7th, in the general Peace of *Europe*.

The Turks alſo receiving this News aggravated to them with all the foul Circumſtances imaginable, the Chimacam immediately ſummoned the Bailo to Audience, and with an Angry Countenance began to exclaim: "That taking "advantage of the Grand Signor's abſence in "remote Parts, the Venetians had, in a perfidi- "dious and hoſtile manner, aſſaulted and de- "ſtroyed the Fleet of *Barbary*, which were his "Subjects, and ſuch as he had called to his aſſi- "ſtance againſt the Corſares of *Malta* and *Li- "gorn*. That being accidentally compelled by "ſtorm to enter into the Port of *Valonia*, they "were forcibly taken thence, and violence offer- "ed to the Grand Signior's Port and Caſtle, by "way of a manifeſt and open Breach. If this "preſumption were grounded on the long di- "ſtance of the Grand Signior from theſe parts, "the Venetians would do well to conſider, how "that they provoke an angry Prince, and one "who eſteems neither Expence, Hazards, nor "Labours to compleat his Revenge. If this "were a deſign to divert the Grand Signior's "Arms from *Perſia*, they would do well to con- "ſider, that the Sultan was not ſo far advanced, "but that he could turn a Current, if he plea- "ſed, ſufficient to drown, and in an inſtant to "overwhelm the Dominions of *Venice*; or could "at leaſt collect Forces from nearer parts able "to revenge his Quarrel, and vindicate his Ho- "nour from the Diſdain and Scorn of ſuch pet- "ty Neighbours.

Hereunto the Bailo or Ambaſſador made this Reply: "That this Piratical People was the "ſame which the Year before had landed in *Can- "dia*, and made ſpoil of the Eſtates of the In- "habitants, and carried many of them into ſla- "very; and not contented with this Booty, they "entred the Gulph, and penetrated into the ve- "ry Bowels of *Italy*, with deſign to Sack and "Plunder the Iſland of *Liſſa*, which was under "the Dominion of the Republick. That the Ve- "netian General friendly ſaluted the Caſtle of "*Valona*, which was returned with ſeveral Shots "from thence; that had it been his intention to "have attempted the Port in the beginning, "he would not have lain thirty ſeven days in ex- "pectation of the forth-coming of thoſe Pirats, "it being only reſpect to the Grand Signior, "which obliged him to that attendance. At "length being wearied, and provoked by the "inſolence of that People, he forcibly entred "the Port, knowing, that by Capitulations with "the Grand Signior, it was agreed, That all "Ports ſhould be forbidden, and that to theſe "Pirats, unleſs they firſt gave Security and Cau- "tion not to injure and make Prize of the Sub- "jects of the Republick.

The Chimacam replied hereunto, "That "there were ten thouſand Souldiers and Slaves "belonging to thoſe Gallies, which had taken "their Refuge in *Valona*; and therefore he re- "quired the Venetians to permit them free paſ- "ſage into their own Country, and to reſtore "their Gallies, unleſs they intended to come to "an open Rupture with the Grand Signior.

The Chimacam alſo preſſed more urgently for reſtitution of the Gallies, in regard, that having adviſed the Grand Signior of this Diſaſter, he had at the ſame time given him hopes, and almoſt aſſurance to believe, that by his Negotiations he ſhould recover them out of their Hands: But the Senate was of a different Opinion; and therefore gave expreſs Orders to their Officers of the Marine Affairs, immediatly to ſink all thoſe Veſſels; that ſo the expectation of the Turks being diſappointed by an impoſſibility of recovery, might not, by the rude Inſtances and Threats of *Morat*, oblige them to a diſhonourable and an undecent Reſtitution. 1638.

The News of this Misfortune made greater noiſe and diſturbance in the Divan of *Algier* than at *Conſtantinople*, that rude Rabble raved, and railed, and threatned, laying the blame ſometimes on one, then on another, being ready to come to blows amongſt themſelves; but that being obliged, by order of their Divan, to keep their Thumbs within their Girdles, they durſt only expreſs their Anger by Punches and Thruſts of their Elbows. At length coming to cooler Terms, they charged all the Fault on their Admiral *Ali*, and reſolved to make Applications to the Grand Signior for Redreſs, and Reparations on the Eſtates of the Venetians in his Dominions. *The Algerines angry at this News.*

The News alſo hereof overtaking *Morat* in his March into *Perſia*, angred him to the Heart, and tranſported him to that heat of Indignation, that he immediately ordered, that the Venetian Bailo, with all his Nation in the Ottoman Dominions, ſhould, without exception, be cut to pieces; but the Great Vizier, and his Favourite, ſuffering him for ſome time to vent the impetuoſity of his Fume and Rage without contradiction, gave a ſtop for thirteen days to the diſpatch of theſe fatal Orders; until taking him in a more gentle mood, they perſwaded him to change this Sentence of Death, to the impriſonment only of the Bailo; and ſuch care was taken, leſt the News of a War with *Venice* ſhould fly into *Perſia*, and thereby prejudice the Terms of Peace, that this Accident was kept as a Secret, and communicated to none, but ſuch as were nearly concerned in the Government. *The G. Signior's Anger againſt the Venetians.*

The Command for the Bailo's Impriſonment being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, he was ſummoned to Audience by the Chimacam; and though at that time he was exceedingly afflicted with the Gout, yet the Turkiſh Obedience to Imperial Commands, admitting of no Excuſe, he was forced to an attendance; and being brought in his Sedan, he was carried to the Chamber of Audience, where he expected ſome time until the Chimacam came to him: in the interim being entertained by ſome Aga's, whom the Chimacam had employed to ſound him touching the reſtitution of the Veſſels, who finding by his Diſcourſe that they were ſunk, without poſſibility of recovery, and that there could be no compenſation made for them, they returned with this Anſwer to the Chimacam: of which being now informed, he came in, and having no farther to expoſtulate on this Matter, produced the Grand Signior's Command for his Impriſonment, and kiſſing it firſt, cauſed it to be read. The Bailo replied, That he was ready to ſubmit, being not only willing to ſuffer Impriſonment, but alſo Martyrdom, accompanied with the ſevereſt Pains, for the ſake of his Prince and his Country. *The Venetians Bailo impriſoned.*

To ſoften and mitigate Matters, the other Chriſtian Ambaſſadors then reſident at the Port, had made Arz to the Grand Signior, wherein, with all reverence and reſpect, they offered themſelves for Mediators in this Difference, engaging themſelves, but not the Parole of their Princes,

1638. Princes, for the Perſon of the Bailo, that he ſhould not fly from the Port, nor yet refuſe any reaſonable Terms by way of Accommodation. This Mediation of the Ambaſſadors, ſeconded with ſome Preſents from the Bailo to the Turkiſh Miniſters, ſo facilitated Matters, that the Bailo at firſt was conducted to the * Kahya's Chamber, and afterwards was confined to his own Houſe in *Galata*, guarded by four Chiaouſes, with free Liberty to all Viſitants whatſoever.

* *The Chimicam's Steward.*

There was now no other Rumour or Diſcourſe in *Conſtantinople*, but of a War with *Venice*, ſo ſoon as that with *Perſia* was concluded: And in the mean time the Grand Signior gave Orders, that ten Gallies ſhould be built in his own Arſenal at his Charge, and preſented to the Barbarouſes, with condition that they ſhould ſtay until the Spring, and accompany his Fleet to Sea. But *Ali Picenin* the Admiral ſuſpecting that this was only a Snare to engage him and his Men for ever in the Grand Signior's Service, refuſed the Obligation, and ſet two Gallies on the Stocks for his own Account.

Advice of the Bailo's Confinement being come to *Venice*, with a Report of the Paſſion and Rage of the Sultan, they expected nothing more than a War with the Turk, which they communicated to all Chriſtian Princes, requeſting their Succours and Aſſiſtance againſt the common Enemy. Theſe Addreſſes produced rather Compaſſion of their Caſe, than ſubſtantial Contributions: Pope *Urban* himſelf giving them great Aſſurances of ſome help from the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, beſides Proceſſions, Maſſes, and Benedictions for their good Succeſs, in as great a Number as they could deſire: Notwithſtanding which due Care was taken to make ready and provide againſt all Encounters. Letters were wrote to the Captain-General in the Levant, to make due Preparations againſt the Enemy: Sixteen Gallies were armed out of *Candia*, to which were joyned other Galleaſſes under the Command of *Antonio Piſani* and *Sebaſtiano Veniero*: Souldiers were levied in every Place, and all Garriſons provided with Ammunition and Victuals, and reinforced with Numbers of an Auxiliary Militia. Howſoever it was not the Buſineſs nor Advantage of the Venetians, to make a War with the Turks, but rather, whilſt they feared the worſt, and made Proviſions againſt the utmoſt Extremities, they endeavoured to enter into Treaties of Peace, and to qualifie the hot Spirit of the Grand Signior with the gentle Lenitives of fair Words, and proffers of making Atonement with the Sacrifice of Gold and other Preſents: In order unto which they wrote a Letter to the Grand Signior to this Effect.

"That being provoked by the Inſolence and "frequent Robberies of the Pirates of *Barbary*, "who did not eſteem Faith or Obedience to his "Majeſty, nor the Commands which he had of"ten ſent to reſtrain them, they were induced, "out of natural Defence of themſelves, to cha"ſtiſe and correct them; but as this was acted "without intention to diſoblige his Majeſty, ſo "they were ready to maintain and cultivate that "ancient Friendſhip and Correſpondence which "was ingrafted on the firm Root of his Glorious "Progenitors.

Morat, though he received this Letter in an huff, and gave an Anſwer to it with Diſdain, which breathed nothing but Threats of Revenge, and total Deſtruction; yet he ſent it by an Expreſs of his own to *Venice*, couching ſomething within the Terrour of his Words, as if there was place left for an Accommodation, if the Venetians knew what Salve was to be applied to obduct the Skin of this bleeding Wound. The Venetians quickly apprehended, that Gold was the only Remedy, of which they were ready to contribute freely; ſince they could make no better a Purchaſe with their Money than Peace, nor could make a better Bargain than with ſuch a Sum as would ſerve only to make the firſt Preparations of War, to evade all Hazards, Troubles, and Calamities by a happy and ſafe Concluſion of Peace. The which notwithſtanding took no Effect, until the Return of *Morat* from *Perſia*; and therefore we ſhall defer Diſcourſe thereof to its proper place. 1638.

Amurat marched now at the Head of a formidable Army, cloathed in the Habit of a Janiſary, to render himſelf acceptable to the Militia, whom having ſubdued by Rigour and ſevere Diſcipline, he would now oblige by Courteſie and fairer Treatment: With Courage and great Patience he marched through ſandy Deſarts and unfrequented Places; and being the firſt who offered to expoſe himſelf to Dangers and Sufferings, the Souldiery followed willingly his Example, eſteeming no Attempts either hazardous or tedious, in which they ſaw themſelves preceded by their Valiant General. In this March he was overtaken by one who rode hard to demand *Moſtaluck*, which is the Reward of good News for the Birth of a Son, of which one of his Sultana's was delivered at *Iſmit*: the Meſſenger was ſecured until the News was confirmed; which being afterwards turned to the Birth of a Daughter, the poor Man ſuffered Death, being cruelly impaled for his unadviſed haſte and exceſs of officious Reſpect towards his Prince. *Morat marches to Perſia.*

The Great Vizier met his Maſter at *Iconium* with a moderate Equipage, to give more Room for the Quarters of the Army, and rendring himſelf more gracious in his Eyes by a Preſent of fifty thouſand Dollars, he was again remunerated with a Cemiter and a Veſt of Sables, which are the uſual Signals of the Sultan's Favour.

All *Aſia* was now in Arms, and the Princes and great Men came in to perform their Duty, accompanied with their Forces and Attendance: Only Complaints were made of a certain Shegh, Santone or Preacher belonging to the Mountains of *Anatolia*, who had refuſed to do Homage; or ſerve in the War: He was one, who by a feigned Sanctity had acquired a great Reputation amongſt his People; and having declared himſelf to be the *Mehedy*, or the Mediator, which, according to the Mahometan Doctrine, is to fore-run Antichriſt, for reducing all the World to one Unity of Faith: He had perſwaded his People, that he, and they under him, were by Priviledge of his Office, exempted from all Taxes, Contributions, or Impoſitions by any Secular Power whatſoever. The Grand Signior who could not underſtand or believe this Doctrine, preſently detached a ſtrong Body with ſome Cannon under Command of the Captain-Paſha (who, as we have ſaid, was to accompany the Grand Signior in the War) to confute the Principles of this Rebel, and to reduce him to Obedience. Theſe Forces being entred on his Dominions, Proclamation was made to the People, that they ſhould deliver up their Impoſtor into the hands of Juſtice; which if they refuſed to do, then Fire and Sword was to be their Portion, and Deſtruction to extend even unto their Children of ſeven years of Age. This terrible Denunciation of the Sultan's Sentence ſtruck all the People with cold Fear and Amazement; howſoever the Shegh availing himſelf on certain Prophecies, which he in- *A Shegh rebels.* *He is overcome and puniſhed.*

1638. interpreted in his own Favour, adventured to ſtand a ſhock with the Grand Signior's Forces; but being overcome by them, the Shegh was taken alive and carried to the Grand Signior; who having given a ſtop to his March at *Iconium*, until the end of this Buſineſs, he condemned him to be flead alive; and in this Guiſe being a horrid Spectacle to all Beholders, he was carried upon an Aſs to the Wheel, on which he ſeemed to endure the Remainder of his Puniſhment without any ſenſible Touches or Pangs in the Torments.

This Succeſs being attained, *Morat* proceeded in his March, and paſſing through *Alexandretta* or *Scanderone*, he was there ſaluted by the Guns of all the Engliſh and Dutch Ships then in Port, and preſented by the Merchants and Conſuls, eſpecially by the Venetian called *Marco Foſcolo*, whoſe Preſents were computed to amount unto the Value of ten thouſand Dollars. Thence he proceeded to *Antioch*, where he refreſhed his Army for a few days, obſerving the Antiquities of that Place. At *Aleppo* he was met by the Paſha of Grand *Cairo*, who brought with him a rich Tribute, accompanied with an Army of twenty four thouſand Souldiers, all choice Men well armed and well cloathed; at the ſame Place alſo the Forces of *Paleſtine* joyned with him, ſo that his Army was now increaſed to a vaſt Number. Proceeding forward new Sangiacks came in daily belonging to the Countries through which they marched, and a ſtrong Party of Tartars deſpairing of being able to act any conſiderable Matter againſt *Aſac*, offered themſelves to the Service of the Grand Signior.

The Perſian Army dares not give Battel to the Turk.

The King of *Perſia* entred the Field at the Head of an hundred and twenty thouſand Horſe; but being inferiour in Force, made only uſe of them to reinforce his Garriſon of *Bagdat* with an Addition of thirty thouſand Men; which now being well provided, he judged that the Force within, and the Strength of the Place would be able to endure a long Siege, and with time weaken, if not deſtroy the vaſt numbers of the Turks, of which there were former Examples: With the reſt of his Forces he returned to encounter the Great *Mogul*, who (as we have ſaid) promiſed *Morat* to aſſiſt him in this War, and attack the Perſian on the other ſide of his Dominions, which ſerved for an advantageous Diverſion to the Turk. This was the Reaſon that no memorable Battels ſucceeded in the Field, there being none of greater Note than a Fight which *Quinan* Paſha had with two thouſand Perſians belonging to *Revan*, with whom accidentally encountring, he killed fifteen hundred of them on the Place, and took the reſt Priſoners, which being five hundred in number were brought before *Morat*, and all barbarouſly put to death by him.

During the time of this March, *Morat* often exerciſed himſelf in Feats of Arms, to ſhew his ſtrength of Body and dexterity of Hand; amongſt other things wonderful to the Souldiers, he pierced a Suit of Arms of Musket-Proof, with a Dart, called by them a *Gerit*, thrown from his Hand; for evidence of which, the Armour is placed on one of the Gates of *Aleppo*, with an Inſcription under it.

The Turks paſs the River Euphrates.

About the Beginning of the Month of *Auguſt* the Turkiſh Army paſſed the River *Euphrates*, by means of a Bridge, which was not ſo well built, but that it ſunk under the weight of Horſes, Camels, and Baggage, by which Diſaſter many periſhed in the Water, which great Rains had ſwelled above the Bounds of its Banks. As this numerous Army proceeded, ſo all Petty Princes applied themſelves to perform their Homage; amongſt which one *Tarpos* a King of the Arabs came with his Wife, Mother, and Son to proſtrate himſelf before the Sultan: He was entertained in the Tent of the Favourite, who being always in company with *Morat*, was never ſuffered to ſeparate from him, and his Tent, more for Oſtentation, than to ſerve his occaſion. *Tarpos* being admitted to Audience, was received with Reſpect and a favourable Countenance, and preſented with a Veſt of Cloth of Gold lined with Sables, and a ſmall Purſe of Gold: In recompence whereof the Arab Prince returned certain choice Horſes and two Leopards. In like manner the Georgians and Mengrelians, who are Tributaries to Turk and Perſian, and commonly incline to the ſtrongeſt ſide, whoſe Nations we have deſcribed *in the preſent State of the Ottoman Empire*, would not be wanting at this time to bring their Tribute of eighty thouſand yards of Linen-cloth, which they pay every three year, with ſome Children of both Sexes choſen out of the comelieſt and moſt healthful amongſt them. 1638.

The Turkiſh Army at Moſul.

At *Moſul* the Army lay encamped for ſome time, where was a general Rendezvous and Confluence of People from all Parts, and every thing ordered and modelized for a War. Severe Diſcipline was kept amongſt all, Offenders were Impaled, Flead alive, their Bowels ript out, and thrown into the publick Ways: Nor did Takers of Tobacco eſcape with leſs Puniſhment than the reſt. In the mean time Wine was forbid to his whole Camp, unleſs to himſelf and his Favourite, being a Royal drink; and when the chief Phyſician commended the admirable vertue of Opium, adviſing *Morat* to uſe it in the place of Wine, he enjoyned him to make his Words good by his own Example, and thereby forced him to take ſo much, that he was overcome, and died by ſwallowing too great a quantity.

From *Moſul* the Army marched in due order to *Babylon*, where the Great Vizier arrived with thirty thouſand Men about the 19*th* of *October*: But by reaſon of the great weight of Artillery, and the many Impediments which attend ſuch vaſt numbers, the Grand Signior came not thither till the 5*th* of *November*, and on the 9*th* the whole Turkiſh Army preſented it ſelf before the Walls of *Babylon*.

The Deſcription of Babylon, or Bagdat.

Babylon the ancienteſt City of the World, reported to be built by *Nimrod* on the Banks of the River *Euphrates*, and afterwards beautified and enlarged by *Semiramis* the Wife of *Ninus*, is recorded in Hiſtory for the vaſtneſs thereof to be one of the ſeven Miracles of the World. Afterwards the furious Inundations of the River, and the Iron Teeth of devouring Time, and the ſubjection thereof to the Macedonian Empire, did much eclipſe the Glory of that City, and cauſed *Seleucus Nicanor*, one of *Alexander*'s Captains, to build a new one where the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* meet, forty Miles more Northwards than the old *Babylon*, which he therefore called *Seleucia* after his own Name. In the Year of our Lord 753, *Abugiafer Almanſor*, an Arab King, enlarged this City to the Eaſtern ſide of the *Tigris*, as being leſs ſubject to the Inundations of the River, giving it the Name of *Badgat*, or the place of Gardens; but his Son *Almolied* being more pleaſed with the Weſtern ſide, encouraged People to build the ſtatelieſt Palaces and beſt Fabricks near the place where he delighted to keep his Court, ſo that the River *Tigris* divided the City. The which with the Country thereabouts was ſubdued by *Solyman* the Magnificent; and afterwards in the Year 1625, it was re-

1638. recovered by *Abas* King of *Perſia*, until at length in this of 1638. it was vanquiſhed by the mighty Force and Proweſs of this Magnanimous Sultan, as we ſhall now underſtand.

Bagdat beſieged. The numerous Troops of the Ottoman Army covering all the Plains, a General Council of War was called of the Chief Commanders of the Janiſaries and Spahees, eſpecially of ſuch who had been practiſed in the Sieges of the ſtrong Fortreſſes in *Hungary*. After ſome Debate and long Conſideration, it was agreed, That the City ſhould be battered in three Places. One Battery of twelve Pieces of Cannon commanded by the Great Vizier was to be erected againſt the Bright Gate; the ſecond againſt the Dark Gate of ten Pieces of Cannon, under the Command of the Captain-Paſha: and a third of eight Pieces directed againſt the Gate of *Perſia*, under the Government of *Chuſaein* Paſha Beglerbei of *Anatolia*. The Grand Signior in the mean time habited like an ordinary Souldier, that he might be the leſs expoſed to Danger, viſited all Poſts and Places, encouraging them with his Words and Preſence, proteſting that he would not change his Cloaths for ever in any place but within the Walls of *Bagdat*. In the ſpace of three days the Trenches were opened, the Batteries raiſed, and the Cannon planted; and *Morat* having made Korban, gave fire to the firſt Cannon with his own Hand, as he had brought the firſt Basket of Earth to raiſe the Works. The Defendants within conſiſted of eighty thouſand fighting Men, with which they made frequent Sallies of four and five thouſand Men at a time, who being retired, were again ſeconded by another of the like Number, which put the Turkiſh Camp into much Confuſion, and into danger of having their Trenches levelled, and their Cannon ſpiked; but the Turks valiantly fighting, the Slaughter proved bloody on both ſides; and being guided rather by the Bravery of their Courage, than by Art or Experience in in War, they carried their Works forward to the very Brink of the Ditch, having an Italian and a Candiot for their chief Engineers; who though they were not Perſons of that Ability, as our *modern Times* have produced, yet they were ſuch, as for want of better, ſerved the preſent occaſions, where Force and Numbers, with ſmall Additions of Art, were the moſt available. For in this Siege the Sword was more exerciſed than the Spade or Mattock, and there was more need of Arms than Works; for the conſtant Sallies kept the Turks always watchful and imployed, and perpetually diſturbed them, until at length they were forced with great Labour to raiſe a high Circumvallation, with a very deep Ditch, defended by ſeveral Redoubts; whereby the Beſieged being kept in, their Numbers decreaſed by former Sallies, and their Courages abated by deſpair of Relief, they began to grow cold in the Acts of Bravery, and to reſerve their Men for the ultimate and laſt Efforts of Defence. In the mean time the Turks plied their Batteries ſo hotly, that in a few days the Walls were laid open almoſt fifty paces wide. In this Condition the Defendants having no other Refuge than ſome ſmall Retrenchments, which they had made during the Siege, were expoſed to the open Force of the Enemy. For now the Turks having filled up the firſt and ſecond Ditches with Sacks of Wool, Faggots, and other Rubbiſh, crowded in vaſt Numbers to enter the Breach, which the Perſians defended as ſtoutly with Stones, Bullets, Artificial Fires, and all Inſtruments of Death, which fell like ſhowers of Hail on the Heads of the Enemy. The Great Vizier ſignalizing himſelf above all, by his undaunted Courage, commanding with his Hand and Voice, was unhappily ſhot by a Musket-bullet, and fell on the heaps of the dead, amongſt whom there is no diſtinction between the common Souldier and the braveſt Captain. This Fight within the Breach continued for five days, where both ſides fighting like Men in deſpair, the dead Bodies lay in heaps, and Blood was ſtagnated like a Pool to wade thorough. At length the Numbers of the Turks prevailing, commanded now by *Muſtapha* the Captain-Paſha, entred the Town by force of Arms on the twenty ſecond of *December* about the time of Sun-ſet, when the Royal Standard of the Turks was planted in this City. Howſoever twenty four thouſand of the Perſians remaining ſtill alive, and united in a Body, capitulated for Quarter, otherwiſe threatning not to die unrevenged: Pardon, and Quarter for their Lives was readily granted, on Confidence of which the Perſians threw down their Arms, and ſubmitted to the Publick Faith, or the Sultan's Clemency. But the Grand Signior afterwards conſidering, that the granting Quarter at *Revan* had been the cauſe of the Loſs of the City, he repented him of his Promiſe, and gave Order to the Janiſaries moſt inhumanely to open a Torrent of Blood, and make a barbarous Maſſacre of thoſe who had newly thrown down their Arms at his Feet, not ſparing either Woman or Child, either Sex or Age; the which Slaughter, like a Work of Darkneſs, was acted in the Night by the light of Torches and Lanthorns, and appeared a horrid Spectacle to all, eſpecially to the Perſian Ambaſſadour, who being conducted like a Priſoner in the Camp, was a ſad Spectator of his Countries Deſtruction on the horrid Theatre of its Capital City.

Bagdat taken.

So ſoon as *Bagdat* was taken, *Morat* diſpatched away Poſts immediately with the News into all Parts, and wrote a Letter with his own Hand to the Chimacam, ordering a *Dunalma* or Feaſt of Thankſgiving, and rejoicing for the ſpace of twenty Days; during which time no Buſineſs was to be acted, the Houſes were to be adorned both without and within with the beſt Furniture, and every Houſe was to ſet forth Lights, Torches, and Fire-works agreeable to the Condition and Ability of the Perſon. The People exclaimed hereat as too great an Expence, and the Vacation from Buſineſs ſeemed too long for thoſe who lived by their daily Labour. The chief Miniſters and Grandees evidenced external actions of Joy, but inwardly feared and trembled, ſuſpecting that the fierce and cruel Humour of their Sultan would be elated, and rendred more tyrannical and untractable by Succeſs and a favourable Fortune. The Chriſtian Princes received this Intelligence like bad News, and as an Alarm to awaken them from the eaſineſs of Peace, to expectations of War: For War with *Perſia* was like an Ulcer in the Bowels of the Turkiſh Empire, which gangreen'd and conſumed the Strength and Marrow of their Power; which now being cured, and the Body Politick rendred healthy by ſuch a ſeaſonable Succeſs, would convert it ſelf to Enterpriſes pernicious and dangerous to the neighbouring States.

After the Conqueſt of this City, *Morat* gave out, That he reſolved to procced with his Army into *Perſia*, and to enter the Walls of *Spahan*; but having ſome indiſpoſitions of Health upon him, and recalled by the charming Letters of a Favourite Miſtreſs, whom he had left at *Diarbechir*, he inclined to return again to *Conſtantinople*. Wherefore muſtering firſt his Army,

1638. he found that it was abated near an hundred thouſand Men, two thirds whereof being killed in the War, the reſt periſhed by the Peſtilence, and other Diſeaſes and Maladies incident to Camps; a great part of the Slaughter fell on the moſt veterane Souldiers of the Janiſaries and Spahées, of which many of the Chief being ſlain, their Lands and Revenues returned to the Grand Signior, and gave him both Opportunity and Ability to reward many with ſuch Offices and Gifts as came by the Death and Fall of other Commanders. Thus the Captain-Paſha, whoſe Valour had rendred him Famous, was made Great Vizier in the place of him that was ſlain, and the Perſian Favourite was conſtituted Captain-Paſha; and though many repined at this Advancement, as conferred on a Stranger, and a Perſon without Merit, yet the Grand Signior conſidered him as one whoſe Experience in that Country, and the Information he had given him of the Scituation and Strength of *Babylon*, had made abundant Compenſation for the Favour and Honour he had beſtowed upon him.

1639. The Grand Signior having left a Gariſon of thirty thouſand Men in *Bagdat*, diſpatched the Great Vizier with a conſiderable Army to penetrate far into the Country of *Perſia*. And having now releaſed the Perſian Ambaſſadour, giving him liberty to return to his Maſter, wrote by him this braving Letter.

I That am Lord of Lords, and Conquerour in the parts of Arabia, Perſia, *and* Greece; *King that Commands with eminent Rule in the World, exalted by Divine Aſſiſtance to the Empire of the Univerſe; the moſt Invincible Poſſeſſor of the White and Black Seas, and of all the Cities and Fortreſſes which encompaſs them: Lord of the Divine and Prophetick Temple, that is, of* Mecha *and* Medina, *as alſo of* Jeruſalem, Aleppo, Damaſcus, *and of all thoſe Holy and Venerable Countries, of Grand* Cairo, *Salutiferous* Babylon, *and of* Van, *of* Ethiopia, Balſora, *and the Leſſer* Aſia; *of all the Countries of the Curds, Georgians, and Tartars; of* Moldavia, Walachia, *and univerſally of all the Provinces and Regions of* Greece *and* Anatolia. *And in ſumm, Supreme Lord of the Seven Climates, the Victorious and Triumphant King in the Service of God Sultan* Amurat Han, *to the Valiant* Sofi, *to whom may God give Peace, if he deſerve it. This Imperial Letter worthy of Obedience being come to thee, Be it known unto thee, That the Ambaſſador which Thou didſt ſend to my happy Port with deſires of Peace, I have detained until this time in which I have ſubdued* Bagdat, *by means of the keen Edge of my Invincible Semiter. If Thou deſireſt Peace, ſurrender thoſe Provinces which belong to the Dominions of my Victorious Predeceſſors, into the Hands of my Beglerbeys, who are now Marching at the Head of my Victorious and Inexpugnable Army: Otherwiſe expect me next Spring with my Troops more numerous than the Sands of the Sea, within the Bowels of thy Dominions; where I will appear on Horſe-back to unkennel Thee from the Caverns wherein thou now lurkeſt, not daring to manage thoſe Arms, which are unworthily girt to thy Side. That afterwards ſhall ſucceed, which was determined from all Eternity. Peace be to him who directs his ways aright.* 1639.

This Letter being diſpatched, the Grand Signior recalled the forty thouſand Men which he had lent, from the Service of the Great *Mogul*, which he quartered about *Bagdat* to hinder the Attempts of the Perſians, in caſe they ſhould deſign to purſue him in the Rear, and diſturb his return into *Europe*. By reaſon of the Rigour and Extremity of the Winter, and a certain Deſluxion which falling on his Nerves, made him ſomething Paralytical, the Grand Signior departed not from *Bagdat* until the 15*th* of *April*, and then for recovery of his Health, and to ſoil the Horſes by the way with convenience of Graſs, ſhort Days Journeys were appointed. *The Grand Signior returns to* Conſtantinople.

The Grand Signior's Indiſpoſition encreaſing, with ſome cold and ſhivering Fits, gave the firſt Symptoms of a Feaver; but afterwards it plainly appearing to be a paralytical Diſtemper, ſuſpected by the Phyſicians to end in an Apoplexy, it was rumoured abroad, that *Morat* was dead; but it was whiſpered with ſuch Caution, as if they had feared leſt the Grand Signior would have over-heard them, and riſen from his Grave to puniſh their ſecret and inward Joy. Being ſomewhat recovered from the laſt Acceſſion of his Palſie, the Humour fell into his Legs, and ſwelled ſo much, that he could ſcarce ſit upon his Horſe; howſoever he haſtened as faſt as he could to *Conſtantinople* to diſprove and confute the falſity of that Report concerning his Death.

In the mean time it is not to be expreſſed with what Fear and Terrour the Chimacam and other great Miniſters of State expected the return of their formidable Prince, not knowing where the Thunderbolt of his cruel Diſpoſition would ſtrike, until at length it fell on the Head of the poor Sultan *Muſtapha*, whoſe weakneſs, as it rendred him unable for Government and Command, ſo it made him ſtupid and inſenſible of Death.

At length on the 10*th* of *June* the Grand Signior arrived at *Conſtantinople*: The Favourite *Soltana*, which had accompanied him to the War, paſſed by Water from *Iſmit* attended with ſix Gallies, and took her Lodging the firſt Night of her arrival at a ſmall Chiosk or Houſe of Pleaſure under the Wall, ſo as to make a magnificent Entry the Day following. Her Coach was covered with Cloth of Gold, and the Spokes of the Wheels were gilded, and the Wheels ſhod with Silver; ſhe was followed by twelve Coaches, and the Mufti, Paſha's, Kadees, and other Officers went before to conduct her to the Seraglio. The Grand Signior, who arrived the ſame Day, attended with fifty ſix Gallies, made not his ſolemn Entry until two Days after, being performed with all the Ceremony, State, and Magnificence which could be contrived. The Grand Signior in his own Perſon appeared in the Perſian Habit, with a Leopard's Skin thrown over his Shoulders, after the manner of a Kauſee (as they call them) or a brave huffing Champion, having his Stirrup attended with twenty two of the chiefeſt Nobles, whom he had reſerved at *Bagdat*, purpoſely to lead in Triumph when he made this Entry. The Treaſure brought to *Conſtantinople*, was landed at the Seraglio out of ten Gallies, and calculated to amount to a greater Sum than that which was carried from thence; for beſides the *The Grand Signior's Entry into* Conſtantinople.

Riches

1639. Riches taken in the Plunder of *Babylon*, ſeiſure was mad in divers places of the Eſtates of Paſha's and other Great Men, which by Death, or for Crimes, eſcheated to the Grand Signior.

After the Grand Signior's Departure out of *Perſia*, little of Action ſucceeded, as if by mutual Agreement, a Truce or Ceſſation of Arms had been contrived. The Perſians deſired a Peace, becauſe they were enfeebled and tired with the War: The Turks had regained their Honour by the Conqueſt of *Badgat*; and being unwilling to loſe it by change of unconſtant Fortune, and longer conſume their Riches and Men in a tedious and remote March, were attending to receive Propoſitions of Peace firſt offered by the Perſian. To effect which the Great Vizier, who was left at *Badgat* to command the Army, intimated to the Governours of the Frontiers, that a proffer of Peace ſhould be accepted; which being made known to the King of *Perſia*, he immediately diſpatched an Ambaſſadour to the Grand Signior to propoſe Terms of Accommodation. The Ambaſſadour being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, was grateful and acceptable to all, and his Day of Audience appointed after the uſual manner on the Pay-day of the Janiſaries, when the Floor of the Divan is covered with Sacks of Mony; before the Door of the Chamber of Audience ſtood the Perſian Captives all cloathed in rich Veſts. The Ambaſſadour being conducted to the Royal Preſence with the uſual Ceremonies (of which we have given an Account in another place) was received by the Sultan ſitting upon a Saffaw covered with Crimſon Velvet, embroidered with Pearl; his Turbant was encompaſſed with a Chain of Diamonds, cloathed with a rich Veſt lined with Sables; he caſt no Pleaſantneſs of Aſpect on the Ambaſſadour, but beholding him with a fierce and ſcornful Look, received the Letter in a kind of careleſs Diſdain, behaving himſelf in every Motion, as if he neither eſteemed the King, nor his Ambaſſadour; or as if the Perſian had been wholly conquered by him, had ſent to beg Peace, and Pardon for his Life: The Ambaſſadour was ſoon diſmiſſed from his Preſence; and matters being referred to the Negotiation of the Chimacam, no other difficulty aroſe beſides the Diſpute concerning *Revan*, which at length was agreed by another Ambaſſadour ſent to the Vizier on the Frontiers to remain unto the Perſian, as *Bagdat* was confirmed to the Turk: And ſo Peace was without long Debate clapt up; the Grand Signior, by reaſon of his Indiſpoſition which increaſed upon him, being not inclinable to trouble his Head with the Burden of Buſineſs.

An Ambaſſador ſent from Perſia *to the Grand Signior.*

A Peace concluded.

Peace being thus concluded with *Perſia*, there appeared a perfect Sun-ſhine and fair Weather in the Ottoman Court, neither Diſſenſions at home, nor Wars abroad troubling the Quiet and Repoſe of the Sultan: Until ſome Differences happening between the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia* exhaled the firſt Cloud of Diſturbance. At that time *Lupulo* was Prince of *Moldavia*, a Perſon of evil Principles, covetous, and unjuſt. *Matthew* was Prince of *Walachia*, a good Man, zealous for the Chriſtian Religion, and one who adminiſtred equal Juſtice to his People. *Lupulo* not contenting himſelf with his own, but deſirous alſo of his Neighbours Poſſeſſion, made inſtances to the Port to have the Principality of *Moldavia* conferred upon his Son, alledging that thereby he ſhould be better enabled to balance the Power of *Ragotski* in *Tranſylvania*, and on all occaſions be rendred more ſerviceable to the Grand Signior's Deſigns and Intereſt: And ſeconding this Propoſition with a Preſent of fifty thouſand Dollars to the Chimacam, and promiſe to increaſe the annual Tribute, he obtained the Chimacam's Friendſhip, at whoſe Inſtance the Grand Signior was perſwaded to write unto *Matthew* to ſurrender up his Province into the hands of the Son of *Lupulo*; declaring, That it having been accuſtomary to change the Princes of thoſe Countries every three years, he ought after an Injoyment of above ſeven years to content himſelf with a quiet and voluntary Reſignation, unleſs he would deſire to draw upon himſelf a Ruin by the Anger and Diſpleaſure of the Sultan. *Matthew* having no Poſterity, reſolved not to ſurrender his Government but with his Life; and having a particular Animoſity againſt *Lupulo*, could by no means incline his Mind to make his Enemy happy with the Spoils of his Eſtate. Wherefore having obtained Aſſiſtance from *Ragotski*, he reſolved to withſtand the Forces of young *Lupulo*, and engage with him: And being ready to mount on Horſe-back, and begin the Battel, he firſt diſpatched an humble Meſſage to the Grand Signior, acquainting him, "That "he was ready at his Command to reſign his "Principality into the Hands of the meaneſt "Greek his Majeſty would appoint; who be- "ing the Source of all Equity and Juſtice, he "hoped that he would not oblige him to "ſuch Terms as would raiſe his Mortal Ene- "my upon his Ruin; a Man ſo intent to his "own Intereſts, and ſo unconſcionable to "compaſs them, that all late Revolutions, "Wars, and Commotions have been raiſed "either by him, or by his Inſtruments.

Troubles in Moldavia *and* Walachia.

This Letter being received and read by the Grand Signior, was ſeconded in a few hours after, with News of the total Defeat of young *Lupulo*; which put the Grand Signior ſo much into choler, that he immediately committed the Chimacam to the ſeven Towers, for being the Projector and Author of this Counſel. It was ſuppoſed however, that *Morat*'s Anger would no proceed to that degree, as to extend to his Life; but being informed, that he was rich, and that he was poſſeſſed of two Millions of Dollars, which lay by him in ready Mony, it was concluded, that ſo vaſt a Wealth could not in a ſhort time be honeſtly gained; which appearing as an undeniable Evidence and Teſtimony of his Violence and Oppreſſion, the Grand Signior made no Difficulty to paſs the Sentence of Death againſt him, nor to condemn the Mony to his own Exchequer: His Office was given to *Sinan* Paſha, and the Principality confirmed unto *Matthew*.

The Chimacam put to Death.

During all this Time, the Quarrel which the Turks conceived againſt the Venetians, for violating their Port of *Valona*, was not yet compoſed; but now having time to peruſe and conſider old Accounts, the Venetian Bailo was called by the Chimacam to Audience, and to a Conference with him concerning this Matter. In the firſt place therefore the Bailo alledged, "That the Pirates of *Barbary* had for the ſpace "of twenty Years roved in the Venetian Gulf, "and made Prize in that time of ſo many "Ships and Goods belonging to Merchants, "that the Republick had been prejudiced by "them in ſeveral Millions; which alſo did "in ſome manner prejudice the Cuſtoms of the "Grand Signior, to whom the Venetian Mer- "chants pay for the moſt part yearly the Sum of "an hundred thouſand Dollars in Cuſtom for their "Goods, beſides the benefit which the Ottoman "Dominions receive by ſo profitable a Commerce.

Here-

1639. *Hereunto the Chimacam replied:* "That the "damages which the Turks received by the "Corſairs or Free-booters at Sea under the "Colours of *Malta*, *Leghorn*, *Majorca*, and "other places, were greater and more diſho- "nourable to the Majeſty of the Ottoman "Grandeur, than the depredations of the other "ſide were to *Venice*; And therefore it would "be neceſſary for the good of the World, that "ſuch Violences were prevented in all places: "and that Men of ſuch wicked Profeſſion ſhould "be eſteemed for univerſal Enemies, and to "have no other Quarter, nor Articles grant- "ed them, than what we give to wild and "hurtful Beaſts, whom we deſtroy by Snares "and Gins, and all Advantages. The which "alſo was never denied to the Venetians, whilſt "they encountred and took them in the open "Seas; but to enter into priviledged Places, "and violate a Sanctuary of the Grand Signi- "or's, without reſpect to the mighty Power of "ſo dreadful a Monarch, was an act ſo inſo- "lent, as could never obtain Pardon without "due Compenſation for the Offence; which "could not be done, but either by a Reſtitu- "tion of the Veſſels, or elſe of a like Num- "ber in the places of them.

Hereunto the Bailo replied: "That if an "Accommodation could not be made on other "Terms, nor Peace maintained, but by a ſub- "miſſion to Pyrats, and ſupportation of all "their Injuries and Robberies, a War muſt "inevitably enſue; for the good ſucceſs of "which they depended on the Bleſſing of God "Almighty, and the general Aſſiſtance of all "Chriſtendom, which will eſteem it ſelf uni- "verſally concerned in this Cauſe, and obli- "ged as well to make good this Quarrel a- "gainſt Pirates, as to preſerve *Venice* for their "main Bulwark and Defence againſt the Otto- "man Force.

"You make me Smile (anſwered the Chi- "macam) when you tell me of the Power "of Chriſtendom, which contains nothing more "of Terrour than the Name. Do not I know, "who have been Paſha of *Buda*, that the Em- "perour hath no Mony; and that when the "Sweeds, a ſmall and inconſiderable People, "have made War upon him, they have almoſt "over-run his Country? As for *France*, if "they underſtand their own Politicks, they "will ſcarce be perſwaded to lend aſſiſtance "to the Empire, when we make War againſt "it. The *Spaniards* have ſo much to do at "Home, and to conſerve themſelves from the "Incroachments of their powerful Neighbour "the French, that they are wholly unable to "lend Forces to wage a War at ſuch a di- "ſtance from their Dominions. Wherefore "conſidering the Advantage we have upon "you, which we well know and underſtand; "you muſt either have War on theſe hazard- "ous Terms, or elſe purchaſe your Peace "with a conſiderable Sum of Mony. In ma- "king of which Bargain you muſt conſider, "that you have to deal with a mighty Prince, "and not with a Merchant; and therefore "your Offer ought to be large at firſt, ſo as "it may gain Credit, and be received with a "favourable Ear; for a ſmall Sum to him is "like a little Morſel given to an hungry Sto- "mach, which ſerves only to increaſe the Ap- "petite. And you know, that we our ſelves "are often forced to ſacrifice to the Avarice "of our Prince, by effuſions of vaſt Sums of "Money, which are always beſt compounded "for, when they are done readily, and at 1639.
"firſt, before we give our Maſter time to
"conſult with his Pillow, and to make upour
"Accounts according to the Calculation of his
"own Reckoning. Let me therefore exhort
"you to follow the like Example, and imme-
"diately make an Offer of three hundred thou-
"ſand Zechins of Gold, which if you will do,
"and employ my Intereſt to make this Com-
"poſition for you, I hope, though with ſome
"difficulty, to gain its acceptance. To talk
"and reaſon of Things paſt is but to beat the
"Air, becauſe the time is vaniſhed and gone;
"but you may conſider of the preſent, that
"you may ſecure the future. We ſell you
"Peace at this Price; if it be worth your
"Mony, take it; if not; refuſe it, as you
"judge the Purchaſe moſt agreeable to your
"Intereſt."

At this time Chriſtendom was embroiled in its uſual Combuſtions, ſo that Aſſiſtance from other Princes was not only uncertain, but without all Foundation; ſo that the Venetians could have no ſure Truſt to any other than their own Force. In regard that many were deſirous at that time to ſee the Venetians engaged with the Turk, that ſo they might not be able to concern themſelves in the War of *Italy*, which then grew hot by the Wars of *Savoy*, *Modena*, and *Matoua*, favoured by the Protection of the Spaniards, by whoſe means all the Differences aroſe about the Valtoline. Conſidering which, the wiſe Senate being willing to purchaſe ſo great a Bleſſing to their Country by a moderate Price, gave Liberty to their Bailo to compound for it at what rate and terms he was able; which by the Bailo's Dexterity in the Management, was concluded for the Sum of two hundred and fifty thouſand Zechins, which was eſteemed for a great Service, and redounded much to the Reputation of the Bailo: after which Concluſion, the former Articles were ratified, and theſe which follow added thereunto.

"That the Ambaſſadour or Bailo ſhould
"be ſet at Liberty, and permitted to return
"to his own Habitation: That Commerce be
"renewed as formerly between the Subjects
"of both Countries: That all Controverſies
"about the Maters happened at *Valona*, for
"ever be ſilenced and forgotten. When at
"any time the Pirats of *Barbary* ſhall hap-
"pen to enter within the Ports of the Grand
"Signior, they ſhall give Security, that they
"will commit no Damage or Spoil on the
"Subjects of *Venice*. And in caſe they ſhall
"have taken any Prizes belonging to the a-
"foreſaid State, they ſhall not be admitted
"nor protected in the Ports belonging to
"the Grand Signior: Wherefore in virtue
"hereof all Aga's, Captains of Caſtles, and
"other Miniſters who ſhall not obey and ob-
"ſerve this Capitulation, ſhall be deprived
"of their Office; and if the Venetians ſhall
"then enter violently into the Port, where
"ſuch Enemies have taken Refuge, it ſhall
"not be imputed to them for a Crime, or
"eſteemed a Breach of the Capitulations. And
"farther, if the Venetians ſhall at any time
"encounter the aforeſaid People of *Barbary*
"in the open Sea, it ſhall be lawful for them
"to aſſault, take, and deſtroy them without
"notice, or exceptions of the Ottoman Port.
"And laſtly, the new Bailo lately elected, ſhall
"pay unto the Grand Signior five hundred
"thouſand Pieces of Eight, which make two
"hundred

1639. "hundred and fifty thouſand Zechins of Gold. "This Writing was ſigned and ratified about "the middle of the Moon *Rebiul* in the *Hegyera* "or Year of *Mahomet* 1049. Hereof Authentick Copies were immediately diſpatched to the Beglerbeys, Sangiacks, and Kadi's on the Coaſts of the Mediterranean Sea, and to the Paſha of *Boſna*, for better Publication of the Peace, and free Traffick and Commerce between the Subjects of both People.

September 1639.

An Envoy ſent from the Emperor to the Grand Signior.

The Baron *Chinski* arrived at that time from the Emperour in Quality of Envoy Extraordinary, to congratulate the Grand Signior's Succeſs in taking *Bagdat*, and making a Peace with *Perſia*, but not bringing with him Preſents to that value, which on this occaſion were expected, he was not looked on, nor conſidered with that Favour and Reſpect, as was agreeable to his Character and Quality. And there happening a Diſpute between this Envoy and the Engliſh Ambaſſadour concerning Precedency of place; the Turks yielded it to the Engliſh, being made to underſtand the Difference which Chriſtian Princes make between the Title of an Ambaſſadour and that of an Envoy, though the Turks uſe but that one word of *Elchi* to expreſs both. And though the Baron *Chinski* laboured to diminiſh the Dignity of an Engliſh Ambaſſadour at *Conſtantinople*, by alledging, that he was elected by the Company of Merchants for Conſervation of their Trade only, and afterwards confirmed and honoured by the King: yet this Argument was in no wiſe prevalent with the Turks, who eſteeming the Commiſſion of the Prince, and the Charge of an Office the only Qualification to ennoble a Perſon, made no Difficulty to determine the Point in behalf of the Engliſh. And though ſome Italian Writers ſay, that the Engliſh Ambaſſadour gave fifteen Purſes of Mony, or ſeven thouſand five hundred Dollars to the Chimacam for this Favour; yet thoſe who underſtand how unwillingly the *Turky* Merchants part with their Mony on defence of ſuch Punctillio's and Niceties, eſpecially where the Ambaſſadour might have avoided the bringing them into Diſpute, will more readily believe, that the Turks from free motives of their own Juſtice and Reaſon judged this Honour due to the Ambaſſador, than that he ſhould purchaſe this indiſputable Point by the diſgraceful means of Mony.

1640. All matters being now determined between the Turks and *Perſia*, and the black Clouds blown over from the Venetians, the Grand Signior ſtudied how and where he might turn his Arms with moſt Advantage: he had conceived an irreconcileable pique againſt *Ragouski* and *Matthew* for the Cauſes before related; but having an intention to make uſe of their Force againſt *Poland* or *Germany*, or againſt them both together, he diſſembled the Paſſion he conceived againſt them, and rather deferred his Revenge, than pardoned the Liberty which they had exerciſed without his Licence or Aſſent. Sometimes he reſolved to recover *Aſow* out of the hands of the Coſſacks; ſometimes he thought of making War upon *Poland*, judging himſelf much affronted by that King, for not ſending an Ambaſſadour to congratulate his late Succeſſes: Then he ſuppoſed, that a War in *Germany* would be more eaſie, and the Conqueſt more profitable by reaſon of the Riches of the People, and the Fertility of the Soil, to which pretences could never be wanting on the ſcore of thoſe Differences which always ariſe amongſt the People of the Frontiers. During theſe Debates and Counſels, Preparations were made for War both by Sea and Land, as yet uncertain where they ſhould be imployed: To command them the Great Vizier was ordered to haſten his Journey from *Perſia*, whoſe Arrival was celebrated at *Conſtantinople* with a ſolemn Entry; and for a particular and diſtinguiſhing Honour, the Grand Signior ſent him a Veſt from his own Back to wear on the day of his Triumph. This Vizier was a Perſon very auſtere in his Behaviour, bold and valiant, as he evidenced by his Actions in taking *Bagdat*, zealous for his Maſter's Intereſt; and, what is rare in a Turk, not much addicted to his own: He had acquired a great ſhare in the Eſteem of his Maſter, and his Authority increaſed, as the daily Decay of the Grand Signior's Health rendred him leſs able for Government. For now the ſtrong Complexion of *Morat* began to grow feeble by exceſſes of frequent Debauchery, his Stomach was become cold and weak, not able to digeſt the lighteſt Meats, his hand ſhook, and a paralytical Diſtemper ſeized him in every part; ſo that his Mother and the Phyſicians perſwaded him to forſake the uſe of Wine, as Poyſon and Deſtruction to his Health; and he, whilſt he was ſenſible of his languiſhing Condition, like a true Penitent, made many Proteſtations and Vows againſt it, forbidding the accurſed Poyſon to be received within the Walls of the Seraglio: Howſoever his kind Heart could not poſſibly withſtand the Temptation of a Banquet, to which his Pot-companions did ſometimes invite him; amongſt which the Great Vizier would not be wanting alſo to pleaſe and cajole the Humour of his Maſter with the Liquor that he loved. But his chief and conſtant Camerades in drinking were his Perſian Favourite, and *Muſtapha* Paſha of *Boſna*, one educated in the Seraglio, promoted to the place of Selictar Aga, to whom he gave the ſtately Palace of *Ibrahim* Paſha on the *Hippodrome*, together with his eldeſt Daughter in Marriage. Theſe two ſtout Sons of *Bacchus* perſwaded the Grand Signior to appoint one ſolemn Drinking-day in time of the Biram, which is the great Feſtival of the Year, and introduced by their Prophet in imitation of our *Eaſter*. *Morat* being at this time poſſeſſed with the Spirit of Debauchery, accepted the Motion, and invited the two Drunkards to dinner with him. The Perſian provoked his Pleaſure of drinking by ſalt Meats, and by peppered and ſpiced Diſhes; the ſort of Wine they moſt uſed, was a ſweet Malvoiſia, ſometimes twiſted, and encouraged with the ſtrong Waters, called *Roſa Solis*, of which they ſucked ſo long, and with ſuch Exceſs, that falling under the force of it, they were inſenſibly carried away to their ſeveral Beds. This diſſolute Repaſt became fatal to the Grand Signior; for a Fire being kindled in his Veins and Bowels, he fell into a violent and continued Feaver. The Phyſicians being called, were fearful to adminiſter Remedies, leſt proving unſucceſsful, their Lives ſhould pay for the ineffectual Operation: At length they agreed to let him blood, but this haſtened his Death. For he died the fourth Day of his Feaver, being the 8th of *February*, in the ſeventeenth Year of his Reign, and the one and thirtieth of his Age, having ruled in the height of all Diſorders and irregular Exceſſes.

1640.

The Turkiſh Counſels uncertain about a War.

The Vizier returns from Perſia.

The death of Sultan Morat.

1640. ceſſes, which his youthful Years enabled him to ſupport. With his Death all his thoughts and Deſigns of making a War againſt Chriſtendom periſhed, having ſworn after his Return from *Perſia* to reduce all his neighbouring Countries to the Mahometan Law. He was of a moſt cruel and implacable Diſpoſition, having amongſt his other Acts of Tyranny imbrued his Hands in the Blood of his two Brothers, *Orchan* and *Bajazet*; as alſo ſtrangled his Uncle *Muſtapha*, whoſe innocent Weakneſs had been ſufficient to ſecure his Life againſt any, but the moſt horrid Monſter of human Tyranny. He left no Son; for though he had divers, they died in their Infancy, notwithſtanding which his Kindred were ſo deteſted by him, that he envied the Deſcendence of Monarchy on his Brother *Ibrahim*, who was preſerved by a ſtrange Providence from his Fury: often ſaying, that he wiſhed that he might be the laſt of the Ottoman Line, that the Empire of that Family might end with him, and devolve unto the Tartar. He was certainly the moſt abſolute Prince that ever ſwayed the Ottoman Empire; but of no Religion, ſeldom faſting in the Month of *Ramaſan*, contemning and laughing at the Santones, and others of their Religious Orders. He was very inquiſitive into all Actions of the City, for which he maintained his Spies, and oftentimes took his Rules and Meaſures from Diſcourſes of People concerning his Government. He was a great Diſſembler, ready, active, and revengeful, covetous to Extremity, having left fiteen Millions of Gold in his Treaſury, which was empty when he entred upon the Soveraignty. In ſhort, he was ſo bad, that he had ſcarce any Allay of Vertue; being ſo great a Tyrant, that at length he became his own Aſſaſſinate, and fell unlamented by all but the two Companions of his beſtial Exceſs. 1640.

His Character.

The End of Sultan Morat's *Life.*

THE

I that of Ott'man blood remain alone,
Call'd from a Prison, to ascend a Throne.
My easy mind I bend to soft Delights,
Hateing th' unpleasent thoughts of Naval Fights.
Till mad with wanton Loves, I fall at first
Slave to my crone, then to my peoples lust.

1640. 1640.

THE REIGN OF Sultan IBRAHIM, TWELFTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

SUltan *Amurath*, or *Morat*, after a Fever of eight Days continuance, cauſed by an exceſs of Debauchery in Wine, having on the eighth of *February*, 1640, according to the New-Stile, expired his laſt Breath. His Mother, called *Kioſem*, comforted her ſelf with the thoughts that her Son *Sultan Ibrahim* ſtill lived, and was the ſole Surviver, and undoubted Heir of the Ottoman Family. To whoſe Succeſſion, that ſhe might make the more facile and undiſturbed Entrance, ſhe conſulted with all the Viziers, requeſting their Conſent and Aſſiſtance, in the lawful promotion of her remaining Son to the Throne of his Anceſtors: For ſhe had underſtood, that *Morat*, who always abhorred the ill-ſhap'd Body, and weaker Mind of his Brother, envied him the Dignity of the Ottoman Scepter, and therefore had bequeathed the Succeſſion to the Tartar, having, in the Heat of a Debauch, and Fumes of Wine, compelled his Paſha's to ſwear to the performance of his Teſtament.

Vid. *the Ott. State.*

Wherefore the Queen, aſſembling them together, with gentle Words, deſired them to remember, That *Ibrahim* was the Lawful Heir, and their true Emperor; that the Tartar *Han* was a Stranger, odious to the Souldiery, and not beloved by the People: that an Alteration of this Nature could never be contrived and executed, without danger to the Actors; and that they, to whom ſhe aſſured the continuance of the ſame Honours and Offices, in Reward of their conſtant Allegiance, would be in hazard of loſing all, by the coming of a Foreign Prince, who having Confidents of his own to prefer, and grand Neceſſities to ſatisfy, would make bold even with Eſtates and Provinces to prefer his Favorites, his Kindred, and Country-Men, and eſtabliſh the firmneſs of his Government on their Ruin. Yet, ſetting aſide thoſe Conſiderations, touching their own Safety and Intereſt, ſhe promiſed, That if they would reach out their Hands unto her Son, for to lift him unto the Throne, he ſhould acknowledg his Empire from them, and accordingly love, tender, and eſteem ſuch faithful Subjects.

The Viziers, after ſome Reflections on the Tye and Obligation which Sultan *Morat* had cauſed them to make to him, declared, and publiſhed it to be unlawful, and void; proteſting, That they were reſolved to maintain inviolable the Allegiance they owed unto Sultan *Ibrahim*, deſcended from the Ottoman Blood, which they reverenced and adored, with an Awe equal to the Religious Eſteem which their Fore-fathers had of it; and therefore, with one Voice they cried out, *Let Sultan* Ibrahim *live.*

Herewith the Council breaking up, the Viziers, accompanied with all the Officers and Attendants of the Seraglio, went with Shouts and loud Acclamations, to the Priſon of *Ibrahim*, to ſalute him Emperor; for he, poor Prince, had now for four Years remained a ſad Recluſe in a dark Room, where he had received neither Light nor Air, but what came from a little Window, which ſometimes in favour was opened to him from Above; and what was worſe, the continual expectations, and fear of Death, without Friends, Converſation, or Hope, rendred thoſe Apprehenſions worſe than Death it ſelf; which daily were repreſented to him in that Solemnity, as might terrify a Mind more conſtant and firm than his.

So ſoon as he heard the Shouts and Voices of a Multitude near his Door, he immediately conceived, that the Fate was now come which he had ſo long expected, and therefore he barred his Door, and denied to give Entrance: And when the Viziers proclaimed him Emperor, (fearing it might be ſome Artifice of his Brother,

1640. to ſee with what Joy he would entertain the News) he anſwered, That he did not ſo much as think of the Empire, nor deſire it, but only prayed that Sultan *Morat* might live, to whom he pretended not to be a Brother, but a Slave: And when he perceived that they began to force the Door, though with terms of Reſpect and Obſervance, he ſtill endeavoured to keep it cloſe; for Nature had taught him to conſerve a Life, howſoever Miſerable, and void of Conſolation.

He continuing thus reſolute not to open, Reverence to his Perſon commanded them to forbear any ruder Violence; until the Queen-Mother over-hearing all this Stir, deſcended her ſelf in Perſon; and firſt cauſing the dead Corps of Sultan *Morat* to be extended before his Door, with gentle Compellations, and confident Aſſurances, averred the Death of his Brother. The Voice of his Mother began to diſſipate the Fears, and being in part already convinced by his Ears, he adventured to peep at the Door, and giving then entire Credence to his Eyes, his Heart and Spirits conſented to revive; and ſo retiring back into his Chamber, he willingly received the Congratulations of the Miniſters and Souldiers; which being paſt, he readily applied his Shoulders to the Coffin of his dead Brother; and having bore his ſhare of that dear Burden to the Gate of the Seraglio, he there reſigned it to his Domeſtick Officers, who buried him in the Sepulchre of Sultan *Achmet*.

From thence he took Boat, and paſſed to the Moſch of *Jub*'s Seraglio, where in the ſpace of eight days, he compleated all the Ceremonies of his Coronation; and afterwards, according to the Cuſtom of his Anceſtors, he rode through the City to his great Palace; but whether it were for want of practice, or by reaſon of a Poſture natural unto Fools, he ſat ſo ridiculouſly on his Saddle, as moved rather the Laughter than the Acclamation of the People.

In fine, being entred the Seraglio, he began to breath, and enjoy the Air of Liberty, with ſo much contentment and ſatisfaction, that he unwillingly would empair the leaſt Particle of his late acquired Freedom, by thinking, or attending to Buſineſs, and as if he enjoyed ſufficient, committed all to the management of his Mother; howſoever, being deſirous to handle ſomething of the Government, he did it with ſo little Grace and Dexterity, that it plainly appeared, that that Soul animated a Body not fit to ſway or wield a Scepter.

The Queen-Mother, to maintain the Word ſhe had given to the Viziers, continued them all in their reſpective Offices; ſo that, though there was great diſproportion in the Mind of the two Princes, yet the Miniſters being the ſame, there ſeemed to be little or no Alteration in the Government.

The Great Vizier remembring well the thoughts of War which Sultan *Morat* meditated againſt the Coſſacks, and being deſirous of Glory, and continuance of his Power, reſolved to proſecute the ſame Deſign, hoping to meet a Spirit in *Ibrahim* equal to the Generoſity of his Brother. To this War many and various were the Motives; as firſt, A natural deſire of Revenge on the Coſſacks, for having infeſted the Black Seas, that they might thereby provoke *Poland* to a War, which when they had reduced to ſome Extremity, the Emperor would conſequently fall in to their Aſſiſtance, and thereby create Quarrels, which muſt neceſſarily open a large Field of Troubles; which being ſown with the Seed of Diſcord, could not fail to produce Cauſes and Pretentions for a War.

Reaſons for a War with the Coſſacks.

1640.

It being thus reſolved, to which the Vizier neither wanted Eloquence nor Reaſons to perſwade, great Preparations were made for a War, which was intended to be maintained for many Years: During which time, God, who diſpoſes all Things at his Pleaſure, permitted a falſe Report to fly, that the Perſians were providing a great Army to beſiege *Bagdat*; to which the Turks giving entire Credence, it was reſolved in the Divan, that thoſe Preparations againſt Chriſtendom, ſhould be diverted towards the Parts of the Eaſtern Countries. By this vain Rumour only were all theſe Grand Deſigns diſappointed, and all farther Thoughts vaniſhed for the preſent of moleſting the Chriſtians. From whence it is obſervable, how neceſſary are the Foreign Reſidences of Miniſters, and how abſurdly the Turks err; who, by reaſon of their Pride, vouchſafe not to entertain Ambaſſadors in the Courts of Strangers, being beholden to the Jews, or Armenian-Merchants for all their Intelligence they receive touching the Affairs of Neighbouring Kingdoms.

The Wars being thus ſuſpended, the Great Vizier had time to caſt his Eyes about him, and contrive the Ruin of ſuch whom he ſuſpected moſt dangerous to his Condition. Amongſt the reſt, none appeared more formidable than *Muſtapha* Paſha, Captain-Paſha, a young brisk Perſon, and Favourite of the Queen-Mother, whom to remove was difficult and dangerous, being a Vizier as well as he, and in one of the moſt eminent Degrees of Dignity in the whole Empire: And therefore that he might touch him with ſmooth and gentle Terms, he practiſed upon him the ordinary Decoy of Preferment, proffering him the Government of *Buda*; which whilſt the one ſeemed out of modeſty to refuſe, the other with the greater force of Complement, and obliging expreſſions of Friendſhip, preſſed him to accept. At length, overcome with importunity and kindneſs, *Muſtapha* received the Proffer; whereby being diveſted of the Queen's Protection, he was ſoon after overtaken in his Journey towards his Principality, and by another Mandate required to take his way to the Province of *Siliſtria*, the ſmalleſt, and moſt inconſiderable of the Empire: in which he was no ſooner inveſted, than a ſecond Edict took off his Head.

But another *Muſtapha*, more fortunate, was ſent Paſha to *Grand Cairo* in *Ægypt*; he was a mortal Enemy to the *Crim Tartar*, of whom he ſhewed his hatred at *Rhodes*, by putting his Son to Death, for having ſaid, That Sultan *Morat*, and Sultan *Ibrahim* dying without Iſſue, the Empire was to deſcend to his Family. This Son of Tartar was then at *Rhodes*, it being a Cuſtom always to have one of them as a Hoſtage for the Father's obedient Comportment towards the Turks, their place of Reſidence being either at *Rhodes*, or ſome Town on the Black Sea, as we have elſewhere declared.

The Sultan in this Interim had little regard unto the Government, both for want of Capacity, and by reaſon of his luxurious and wanton Appetite, the which he indulged in the higheſt exceſs of Senſuality; for having been accuſtomed to a Priſon, and Reſtraint, he knew not how to enjoy that freedom he had recovered, but by ſubjecting it to the imperious ſervitude of his Luſts. This Humor the Vizier and great Miniſters cheriſhed in him, by continual Banquets, Feaſts, and Entertainments; in which he always took

1640. took high contentment and ſatisfaction. His other Recreations were, Horſe-races, and Shooting with the Bow, rewarding the moſt dexterous Archers. Buſineſs was a Stranger to him, he knew not what it meant, nor thought there was other Employment for the Emperor than to ſtudy thoſe Paſtimes, which moſt correſponded with his Youth and Nature: only the Vizier would ſometimes, in Matters of high Importance, demand his Aſſent, which was either out of formality, or elſe to ſecure himſelf with the Name and Authority of his Maſter.

The News of Sultan *Ibrahim*'s promotion to the Throne being arrived at *Venice*, the moſt ſerene Republick diſpatched *Pietro Foſcarini* as their Ambaſſador Extraordinary to complement the Sultan. The Prince of *Tranſylvania* in like manner ſent his Tribute, which was ſome Hawks, and twelve Veſſels of Gilded Plate, as feudatary Acknowledgments for the Lands held, and for his Confirmation in the Principality.

Ambaſſadors ſent to complement Sultan Ibrahim.

The Miniſters of other Princes having paſſed the like Addreſſes, which were cuſtomary, the Ambaſſadors of *Poland* made Complaints of the Tartars, whoſe Incurſions againſt them, the Turks, by Conditions of Peace, were obliged to reſtrain; but in this, as in other Occaſions ſince that time, the Poles could obtain no Redreſs from the Turks, who willing to have the Chriſtians oppreſſed or ruined, either ſeemed not to give Credit to the Subject of Complaints, or elſe to find out Excuſes to acquit the Tartar; which being ſo known and common a Practice with the Turk, it is to be wondred why the Poles have ſent ſo many late Meſſages of this Nature, which in former, as well as in this preſent Age, have proved fruitleſs; a pregnant Example of which we ſhall find in the Reign of Sultan *Mahomet*, Son of this *Ibrahim*.

Amongſt other Corruptions of theſe Times, Aſpers were ſo cut and clipt, that the Dollar roſe from eighty to an hundred and twenty Aſpers; which Irregularity being complained of in the Divan, all Monies were reduced to their intrinſick Value; and the Aſpers called in to be coined in the Mint, to the great Damage of the People.

But this Matter will not appear ſtrange, if it be compared to the Vellion of *Spain*, and to the Permiſſion in *Turkey*, of the baſe Alloy of Temins, by which never any Nation before was ever ſo cheated and abuſed.

And now the Storms of War, which threatned from *Perſia*, being blown over, it was judged ſeaſonable to reaſſume the thoughts of War ſo long meditated againſt the Coſſacks: In order unto which, Gallies were commanded to be built, which ſhould draw little Water, and purpoſely made to paſs the Shoals on the Black Sea near *Aſac*, for the recovery of that Place out of the Hands of the Enemy. Another Squadron alſo of Gallies was deſigned for the *Archipelago*, to oppoſe the Gallies of *Malta* and *Naples*, which much infeſted thoſe Seas.

To the firſt Enterpriſe, the Tartar much excited the Turk, by reaſon that *Aſac* did not only hinder his Incurſions by Land, but rendred his Navigation in the Black Seas very unſecure. To the ſecond, The Gallies of *Malta* much provoked them, under the Command of *Frederick* the Landgrave of *Heſſe*; who by the Perſwaſions of the Cardinals of *Savoy*, and *Barberini*, from a Proteſtant was become a Roman Catholick, and had obtained the great Croſs of *Malta*; and with ſeveral Gallies and Ships, performed ſome Exploits at *Biſerta*, and at the *Golletta* near *Tunis*.

The Year 1641 being now entered, the Sultan paſſed a moſt Luxurious Life in his Seraglio, conſuming an immenſe Treaſure on his Women; and whilſt theſe two Fleets were preparing to proceed on their reſpective Expedition, that intended for *Aſac* had almoſt been diverted by the Rumors and Diſturbances on the Frontiers of *Hungary*; but they were ſoon afterwards appeaſed, by an appearance of an Envoy from the Emperor, and return of a Chiaus to *Vienna*, with Ratification of all the former Articles and Conditions of Peace. Howſoever the German Internuncio was braved at the Port, for not appearing ſooner with his Preſents and Complements of Congratulation, for the happy Entrance of Sultan *Ibrahim* to the Ottoman Throne; ſo apt are the Turks to believe Acts of Civility, or Ceremony, to be Parts of Obedience and Submiſſion; and what Chriſtians have once given them voluntarily, is afterwards exacted as a Matter of Debt or Duty. 1641.

And being thus freed from a Suſpicion of Troubles in *Hungary*, and exempted from the Fears of waging two Wars at once, (which the Turks always ſtudiouſly avoid) they diſpatched a Letter into *Poland*, to demand paſſage for their Army, through that Country, to the Siege of *Aſac*; but that not being conſented unto, the Turks prepared to open their way by Force, and the Poles to defend the Paſſage. In which interim, many Diſaſters concurred, ſufficient to diſcourage the Turks in their Deſign; who are a People, that ſuperſtitiouſly calculate the Succeſs of their Enterpriſes, by the difficulty or ſmooth ſucceſs of their firſt beginnings: For when the Vizier was ready to depart, a dreadful Fire happened in *Conſtantinople*, to the quenching of which, applying not only his Orders, but his own Perſon; he adventured ſo far, that he burned both his Hands, and ſinged his Beard in that manner, that he was forced to take his Bed for ſeveral Days, where he was honoured with a Viſit of the Sultan.

News alſo came at the ſame time, that *Tauris*, or *Ecbatan*, on the Borders of *Perſia*, was miſerably ruin'd by an Earthquake; and what was worſe, the Sultan himſelf was ſeized with an Apoplexy, which turned to a Paralytical Diſtemper, the Cauſe whereof was attributed to his exceſſive uſe of Women; to whom he was ſo immoderately addicted, that he conſumed his Days and Nights in their Apartments. This Diſeaſe, which is rarely or never cured, being joined to a Report given out by his Ladies, that notwithſtanding his Venereal Heat, he was yet Impotent as to Women; created a Belief, or at leaſt a ſtrong probability, that he might die without Iſſue, which cauſed high Confuſion in the Counſels of the Grandees, that no Deſign could make any chearful Progreſs, until Proviſion was firſt made for Supply of the Ottoman Houſe; for the Succeſſion of the Tartar was in no manner convenient or ſecure; but rather that the Throne ſhould be furniſhed with the Son of a Siſter, or of a Niece, than to ſubject themſelves to the Rule and Paſſions of a Foreign Prince. And though the Sultan did afterwards recover his Health, yet all ſuſpected and feared, that by the immoderate Heat of his Veneral Inclination, he would die without Children; every one diſcourſing, as moved by his Paſſion, or his Intereſt.

About this time arrived an Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople* from the Sofia of *Perſia*, bringing a Ratification of the Peace; who was ſo much the more welcome, by how much more the preſent

1641. ſent Conjuncture rendred it advantagious; and being uſhered in with exceeding rich Preſents, raviſhed the Hearts of the Turks, whoſe good Nature melts and diſſolves with the ſight or hopes of Gifts.

In *Dalmatia*, near the Confines of *Zara*, the Turks made Incurſions on the Venetian Territories, and cauſed ſome Diſturbances: but being chaſtiſed by an Ambuſh laid for them, whereby about two hundred of them periſhed; all Matters were again reconciled, and the Peace renewed.

And now one would imagine, that the Deſign againſt *Aſac*, by ſuch diverſity of Obſtructions, were abſolutely laid aſide; which though they were of that Importance, and eſpecially the fear of *Ibrahim*'s Death, to detain the Vizier at Home; yet he thought fit to proſecute the Deſign under the Command of the Paſha of *Siliſtria*, to whom he had committed the Conduct of this War.

The Siege of Aſac. The Paſha proud of his Charge, rejoiced to be imployed in a War, wherein he apprehended ſo little difficulty, and prognoſticated to himſelf nothing but Glory and Victory; eſteemed the Defendants for no other than Fiſhermen, and better experienced to ſail their Boats, and govern their Saiks in the Black Seas, than to draw up an Army in the Field, or defend their Walls. This Confidence was farther increaſed, by an Embaſſy at the ſame time from the Moſcovite, who not only renounced all Aſſiſtance or Concernment for that Town, but renewed with them his Friendſhip, and Articles of ancient Agreement.

The Ottoman Army, beſides Janiſaries, and other Turks, conſiſted of Moldavians, and Walachians, and a great number of Tartars, which at firſt entred into their Trenches, and beſieged the Town; but here they reſted not ſecurely, by reaſon of the frequent Sallies the Beſieged made upon them; and more eſpecially by the Mines which they ſprang, to the terror and damage of their Enemies. The Turks moved hereat, made furious Aſſaults, but were as valiantly repulſed by the Defendants, who threw ſcalding Water, and Pitch, and burning Sulphur upon the Aſſailants; ſo that not being able to take the Town by Force, they retired to their Trenches, and deliberated in what manner, by fair Promiſes, and Mony, they might invite them to Surrender. Hereupon the Captain-Paſha, the Tartar *Han*, and others, tried the Efficacy of large Proffers of Priviledges to the Town, their Country, and Inhabitants; with a Gratuity of twelve thouſand Hungers of Gold: But theſe Promiſes could make no more entrance into their Hearts, than the Turks could do into their Walls, which they ſeemed reſolute to defend, wanting neither Proviſion, nor Ammunition, nor courage for the War: but on the contrary ſide, all theſe were wanting in the Turkiſh Camp; ſo that fifteen days paſſed without any Action, until they were ſupplied by the arrival of certain Brigantines, and light Veſſels, diſpatched with all expedition with the neceſſaries of War: At the coming of which, the Turks prepared for another Aſſault, which they continued unceſſantly for the ſpace of ſeven days, but were received with that vigour by the Beſieged, that they could not gain one palm or inch of ground; So that at length with diſgrace, and diſcouragement, they were forced to give over their Attempt, deſpairing to gain the Town in the time, and with the Force which was allotted for this Enterprize.

With this ill Succeſs, Extremity and Famine 1641. pinched the Turks in their Trenches ſo much, that an Ox was ſold for fifteen Zechins, a Lamb for three, and a Meaſure of Barley, which ſerved a Horſe for one time, for a Dollar; ſo that at length they were forced to raiſe the Siege; and the Captain Paſha, by tempeſtuous Weather, was conſtrained to ſhelter his Fleet in the Port of *Caffa*. In their return Home, the General was fearful of having forfeited his Head; the Commanders were ſilent, and aſhamed of their Succeſs, and the Souldiers diſcouraged, famiſhed, and poor; for they had loſt three thouſand Spahees, ſeven thouſand Janiſaries, and eight hundred other Souldiers, beſides Moldavians, Walachians, and Tartars; thoſe that ſurvived of the Foot were naked, and many ſick; the Spahees were without Horſes, with which they were ſupplied by the Tartars; and in fine, ſo unſucceſsful were all Matters, that the Veteran Souldiery avouched, that they never endured a more cruel, nor a more miſerable War.

The juſt puniſhment of a Perſian Traytor. And now we ſhall end this Year 1641, with the ruin of *Emir Guimir*, a Perſian by Birth, a Favourite, and yet Traitor to his Natural Prince. This *Emir*, in the laſt Wars which Sultay *Morat* waged againſt *Perſia*, was entruſted with an Embaſſy, and with Conduct of part of his Army, but he betrayed both to the Turk, under whoſe Protection he took Sanctuary, and obtained great Gifts and Preferments, for a Reward and Price of his Treachery. Sultan *Morat* afterwards beſtowed a magnificent Seraglio upon him, ſituated on the *Boſphorus*, enriched him with a vaſt Treaſury, and what is more, with his Favour, making him his Companion in his Paſtimes, and his Confident in his ſerious Counſels: It was he that firſt perſwaded the Sultan to drink Wine, in which both of them were beaſtly intemperate, and mighty and valiant to bear, until the heat thereof having extinguiſhed the natural heat of their Stomachs, it became too cold and crude, unleſs corrected, or fortified with Rach, or diſtilled Spirits. The Fumes of ſuch ſtrong Drinks, were the cauſe of the extravagant Actions which *Morat* practiſed in his Life, and afterwards became the means to haſten his Death; whoſe days being ended, it was time alſo for proſperous Wickedneſs to expire, and to meet a Puniſhment equal to its Demerits. Wherefore one day, (having deſired Licenſe of the Vizier to return to his own Country, where it is believed he had by Mony purchaſed his Pardon) he was called to the Vizier's Preſence, and there, without any Impeachment, Proceſs, or Accuſation, had the String applied to his Throat, and ſtrangled on the place; the reaſon hereof ſome give, to be the immenſe Riches which Sultan *Morat* had beſtowed upon him, though there wanted not many Cauſes to render him ſuſpected, and obnoxious to the preſent Government; firſt, becauſe he was too well acquainted with the Secrets of the Seraglio, and of that State, to live in any other Country than the Turkiſh Dominions; then it was feared that the Perſian Ambaſſador might make uſe of this Perſon to act what Treaſon he pleaſed on the remainder of the Ottoman Family, on promiſe that ſuch an Attempt ſhould expiate his former Villany, and regain the favour of his natural Prince. But ſuch ſignal Actions as theſe, are commonly wrote in ſuch large Characters of Divine Juſtice, which never left Treaſon unpuniſhed, either in this Life or the other; that we need not ſearch or enquire for a further Cauſe or Occaſion of this Puniſhment.

The

1642. The Year 1642 being now entred, and the Turks desirous to repair their last Years Disgrace, resolved again, with better Preparation and Conduct, to attempt *Asac*; but before they would engage, according to their usual Custom, they determined to conclude all Umbrages, and Matters of Dispute arisen on the Confines of *Hungary*. To which end, the Emperor deputed the Baron of *Questemberg*, with other Barons; and the Turks on their side commissionated the Pashaws of the Confines, with Instructions not to insist too strictly on the Conditions, lest it should retard the Peace, and obstruct the other Design of War: Wherefore the Turks condescending to Matters reasonable, and yielding up part of their Usurpation, a Peace was concluded for twenty Years, much to the Advantage and Favour of the Christians.

The Birth of Sultan Mahomet. And now, to give farther Courage to the Prosecution of higher Attempts, the whole Turkish Empire was replenished with Joy, for the Birth of a young Prince Sultan *Mahomet*, that now reigns; so that the supposed Impotency of the Father (whereby the Ottoman Family might have been extinguished) was proved otherwise by plain Effect; and the fear of those that ruled the Empire vanishing by the Rising of this new Star, all places were filled with Joy and Triumphs; only the Tartar *Han* finding himself thus disappointed, was supposed not willing to concur heartily in this common Joy. In this manner vanished the appearance of Civil Dissention in that Family, which now flourishes and encreases every day, and insensibly creeps forward to the Design (which they hope) of an Universal Monarchy. Pardon me, O Christian Kings, if I say insensibly, for methinks you are sensible of the least touch you receive from one another, but feel not the gripes and pinches of your Common Enemy, who like a Hectick Feaver hath mingled with your Blood, and stolen into the Marrow of your Strength, where he will lurk until he hath dissolved the Fabrick of your Christian World, unless expelled by Concord amongst your selves, and the Divine Assistance favouring your united Forces.

The War renewed against Asac. But now to return again to the famous Siege of *Asac*; It being the custome to cast all Miscarriages in War on the General, the Visier displaced the Captain-Pasha, taking upon himself that Office and Title, of which there was never any former Example. In the Place likewise of the Pasha of *Silistria*, was constituted *Mustapha* Pasha of *Ægypt*; which Government, though much inferiour to his former, yet was received without sence of Disgrace, it not being the Riches or Power of any Office that confers Honour, but the Favour and good Will of the *Sulan*. Nor did only the Miscarriage of the late War tend to the disrepute of the former Pasha of *Silistria*, but the Report of his having poisoned the Tartar *Han* encreased the difficulty of reconcilement with his Superiors, which being a Matter rather suspected than proved, excused him from farther punishment than only a deprivation of his Office.

The new Pasha of *Silistria* thus taking upon himself the Command of the Army, and Conduct of this War, assembled a Force of *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Moldavians*, and *Walachians*, far exceeding the number of the last Year. At the News of which, and of the Fleet of Gallies designed to besiege them by Sea, they apprehended their Danger so great, that without the Assistance of the Moscovite, they concluded it impossible to defend their City; to him therefore they made Applications for Succour, representing unto him the extremity their Affairs were in, by reason of that powerful Enemy which threatned them; and that having always acknowledged him for their Protector, there was no Refuge left them but under the defence of his Arms. But hereunto the Moscovite gave a brief reply, That he had lately concluded Peace with the Turk; since which, having received from him no occasion of breach, he could not with any Justice engage so soon against him in a War. 1642.

The Inhabitants abandon Asac. The Cossacks being thus disappointed of their principal Hopes, resolved to abandon their City; but to make the best advantage of their flight, they carried with them all their Moveables; and demolished their Walls, and ruined their Houses, leaving the Place a notorious Spectacle of Despair and Ruin; and no other Possession to their Enemies, than the compass of so much ground pestered with Rubbish, and rude heaps of Stones. The Pasha howsoever abundantly contented, that his very Name was sufficient to affright his Enemies, entred the City with Triumph, where he began to repair the Walls, and invite the Inhabitants to return, with all assurance of Security, and Protection. This gentle Treatment recalled many back to their Homes, so hardly are Men weaned from their Native Country; and in a short time the City beginning to fill, all Matters seemed to return to their pristine State and Condition.

The Persian renews his Leagu. About this time the Persian, by his Ambassador, renewed his League with the Turk, and confirmed it in the Name of the new King; which was performed on condition that the *Sofi* should demolish the Fortress of *Fortrina*, which he had, contrary to Articles, built on the Frontiers, not far from the Caspian Sea; which that it might assuredly be performed, a Capugibathee was dispatched to see it effected.

And in this manner, *Asac* being subdued, and a Peace secured with the Persian; The Turks, who can neither live in quiet with their Neighbours, nor observe Capitulations longer than they turn to their advantage, contrived to take *Giavarine*, alias *Rab*, a strong Fortress on the Confines of *Hungary*, by a Stratagem which they designed in this manner: Certain Souldiers habited like Peasants, were crouded into several Carts, covered with Hay, which being entered within the Walls, were immediatly to leap forth, and surprise the Centinels and Guards at the Gates (which might easily be executed on Men, whom twenty Years before of Peace had made secure) these were to be seconded by four thousand Souldiers, which lay ready in a Neighbouring Vally; but it happened, That an Officer of the Garrison returning from Hunting, had by chance discovered this strong Party of Turks, which caused him to quicken his pace towards the Town, and overtaking in his way certain Carts of Straw, which appearing to be laden in a form different to what was usual, increased in him a farther suspicion of Treachery; howsoever, he proceeded forward with the more haste, yet without any appearance of Jealousy: until being entred into the Town, he declared what he had seen, at which the Garison was immediately in Arms; and having permitted the Carts to enter, the Bridg was drawn up, and the Carts being searched, the whole Fraud and Treachery was discovered; and having made the Turks Prisoners, and armed the Walls with Souldiers, the whole Design was disappointed; so that those who lay in Ambush returned to their own Cities. The Emperor hereupon resolved to send

The Turks seek to take Rab by Stratagem.

an

1642. an Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, to complain of this Treachery; whereof the Turks being aſhamed, and the more becauſe it did not ſucceed; refuſed to admit the Ambaſſador, unleſs the Emperor would firſt agree to pay a yearly Charge of an hundred thouſand Rix-Dollars to the Port; not by way of Tribute, but of Preſent; in which unreaſonable Demand, they took more confidence, in regard they perceived that the Emperor was engaged in a War againſt the *Swede*. Upon this diſhonourable Demand, the Emperor deferr'd the Embaſſy intended, ſuppoſing it leſs perilous to adventure a War in *Hungary*, than diſhonourable to condeſcend unto a Propoſition ſo derogatory to the Majeſty of his Ceſarean Greatneſs.

1643. This Year 1643 being entered, the Prince of *Tranſylvania* conveyed his Annual Tribute, being ten thouſand Zechins, to the Port; which when the Agents of that Prince preſented before the Vizier, he ſeemingly refuſed it; pretending that the compleat Tribute was to be fifteen thouſand, according to Agreement: but the Agents replied, that five thouſand had been remitted unto *Bethlem Gabor*, not by way of Gratuity or Recompence for his Service, but in Exchange, or as the price of two Cities, which the Prince had yielded to the Sultan, out of his own proper Eſtate in *Hungary*: With which Anſwer the Vizier remained ſatisfied, being jealous of the Turbulent and active Spirit of that Prince.

During all theſe Wars and Revolutions in Kingdoms and States, Sultan *Ibrahim* contained and contented himſelf within the Precincts of his Seraglio; where becoming a faithful and valiant Soldier of *Venus*, he conſumed more Treaſure in that War, than his Brother *Morat* did in Foreign Conqueſts; and being, as it were, entered into the Mahometan Paradiſe, where the Company of fair Women is the chiefeſt Felicity promiſed, he laboured to increaſe the Ottoman Family, and to acquit his People of the apprehenſion they had of wanting an Heir to ſucceed in the Throne; ſo that on the 15*th* of *February* he had a ſecond Son born, and a third on the 12*th* of *March* following; which abſolutely took away the Reproach of his Frigidity or Impotence, proving afterwards the moſt laſcivious and devout Sultan that ever aſpired to the Mahometan Heaven.

This Year the Turks armed out twenty Gallies more than uſual, beſides thirty Sail of Ships, and Gally-Groſſes; in the beginning of *June*, riding at the Seraglio Point (where the Commanders in Chief came to take their leave of Sultan *Ibrahim*) they divided into two Squadrons; one of which conſiſting of twenty Gallies, under the Command of *Beker* Paſha, took their Voyage into the Black Sea; the remainder under the Captain Paſha, ſailed for *Cyprus*, with intention to do Juſtice on the Paſha of that Iſland, whoſe Riches gained by Oppreſſion, had debauched him from due Obedience towards his Prince; and being arrived there, without Rumor or Noiſe, giving ſigns of good Will and Reſpects towards the Paſha, one day he ſent to invite him Aboard to banquet with him; where the Paſha fooliſhly coming, and having well eaten and drank with him, his Entertainment had not time time to digeſt, before he breathed his Laſt; for being on his departure, the Slaves aſſaulted him, and ſtrangled him by Order of the Captain-Paſha.

No other Matters remarkable did the Turkiſh Fleet perform this Year at Sea, before they returned again to their Winter-Quarters. Howſoever this Year proved favourable to many poor Chriſtians in Slavery; for there happening a moſt miſerable Plague in *Alexandria*, which relaxed the Spirits of Men, and rendered every one ſo negligent in his Office, that about four-thouſand Slaves taking advantage of ſuch Remiſneſs in their Guardians, ſeized a Ship in Port, and crouding themſelves therein, ſet Sail, and landed ſome of their People at *Candia*, others at *Malta*, the reſt at *Marſeillia*, by which means they happily regained their Liberty: on which incouragement eight hundred more adventuring to perform the like, and fighting in a Body at the Gate of *Alexandria*, three hundred of them were ſlain, the reſt leaped into a Gally, which though without Oars, had yet her Sails to the Yard, and having the fortune of a favourable Wind, arrived ſafe at *Candia*; in like manner they became free, taking convenient paſſage from thence to divers parts of Chriſtendom: Theſe Slaves were all redemanded by the Grand Signior from the Venetians; in which no Satisfaction being given, was one Cauſe and Original of that War which afterwards enſued. 1643.

And now the Year 1644 being begun, *Ragotski*, who was never contented but in Combuſtions, and never at eaſe but when he was proving new Projects, made Demands of certain Places on the Confines of *Moravia*, ſcituated within the Mountains, which he challenged as the Inheritance of his Son; beſides other Pretences which he made in right of *Bethlem Gabor*. To forward which Deſigns, moved with an inveterate Enmity to the Auſtrian Family, he endeavoured to win the Hearts of the Commonalty with a plauſible Declaration for Liberty, and to throw off the Yoke which had ſo long gauled the Neck of *Hungary*; whereby having raiſed an Army of twenty thouſand Horſe, and thirty thouſand Foot, he entred, and ſpoiled the Country of his old Enemy and Neighbour the Count of *Humanay* an Hungarian, took *Solnock* by force, and beſieged *Fileck*, and *Caſſovia*: For ſuppreſſion of which Inſurrection and Rebellion of *Ragotski*, the Emperor was forced to a War; and having Rendezvouſed his Army at *Fresbourg*, the Conduct thereof was committed to the Charge of Count *Puceain*. 1644

The Turks having intelligence of theſe Preparations for War, commanded twenty thouſand Men to march into thoſe Parts to oppoſe theſe Combuſtions on the Frontiers; with ſix-thouſand of which the Count *Puecaim* encountering furiouſly, aſſaulted and routed them. And in the mean time *Ragotski* laying aſide all care for the War in *Hungary*, applied himſelf to relieve *Olimz* in *Moravia*; but in his March thither he was recalled by the Inhabitants of *Sendar*, which is a Caſtle erected on a Hill near *Caſſovia*, offering to ſurrender unto him; but the Governor *Forgatz*, and the German Gariſon oppoſing this Mutiny of the People, a Civil War began amongſt themſelves, but at length the advantage falling unto *Ragotski*, the Gates were opened unto the Tranſylvanians; with which Succeſs their Spirits being raiſed to higher Matters, they proceeded forward, until General *Getz* with a ſtrong Body, gave a ſtop unto their Progreſs. And thus was the Fire of War rekindled again in *Hungary*, by means of *Ragotski*; to whom notwithſtanding the Turks would never adhere, being well acquainted with his turbulent and unſteady Humour. In the mean time the Emperor diſpatched his Ambaſſador with rich Preſents to the Sultan, deſiring him to forbear giving farther Aſſiſtance unto *Ragotski*; but what between Skirmiſhes,

1644. Skirmiſhes, Propoſitions, and Treaties, Matters were not compoſed until the 14*th* of *Auguſt* 1645, at which time all Articles were concluded and ſigned between the Emperor and *Ragotski*.

But to return now to the Affairs of *Conſtantinople*; Sultan *Ibrahim* having the Fortune of Active and Prudent Miniſters, attended entirely to his Paſtimes and Pleaſures, without Prejudice to his Intereſt, and the State of his Empire; for the firſt Vizier being Faithful and Vigilant, immediately cut off thoſe Members with the Sword, which he ſuſpected in the leaſt manner inclinable to Sedition; amongſt which were the Paſhaws of *Aleppo* and *Caffa*. For by this kind of ſeaſonable and ſpeedy Remedies, the Plethory of the Ottoman Empire is commonly evacuated, and the Body Politick thereof reſtored to its priſtine ſtate of Health and Safety.

In like manner the *Valede Sultana*, being a Woman of great Courage and Abilities, attended carefully to the Welfare of her Son, whom ſhe ſometimes decked up, and ſet forth as a Property of Majeſtick Gravity to the People, whilſt ſhe her ſelf aſſumed the Authority, and carried all things with a high and imperious Spirit; and being ambitious to be feared as well as honoured, ſhe laid violent Hands on the firſt Vizier, called *Muſtapha*, and ſtrangled him; for though he was an Active and Faithful Miniſter, yet becauſe he paſſed ſomething on her which ſhe imagined did ſavour of neglect, and becauſe ſhe apprehended his Power, which was greatly confirmed by the Intereſt and Favour he had with the Janiſaries, and their Favourers, ſhe reſolved to make him an Example, as well of her Revenge, as her Power; after whoſe Death the Charge of firſt Vizier was conferred on *Mahomet* the Paſha of *Damaſcus*.

The ſame Fate befel the Captain-Paſha, who was likewiſe ſtrangled for having over-boldly, or peremptorily, made anſwer to ſome Impertinencies of the Grand Signior; and his Office was afterwards conferred on *Beker* Paſha of *Rhodes*. With ſuch Rigour as this do the Sultans govern, who reſolve to be obeyed, and to have their Commands executed without delay or contradiction.

The Tartars make Incurſions into Poland, notwithſtanding the Peace.

Whilſt theſe Matters were in agitation, the Tartars forgetful of their Peace, made another Incurſion with thirty thouſand Men into *Ruſſia*, againſt whom *Koniſpolski* having made Head with twenty thouſand Men only, overthrew them, and killed twelve thouſand, and took three thouſand Priſoners, purſuing the reſt to the Borders of *Wallachia*. In like manner *Wiſnowick*, a noble Polander, happily encountred another Party of Tartars, as they were on their return from ſpoiling the Countries of *Moſcovia*; of whom having killed 10000 Men, he recovered their Booty, and ſent the reſt Home naked and empty. This was the true and moſt effectual Means for the Polanders to avenge and right their Injuries, and more prevalent than Ambaſſies and Meſſages of Complaint unto the Port; which we have experienced ſince, and in the preſent Reign of the Son of *Ibrahim*, to have been ſo far from producing Matter worthy ſo much as the Charge of the Ambaſſador, that they have been retorted with Ignominy and Affronts.

But here *Ibrahim* perceiving how the Poles had avenged themſelves with their own Sword, would ſeem to approve of the Action, which he could not hinder; and to appear a ſincere Obſerver of the Peace, he depoſed the Tartar *Han* for his unlawful Incurſions; which was ſuch a ſatisfaction to the Crown of *Poland*, as they never could obtain by force of Juſtice, Complaints, and Vertue of paſſive Valour, until their active Fortitude took their Cauſe in Hand, and pleaded for them. 1644.

On the 19*th* of *March* of this Year, a fourth Son was born to Sultan *Ibrahim*; and on the 19*th* of *February* following, being in the Year 1645, notwithſtanding all the Reports of his Impotency, was born a fifth Son, named *Solyman*, to the great contentment of his People.

The Turks Gallies this Year, under the Command of *Beker* their new Captain-Paſha, made an Attempt on the Coaſt of *Calabria*, bringing from thence two hundred Slaves; and attempting the like near *Corton*, paid for their former Booty, with the loſs of five hundred Men.

Howſoever, the Gallies of *Malta*, being ſix in number, had better Succeſs as to themſelves, though the Conſequences thereof proved fatal to the Venetians, having given the firſt occaſion of that long War, which afterwards enſued between the Turk and them.

The Story of Kuzlir Aga, his Slave and Son taken by the Maltezes.

The truth of which Story is this, free of all Romance or Fable, which the Knights of St. *John* or *Malta* would mix therewith: It happened that the Kuzlir Aga, or chief Eunuch, which governs the Women in the Signior's Seraglio, having caſt his Eye on a fair Slave, then ſet to ſale by a Perſian Merchant, became ſo enamoured of her, that he purchaſed her for himſelf, under the Notion of a Virgin, at the price of four hundred and fifty Dollars: But the Eunuch had not long entertained this Lady in his Service, before ſhe proved with Child; not by him (you may conceive) if you underſtand how the Eunuchs of this Country are diſarm'd of their Virility: At which he was ſo greatly offended, that he baniſhed her from his Society, and confined her to the Houſe of his Steward. The time being come for her to be delivered of her great Belly, it proved a Son; and ſome Months after, the Aga being deſirous to ſee the Babe, was ſo pleaſed with the Aſpect of it, that he reſolved to adopt it for his own, ordering it Cloaths, and other Neceſſaries agreeable to its Condition. It happened that about that time Sultan *Mahomet* (which now reigns) was then born; and there wanting a Nurſe for the Child, this beautiful Slave was preferred to the Honour; ſo that ſhe was entertained near two Years in the Seraglio: During which time Sultan *Ibrahim* took ſuch an affection to the Nurſe's Boy, that he loved him better than his own eldeſt Son, who was of a bad Complexion, and of no better Air in his Face than his Father, and took great delight to play and ſport with him; at which the Mother of Sultan *Mahomet* was ſo diſpleaſed, that ſhe could not longer endure either Nurſe or her Boy; and for her ſake, took ſo much diſpleaſure againſt the Kuzlir Aga, who preferred her, that neither his Preſence nor Service were acceptable; and ſo violent ſhe was in her Paſſion, that one day, when Sultan *Ibrahim* was playing with his Women and Children in the Garden, according to his uſual Cuſtom, throwing them one on the other into the Water, the Queen grew ſo furious, that ſhe could not contain longer from venting her Anger in unhanſome Terms, and jealouſy againſt the Nurſe and her Son. At which the Sultan being much diſpleaſed, and being ill-natured, (if we may ſpeak boldly of an Emperor) took her Son (which is now Sultan *Mahomet*) out of her Arms, and with ſome few Curſes ſwung him into a Ciſtern; where he had been certainly drowned, had not every one in that inſtance applied themſelves to ſave him; at which

1644. which time he received the Mark or Scar he wears at this day in his Forehead.

All theſe Matters ſerved for farther Fuel to nouriſh the implacable Spirit of the Queen; which the Kuzlir Aga well obſerving, judged it prudence to give way to her Fury, and ſo begged his Diſmiſſion from the Court, together with his Slave and Son; and that having viſited *Mecha*, according to his Law, he might enjoy a Retirement in *Egypt*, which is the Portion of baniſhed Eunuchs.

The Queen eaſily conſented hereunto; nor was it difficult to procure the Licence of the Sultan, who was as eaſily perſwaded to any by thoſe who were about him; wherefore the Eunuch having provided to be gone, ſhipped himſelf with his great Treaſure, on the Fleet which was now deſigned, and ready to depart for *Alexandria*, which conſiſted of three Ships; one a great Gallion, and two others of leſſer Burthen, and ſeven Saiks; theſe having at the beginning of their Voyage found contrary Winds, put into *Rhodes*; from whence looſing with more favourable Weather, they unfortunately met with ſix *Malta* Gallies, excellently well manned, and provided. The Admiral Gally immediately Boarded one of the Saiks, and took her, manned only by Greeks; by whom they were informed of the Condition, Quality, and Cargo of the greater Ship, which gave Heat and Reſolution to the Souldiery. In like manner, with little Oppoſition, the Gallies called the St. *John*, and *Joſeph*, poſſeſſed themſelves of one of the leſſer Ships, which being laden only with Timber, brought from the Black Sea, to build Ships at *Alexandria*, was of little value, having forty Turks aboard, eight Women, and a Child which ſucked at the Mother's Breaſt. In the mean time, the three other Gallies, called the St. *Mary*, St. *Lorenzo*, and *Victory*, attacked the great Gallion, and having caſt their Iron Graples into the Ship, with the Motion of the Ship, the Irons gave way and broke, only that of the St. *Lorenzo* held faſt, ſo that the whole force of the Ship, both of ſmall and great Shot, was poured in upon the Gally, to their damage and loſs of Men. In the mean time the Admiral Gally came in to their Aſſiſtance, and Aſſaulting the Ship on the other Quarter, made a Diverſion of their Men; and having thrown in their Graples, they ſcaled the ſides of the Gallion, as if it had been a Fortreſs; where being entred, they remained for ſome time at handy-blows with the Turks; but at length, all the Gallies coming to their help, having made an end of ſubduing the other Ships, the Turks were forced to retire under Covert of their Decks, which they defended ſtill with ſingular Valour, wounding the Chriſtians with their half Pikes through the Gratings.

The Engagement of the Turkiſh with the Malta Gallies.

But, in fine, the Captains of the Gallies, perceiving that this was not the way to compel them to a ſpeedy Surrender, ordered ſeveral Muſquetiers out of every Gally, to fire in at the Windows and loop-holes of the Ship; by which having killed their Commander in Chief, their Valour and Conſtancy began to fail, and deſirous to ſave their lives with loſs of Liberty and Eſtates, they caſt down their Arms, and begged Mercy.

In this Engagement were killed the Captain of the St. *Mary*, and ſeven Cavaliers, of which five were French, one Italian, and one German; the Admiral himſelf, and the Captain of his Gally were both wounded; ſeventy nine Souldiers and Mariners killed, and an hundred thirty two wounded: Of the Turks it is not certain how many fell, in regard as they were killed, according to Cuſtom, they caſt them over-board; the Eunuch himſelf, though always educated in the ſoftneſs of the Seraglio, and in the Converſation of the Female Court, yet in the end concluded his days like one of the Maſculine Sex, fighting valiantly with his Sword, until overwhelmed by his Enemies: by which it is obſervable, that thoſe Perſons loſe not their Courage with their virile Parts; for it hath been known in former days, how that Eunuchs have been Generals in the Turkiſh and other Armies, and conducted their Affairs with admirable Courage and Succeſs. 1644.

The Prize which the Chriſtians had gained in this manner, was very conſiderable; for beſides the Gold, Silver, and Jewels, which were the Treaſure this Eunuch had amaſſed in the Reign of three ſeveral Sultans, they gained three hundred and fifty Slaves, beſides thirty Women, ſome of which were young and Virgins; ſo that there was not a Souldier or Seaman who had not a conſiderable ſhare of benefit proportioned unto him. With this Fortune, towing their Prizes, they in a ſhort time came to an Anchor in the Port of *Caliſmene*, in the Iſland of *Candia*, called anciently *Phenice*, on the South-ſide of the Iſland, remote from all Venetian Gariſons; and where (as it is reported) they were ſupplied with no Proviſions, excepting a ſmall quantity of Biſket, which was furniſhed by a Country Fellow, who for that very Cauſe was ſhot to Death. From hence the Gallies departing, arrived in *Malta* with their Prizes, where they were received in great Triumph. The young Son of the Eunuch (for ſo we call him) was reported to be a Son of the Grand Signior, ſent into *Egypt* to be Educated, and was accordingly ſaluted, treated, and reverenced by the Grand Maiſter; the ſame Opinion was diſperſed and confirmed in all parts of *Europe*, and the Errour for many Years maintained at the Expence of the * Religion, until the Boy growing up to a good Age, and not judged worthy of a Ranſom, or enquiry after by the Turks, it was thought convenient for him to put off his State, and Greatneſs, and become a Fryer, and I think a Dominican, and this is he who now goes under the name of the *Padre Ottomano*.

* *Of the Knights of Malta.*

The News hereof arriving at the Ottoman Court, Sultan *Ibrahim* was tranſported with Anger, threatning Deſtruction and Ruin unto *Malta*; beſides he ſhewed a moſt inveterate Paſſion againſt the Venetians, for not guarding the Seas from his Enemies, and for relieving them in their Ports. In which Rage and Fury, he put his own Captain Paſha to death, and Summoned the Chriſtian Ambaſſadors, braving them all for the little reſpect was ſhown to his proper Shipping; and in ſhort, was angry with all, but reſerved the Effect of his Wrath to be poured on the Venetians, to which this Accident adminiſtred the firſt Original, and will afford us ample matter of Diſcourſe in this enſuing Hiſtory.

For the Grand Signior firſt made his Complaints againſt *Venice*, to their Miniſter, or Bailo, then reſident at *Conſtantinople*, called *Soranço*; alledging, that contrary to the Articles of Peace, they had afforded Proviſions and Entertainment to his Enemies in *Candia*, and at a time when having made Prize of his own Ship, and [illegible] ſtiques of his Seraglio, they ſeemed, with more extraordinary demonſtrations of Hoſpitality than uſual, to receive them into their Harbours.

To

1644. To which the Bailo made Anſwer, That his Majeſty was ill informed of the true ſtate of thoſe Matters; for that the Port to which the Malteſes came, had neither Caſtle nor Fortreſs belonging to it, but was an open, wide, and unfortified place; for if the Grand Signior is not able to defend thoſe Ships from careening, as they have often done before *Rhodes* it ſelf, how was it poſſible for the Venetians to drive them from the Seas, and deny them the uſe of that Salt Water, which hath neither Fort nor Caſtle to reach and command them? With which Anſwer *Ibrahim* ſeemed to remain ſatisfied; and Matters appeared ſo appeaſed on the ſide of the Venetians, that *Soranço*, though a Perſon of a moſt acute and penetrating Judgment, imagined nothing leſs than a War: and though he was aſſured otherwiſe, by ſomething that the Engliſh Ambaſſador had diſcovered in that Matter; yet becauſe it came not firſt from the Report of one of his own Interpreters, he would not ſeem to believe or give credit thereunto, notwithſtanding the ſtrong Probabilities that might perſwade it.

Indeed, Chriſtian Miniſters muſt neceſſarily, with much Difficulties, and leſs Inſpection, govern and penetrate Affairs in the Turkiſh Court than in any other; becauſe acceſs to the great Miniſters is ſeldom privately or familiarly admitted, from whence wiſe Men moſt commonly take their Meaſures and Obſervations; but on the contrary, are forced to act all by the Negotiation, of their Druggermen or Interpreters; and as they hear with their Ears, ſo are they often-times beholden to their Reflections; which how ſubject they may be to Error, is beſt known to thoſe Miniſters who have practiſed much and long in that Court.

And in this manner *Ibrahim* covered his Deſign againſt *Candia*, by pretence of making War upon *Malta*, to which he had lately received ſo juſt a provocation.

To this Enterprize, none inſtigated him more than a certain Hagia, or Tutor, which had accompanied him in the time of his Solitude, and had inſtructed him in the firſt Principles of the Mahometan Doctrine; he was a ſubtil and underſtanding Man, and one who kept a ſecret Correſpondence in the Chriſtian Courts; for being Maſter of what Gold he pleaſed, he paid for his Intelligence with Liberality and Secreſy; and though he was no Prophet, yet he pretended to be a Magician, or Conjurer, or one that had a Command or Soveraignty over Familiar Spirits; an Excellency greatly admired and reverenced by the Turks. This Man had for a long Seaſon attended an opportunity to promote a War againſt *Venice*; eſteeming their Territories very convenient to be laid to the Turkiſh Dominions, and their Force an under-Match for the Puiſſance of the Ottoman Empire. And now this Accident provoking the Deſire of the Turks to this War, and the Opportunity appearing commodious to cover the Deſign, under pretence of Aſſailing *Malta*, it was ſecretly reſolved to attempt the Iſland of *Candia*; for as its Strength and Situation made it the Key to all the other Iſles of the *Archipelago*, ſo it would be the Bullwark of the Maritime Countries, from whence the Paſſage would be ſhort and eaſy into *Africa*; from whence the Gallies might advantagiouſly relieve *Cyprus*, and guard the Fleet from *Egypt*, and from thence might be opened a Door to invade *Sicily*, and the other parts of *Italy*. On theſe Conſiderations, War being reſolved againſt *Candia*, Reports divulged the Deſign only againſt *Malta*, and for that end, Orders were iſſued for 1644. building and fitting an hundred Gallies, and as many Ships of War; and Commands ſent into *Barbary* for aſſiſtance of all their Naval Forces, and the Day appointed for Rendezvous and Departure; all which time the Enterprize was kept ſecret, and by no more Symptoms ſuſpected, unleſs by the unuſual Careſſes the Turks at that time over-acted in their officious kindneſs towards the Venetian Bailo.

The Report of theſe great Preparations flying over all Parts of *Europe*, was entertained at *Malta*, with ſome Apprehenſions, as being the Place on which all the Storm was to refund its Fury.

Whereupon the Cavaliers or Knights of that Place, ſummoning a Council, reſolved to cite all the Fraternity to repair to the Defence of their Capital Seat, and of their Order and Patrimony. Likewiſe Letters were directed to the ſeveral Officers, to prepare and ſend Powder, Match, and Lead, Iron Buckets, and Timber to make Carriages for Cannon, and for other Uſes; as alſo Corn, Biſket, Salt, Fleſh and Fiſh, Vinegar, Wine, and all other ſorts of Ammunition. They likewiſe inſtituted ſome Officers over the Waters, to ſee that the Fountains and Conduits ſhould be made clear which were to ſerve the City; and that thoſe without, that were to remain in the poſſeſſion of the Enemy, ſhould be carefully and artificially poiſoned; all the Mills remaining in the Fields were tranſported into the Town; the Doors and Windows of Wood belonging to the Peaſants Houſes, were taken down and carried into the City, with all their Utenſils, and what elſe was portable, ſo that nothing remained but the wide Fields, and an open Air to breath in.

In the mean time, the Venetians being a wiſe and jealous State, ſuſpected the worſt of all Events, and feared what their Miniſter at *Conſtantinople* could not diſcover; which cauſed them to make ſome Preparations, but yet with that dexterity and ſecreſy, as not to render them diffident of the Turks Proceedings. For to be jealous of a Friend, is ſometimes to make him an Enemy; and Diſtruſt always argues Diſaffection, which Prudence teaches to conceal from thoſe who are more powerful than our ſelves. Some were notwithſtanding of Opinion, that the Complaints of *Ibrahim* were only Artifices to extract the Blood of Gold, which they judged fit to adminiſter, if it were poſſible to ſatisfy the Appetite of thoſe Leeches. Others were of a contrary ſenſe, and would by no means admit it for good Counſel, or Policy, to buy their Peace of the Turk; for, beſides that it was diſagreeable to the Grandeur of *Venice*, it was but a Shadow that they purchaſed, ſince their Enemies could on every ſlight Occaſion reaſſume what they had ſold, and make the Menaces of War, and the Sale of Peace, ſerve them for a perpetual Fountain, and Mine of Gold and Treaſure; and that ſince it was neceſſary, at one time or other, to caſt off this Yoke of Tyranny; the ſooner it was done, the Advantage would be the greater, and the Honour more apparent to the World, ſeeming to make War rather their Choice, than their laſt Remedy. However Orders were given to the Bailo, with all Prudence and Art, to touch gently the Pulſe of the Turks, to diſcover if Mony would redeem the preſent Quiet of their State.

But the Reſentment that the Turks had conceived, was grown apparent in the comportment towards the Bailo; for having one day demanded

1644. Audience, he attended ſeveral hours without admiſſion; yet when the Ambaſſador of *Ragotski* come to the Vizier, he no ſooner entred the Houſe than he was received: and at the ſame time it was told the Bailo, that he might retire, for that there was no Place nor Seaſon at preſent to afford him Audience. In the mean time *Ibrahim* himſelf walked often to the Arſenal, to forward and haſten his Preparations, laying an Embargo on all Strangers Veſſels in all Ports of the Ottoman Dominions. Orders were likewiſe diſpatched to *Thebes*, *Negropont*, and other Parts of *Greece*, for making Bisket; and to the *Morea* for cutting and ſquaring of Timbers, and ſacking Wools to fill up Trenches; in all which Rumor and Stir, there was no other diſcourſe but of *Malta*, and of throwing that Iſland into the Sea with the Shovel and Mattock, and rendring it the moſt dreadful Example in the World of the Ottoman Rage and Greatneſs.

With ſuch Preludes as theſe, began a War of long continuance, maintained with various Succeſſes for divers Years; the fatal Iſſue whereof, we our ſelves have ſeen and heard. But it is ſtrange to conſider, that an Exploit ſo Martial as this, ſhould commence in the Reign of a Sultan wholly given up to his Pleaſures, and ſo ſwallowed in Senſuality, that all thoſe luxurious and wanton Actions which are recounted of *Sardanapalus* and *Heliogabalus*, are flat and faint Similitudes of that prodigious Effeminacy, in which this Sultan outdid all other Examples of former Ages.

Amber was the common Perfumes which burned perpetually in the Womens Apartments, and the common Sauce to moſt of his Viands; not perhaps becauſe it ſo much pleaſed his Palate, as that it was a provocative, and incitement to his Luſts.

And this puts me in mind of a Story I have heard of an Engliſh Merchant, living then at *Galata*, who was Maſter of a rare piece of Ambergrieſe, which was in form like a Pyramid; the News whereof was told to the Grand Signior late at Night, when the Smoke of the Perfumes began to abate: Which ſo ſoon as he heard, though it was near Midnight, he diſpatched a Meſſenger to call the Merchant with his Ambergrieſe; who being knocked out of his Bed in haſte, by the importunity of the Officer, came to the Seraglio Gate two hours before Day; where he attended until it was broad Light, and then, without more words, found a Market for his Amber, and before his departure received 13 thouſand Dollars. The Female Court was then extreamly rich and ſplendid, all *Italy* was ſcarce able to ſupply it with Silks, and Cloth of Gold; ſo that the Trade was in thoſe days flouriſhing above other Times, and gave great employment to Engliſh Shipping: and ſo impatient were the Women for their Gay Cloaths, that ſo ſoon as the News of a Ship from *Italy* came, and that ſhe was arrived within the Caſtles of the *Helleſpont*, but there detained by contrary Winds, Gallies were immediately diſpatched to bring up their Silks, which they oftentimes forced away without any Account or Price made with the Merchant; of which that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Thomas Bendyſh* then Ambaſſador, complaining to the Vizier, and finding no other Relief than good Words, reſolved on an Expedient of making known his Cauſe to the Grand Signior, which was this.

In *Turkie* they have a Cuſtom, that when any one receives a notable Injury, or Injuſtice, from the Chief and Great Miniſters of State, they put Fire on their Heads, and running to the Grand Signior, no Man can hinder or deny them acceſs to his preſence. In like manner the Engliſh Ambaſſador not being able to obtain Satisfaction from the Vizier, in return to his many Complaints, drew out all the Engliſh Ships in *Galata*, which were then thirteen in number, and drawing in their Guns, and ſhutting the Ports, put fire on every Yard-Arm of their Ships, and came to an Anchor juſt before the *Seraglio*. The Cuſtomer being the firſt that eſpyed this unuſual ſight, immediately apprehended the Reaſon, and ſent to acquaint the Vizier thereof in all haſte; the Vizier likewiſe fearful leſt the Complaints ſhould by this means come to the Grand Signior's Ear, ſent the Cuſtomer aboard with a conſiderable part of the Mony, and deſired that the Fires might be extinguiſhed, promiſing faithfully to comply in paiment of the reſt; hereupon Conſultation being had between the Ambaſſador and the Merchants, the Ships returned to their Stations, not ſeeming to have been taken notice of by thoſe in the Seraglio. 1644.

And notwithſtanding the great number of Women within the Seraglio, all which were at the Devotion of the Sultan; yet *Ibrahim* not being contented herewith, paſſing one day to *Scutari*, had by chance caſt his eye on an object which much pleaſed him: what it was, becomes not the modeſty of my Pen to relate; but being returned to his Seraglio, he ſent Orders to the Vizier, to ſeek out for him the biggeſt, and beſt proportioned Woman which was to be found in all *Conſtantinople*, and the parts thereabouts. Hereupon Emiſſaries were diſpatched into all Quarters of the City; at length they happily procured a huge tall Armenian Woman, well proportioned according to her height, and a Gianteſs for her Stature; which being found, ſhe was preſently waſhed and perfumed in the Bath, and as richly Cloathed and Adorned as the ſhortneſs of time would permit: There was no great difficulty to perſwade her to become Turk, having ſo high preferment in her proſpect. So that being introduced to the Grand Signior's preſence, he became immediately Enamoured, and was ſo pleaſed with her Society, that he preferred her before all the Women of his Court; an Evidence whereof he gave, in that he could not deny her in any requeſt ſhe could make, and particularly about that time the Paſhaluck of *Damaſcus* being void, this Woman begged it for her ſelf, ſubſtituting another in the Office, who was accountable to her for all the Profits and Emoluments thereof: By theſe particulars of favour the Queen-Mother becoming jealous, one day inviting her to Dinner, cauſed her to be ſtrangled, and perſwaded *Ibrahim* that ſhe died ſuddenly of a violent Sickneſs, at which he poor Man was greatly afflicted.

But not to inſiſt long on theſe luxurious Paſtimes, we ſhall return again to Matters of higher Concernment: *Ibrahim* had now underſtood, that the Venetians growing jealous of his Preparations, began likewiſe to Arm, and provide for the worſt; which being in no wiſe pleaſing to the Turks, who were apprehenſive that their Marine Forces conſiſted moſt in ſurprize, cauſed *Ibrahim* to complain of the Defenſive Poſture in which they Arrayed themſelves, alledging that Suſpicions of this Nature argued no hearty Diſpoſition towards their Friends; nor was any thing more contrary to a good Correſpondence, or more diſobliging than ſuch like Jealouſies, which oft-times beget that Enmity which was never deſigned; and farther it was judged neceſ-

ſary

1644. ſary, if poſſible, to diſſwade the Bailo from a belief of any Hoſtility deſigned againſt his Republick; to inculcate which, none was eſteemed ſo proper an Inſtrument as the old cheating *Hogia*, who was the firſt Motive to the War; a Preacher who imagined that the excellency of his Religion afforded him a privileg to falſify, lye, and commit any Act for advantage thereof, though never ſo contrary to Truth and Morality. This *Santone*, with the Teſtimony of one or two more grand Profeſſors, with many Aſſeverations and Vows, endeavoured to perſwade the Bailo, of the Grand Signior's good Intentions towards *Venice*, and his fixed Reſolutions to deſtroy *Malta*. And though the Concernment which thoſe godly Elders ſhewed, and the earneſtneſs they uſed, whereby to inculcate a Credence to what they affirmed, were enough to diſcover their contrary Intentions; and though it is ſaid, that the Venetians could not heartily believe what they ſo ſtrongly ſuſpected; yet hereby, and by the common vogue of the People, they abated much of their Caution and Heat, which they otherwiſe had uſed in due Preparations and Proviſions againſt an Evil ſo fatal and deſtructive in the ſequel.

The beginning of the War.

The firſt Act of Hoſtility was committed by *Giacomo da Riva*, who being ſent for Sopraveditor to *Tino*, was in his way to touch at *Candia*, there to deliver Ammunition and Proviſions for War; but being encountered by ſome barbarous Veſſels, who aſſailed him for a Merchants Ship of ſmall Force, were received ſo warmly that he ſunk one of them, with which the reſt left him and fled, relating at *Conſtantinople*, that they had been ill treated by the Venetians, and that they gave the firſt Aſſault upon them, becauſe they were called to the Aſſiſtance and Service of the Grand Signior.

The Fleet and Land Forces being already put to Sea, the Report and Opinion ſtill continued, that the War was deſigned againſt *Malta*; wherefore ſuch as apprehended the Hazard, and were acquainted with the Difficulty of ſuch an Enterprize, began to inform the Grand Signior how impoſſible it was that this Action ſhould be accompanied with good ſucceſs. To which Arguments he made no other reply, than by a ſeeming obſtinacy, reſolved with the Ottoman Sword, to cut all thoſe Knots and Difficulties which oppoſed him in the Work. At length one *Salee Efendi*, a Preacher, who had obtained ſome more than ordinary Eſteem with the Grand Signior, adviſed him, That before he commenced a Work of that importance, he ſhould inform himſelf of the true ſtate of that Place, from a certain Aga, who was lately returned from *Malta*. The Grand Signior being very willing to hear any thing of this nature, called the Aga, who related to him how impregnable both the City and Caſtle were; how the Knights were provided againſt all Aſſaults; that the Iſland it ſelf is only a Rock, not containing Earth enough for an Army to intrench; that the Approaches muſt be made by the Pick-Axe and Mattock, it being all Stone. In ſhort, it was not a place to be taken in one Summer, and the Winter coming on, it affording no ſhelter, nor proviſions of it ſelf, was not capable of relief in Seas ſo ſtormy, and from Countries ſo remote, without hazards, loſſes, and frequent Shipwracks. *Ibrahim*, who had deſigned all along to make War upon *Candia*, ſeemed little concerned or moved at this Diſcourſe. The Gallies and Ships which were now all in a readineſs, being come forth to the Seraglio point, the Grand Signior entered his Grand Chiosk, 1644. ſituated on the Bank of the Sea; where the Selictar Aga, General, and all the Chief Commanders, came to perform the uſual Ceremonies of Obedience and Duty before their Departure. At this ſolemn Aſſembly the Grand Signior declared, That his Intentions were to make War upon the Infidels, according as every one ſhould underſtand by his reſpective Commiſſions, which ſhould now be delivered unto them: That he expected the higheſt Demonſtrations of Courage in them imaginable, and what was agreeable to the Conductors of the Ottoman Armies: That Reward and Puniſhment were in his Hands, and that he reſolved to diſpenſe them according to their Merits: That they ſhould not doubt of all due Aſſiſtance and Succours; for he had ſo well contrived, and ſo juſtly fitted all his Meaſures, that he was already provided of Men, Timber, Ammunition, and Mony ſufficient to maintain and carry on this War for ſeven Years. At which they all gave a ſhout, and declared, that they were ready to ſpend their Blood and Lives in Execution of his Commands. Whereupon every one received a rich Coftan, or Veſt, and the General a Scimitar ſet with Diamonds; who being a young Man of about 26, or 27 Years of Age, had a Council of ſix graver Paſha's allowed him; and then the Commiſſion for the War was brought forth ſealed, with Orders not to open it, until they were paſt the *Dardanelli*. Hereat the noiſe of great and ſmall Shot from the Gallies and Ships, reſounded through all *Conſtantinople*, and the Commanders repairing to their Veſſels, the Aſſembly broke up, and every thing was put in a poſture to make Sail.

It was now the laſt day of *April*, 1645, old 1645. Style, when the Fleet firſt broke ground, which conſiſted of 73 Gallies, beſides the 8 Gallies of *Barbary*; 2 Mahons, or Galleaſſes, one great Gallion called the *Sultana*, 10 Ships of *Alexandria*, 2 of *Tunis*, and 10 of Engliſh and Dutch Ships, which coming to *Conſtantinople* for Trade, were there preſſed into the Service, with about 300 Saiks and Caramuſſals, which carried Souldiers, Proviſions, Ammunition, and Utenſils for War. Their Militia conſiſted of 7000 Janiſaries, 14000 Spahees, and about 50000 Timariots, and other Souldiers, with about 3000 Pioniers; theſe all were to Rendezvous at *Scio*; where they arrived the *7th* of *May*. But before their departure from *Conſtantinople*, the Bailo *Soranzo*, or the Venetian Ambaſſador, thought fit, in Complement, and for diſcovery, to make a viſit to the Captain-Paſha, by whom he was received with frank Courteſy, and aſſurance of Friendſhip; ſo that though he ſuſpected the worſt, yet could he collect no certain aſſurances of Peace, or War; however he adviſed Signior *Cornaro*, then Governour of *Candia*, that though he could not certainly penetrate into the bottom of the Turks Deſign, yet he apprehended that the Storm might fall on that Kingdom, underſtanding that the Captain-Paſha was not well inclined towards the moſt Serene Republick: wherefore, he ought to be watchful and circumſpect, yet with as little demonſtration of jealouſy as was poſſible; ſo that if the Turks ſhould there arrive, he ſhould afford them all conveniencies of Watering, Proviſions, and other Refreſhments.

The Fleet being departed from *Scio*, for *Napoli di Romagnia*, the Northern Wind ſo freſhned, and blew ſo hard, that the Gallies were ſeparated, and forced to put into divers Ports, and the Saiks and Caramuſſals to Anchor at *Micono*

1645. and *Tino*. At the latter of which, belonging to the Venetians, they had licence to Water, and and were refreſhed with ſuch proviſions as the Iſland afforded; and now after this flurry of Wind, the Fleet being again united, they were ſeen off at Sea from *Cerigo*, an Iſland of the Venetians at the Mouth of the *Archipelago*, and ſailing towards the Channel of *Bræccio de Maina*; and the next day 9 Gallies, a Gallion, and a Brigantine, made towards the Iſle of *Cerigo*, and ſent a Letter a ſhore by a Boat to the Proveditor, from the Paſha of *Rhodes*, demanding their uſual preſent of Coffee and Sugar, which was given them, they aſſuring all Friendſhip, and real good Intentions towards the People, and Dominions of *Venice*.

But in the mean time a Satia laden with Arms and Ammunition from *Venice*, bound for *Retimo*, unhappily falling into the Turkiſh Fleet, was intercepted by them, and taken, which unmasked all the Deſign, and made the Turks appear in their true Colours, notwithſtanding all their religious Proteſtations, and outwardly fair Comportment, the uſual diſguiſe of the Mahometan Sincerity.

Towards the end of *May* the Turkiſh Fleet was diſcovered from *Carabuſo*, a ſmall Fortreſs of the Venetians, ſome diſtance off at Sea, ſtanding to the Weſtward, which gave ſome jealouſie to them at *Candia*; and being compared with ſome precedent Acts, as that of ſounding the depth of Water about St. *Theodoro* with a Brigantine, (which is a ſmall Rock lying off of *Canea*) which pretended to come from *Sancta Maura* with Turky Merchants, afforded undeniable grounds of aſſurance to thoſe in *Candia*, that the War was deſigned againſt them; howſoever, the Ottoman Fleet rendezvouſing again at *Navarino*, a place far diſtant from *Candia*, altered their Apprehenſions at *Venice*, and elſewhere of this War, deeming it now certain, that this Deſign had no other aim or mark but that of *Malta*.

But this opinion was no ſooner entertain'd, than it was confuted by open Acts of Hoſtility; for the Captain-Paſha being arrived at Cape *Colonna*, by ſome called *Sunio*, immediately diſpatched a Brigantine to *Conſtantinople*, with advice of his Proceedings and Intentions to paſs directly for *Candia*; whereupon it was thought ſeaſonable to publiſh the War againſt *Venice*, which was performed with committing the Ambaſſador *Soranço* to Priſon, and giving Orders through all the *Archipelago* to deſtroy or enſlave all the Subjects of that Republick. And here the Turk practiſed his uſual beginnings of War with more than ordinary Caution; for though with other Princes, whoſe Territories border on him by Land, he uſually endeavours to ſtrike at the ſame time when he gives the Salutations of Peace; Yet here being to contend at Sea, where he is conſcious his Forces are inferiour to thoſe of *Venice*, he practiſed all thoſe feigned Artifices, confirmed with as many holy Vows and Proteſtations, as their Religion hallows, and makes lawful, when they can bring advantage and encreaſe to the Mahometan Faith.

But though the Venetian Republick was ſo politick as outwardly to demonſtrate a Religious Confidence of their potent Neighbour, whom they were conſcious not to have provoked by any breach of Capitulations; yet were not ſo ſecure of his Faith, and ſo eaſie to believe his fair Diſſimulations, as not prudently to provide againſt the utmoſt Effects of his Power and Treachery. Wherefore, whilſt the Turk prepared, they armed likewiſe ſecretly, made conſiderable Levies without noiſe, commiſſionated 1645. thirty extraordinary Commanders of Gallies, took up ſeventeen Engliſh and Dutch ſhips into their Service, armed out two Galliaſſes extraordinary; and when the Turk had unmasked his Deſign, they then imparted their Condition to all the Chriſtian Princes, craving their Succour and Aſſiſtance to maintain the common Bulwark of *Chriſtendom* againſt the common Enemy. The Galleaſſes were commanded by *Girolamo Moroſini*; the Gallies, of which fifteen were made ready, and afterwards put to Sea, all commanded by Noblemen, were under the Conduct of *Antonio Capello*. *Franceſco Molino* was made Proveditor General, a Perſon of untainted Juſtice and Honour, and extraordinary zealous and vigilant in the Publick Intereſt, whoſe indefatigable Labours and Care of his Country, promoted him afterwards to be Doge of *Venice*. By his Order and Counſel, extraordinary Proveditors were ſent to *Candia*, *Cerigo*, and *Tino*, as Places moſt feared, and in danger; and Orders were diſpatched to *Andrea Cornaro*, then General and Inquiſitor in *Candia*, to arm out twenty Gallies from the Arſenal of *Canea*; and to promote this Deſign the better, he hired two Engliſh, and one Dutch Ship, then in Port of *Malomocco*, to carry unto *Candia* Timbers fitted, and already ſquared at *Venice*, for building Gallies; beſides which he ſent Cannon, Corn, and all Ammunition of War, with fifty thouſand Zechins in Gold for encouragement of the Militia, with a recruit of two and twenty Companies of Foot, formed and collected out of divers Nations.

Intelligence being come of the impriſonment of the Bailo at *Conſtantinople*, the Senate by a common and unanimous Suffrage elected *Franceſco Erizzo*, then Doge, General of the Sea; judging, that their Arms would proſper under his Command, which had formerly been ſucceſsful under the auſpicious Conduct of his Anceſtors; and he, though a Perſon of ſeventy four Years, worn out with Age and Cares of the Publick, did yet chearfully conſecrate the remainder of his days to the Service of his Country. But whilſt he prepared to crown the end of his Life with the Glory of this important and generous Enterprize, Death terminated all his Intentions, leaving him with the honourable memory of his paſt Actions, and with a Lawrel hanging over his Head, which had his Life continued, had been planted on his Brows. But that this Accident might not give interruption to the weighty Affairs now in hand, *Molino* took his place, and proceeded in his Voyage and Deſigns, and arrived with the Venetian Fleet at the Iſland of *Corfu*. In the mean time the Turkiſh Fleet careened and fitted themſelves at *Navarine* with all Neceſſaries to aſſault *Candia*; till which interim advice came to *Canea*, that the the Bailo was impriſoned at *Conſtantinople*, by a Letter from *Soranço* himſelf; which he had dropped from the Window of his cloſe reſtraint, and diſpatched by one of his Confidents with a Veſſel expreſs; which was not ſooner arrived, than it was that Night confirmed by all the Beacons or Watch-Towers of the Country; who having diſcovered the Turkiſh Fleet far diſtant at Sea, gave a general Alarm by the Fires they made.

The next Morning being the [illegible] of *June*, they diſcovered the whole Fleet, near Cape *Spada*, which being drawn up in the form of an half Moon, took up a vaſt tract of Sea;

1645. Sea; and ſailing ſlowly with fair Weather, and a ſmooth Sea, diſplayed themſelves with the greateſt terrour imaginable to the Iſlanders. At length the lighter Veſſels began to edge in with the Bank of *Cogna*, (which is a place diſtant about eighteen miles from *Canea*) and were followed by the groſſer and heavier part of the Armata.

And now, before I proceed farther, I ſhould make a pauſe, and deſcribe the Antiquity, the Geography, and the preſent State of this famous and renowned Iſland, but that is already performed ſo diſtinctly and elegantly by other Pens, that it ſhall be ſufficient for me to declare here in brief terms, how this Kingdom became the Patrimony or Poſſeſſion of *Venice*. In the Year 1204, a Sale thereof was made to this Republick, by the Marqueſs *Bonifaccio* of *Montferrato*, by an Inſtrument ſealed the 12*th* of *Auguſt* at *Adrianople*, and ſigned, and delivered, in the preſence of *Marco Sanudo*, and *Ravano du Verona*, Ambaſſadours in the time of *Enrigo Dandola* Doge; but the People of this Iſland not conſenting unto the ſale, oppoſed themſelves againſt it, until the Venetians by force of Arms procured their Obedience, and confirmed their purchaſe by a double Title. Hereupon ſuch noble Citizens as adventured their Lives in this acquiſition, obtained the Eſtates of the Rebellious Greeks, being obliged in proportion to the Lands they held, to maintain Men and Horſe at their own Charge, and are therefore called the Feudatary Cavalry. So that the whole Country is divided into three parts; *viz.* the noble Venetians or Cavalry; ſecondly, the noble Candiots, or Colony, which were Infantry that came to inhabit from *Venice*; and thirdly, the Greeks or Natives of the Country which never rebelled, but took part with the Venetian State: the firſt two ſpeak Italian, and are of the Roman Church; the others ſpeak Greek, and conſerve the Right of that Religion.

The Ottoman Fleet now touching the Shoar at *Cogna*, took Livery and Seizin quietly of that flouriſhing Iſle of *Candia*, where they Encamped a while to refreſh their Forces, and prepare all things in order to their Conqueſt. In the mean time, the news hereof alarmed all *Venice*, and not only haſtened them in the expedition of their Fleet, but warmed their applications to all Chriſtian Princes, from whom they craved help in the general defence of Chriſtendom: which ſome at firſt imagined would have been granted, as it was once in the time of the Holy War; or that thoſe whom the Declaration of a common Cruſada, or Devotion, or ſenſe of Religion could not move, yet at leaſt the conſideration of their Countries Defence, or the maintenance of a Bulwark of Chriſtendom, might perſwade to wage Arms againſt the Turk, as a Common Enemy: but what cold Apprehenſions the Chriſtian Princes entertained hereof, both the faint Supplies and Aſſiſtances they adminiſtred, and their bloody and vigorous Wars one againſt another, have abundantly teſtified, to the fatal loſs and ruin of that Country. And though in the beginning there were better hopes, by means of the Pope's earneſt interceſſion with all the Princes of *Italy*, to whom he ſhewed a fair Example, by uniting his own Gallies with the Venetian Fleet, and amongſt the reſt prevailed alſo with the Republick of *Genoua*, to employ their Gallies in this Noble Enterprize, which tended to the Glory of God, and the common Safety and Preſervation of *Italy*: yet that Leaven of vain Punctilio's, which hath ſo often betrayed the Chriſtian Cauſe to the advantage of the Turk, gave a ſtop for ſome time to theſe Proceedings. For before they would enter into Arms, they deſired the Genoeſes, that the right of bearing the Flag ſhould firſt be determined in favour of their Admiral, before that of *Toſcany*, or *Malta*: And though the Pope, to take away this occaſion of diſpute, propoſed to have no other Flag worn beſides his own, under which all Italian Princes, without impeachment of their Honour, as Auxiliaries, and Military Adventurers might promiſcuouſly wage War; yet this could not appear ſatisfactory to the Genoeſes, who not only took this occaſion to demand the precedency before *Toſcany* and *Malta*; to which the G. Duke (who was not inferiour in State, and ſuperiour in Title) and the Malteſes (who time out of mind, and by Decree of *Charles* the Fifth, claimed Precedency on the Seas before them) would never aſſent; but alſo thought fit to avail themſelves in this Conjuncture, to obtain from the Pope the Grant of a Royal Court, and that Treatment which is given to Kings, or Crowned Heads. But becauſe theſe Demands ſeemed to contain thoſe Difficulties in them, which could not be granted without the manifeſt diſpleaſure of other Princes, the Pope reſolved to afford what aſſiſtance he could from himſelf, and therefore granted a Levy of a thouſand Foot out of his own Dominions, with free liberty to buy what Ammunition and Proviſions were to be found in the Eccleſiaſtical State, with impoſition of a double Tithe or Tenth on the Goods and Dominions of the Clergy; ſo that theſe Succours of the Pope, and the Auxiliary Forces of *Naples*, *Toſcany*, and *Malta*, under the Command of Prince *Ludoviſio*, General of the Church, being united to the Venetian Fleet, did ſpeedily compoſe a moſt puiſſant and formidable Force; however, by reaſon of Diſſentions amongſt the Commanders, and other Misfortunes derived from thence, to the Chriſtian Arms, nothing ſucceeded fortunately this Year. For the Turks having gained their landing at firſt without oppoſition, overthrew the Chriſtians in ſeveral ſmall Skirmiſhes, and afterwards forced *Canea*, the ſecond City of that Iſland, which they took with much blood and ſlaughter of the Chriſtians. 1645.

1646. The Turks having made ſo ſucceſsful a progreſs this firſt Year, as to poſſeſs themſelves of one of the moſt conſiderable Cities, took Courage to proceed in their Conqueſts; in which they had the fortune to make themſelves Maſters in the next place of *Retimo*; in defence of which, the General *Andrea Cornaro*, loſt his Life by a Muſket ſhot. Nor more ſucceſsful were the Venetians this Year at Sea; for what with Quarrels among the Commanders, and with their coldneſs and negligence in their Buſineſs, they ſuffered the Turkiſh Veſſels to paſs freely, without giving them that interruption which was very facil to Men reſolute and concerned: Nor was the opportunity which preſented to ruine the Turkiſh Fleet made uſe of, then lying half diſarmed, and ill provided, at the Iſle of St. *Theodoro*, (which is a Rock oppoſite to *Canea*) where at that time, it is believed, they might all have been burned, had the occaſion been improved, agreeable to that Advantage which then offered: ſo that towards the latter end of the Year, the General *Molino* returning Home, either by reaſon of ſome diſtemper, or by revocation from the Senate, which ſeemed to be ill ſatisfied with his ill Fortune, or his ill Management of the Publick Affairs; he was diſmiſſed from

1646. from his high Charge. And *Gio. Capello*, Procurator of St. *Mark*, was conſtituted in his place.

This Year was remarkable for the ruinous Differences between Sir *Sackvile Crow* Baronet, our King's Ambaſſador then reſiding at *Conſtantinople*, and the Turky Company. The Original of which ſeemed to ariſe from the Civil Diſſentions at Home; for ſo unhappy were thoſe Times, and ſo ill affected were Engliſh Minds with Rancour and Malice againſt each other, that this Leaven of Diſcord could not be confined within the Banks of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, but ſeemed to diffuſe it ſelf over the Seas, and as a Contagion, infected the Minds, Goods, and Intereſts of the Engliſh, to what Quarter or Climate ſoever they were tranſported.

In the Year 1638, Sir *Sackvile Crow* was, with the Conſent and Approbation of the Turky Company, dignified by his Majeſty with the Title and Authority of his Ambaſſador to the Grand Signior. For Maintenance and Support of which, the ſaid Company were to pay him the yearly Sum of five thouſand Zechins, in four equal Proportions, which is above the value of two thouſand Pounds *Sterling*. And farther, before his departure from *England*, paid him ſix hundred Pounds *Sterling* towards the Furniture of his Houſe, Plate, and other Neceſſaries; defraying all the Charges expended for Tranſportation of his Lady, Followers, and Proviſions to *Conſtantinople*.

Sir *Sackvile Crow*, from the time of his arrival at the Ottoman Court, until the end of the Year 1645, managed the Affairs of the Company to their general Satisfaction, and with the Eſteem and Honour of the Turkiſh Miniſters, who conſidered him as a Perſon of Courage and Reſolution, and in every way qualified for that Employment.

‖ Strangers Conſulage *is 2 in the hundred, in the value of all the goods belonging to Stranger-Merchants, laden on Engliſh Ships, and all other Ships which not being in amity with the G. Signior, ſet up the Engliſh Colours, & come under the Engliſh Protection, as is lawful by our Capitulations.*

At length Differences aroſe between this Ambaſſador and the Company, touching the Right and Title to that Benefit which is called ‖ *Strangers Conſulage*; the firſt pretending to the ſame on a Grant made to him thereof by his Majeſty, and the Cuſtom of Sir *Peter Wych*, and other preceding Ambaſſadors. The others challenging the ſame, as the chief and principal Means they had to eaſe the vaſt Expences they were at, for maintenance of their Trade and Government; for which they had always contended and ſtrugled with the Power of preceding Ambaſſadors, and which Sir *Sackvile Crow* himſelf ſeems, by an Article which he had made with the Company to have relinquiſhed to them in theſe words.

That during the time of his Employment as Ambaſſador, he would content himſelf with ſuch Allowance from the ſaid Company for his Pains and Care to be taken in their Buſineſs, as is ſpecified in the ſaid Articles, being 5000 Zechins *per Annum*.

This Right of *Strangers Conſulage*, is now confirmed to the *Turky Company*, by virtue of their Charter which his Majeſty was pleaſed, in the Year of his Happy Reſtauration, graciouſly to Renew, Confirm, and Amplify to them; the which was more eaſily granted, by the concurrent Aſſiſtance of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Winchelſea*, then deſigned for Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, who on ſome Conſiderations offered from the ſaid Company, aſſented thereunto.

But Matters of a higher Nature than this, inflamed the Accounts and Differences between the Ambaſſador and Company. For firſt, one *John Wolfe*, at that time Treaſurer at *Conſtantinople*, becoming Inſolvent for great Sums of Mony, Sir *Sackvile Crow* alledged, that thoſe Debts were National, ariſing from the late Changes of State Officers, their extravagant Exactions, and Avanious Practices: and therefore to extinguiſh this Publick Debt, he made a Leviation of one hundred and ten thouſand, nine hundred and fifty Dollars on the Engliſh Eſtates at *Conſtantinople* and *Smyrna*, detaining the Companies Ships in thoſe Ports, until the aforeſaid Debt was ſatisfied and cleared. The Ground and Cauſe of which, will more plainly appear by this following Warrant. 1646.

Sir *Sackvile Crow* his Order, dated in *Pera* of *Conſtantinople* the 26th of *January* 1645. Directed to all Captains, Commanders of Ships, &c. Prohibiting the lading of any Goods or Eſtate on their Ships.

WHereas by the unhappy failings of ſome of our Nations here, and at Smyrna, *and through the many late Changes of this State's Officers, and their extravagant Exactions on us in thoſe Difficulties; and by ſundry other avanious ways, our Nation is brought into a great Debt: For which We, or thoſe, and that Eſtate which ſhall remain on the Place, who, and whatever, in caſe of Exigent, and force of Paiment, when-ever that ſhall happen, muſt (if not otherwiſe provided for) in all probability, and according to the rude Cuſtoms of this State in like caſe, look to be made liable unto. There being at preſent a full and competent Eſtate of the* Levant *Companies arrived here, and at* Smyrna, *which as well by the Obligations of their Charter, as by the Laws of* England, *the ſaid Companies own Inſtitutions and Cuſtoms in caſes of like Nature, ought as well to bear the ſaid extraordinary as ordinary Charges, and ſo pay thoſe Debts, which either are, or ſhall be adjudged and declared to belong unto them. We having taken pains in drawing the ſaid Accompts to a Head, and for diſcovery of the Truth thereof; and (after a Certificate being directed thereon) for the more formal Satisfaction only of the ſaid Company, being advertiſed that ſome of thoſe who with us have had the view, and been preſent at the Examination of the ſaid Accompts, whom it concerns on the Companies behalf to make ſuch Certificate, on our Order; for ſome private Reſpects, make ſcruple to certify the ſaid Debts, as they appeared before us and them: And hearing alſo that the General Ships here in Port, and that at* Smyrna, *prepare, and make haſte to be gone: In Providence, as well for own ſafety in the Premiſſes, as for that due regard we owe to his Majeſty's Honour, and the Publick Intereſt for the future, We find it requiſite, and hereby order and require, that until the ſaid Debts ſhall be fully declared, and their paiment ſetled by Leviation, and the ſame paid*

or

1646. *or undertaken, in, and by ſome ſuch fitting and ſecure way, or ways, as in ſuch caſe is requiſite, and by us ſhall be determined and ſo declared: That none of the Factors of this Scale, or that of* Smyrna, *by themſelves, or others whoever, after publication hereof, here and there reſpectively, lade on Board either of the General Ships, or other Ships whatever, any Goods, Faculty, or Eſtate whatever, for themſelves or other whoever. And that the Captains and Commanders of the ſaid Ships, in the mean time, and until Our farther Order in this behalf, not only forbear to take in, and lade aboard either of their Ships any ſuch Goods or Faculties for any of his Majeſty's Subjects, or other Strangers whoever; but alſo that they abide and depart not, either this Port, or that of* Smyrna *Reſpectively, until our farther Order and Licence in that behalf: Whereof not only the Merchants, Factors, Maſters, and Commanders aforementioned; but our* * Druggermen, *and other Under-Miniſters here or there, are to take notice, and obſerve accordingly; as they, and every of them concerned herein, will anſwer the contrary at his or their Peril. Dated in* Pera *of* Conſtantinople, *this 26th of* January, 1645.

* Interpreters.

To all Captains, Commanders of Ships, Merchants, Factors, Druggermen, and all other his Majeſty's Subjects and Miniſters whoever, in the Ports of *Conſtantinople* and *Smyrna*.

SACKVILE CROW.

The *Turkie* Company was altogether unſatisfied with this Leviation, alledging that a great part of this Debt aroſe from Monies ſent by Sir *Sackvile Crow* himſelf to *Wolfe*, at a high Intereſt; for ſecuring of which, and of his Principal, he had in this manner taxed and charged their Eſtates. But Troubles and Differences ended not with this Paiment; for ſtill the Controverſy about Strangers Conſulage was depending, which with other Matters, cauſed great Heats and Animoſities on both ſides: So that ſome of the *Turkie* Company, Men of the better Principles, thought it moſt adviſable to Petition his Majeſty to conſtitute another Ambaſſador, with Letters of Revocation, to recal this; but others, who were the zealous Men of thoſe Times, who had taſted the ſweetneſs of Sequeſtrations, and proved it to be the Grand Catholicon of all Remedies, perſwaded that his Eſtate ſhould be Sequeſtred. This, I ſay, may perhaps have been the attempt of ſome few; though the generality of the Company have ſo far diſavowed the Seizure of his Lands and Eſtate in *England*, that they declared themſelves ignorant of any Eſtate he had there. Howſoever this Apprehenſion being fixed in the Mind of Sir *Sackvile Crow*, he proceeded to ſtrange Extremities againſt the Company: For he not only cauſed all the Goods and Monies belonging to them, within the Grand Signior's Dominions, to be ſequeſtred and ſeized by his Agents, but alſo impriſoned the Perſons of all the Engliſh Merchants and Factors which were conſiderable, either at *Conſtantinople* or *Smyrna*. The Particulars of all which will appear with more clearneſs by this following Warrant. 1646.

Sir *Sackvile Crow* his Second Warrant, dated in *Pera* of *Conſtantinople* the 30th of *April* 1646, directed to *John Hetherington*, *Lorenzo Zuma*; Enordering (upon falſe Pretences) the Sequeſtration of the Merchants Eſtates at *Smyrna*, according to a Schedule.

WHereas the Levant *Company, ſometime before our coming to this Place, by a Court of their Aſſiſtants, thereunto ſpecially authorized, treated with Us touching a yearly Allowance for our Care and Pains during our reſidence here as his Majeſty's Ambaſſador; to be had and taken in ſuch Particulars as might have relation to their Trade and Occaſions: And for a concluſion of ſuch Treaty as aforeſaid, did offer unto us the election of any one of their Agreements, formerly made with any of our Predeceſſors in like occaſion. And for a further manifeſtation of their ſincerity in their ſaid Offer, upon our accord thereunto, did, at the Court aforeſaid, in publick give into our Hands and Poſſeſſion the Copies of five of their Agreements, made with our ſaid Predeceſſors, with Power to chuſe which of them we ſhould beſt like of, to be a Rule and Pattern for an abſolute Concluſion and Condition to be drawn up between us and them; thereon alſo promiſing that they would make, grant, and confirm the like unto us. And whereas we thereon, and to the Purpoſes and Ends aforementioned, choſe and fixed upon that Agreement, which the ſaid Company had made with Sir* Thomas Glover, *formerly Ambaſſador, Reſident for the Crown of* England, *with this State: And his Majeſty by his Favour, did aſſure the ſame unto us, graciouſly promiſing to make his Employment of us here, as good and beneficial in all the Allowances and Perquiſites thereof, as it had been to any of our Predeceſſors whoever, and we expected no leſs. The ſaid Company finding themſelves miſtaken in their Offer, (as they pretended) firſt retired from the ſame, denying their ſaid Agreement, (though ſufficiently proved before his Majeſty); and then by force of Preſents and Mony given under-hand to the Officers of that Time, ſo prevailed againſt us, that we could not only not obtain that Right, which ſince hath appeared unto us, and (as well by their own Agreement, as by his Majeſty's Judgment then, Cuſtom, and their former Contracts) was due unto us; but were forced after to other Agreements with the ſaid Company, by which (over and above all ſuch Rights, Priviledges, and Perquiſites, as then were and ſhould be granted*

unto

1646. *unto us by his Majeſty's Capitulations; and beſides all other Gratifications and Allowances accuſtomed to be given to his Majeſty's Ambaſſador, (which in Houſhold Proviſions only the ſaid Company aſſured us, were to the value of* 800 *l.* per Annum *Sterling, at leaſt) and over and above ſuch Plate and Houſhold-Stuff as they aſſured us, we ſhould find of theirs here, and hold to our uſe during our Reſidence, (of which we found not the value of an Aſper) the ſaid Company did covenant with us, (for and in reſpect of our Pains and Care only therein agreed to be taken by us, in their Affairs and Occaſions as aforeſaid, for and during all our time as his Majeſty's Ambaſſador with this State) they would pay, or cauſe to be paid unto us, the Sum of* 5000 * Chickeens per An. *to be paid by equal Proportions quarterly before-hand; by their failing wherein (beſides our other Engagements for them to a very good Value) twenty and five thouſand Dollars or thereabouts, reſts at this day due and unpaid unto us: And whereas alſo after the Agreements aforeſaid, upon ſeveral Arguments held before his Majeſty, concerning the Rights of that Conſulage, which amongſt other things is granted by the Grand Signior, and payable by his Capitulations to his Majeſty's Ambaſſador Reſident at this Imperial Port from Strangers, (to which the ſaid Company could ſhew no likely or probable Title) the ſaid Company were adjudged to relinquiſh their Pretences to the ſaid Conſulage; and a Grant thereof under his Majeſty's Royal Hand and Signet, was thereon made and given to us, for our better ſupport during the time of our Reſidence here. The ſaid Company (upon Conditions between them and us agreed) did alſo promiſe to give us Content therefore; with intent nevertheleſs thereby to get advantage of our credulity and abſence, and to draw us out of ſuſpect of their evil Intentions towards us, which hath ſince (as well by their ſeveral interruptions and hinderances here in the Collection thereof, as their practices, and endeavours at Council Table before his Majeſty, and by their other Appeals to the Courts of Parliament, where in theſe Times of Diſtractions, they preſumed of ſome better advantage) hath appeared unto us: Whereby, and by ſuggeſting ſeveral Untruths againſt us, and by other falſe ways they have endeavoured not only to deprive us of the Strangers Conſulage, and benefit thereof; but under that colour alſo, and theſe their Pretences, to keep themſelves from paying, as us from taking ſuch other Conſulage, as was, and is as much our right and due unto us from themſelves, by the ſaid Capitulations, and the Grand Signior's Grant thereon, for all their own Goods traded in: And now of late, but ſuſpecting our juſt Intentions of making a claim thereto, (for until this preſent day we never made any demand thereof, or publick pretence therein) to prevent what they ſuppoſe we might juſtly do in our own Right, (for we take God to Witneſs we knew no other cauſe): under like unjuſt and ſcandalous Pretences, we are certified, that they not only go about to get us removed from our Employment here, but upon falſe Suggeſtions, looſe and bare Suſpicions only,* have gotten Order *for the ſeizure of all our Lands and other Eſtates in* England *into their power; as ſome of their own Servants and Factors here have the confidence to report and affirm: and as we* are aſſured *from thence, without hearing of us; nay, ſo much as intimation to us of the Grounds thereof, or ſuch Matters and Things as they pretend at leaſt to have againſt us, whereby we might anſwer for our ſelves; and ſo, whilſt we are labouring (as for theſe many Years we have done, with all fidelity) for them and their publick Intereſt (whereof, as we have proof ſufficient in our Actions, ſo we have him that is Judg of the World for Witneſs to our Conſcience) they are* contriving the ruin of us and our Poſterity. *Which manner of proceeding, ſo* unjuſt, horrid, *and* odious *before God and Man (as in all reaſon we ought) taking to heart, and our ſerious conſideration, and as well that Violence which is offered to the Laws, and his Majeſty's Honour and Intereſt therein, as our Self and our Family; not pretending to extend that Authority which his Majeſty hath put into our Hands to unlawful Ends, but only to make a juſt uſe of it for the right and lawful defence of our ſelves and it, in the ſeveral Occaſions aforementioned; finding by Accompt under the Hands of the Treaſurer of the ſaid Company here, that for ſuch Goods as they have brought in and carried out from the* Port of Conſtantinople, *there is due unto us according to the Capitulations, and the Grand Signior's Grants therein, to the value of Dollars Ryals of* $\frac{8}{8}$, *ſeventy four thouſand: and that for the like in* Smyrna *there is due Dollars Ryals of* $\frac{8}{8}$, *one hundred thouſand* in circa; *and rating that Eſtate in Land which they have gotten into their power as aforeſaid, but at the value we were offered for it,* viz. *at ninety ſeven thouſand and five hundred Dollars; in all, two hundred ſeventy one thouſand and five hundred Dollars. Beſides, (for ought we know to the contrary) they may elſe have prevailed themſelves upon of ours, and as due to us by Privy Seal to the value of one hundred thouſand Dollars; and Leaſes under the Great Seal to near as great a value more. We hereby enorder Sequeſtration of all Monies, Merchandizes, and other Goods and Faculties whatever, within the Dominions of the Grand Signior wherever, belonging to the Parties and Members of the ſaid Company, in the Schedule hereunto annexed, the chief Fomentors, Contrivers, and Abettors of theſe unjuſt and horrid Proceedings; requiring you,* John Etherington, *and you* Lorenzo Zuma, *or one, or both, or either of you, by the help and*

* VIII ſterling.

1646.

1646. *and means of that Officer ſent by the Vizier, and thoſe Commands in your Hands, (being now at* Smyrna *on other like Occaſions) according to your Inſtructions herewith ſent, to board and enter all Ships and Veſſels, and to break open, and enter into all and every of the Houſes, Ware-houſes, Counting-houſes, of all and every of the Parties in the Schedule hereunto annexed and aforementioned; and there to Attach, Arreſt, and take into your cuſtody and poſſeſſion; and as arreſted and ſequeſtred, to take, carry away, and put into ſafe cuſtody, all ſuch Monies, Merchandizes, other Goods and Faculties of what Nature ſoever that you ſhall diſcover, find out, and get into your power, belonging to any of the Parties, or under the Marks of the Schedule hereunto annexed; and the ſame to keep, ſo arreſted and ſequeſtred, for our better Indemnity, Satisfaction, and Defence, againſt all Pretences of the* Levant *Company beforementioned whatever, until we may be heard therein by due courſe of Law, and till farther Order from us in that behalf; for which this is to be your Warrant. Dated in* Pera *of* Conſtantinople, *this 30th of* April, Anno. 1646.

To our loving Friends and Servants, *John Hetherington*, and *Lorenzo Zuma*.

Sackvile Crow.

To perform and put in execution the foregoing Warrant, it was neceſſary to make uſe of the Turkiſh Officers Power and Authority; Wherefore Sir *Sackvile Crow* demanding Audience of the Grand Vizier, and repreſenting Matters unto him in that manner, as he judged moſt agreeable to his Cauſe, was heard by him with a gentle and gracious Ear; and aſſurances made to him of all Reſpect, Favour, and Aſſiſtance imaginable. For the Turks had now ſmelt out a Cauſe in Tranſaction, which with good improvement might be worth them many Purſes of Mony; and was of ſuch a Nature, as that their Religion, and Doctrine, obliged them to nouriſh, having the proſpect of gaining Mony, and enflaming Chriſtian Diſcord. On theſe Grounds Sir *Sackvile Crow* eaſily obtained Commands from the Vizier, directed to the Kadi of *Smyrna*, to act all things according to direction of him the Ambaſſador; and to enforce Matters with better execution, a Chaous, or Purſuivant, accompanied with *John Hetherington*, and *Lorenzo Zuma* Interpreter, was diſpatched to *Smyrna*, with Commands to carry up the Conſul and Factors to *Conſtantinople*, and to break open the Ware-houſes, and make ſeizure on ſuch Eſtates belonging to the *Turkie* Company, as would anſwer the Demands and Pretentions of the Ambaſſador. Accordingly the Conſul and Factory were carried up, and with that other of *Galata*, impriſoned in the Ambaſſador's Houſe.

In the mean time the Agents at *Smyrna*, with aſſiſtance of the Kadi, ſealed up all the Merchants Ware-houſes; but when it came to execution and ſeizure, more Difficulties aroſe; for the Turks, Armenians, and Jew-Merchants, made high Clamours to the Juſtice, that many of the Goods belonged unto them, ſome were not yet paid for, others were only Pawns in the Engliſh Hands; and all the Town being deſirous to favour the Cauſe of the Merchants, a great Uproar and Hubbub aroſe amongſt the People; The Kadi affrighted hereat, grew more ſlack and faint in his Proceedings; but the Cordial of 1500 Dollars, and Gratuities to his Servants, overcame the Difficulties, and gave him new Reſolution; ſo that at length, being attended with the Principal Officers of the Town, he began firſt with the Conſul's Houſe, making Seiſure, and delivering out of the Ware-houſes all the Goods found there; with ſome Caution howſoever, and reſpect to thoſe Pretenſions which Stranger-Merchants made thereunto; as appears by the following Letters. 1646.

Joh. Hetherington *and* Lorenzo Zuma, *their Letters to Sir* Sackvile Crow, *adviſing farther of their Proceedings, dated in* Smyrna, June 16. 1646.

Right Honourable,

YEſterday we received your Lordſhips of the *4th* preſent, being the Copy of the *3d*: And to day we received your Lordſhips's of the *8th*, and rejoice to hear your Lordſhip is in ſuch a readineſs for your juſt Demands, and wiſh your Lordſhip leſs Trouble, and better Succeſs than we this day have had, and we doubt for many days ſhall incounter here. This morning the Cadie's Son, with his Neipe and principal Officers came; and we began firſt with the Conſul's Houſe. But before we began, 'twas ſpoken in the Kadie's own Houſe, and all over the Town, our Deſign to ſeize what we could find; about ſeven a Clock his Son came and entred the Conſul's Houſe, and opened all the Warehouſes, and took from thence, with *Elford*'s and *Keeble*'s, ſome four hundred Clothes, and nine Bales Mohairs; we left behind us 38 Bales of Silk, 13 Bales his Servant pretended were ſold by his Maſter to Mr. *Brent*, to be paid by Bill of Exchange at *Conſtantinople*, and when advice came the Bills were paid, the Goods ſhould be delivered; in the mean time they lie in Mr. *Lancelot*'s Warehouſe, with ſome 40 Clothes, 60 Barrels of Tin, which Tin belongs to Mr. *Sainthill*, and ſealed up by the Neipe and us. Before we had ended at this Houſe, the whole Town was in an Uproar, being fomented by Jews, and ſome of the young Fry left behind, and proclaimed in the Streets, that the Town would be undone, the Trade loſt and go to wrack, if this was ſuffered; ſo that before the Conſul's Door were ſo many of the ſcum of the Town, the Streets were packed thick of them. On the other ſide, a more unruly Enemy threatned worſe things, the Maſter of the Golden Lion, who had before given *Barnardiſton* 9000

1646. Dollars at *Cambio*, and had no Goods in his Poſſeſſion, hearing how it would fare with them, Lands forty Men at *Barnardiſton*'s Houſe, and vowed he would have his Mony or Goods, or ſwore he would beat down the Town; ſo likewiſe the *Jonas* got her Sails to Yards, that the Kaddie's Son and the Chiouz, deſired to let it alone until another day, for fear of worſe Events: So when they had made an end at *Lancelot*'s Houſe, would ſtay no longer, but promiſed to come another day. The Eſtate before mentioned we carried away in ſpight of Envy, and have put it up in a ſafe Cane. As ſoon as this was done, becauſe the Captain would not come aſhore, I got *Jordan* to go aboard the Golden Lion, and know the Maſter his Intent, and to acquaint him with the Danger might enſue thereon; all we could urge was nothing, except he had ſatisfaction for his 9000 Dollars; at laſt told him, if we knew where his Eſtate lay, we would endeavour to help him to it; ſo he found it out, and we delivered it to him, and the Man was very well ſatisfied. And now we hope to find little Impediment, and to morrow Morning the Caddie's Son promiſeth to come again, and we doubt not the ſame day but to make an end. If your Lordſhip ſaw the little regard theſe People bear to the Grand Signior's Commands, the Caddie, or ought elſe but their private Ends, your Lordſhip would (as we hope your Lordſhip will) not blame us if we procured but the half of what your Lordſhip's Letter mentions. To morrow (if God bleſs us) we ſhall ſend your Lorſhip more punctual Advice, and for the preſent crave leave to ſubſcribe our ſelves,

Smyrna, June 16. 1646. Your Honours

Moſt faithful, moſt obliged, and moſt humble Servants,

John Hetherington.
Lorenzo Sumá.

John Hetherington, *and* Lorenza Zuma's *Letter to Sir* Sackvile Crow; *dated in* Smyrna, *June* 19. 1646.

Right Honourable,

OUrs of the 16*th* adviſed your Lordſhip, how with the Caddie's Son, his Niepe, and Chia, we had entred the Houſe of Mr. *Lancelott*, and taken into our poſſeſſion the Goods we found therein, not pretended unto by Strangers; and how by the inſolency of *Nicholas Terrick*, Maſter of the *Hopewell*, (formerly the *Golden Lion*) we were interrupted that day from proceeding any farther; and how by the means of Captain *Jordan*, we had pacified that young, raſh, and undiſcreet Man; and that we hoped the next Morning to proceed without interruption, but it fell not out ſo: for the next Morning we went to *Barnardiſton*'s Houſe, thinking to make all ſure there; and when we had begun, in comes the Maſter with a Crew of his own, and ſaid, thoſe Goods he had received were not ſufficient to give him ſatisfaction, and demanded of us the reſt. We anſwered, We could not give him theſe Goods we had ſealed up before he came into Port, for what he demanded; but aſſured him, if he knew of any thing ſtanding out, we would endeavour, the beſt we could, for his Satisfaction: Upon this, as we underſtood ſince, a young Man of the Houſe whiſpered the Maſter in his Ear, and told him, if he were not ſatisfied before the Goods went out of the Houſe, all was loſt, he would never have a Penny of it: Upon this, away goes the Maſter aboard, with this young Man in his company, and looſed his Sails, but threatned nothing. Upon this comes in the Jews, and told the Niepe and the Chia, that the Maſter would ſhoot down the Town; but for all our perſwaſions that he durſt not, away runs the Niepe & his Company, and leaves us there alone; ſo we reſolved to have done it our ſelves; but the Merchants had ſo worked with the Hamalls, that there was not one to be ſeen; ſo being alone, and ſeeing his Boat coming aſhore, well mann'd, and fearing a ſurprize, we preſently repaired to the Chiouzes, and deſired him to go with us to the Caddies, to ſee if we could have any better aſſiſtance from him. By this time the Town was in a great Uproar, and the People ſomething too inſolent; the Caddie, to prevent the worſt, preſently cauſed the Shops to be ſhut up, and immediately ſent for all the chief Men of the Town, (who by Preſents before we had made our Friends) and there before them all, and a great company of the Townſmen, cauſed the Commands to be read, and told them how much they were bound to ſee the Grand Signior's Commands put in execution, and what diſhonour it would be for one Ship to command the Town. So after they had diſputed the Buſineſs, the Caddie ſends an Officer aboard (accompanied with the Druggermen to the Nation) to know whether he would hinder the proſecution of the Grand Signior's Command, or no, and to know his Anſwer? He preſently denied he ever intended to ſhoot at the Town, only deſired his own: So preſently after the People were a little appeaſed, we went to work again, and ſo this day have finiſhed all; it being done in ſuch confuſion, we cannot give your Lordſhip that exact Account you

1646.

1646. you may expect within a day or two; for then we will ſend your Lordſhip the Particulars, with the Values; in mean time we ſtand upon our Guard, having ſome 20 or 30 of the Souldiers of the Caſtle to keep watch every night; for (my Lord!) here is no ſmall Hubbub in the Town, and threatning both of us and the Eſtate, but we will ſecure both as well as we can. We have ſent your Lordſhip a rough Draught of what we have, and what we have left ſealed up, and find it fall ſhort far of what your Lordſhip expected: the ſooner your Lordſhip diſpoſes of it, the better; for aſſure your ſelf, there is daily ſome Deſign or other hatching: We ſhould be very ſorry, after all this, to have it miſcarry, therefore pray (my Lord!) diſpoſe of it (to prevent the worſt) as ſoon as you may. Your Lordſhip was pleaſed to inorder us to change our Lodging, being too near the Water-ſide, and in a Merchant's Houſe; which, as ſoon as we can get a ſecure Houſe, we will; but the farther from the Water-ſide, the more dangerous, if the People of the Country ſhould intend us any ill.

The French, and many others, pretend Debts of many of thoſe People that are gone up, and would know who ſhall pay them, and pretend to be paid out of their Eſtates; but we have put them off, telling them, we believe your Lordſhip will hardly let your Eſtate go to pay their Debts; nevertheleſs, ſhall adviſe your Lordſhip of it: ſo have ſecured none, only to one *Huzoone Amet* Aga, one of the chief Men in the Town here, Mr. *Lancelott* having given him a Bill of Exchange for 475 Dollars, and the Bill returned unpaid, we were forced to deliver into the Hangee's Hands, for his Security, 10 Cloathes.

We have given the Ships liberty to lade, by reaſon of their continual grumbling, but fear our Deſign on the *Jonas* will not take; for the Caddie ſeeing the ſtubbornneſs of *Terrick*, will not aſſiſt us as he promiſed. We have not ought to inlarge at preſent, but to ſubſcribe our ſelves,

Your Honours,

John Hetherington,
Lorenzo Zuma.

Matters running thus high, and the Breach made ſo wide, there remained little hopes of an Accommodation: For now the Merchants at *Galata*, having obtained their Liberty from the Ambaſſador's Houſe, by the Vizier's Command, entred into a Conſultation in what manner to govern their Affairs, electing ſome particular Men to that Employment, which they called by the Name of the *Sealed Knot*, which much provoked the Anger of Sir *Sackvile Crow*, and more, becauſe that deſerting his Protection, they made Applications to the Heer *Coppes*, Agent for the States of *Holland*; who readily embraced the defence of their Cauſe, and willingly repreſented to the Grand Vizier the Aggrievances, and ill Treatment of which they complained. The French Ambaſſador, on the other ſide, being a great Favourer of Sir *Sackvile Crow* and his Proceedings, aſſiſted him both at *Smyrna* and *Conſtantinople*. All which will more particularly appear by the following Letters. 1646.

The Factors General Letter to the Levant *Company, dated the 28th of* June, 1646, *in* Conſtantinople.

Right Worſhipful,

SIrs, at preſent we have our Heads and Hands full, and all little enough to preſerve your Eſtates from devouring, and our ſelves from that Evil Conſequence might enſue upon ſuch unheard-of Proceedings and Intentions, as have been long in private agitation; but when the Monſter came to the Birth, there wanted ſtrength to bring forth; ſo, in a good hour we may ſay, the Snare is broken, and doubt not the Devices of the Crafty is fruſtrate by him, whoſe Almightineſs ſhews it ſelf moſt, when we Mortals are leaſt capable to help our ſelves. We ſhall, according to our Obligation, give your Worſhips ſome account of the laſt Progreſſions of his Lorſhip Sir *Sackvile Crow*, whom his Majeſty ſent hither Ambaſſador, and to be a Protector of your Eſtates, and our Perſons; how he hath performed this Charge and Duty formerly, your Lorſhips have in part heard; what hath happened of late, we ſhall now chiefly inſiſt upon.

After his Lordſhip had cauſed the ſtay of the Ships in this Port, and at *Smyrna*, under pretence of this State's requiring it, in reſpect of their Wars with the Venetians, the *Sampſon* and *Smyrna* Merchant, having been here almoſt ſeven Months, to the great loſs and damage of Ships and Goods; he picks a quarrel with the Factory of *Smyrna*, for not complying according to his Order, in the paiment of their Parts of the laſt Leviation-Mony; and hereupon ſends down *John Hetherington* one of his Servants, a moſt lewd, debaucht, prophane, riotous Fellow, (yet his Lordſhip's Kinſman) accompanied with two Chiouzes, two Druggermen, a Janizary, and other Servants, to proceed with thoſe who ſhould refuſe to pay their Leviation according to the Inſtructions he had given the ſaid *Hetherington*, and *Lorenzo Zuma*, Druggerman: But before the arrival of theſe Agents, the Nation there had undertaken the paiment by an Obligatory Letter to his Lordſhip; this would not ſatisfy, nor depoſition of Goods for Security, until Anſwer ſhould come from hence of the paiment of their Bills of

1646. Exchange, which was tendred; but the ſecond day after their arrival, *Hetherington* and his Retinue goes to the Caddie's, and thither cauſes the Conſul and all the Nation to come; where it was pretended they had laden the *William* and *Thomas* with Corn, and ſent her away; and therefore, by virtue of an Imperial Command, (very privately here procured) the Conſul, and ſix more of the Nation, were delivered into the Hands of the Chiouz, and ſo brought up hither, not being ſuffered to return to their own Houſes, but put a day and a night into an offenſive dark place, the Doors and Windows not only ſhut, but nailed upon them, not ſuffering either their Friends or Servants to come at them, or a Window open till the evening, for which alſo they paid Dollars 100. In this diſgraceful manner they were brought hither, where they have been ſince the *22d* of the laſt Month, Priſoners in his Lordſhip's Houſe to the *21ſt* preſent, notwithſtanding they had complied in paying the Leviation Monies in leſs than a Week after their arrivals; and by fair Promiſes, put off from day to day, for their diſpatch to their Buſineſs at *Smyrna*, which could not but much ſuffer by their abſence: Their Magazines and Counting-houſes continued ſealed from the time of their Attachments; the Ships not permitted to lade, or depart, though empty; and no Debts due to them would be paid in this their Abſence and time of Diſtraction.

The Leviation Monies being ſatisfied, (of which Dollars 31000, his Lordſhip forced into *Cancellaria*); and we of *Smyrna* expecting no more rubs in the way, his Lordſhip, the *16th* Inſtant, calls a Court, and there declared, That of what Monies had been collected, there would not remain much on the old Accompt; therefore proviſion muſt be made for the future growing Charge, for ſo much as upon this pretended Imbargo, no Ships would come in haſte, and he and his muſt be maintained, which he would provide for: Hereupon, when we could not do otherwiſe, Dollars 25000 was promiſed, half by this Factory, for which his Lordſhip cauſed us to enter into Bond, as he did thoſe of *Smyrna* for the other half; this being effected, which we ſhould not neither altogether have been ſo ready to have complied in, but thereby to put a period to all other Demands, and enable our ſelves to proceed in our Buſineſs for your Worſhips better Service.

The *18th* preſent his Lordſhip calls another Court; and after arguing of ſome General Matters, with a ſeeming ſadneſs, tells us how that he had been wronged by falſe Information from hence and *Smyrna*, (but he was ſo far from proving it, as that he would not diſcover ſo much as whom he ſuſpected). and thereupon the *Levant* Company at Home had, by means of the Parliament, procured Sequeſtration of his Eſtate and Lands in *England*, and endeavoured to ſurprize his Perſon; and therefore, according to Religion, Reaſon, and common Policy, he ought to ſecure himſelf and his Hoſtages; and thereupon he departed from us, requiring the Nation ſpeedily to reſolve of ſome preſent Satisfaction that might ſecure his Eſtate at Home, and Perſon here, otherwiſe he vowed to God, he would ſuddenly do it himſelf, with no little diſadvantage to our ſelves and Principals. Theſe ſtrange, unreaſonable, and unexpected Demands, filled us with amazement, not knowing what Anſwer to give to ſuch a groundleſs demand; we deſired the Secretary Signior *Dominico* to know his Lordſhips more particular Deſires therein, that ſo we might better underſtand him; and to put his Demands into ſuch a moderate way, as he might receive ſome Satisfaction. He returned us Anſwer, that we muſt reſolve to ſatisfy his aforeſaid Demands before we went thence: Whereupon the Gates were ſhut, and alſo Guards ſet upon us, that we ſhould not converſe with any, or convey ſo much as a Paper out of Doors. Thus we are all ſurprized, made cloſe Priſoners, and our Counting-houſe, Ware-houſe, and Chambers ſealed up, to make ſure of our Goods and Eſtates there alſo. Continuing in this ſad Condition all Night, and finding no Motion to proceed from his Lordſhip to declare himſelf farther, four or five of us was appointed by the generality, perſonally to crave his Lordſhip's particular Deſires and Demands of us: Whoſe Anſwer was, *That the loweſt value he could put upon his* Lands the Company had ſequeſtred, was 25000 pounds *Sterling*; and for the loſs he ſhould ſuſtain by being put out of the Ambaſſador-ſhip, which he ſaith his Majeſty hath granted him for his Life; therefore the Strangers Conſulage he rates at Dollars 5000 *per Annum*; which for the clear Gain of ſeven Years to come, is Dollars 35000; for which he declared that he would not accept of any Perſonal Security or Obligation whatſoever, but a preſent diſpoſition of Dollars 160000 in Mony or Goods, into his own hands muſt be made. And if to this we would not condeſcend, he told us, That he, at the laſt Sacrament had vowed to God (as he doth now) to ſacrifice his Eſtate, Himſelf, Wife and Children, for the execution of this his abſolute Intent; and till then, neither our Perſons, Eſtates, Ships here, or at *Smyrna*, ſhould be free. We told his Lordſhip, that finding not any of us had heard of any ſuch Things was (or intended to be) done againſt him by the Company, it would give us great Satisfaction, to ſhew

1646.

us

1646. us thoſe Advices he grounded this Pretence upon. To this no Anſwer was then given by himſelf, but diſmiſſed us, leaving it to our laſt and ſpeedy Reſolution, becauſe he was reſolved to ſtrike home. Immediately after he ſent us word by a ſecond, That he could not let his Honour deſcend ſo low, as to ſhew his Advices to any. This empty Reply, gave us too much reaſon, not only to conclude this to be a feigned Pretence, but made us ſuſpect his Intention and Aim was at all the Nation's Eſtate in the Country; and therefore we returned him this reaſonable and defenſive Anſwer, as your Worſhips will particularly perceive by the incloſed Paper: whereunto is adjoined his Reply to that our Anſwer, as he pretended; tho it appears it was intended before, it being dated a day before our Anſwer. Whilſt thus we continued, it happened that thoſe four of us were fortunately abſent from Court that day, who hearing of our Conditions, wherefore, and why we were thus detained, and what an ill Period theſe Proceedings tended unto, if not timely and prudently prevented; they uſed their beſt endeavours to free us and your Livelihoods from the Claws of Tyranny and Covetouſneſs; they applied themſelves to Signor *Illuſtriſſimo Coppes*, the States of *Hollands* Agent: who as he was ever a Friend and Favourer of the Nation, ſo now he gave us good and great teſtimony thereof in this our greateſt Need and Extremity: and chiefly by his means with a Sum of Mony; together with the Clamors of the Jews, and many other of the Grand Signior's Subjects againſt this our preſent Abuſe, and deſtruction of future Trade: The Vizier (whom they had well and fully poſſeſſed with the Truth of all Things) after three days Impriſonment, ſent a Chiouz for us to his Lordſhip's Houſe, from whence we were carried before the Vizier, who much upbraided his Lordſhip, ſaying, He never gave him Commands for ſuch Proceedings, notwithſtanding his Lordſhip's avaneous Allegations againſt his own Nation, by ſaying, an Engliſh Ship at *Smyrna* was laden with Powder, Ammunition, *&c.* and there reſided for aſſiſtance of the Turks Enemies; and other the like Abuſes, and deſtructive Courſes againſt thoſe here; tending not only to the confiſcation of Ships and Eſtates, but the riſgo of enſlaving our Bodies, if not the loſs of all or ſome of our Lives, had his Helliſh Plots taken effect. The next day after our general Commitment, arrives five more of our fellow Factors from *Smyrna*, there ſeized upon and made Priſoners; and ſo by his Lordſhip's Command, in that nature brought to his Houſe, and put amongſt us, notwithſtanding the advice from their Correſpondents hence was at *Smyrna*, (before their departure thence) that their part of Leviation Mony was all paid in here; yet their Leviation, with one third more in Monies and Goods, was taken again from them by his impudently impious Miniſters there, and all the reſt of their Goods continued ſealed up; So the Intent (as your Worſhips may plainly perceive) was no other than firſt to get the Monies here paid, then to ſeize upon their Perſons, and next to take away and ſecure their Eſtates; thereby to prevent a juſt, reaſonable, and natural Defence; and now it too plainly appears, (becauſe his Lordſhip's Imployers had taken courſe no Meſſengers ſhould come unto us); Horſemen are daily diſpatched unto us by our Friends at *Smyrna*, adviſing us to the *20th* Inſtant, of the unnatural and devouring Progreſſions they had there made; which was done by the aſſiſtance of the Caddie, whom they had well bribed, beginning to act there at the ſame time as we were here all impriſoned; ſo there was no intent of ſtaying for our Anſwer to his extravagant Demands. They firſt fell upon Mr. *Lancelot*'s Houſe, thence proceed all throughout the Nation; ſo that they have not only taken away all the Goods, Monies, and Effects whatſoever they could find in their Houſes, at Home or Abroad, but broke open and ranſack'd all our Chambers, Trunks, and Counting-houſes, which mounteth to a far greater value than his demands of Dollars 160000; and by large Promiſes to Informers, endeavour to diſcover and take what is owing them abroad by People of the Country; and have ſo threatned our Friends and Servants to deliver our Books, and declare where's more of our Eſtates, that they are conſtrained to leave our naked Houſes to the open World, and betake themſelves to the Ships in Port for Refuge. All this it ſeems contents them not, but are contriving Proviſions, by policy and force of ſome Rogues of the Country, to unlade what Goods the Nation had put on board the *Jonas*. For all which, we have not only the advice of our diſtreſſed Friends there, but ſuch infallible Information, as your Worſhips may perceive by the incloſed authentick Copies of Letters from his Inſtruments at *Smyrna* to his Lordſhip here; by which you will too plainly perceive his Lordſhip did, and ſtill doth aim at all the Eſtate the Nation had in the Country; and for that cauſe he was ſo much enraged for the departure of the *Hercules*, and *William* and *Thomas*, whoſe Goods he eſteemed as ſo much loſs to him.

1646.

We have been now ſeven days out of his Lordſhip's hands, and are endeavouring to free that Eſtate they have already taken at *Smyrna*, as alſo to defend

our

1646. our Selves and your Eſtates in future from him, and free the Ships out of Port, (which no queſtion at laſt will be proved have been detained by his Lordſhip to this ill purpoſe) and if poſſible, to procure the return of Dollars, 20 in 30000, his Lordſhip hath unavoidably forced from us in the Leviation Accompt, upon ſtrange Pretences. All which (by the aſſiſtance of our obliged and worthy Friend *Signior Illuſtriſſimo Coppes*; together with the expence of Dollars 30 in 40000, to the Vizier and other Turkiſh Miniſters) we doubt not but ſpeedily to effect; for without this honeſt defenſive Remedy, we can expect nothing but ruin to all your Eſtate in the Country, which ſtill he threatneth, and endeavours by all his deviliſh Policy and Means to effect: But the Vizier, and the two Caddeleskiers, who are our Judges, are ſo poſſeſt with the Truth and Reaſon of our Cauſe, as well by the People of the Country, as our Selves, that they have given us full aſſurance, by Promiſes, Proteſtations, and ſound Probabilities, that our juſt Demands ſhall be accompliſhed; for which we all faithfully and earneſtly endeavour Night and Day, and ſo do hourly expect a good determination of it: and till there be an Iſſue or Settlement given to this our confuſed Condition, (which we hope will not continue for many days) no particular Principal muſt expect Advice from any Factor here, becauſe no private Man can fitly adviſe any thing, till the general Buſineſs be better ordered: And as we proceed therein, we ſhall by all Ways and Conveyances give your Worſhips a true and exact Account. We do humbly beſeech your Worſhips to acknowledg the good Offices of the State's Agent to their Ambaſſador with you, and ſo fully certify him, that Illuſtr. Sign. *Coppes* appeared no ways againſt his Lordſhip as Ambaſſador, or trenching on the King's Honour, but reſpectfully and modeſtly for the ſafety of your Eſtates.

To particularize all Paſſages and Circumſtances in this Buſineſs, would prove more troubleſom than needful to your Worſhips, ſo pleaſe to accept of this Relation; for this is the preſent ſtate of yours and our Condition; which though not ſo well as we could wiſh, yet better than we could imagine; for the Hand was up, the Match lighted, and a little more time would have blown up all. We need not put your Worſhips in mind ſpeedily to ſend us another Protector, ſeeing the Neceſſity of your Occaſions craves it too plainly; and in confidence of your ſpeedy Reſolution thereof, we ſhall continue, hoping our Deſires will be ſatisfied, and the Eſtates in better ſecurity, by his ſpeedy arrival here, which God in Mercy grant.

His Lordſhip's Cauſe is ſo bad, that 1646.
Signor *Dominico* your Secretary, Signior *George*, and all other Druggermen, have not only declined his Lordſhip, but apply themſelves to us, (and eſpecially the former). In fine, we conceive his Lordſhip finds his former bad Proceedings have made him uncapable to return into *England*, and alſo uncertain of his Reſidence here; which, together with the improvident uſe he hath made of his Golden Time, that he intended to ſeize upon all He and his unworthy Inſtruments could catch hold of; for to this purpoſe he diverted the *Golden Fleece*'s advantagious Deſign for *Venice*; which at firſt was approved and cauſed by his own conſent; and occaſioned her Factor here, to whom ſhe was conſigned, to let her him to fraight, that ſo Himſelf, Family, and undue gotten Eſtate, may be conveyed (as is ſuppoſed) into *France*, with whoſe Ambaſſador, there hath been often a more than ordinary correſpondency of late.

Galata of *Conſtantinople*,
June 28. 1646.

Before the ſealing up of our Letter, we have procured an Imperial Command for the recovering of the Eſtate into our Hands, taken away at *Smyrna*; as alſo for the attaching the Perſons, and bringing thoſe good Agents of his Lordſhips hither, to anſwer their Proceedings and Behaviour: the obtaining of which Command, we are not a little glad of, being our Obligatory Teſtimony of the Vizier's being our Friend, and ties him thereby to continue ſo, which we hope effectually to find, two days hence, when his Lordſhip is to appear with us before him; but in caſe he refuſeth (as already he hath done) the Vizier will give Sentence againſt him.

Your Worſhips may be pleaſed to take notice, that his Lordſhip's chief Counſellor, in theſe his undue Proceedings, is Mr. *Henry Hyde*, of whoſe good Service in your former Occaſions at the *Morea*, we need not to give teſtimony; but can aſſure your Worſhips, that ſince his coming hither, he hath occaſioned great Diſturbance among the Nation; and now at laſt (had the Deſign before mentioned taken effect) might have raiſed his decayed Fortunes, by the ruin of Yours and our Eſtates; but, thanks be to God, the Counſel of *Achitophel* is turned into Folly. And for your late Treaſurer *John Woolf*, the ſatisfying of whoſe Debts hath ſo mounted the laſt Leviation, he is ſo far from acknowledging the Courteſies done in acquitting him from his Creditors, that he is become Aſſiſtant (though a weak one) to his Lordſhip in the Proceeding aforementioned: And having deſerted *Galata*, with Mr. *Henry Hyde*,

1646. *Hyde*, reſides at his Lorſhip's, laying their Heads together in contriving Miſchief againſt thoſe from whom they have had their Maintenance.

In caſe your Worſhips ſhould not be in a poſture to procure an Ambaſſador ſo ſoon as you may deſire, that you would pleaſe in the interim, and as ſoon as may be, to obtain a Letter from his Majeſty to the Grand Signior, or Vizier, in approbation and acknowledgment of what is done; and that his Lordſhip be not nimbler than your Worſhips in getting the like againſt us, which doubtleſs he will endeavour. We ſhall not farther inlarge at preſent, but intend ſhortly, when all things ſhall be fully and abſolutely ſetled, to write to your Worſhips again. So we reſt.

At Inſtant a Copy of his Lordſhip's Letter, with others directed to him, being come to hand, we ſend them herewith; and from *Smyrna* are adviſed that the Perſons of *Hetherington* and the Druggerman are detained aboard our Ships there; and by this time the Command is with them, which will warrant the bringing them up with their Papers, that are alſo aboard; by which the Plot will more plainly appear. To morrow we expect his Lordſhip's appearance before the Vizier, when we have hopes to reward the Trouble he intended others, *&c.*

Kept until the 6th of July, 1646.

Your Worſhips moſt obliged and humble Servants,

John Wyld,
John Lancelot,
Nicholas Read,
William Aſhley,
Thomas Berkley,
Dixwell Brent,
Nath. Barnardiſton,
James Moyer,
James Modyford,
Daniel Edwards,
William Chappel,
Roger Fouke,
Gyles Ball,
John Tye,
John Ball,
William Pearl,
John Pixley,
George Hanger;
Samuel Barnardiſton,
John Swift,
William Gough,
Thomas Pigot,
John Abney,
Francis Aſhwell,
Robert Frampton,
Gyles Davis,
John Plomer,
James Daviſon,
William Osburn,
Henry Davy,
Richard Strode,
Philip Farewell,
John Eriſey,
Jonathan Dawes,
Ralph Goſnold.

Your Worſhips moſt obliged, moſt humble, and faithful Servant,

Domenico Timone,

Secretary.

1646.

The Factors General Letter from Smyrna, *dated the 4th of* July, 1646, *to the* Levant *Company.*

Right Worſhipful Sirs,

IT may pleaſe you, our laſt from hence was by the Ship *William* and *Thomas*, adviſing his Lordſhips Proceedings for another Leviation, for diſcharging your Debts at *Conſtantinople*, being then informed that the whole amounted unto Dollars 118109; and how we were reſolved to withſtand it, until your Worſhips further Pleaſure ſhould be ſignified unto us concerning the ſame, for ſuch Reaſons as we then preſumed to lay open unto you; and that in the mean time we had preſented our Grievances to his Lordſhip's gracious peruſal, the Copy whereof went annexed to our ſaid Letter, to both which you may pleaſe to have reference.

The 24*th* of *March* following, our Conſul called a Court, and declared his Lordſhip's Anſwer to our ſaid Letter, diſliking our Proceedings; and by a new Order prohibited the lading of Goods, and receiving them on Board, and the departure of Ships, until the ſaid Leviation were paid, according to his former Order, and Schedule now ſet down, ſhewing each Man his proportionable part for his Factory of *Smyrna*, amounting in all to Dollars 54950, and for the Factory at *Conſtantinople*, to Dollars 56000, is together Dollars 110950. Whereupon, we generally deſired that his Lordſhip would be pleaſed to ſuſpend the execution of the ſaid Order of Leviation, until ſuch time we ſhould receive your Worſhips farther Order about it, without which we our ſelves were like to pay it out of our own Purſes, as in the laſt Leviation; receiving ſince particular Orders from ſome of our Principals, not to pay any Leviations, otherwiſe it ſhould be for our own Accompts, and not theirs.

The 24*th* of *April*, the Conſul called another Court, ſignifying unto us, that his Lorſhip did require an account for the departure of the Ship *William* and *Thomas*, and *Succeſs*, contrary to his Lordſhip's Commands, there being an Officer of the Vizier's come down to apprehend Captain *Tho. Porter*, and to carry him up to *Conſtantinople*, (which Ships departed at their own pleaſures, being not in our powers to ſtay them). And that concerning the Leviation it was inevitable, and his Lordſhip was reſolved upon it, and therefore would force us unto it, and expect repair of Honour from the Delinquents. Whereupon fearing his Lordſhip's farther diſpleaſure, which might beget ſome greater Inconveniences amongſt us, we preſumed to yield unto his Lord-

1646. Lordſhip's Commands, by way of a ſubmiſſive orderly complyance, and conform our ſelves unto the paiment of our parts of the ſaid Leviation, in proportion to the Eſtates were received on the laſt general Ships, *Hercules*, *Sampſon*, and *Smyrna-Merchant*, according to our particular Aſſeſſments; as appeareth by our general Letter preſented to his Lordſhip, and entred in *Cancellaria*, grounded upon the reſult of this days Court; deſiring his Lordſhip would be pleaſed to allow us four Months time for paiment, for ſuch Reaſons as we have alledged in the ſame.

The *6th* of *May*, the Conſul told us he had received other Letters from his Lordſhip, prohibiting not only the Lading of Goods, and the Departure of any Ships, until the Leviation be ſetled; but alſo therein more fully ſignifies and declares, That until the Grand Signior's Fleet be gone forth, he cannot permit any Ship, either at *Conſtantinople*, or here, to lade or be diſpatched; and that accordingly his Lordſhip is ſo required of this State. And in like manner hath ordered and commanded thoſe whom it concerns, both above, and in this Port, to obſerve the ſame. And moreover farther witneſſing, which accordingly (as he ſaid) he was bound to acquaint us, how that the Embargo at *Conſtantinople*, and here, was ſeconded; and his Lordſhip, to avoid farther Dangers and Inconveniences to the Publick, could not refuſe his Conſent thereunto.

The *10th* of *May* arrived here Mr. *John Hetherington*, a Servant to his Lordſhip, and Signior *Lorenzo Zuma* a Greek, one of his Lordſhip's Druggermen, from *Conſtantinople*; who the next Morning moved our Conſul to call a Court for the Nation; where being aſſembled, the Conſul told the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo*, That their Deſires were performed, and therefore required them to deliver what they had in Commiſſion from his Lordſhip: who produced an Order of the *27th* of *April*, directed to the Conſul and Us, for paiment of the ſaid Leviation forthwith, or elſe to proceed according to his farther Order, Warrant, and Inſtructions in ſuch behalf; and we to be anſwerable to ſuch Loſs, Damage, and Inconveniencies as may enſue thereby. To which we anſwered, That the Leviation was ſubſcribed unto, and therefore deſired the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo* to ſtay four or five days, until his Lordſhip ſhould return Anſwer to our Letter of the *24th* of *April*. The ſaid *Lorenzo* told us, He would retire and peruſe his Lordſhip's Commiſſion, and in two hours return, to have a more full and ſatisfactory Anſwer from us: which being expired, he declared, That his Lordſhip's Commiſſion required forthwith ready Mony or Goods, (being his Inſtruction, from which he could not vary). Whereupon Mr. *John Lancelot* firſt anſwered, (as he was a Merchant) He could not depoſit his Cloth, for his Credit's ſake, but would give his Bills for his and Mr. *Dixwell Brent*'s proportionable part of the Leviation, payable at *Conſtantinople per* Mr. *Thomas Pigot*, at five days ſight, into his Lordſhip's *Cancellaria*; which was refuſed, unleſs they would depoſit the value in Cloth, and one third part more towards Charges, in the poſſeſſion of him the ſaid *Lorenzo*; which they ſaid again, for their Credits ſake (as they were Merchants) could not conſent unto; ſo referred themſelves unto the ſaid *Lorenzo*'s farther proceedings, if theſe Proffers would not be accepted of, being not poſſible for them at preſent to procure Monies at Intereſt, or otherwiſe. 1646.

The like Conditions we all in general proffered for our proportionable parts, but were refuſed by the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo*. Whereupon the Conſul told them, they had all our Aſſents for paiment of the Leviation; and if that, with ſuch Reaſons and Proffers as we propounded, might not be ſatisfactory, the Conſul, and we in general, referred our ſelves to the ſaid *Lorenzo*'s farther Proceedings.

After this, the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo* preſently repaired to the Caddies, accompanied with a prime Chiouz of the Vizier's, and declared their farther Commiſſions: After publication whereof, the Caddie ſent for the Conſul, and all our Nation, where the Capittulations were firſt taken away by Warrant, and the Conſul in a moſt barbarous manner was laid hold on, with *Dixwell Brent*, *Daniel Edwards*, *John Pixley*, *Samuel Barnardiſton*, *George Hanger*, and *James Moyer*, and committed Priſoners into the Cuſtody of the ſaid Chiouz and Officers, and tranſported to a Houſe (taken by them on purpoſe) where they were violently, and in a formidable manner, thruſt into a dark Chamber, and at length were forced to preſent Dollars 300, to have a Window ſet open to give them Light and Air; the Conſul telling the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo*, before he was ſurpriſed, in the preſence of the Caddies, That neither he, or the Nation, had any ways tranſgreſſed the Grand Signior's, or his Lordſhip's Commands; and that he did not fear what they could do unto him, no not ſo much as to die, in performance of his Faith and Truſt to the *Levant* Company, whom he had truly ſerved; as likewiſe for his Love and Affection he bore to the Nation here under his Charge, whom he would never betray, hoping ſhortly to ſee his own Country again. And in two hours after, the ſaid *Hetherington*, *Lorenzo*, and Chiouz, Caddie, and

1646. and Neipe, ſealed up all the Counting-houſes, Magazines, and ſome Chambers; and in two days after, tranſported the Priſoners over-land up to *Conſtantinople*, where they were delivered to his Lordſhip's Power and ſafe Cuſtody; we in the mean time being left like ſo many Sheep without a Shepherd, and ignorant where to ſeek protection.

The next day after departure of theſe Priſoners, the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo* ſealed up our Cloth in our own Warehouſes, for what concerned our proportionable part of the Leviation, at the rate of Dollars 45 *per* Cloth, and one third part more towards Charges.

The *18th* day of *May*, at the inſtance of the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo*, the remainder of us left here behind met together, where the ſaid *Hetherington* told us we had not brought in our Bills of Exchange for *Conſtantinople*, for the parts of our Leviation, and one third part more; unto which we anſwered, We had complyed with his Lordſhip's Commands, in all willing and obedient manner, according to our preſent Poſſibilities, until we ſhould be able to ſatisfy the ſame with our ready Monies here, or by our Bills payable in *Conſtantinople*, at five days ſight, wherein we promiſed to uſe our utmoſt Endeavours, hoping to redeem our Cloth again, which we had depoſited, and they ſealed up, for our proportionable Parts of the Leviation.

In few days after arrived here one of the principalleſt Chiouzes of the Grand Signior, with new Commands ſent down by his Lordſhip; by virtue whereof the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo* ſeized upon the Perſons of *John Ball*, *Henry Davey*, *Phillip Farwell*, *Nathaniel Barnardiſton*, and *John Ingoldsby*, who were committed Priſoners to the ſaid Chiouz, who uſed them with ſome humanity, and ſent up the next day to *Conſtantinople*, to be delivered unto his Lordſhip's Power; after whoſe departure (all Law being ſet aſide) the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo* by this Command came down, opened all our Warehouſes, and by Violence carried all our Goods away into ſeveral Canes of the Turks; as well what they had ſealed up, for the Leviation, as all other Goods of what nature ſoever they could find, unleſs it were ſuch as was ſealed up, and belonged to Turks, and other of the Grand Signior's Subjects; and left many of us ſo bare, that we had not wherewithal to afford us a piece of Bread to keep Life and Soul together, only bare Promiſes. The ſaid Chiouz remaining behind, put us daily into great Fears, that we ſhould all be ſent up, or clapt up here in Priſon, which cauſed many of us to repair on board the Ship for Succour, here being in Harbour the Ships *Rainbow*, *Jonas*, *Hopewell*, and *Triangle*. 1646.

In all which time of this Diſtraction and Sufferings, our Miſeries have been much condoled by the chief Turks and Inhabitants of this Place, who ſeem to ſympathize with us in our ſad Conditions; and had not the Commands been ſo powerful, the whole Town would have riſen up in our Defence and Protection, who have privately adviſed of theſe Abuſes; which as they themſelves confeſs, are like to ruin, not only this Scale, but that of *Aleppo* and *Conſtantinople* alſo, to the Diſhonour of the Grand Signior, and ruin of many of his Subjects; and of a profitable and acceptable Friend (our Nation) to become a potent Enemy againſt them.

The *28th* of *June* came Letters from *Conſtantinople*, adviſing the Vizier's Order for reſcuing both Factories from his Lordſhip's Impriſonment, and particular Advice to ſome of us here left, for apprehending the Perſons of the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo*, and to keep them in ſafe Cuſtodies on board our Ships, fearing (we having no Order as yet to receive out Eſtates out of their Poſſeſſions) they might convey our ſaid Eſtates away, or ſell them for half their Worth, and ſo make their private eſcapes out of Town, expecting daily a Chiouz to carry up their Perſons to *Conſtantinople*, and to free our Goods, hoping all will go well again for us. Hereupon the very ſame day, the ſaid *Hetherington* and *Lorenzo*, (without any noiſe or rumour) were by the Mariners conveyed on board ſeveral Ships from the ſaid *Hetherington*'s Lodging, *viz. Hetherington* on board the *Triangle*, *William Hodges* Commander; and *Lorenzo* on board the *Hopewell*, *Nicholas Terrick* Commander; where now they remain, to the contentment of the Inhabitants here, who daily expect their ſending up to the Port, there to anſwer to ſuch Crimes and Inſolencies as ſhall be objected and proved againſt them.

Thus we have preſumed plainly and diſtinctly (accordingly as we conceive it becomes us) though briefly, to preſent unto your Worſhips peruſal, the whole Proceſs of his Lordſhip's Proceedings againſt us here in *Smyrna*, (ſince our laſt) according to our experience of the Paſſages; by which your Worſhips may eaſily conjecture his Lordſhip's farther Intentions. And for what hath occurred at *Conſtantinople*, your Worſhips will receive by this Conveyance, adviſe to both which we pray you to be referred; which being taken into your deliberate Conſiderations, may afford ſuch future Means of Protection, and incouragement to enter into a way of ſetling this Turky Trade in ſuch a

1646. poſture, that we hope theſe Loſſes may be repaired with advantage.

And ſo we humbly take our leaves, having given your Worſhips teſtimony of our Concordance, in the diſcharge of our Obligations and Duties; and in conformity we ſubſcribe, evermore reſting,

Smyrna, July 4.
1646.

Your Worſhips humble and obliged Servants,

Robert Keble, *Arnold White*,
Thomas Lancelot, *Daniel Baſſano*,
John Wild junior, *William Whetcombe*,
Lawrence Chambers, *Robert Dawes*,
Will. Oxwieck, *Samuel Browning*.

But not to inſiſt long on a Subject ſo ungrateful, as the Difference was between the Ambaſſador and his Merchants; the Concluſion, and Iſſue of all was this. After Sir *Sackville Crow* had ſpent at the leaſt ſeventy thouſand pieces of Eight of good ready Mony, and the Turky Company two hundred thouſand; the Turks finding the Ambaſſador's Exchequer to be almoſt exhauſted, for that Preſents and Purſes of Mony came not in ſo plentifully as at firſt; and on the contrary, feeling the Spring of the Levant Companies Treaſury ſtill to run freſh and quick, their Inclinations towards the Ambaſſador grew more cold and faint, his Agents were not admitted ſo readily to Audience as formerly, nor his Petitions and Addreſſes received with that candor, as when Mony and Intereſt made their entrance eaſy; in the mean time, the Merchants were heard with great patience, their Cauſe and Complaints eſteemed reaſonable; and in ſhort, Sir *Sackville Crow* was diſmiſſed from *Conſtantinople*, in a manner not uſual for Ambaſſadors, nor agreeable to that Quality and Character: and was ſucceeded by Sir *Thomas Bendyſh*, who was Authorized and conſtituted in that Embaſſy, by Commiſſion from his Majeſty King *Charles* the Firſt of ever bleſſed and glorious Memory.

1647. *Gio Capello* being conſtituted General in the place of *Molino*, as we mentioned at the end of the preceding Year, departed from *Venice* early in the Spring, having under his Command fifty Gallies, ſix Galleaſſes, and forty Ships of War, and four Fire-ſhips, beſides other Veſſels, which are neceſſary Attendants on ſo great an Armata; which grand Preparations raiſed the Minds of the Chriſtian World to expect the abatement of the Ottoman Pride, and other Effects equal to the magnificent Oſtentation, and triumphing Glory of this mighty Power: But God, who gives not always Succeſs to the Powerful, nor the Battel to the Strong, was not, it ſeems, ſo well ſatisfied for the Sins of Chriſtendom, as to judge it worthy to be delivered from the Scourges of its Grand Oppreſſor.

Whilſt *Capello* remained with the beſt part of the Fleet at *Candia*, *Tomaſo Moroſini*, Admiral of the Ships, ſhewed himſelf in a Bravado with twenty two Sail before the Caſtles of the *Helleſpont*, called the *Dardanelli*, defying the whole Turkiſh Power, with Colours flying, and Drums beating: nor did they dare to anſwer the bold Challenge, until in a dead Calm, ſome few light Gallies preſented themſelves in a ſeeming Battel, with whom, for want of Wind, the Ships were on the diſadvantage, and rather received Prejudice than gave it; ſo that both ſides were contented with the Action. 1647.

Moroſini withdrew from that Station, and returned to his General at *Candia*; to whom having joined his Forces, he earneſtly perſwaded him, together with the Proveditor *Grimani*, to engage the Turkiſh Fleet, which they aſſured him was much inferior to them, both in number of Veſſels, and in Skill and Courage of the Combatants; and that the Succeſs of this Year conſiſted in the cutting off the Enemies Succours, which was their ſole Relief and Dependance, without which they could not longer maintain the Ground they poſſeſſed, but muſt deliver up that and themſelves to their pleaſure. But the cautious General would not aſſent to this Reſolution, judging it over-raſh and precipitate; for that the Fortune of *Candia*, and other Iſles of the *Archipelago*, was not to be hazarded on the Succeſs of one Battel.

During which Diſpute, and irreſolution of Affairs, the Turkiſh Fleet, conſiſting of three hundred Sail, arrived at *Canea*, where they landed forty thouſand fighting Men, which turned the Scale of the War, and rendred the Turks ſo powerful, as not ever more to be expelled, or their Off-ſpring extirpated from the Confines of that Iſland. By this time the Pope's and *Malta* Gallies were come to their Aſſiſtance, and united with the Venetians; ſo that *Capello* ſetting ſail from the Port of *Suda*, reſolved to engage the Enemy at St. *Theodoro*; which was effected accordingly, though with little Succeſs, for the Turks had fortified themſelves, and ſecured their Gallies with that advantage, that they could not be aſſaulted without great hazard of the Chriſtians; and when they endeavoured to burn them, their four Fire-ſhips took fire too ſoon, and proved of more fear and aſtoniſhment to the Turks (to whom this Invention was as yet unknown) than of real dammage. After this the Venetians returned again to *Suda*, where having intelligence that thirty Turkiſh Gallies, with Men and Proviſion (which they had collected in ſeveral parts of the *Archipelago*) were on their Voyage to *Canea*, *Capello* preparing to intercept them with a Force of Galleaſſes and Gallies, and leaving *Grimani* and *Moroſini* to command the main Body of the Fleet, he in Perſon bent his Courſe towards *Cerigo*.

In the mean time *Muſtapha* Paſha departed from *Canea*, in order to his return to *Conſtantinople*, with fifty ſeven light Gallies, two Ships, two Galleaſſes, and many Saiks; but meeting in his Paſſage with a hard ſtorm of Northerly Winds, he loſt ſeven of his Gallies, and ſeveral other Veſſels, ſo that he reſolved to divide his Fleet, and ſend part of them to *Scio*, and himſelf with the other part to make for *Negropont*. This Fleet was followed by ſome other Veſſels under the Command of *Mahomet Celebee*, Brother of the Paſha of *Algier*, who being as far in his way as the narrow Streights of *Andra*, he was there ſtopped by the Fury of the Northern Winds, (which are the Maſter-Winds of thoſe Seas) and by the impetuous rage thereof, was carried to the Iſland of *Zia*; where having given Licence to the greateſt part of his Souldiery to Land, they careleſly ſtrayed abroad, and without ſuſpicion of Surprize, merrily paſſed their time in eating and drinking. In the interim, advice hereof being carried to *Tomaſo Moroſini*,

1647. *roſini*, then with ſome Ships in the Port of *Milo*, he immediately, without loſs of time, applied himſelf to aſſault the Turks; and being followed by the Proveditor *Grimani*, he took two of their Ships, whilſt *Mehmet Celebee*, with about two hundred of his Men, betook themſelves to the weak ſhelter of an old demoliſhed Fort, and afterwards ſurrendred themſelves to the diſcretion of the Conqueror.

Moroſini and *Grimani*, encouraged with this Succeſs, reſolved to purſue the Enemies Fleet; in order unto which, *Moroſini* firſt putting out to Sea, was inſtantly carried away by a fierce gale of Wind towards *Ambro*, and ſeparated from the reſt of his Fleet, and thence again was toſſed by the impetuoſity of the Storms unto *Raſti*; of which *Muſtapha* Paſha having Intelligence, made haſte to attack this ſingle Veſſel, with forty Gallies; giving order to the Bey of *Rhodes*, to lay him aboard with fifteen Gallies, the ſtrongeſt and beſt armed of all their Squadron: *Moroſini* nothing diſmayed, bearing the ſame conſtancy of Mind in the midſt of his Enemies, as at a diſtance, boldly ſhewed himſelf on the Quarter Deck, encouraging his Men with his words, and by his Example, to Actions worthy their Religion, Faith, and Country for which they contended. The Turks continued for ſome time to batter the Ship at a diſtance with their Cannon, but with little dammage to the Chriſtians; who returned their Shot to better advantage. Hereby the Turks perceiving that Blows given ſo far off did little Execution, reſolved to Board the Veſſel, and ſubdue Her by force of Arms, and being come to the ſide of the Ship, the Souldiers were fearful to enter, ſuſpecting ſome trains of Powder to blow them up, until *Emurat*, one of the Captains, ſtruck off the Head of one or two of his own Men, whom he perceived backward in the Aſſault, which affrighted the reſt into the greater danger, and forced them to enter the Ship, who were ſoon followed by the Gallies of the Bey of *Rhodes*, of *Milo*, of *Mehmet* Bey, and others; ſo that now two hundred of the Enemy were Combating with Swords and Half Pikes upon the Deck; in which ſtorm, *Moroſini* fighting amongſt the thickeſt, was ſhot through the Head with a Muſket Bullet, and ſo gloriouſly finiſhed his Days in the Service and Defence of his Country; gaining to himſelf a Laurel, and an Immortal Name of Glory and Renown.

Moroſini ſlain.

The Chriſtian Souldiers little regarding all this time the fall of their General, ſtoutly maintained their Fight, in which they received encouragement from the proſpect they had of two Galleaſſes making haſte to their Succour; at whoſe nearer approach, the Turks deſiſted from their farther Attempt; being unwilling to purchaſe a Victory at the dear rate it would coſt them.

The Body of *Moroſini* was tranſported to *Venice*, and his Obſequies Celebrated in a manner more Triumphant than Funebrous; the Proveditor *Grimani* was likewiſe declared Captain General in the place of *Capello*; who having, as it were, Beſieged the Caſtles at the Mouth of the *Dardanelli*, taken ſeveral places in the *Archipelago*, and put the Enemies Fleet often unto flight, he thereby, and by other Acts of Valour, rendred him juſtly renowned through all Chriſtendom.

Theſe were the chief and moſt memorable actions by Sea, performed this Year; Thoſe by Land were acted chiefly in *Dalmatia*, where the Turks poured in their Forces on the Venetian Dominions, but were bravely repulſed by *Leonardo Foſcolo*, who took *Ali* Bey Priſoner, the Commander in Chief of the Sangiac of *Licca*, and ſlew his Son; beſides which, he took *Saccovar*, *Poliſſano*, *Iſlan*, and other Fortreſſes and Caſtles, full of Arms and Ammunition, which were the Magazines of the Country; he alſo recovered *Novegrade* out of the hands of the Turks, which was afterwards demoliſhed by Order from the Senate; which Victories were followed with other Succeſſes; nothing being able to oppoſe the Valiant and Proſperous Arms of *Foſcolo*; for beſides the taking and ſacking of ſeveral other Forts and Caſtles in *Dalmatia*, *Obraozzo*, *Carino*, *Ottiſſina*, *Velino*, *Nadino*, *Urana*, *Tino*, and *Salona*, in the Confines of *Croatia*, and *Boſna*, became a Prey to the Venetian Arms. 1647.

But to this ſucceſsful Progreſs of the War, a ſtop was given for ſome time by the ſickneſs of *Foſcolo*; in which interim, the new Paſha of *Boſna*, called *Mahomet Techli*, a Circaſſian born, a Perſon both Generous and Valiant, with an Army of forty thouſand Men, beſieged the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Sebenico*; but was bravely repulſed by the Valour of the Inhabitants, the very Women exceeding the imbecillity of their Sex; and Children and old Men, with the weakneſs of their Age, ſtrengthened themſelves with Reſolution againſt their Enemies, and ſo valiantly behaved themſelves in defence of their City, that the Turk was forced to raiſe his Siege, having gained nothing but the loſs and ſlaughter of many of his People, and the beſt of his Souldiery; whereby he gained an aſſurance of the Invincible Strength of that place, and the Valour of the Inhabitants. *Sebenico beſieged.*

Foſcolo in like manner recovering his Health, continued the un-interrupted courſe of his Victories, and thereunto added the taking of *Scardona*; ſo that in *Dalmatia* the Venetian Affairs ran ſo proſperouſly, that nothing could be deſired to render them more happy and glorious. For the Turks not only were expelled from the Confines of *Dalmatia*, but likewiſe that Province became more quiet and ſecure than ever it had been in the Times of Peace.

But the joy of theſe Succeſſes was very much allayed by the unhappy Fate of a great part of the Venetian Fleet, at the Iſland of *Pſara*; which being lanched from *Candia* with intention to aſſault the Turks within the *Dardanelli*, unfortunately were driven by contrary Winds to that unſecure ſhore; where contending with a moſt furious Storm, a great part of the Fleet was caſt away, and the General *Grimani* himſelf drowned. About which time, the Turks, for the greater Terror of the Chriſtians, laid cloſe Siege to the City of *Candia*, and made many and various Attempts thereupon, carrying on their Aſſaults with the height of bravery and Reſolution, the Particulars of which require a diſtinct Hiſtory; but by the invincible Fortitude and Courage of the Chriſtians, they were repulſed with that ſlaughter, and with the loſs of ſo many Men, by Sallies and other Stratagems of War, that the Turks were at length conſtrained to raiſe their Siege with diſhonour and confuſion; during which time many of the Nobility and Perſons of Quality loſt their Lives; amongſt which, the principal were, *Vicenzo della Marra*, Governour General of the Arms of *Candia*, and Count *Rimorantino*, natural Son of the Duke of *Loraine*, Commander in Chief of the Forces that came from beyond the *Alpes*. *The ruin of the Venetian Armata at Pſara.*

1647. General *Foſcolo* encouraged by the many glorioes Enterpriſes that he had obtained, reſolved to conſummate all by taking the ſtrong and famous Fortreſs of *Cliſſa*, ſcituate in the Confines of *Dalmatia*, and Borders of *Boſna*, on the top of a ſharp and craggy Mountain, invironed with Rocks and unacceſſible Paſſages; the difficulty of the attempt rather inflamed than abated the Courage of *Foſcolo*, ſo that he Valiantly Beſieged and Aſſaulted that Place; during which time, the Prieſt *D. Stephano Sorich*, Captain of the Morlachs, intercepted the Succours which were ſent thither, and *Georgio* the Proveditor, overthrew *Tecchelì* Paſha in a Field Battel; ſo that the Inhabitants deſparing of Relief, ſurrendered up themſelves to the mercy of the Venetians; and thus *Cliſſa* being taken, the Senate Commanded that it ſhould be more regularly Fortified.

Cliſſa taken.

And here the Chriſtian Arms met ſome interruption. For the Morlachs deſirous to caſt off the Turkiſh Yoke, and return to the protection of the Venetians, deſigned to ſurprize *Scutari*; and at the ſame time the Arch-biſhop of *Durazzo*, with ſeven thouſand Albanians, was to ſeize upon *Croia*, and *Aleſſio*; but the Deſign being diſcovered by the traiterous practices of ſome falſe Brethren, before Matters were maturely grown, or the time of Execution, it had certainly coſt the Life of all the Morlachs, and ſeven hundred Venetian Souldiers joined with them, had not the increaſe of the Waters hindered the ſpeedy March of the Turks, who reſolved to cut them all off without mercy, or regard to any; ſo that having time to diſperſe themſelves, and take refuge in the Mountains, the moſt of them preſerved their Lives from the Cruelty of their Enemies; only ſome certain Eccleſiaſtical Perſons falling into their Hands, they imputed unto them the cauſe of the Rebelion, and in a barbarous manner impaled them on Stakes.

The Turks enraged for the loſs of *Cliſſa*, diſpatched *Dervis* Paſha into the parts of *Boſna*, with a potent Army, threatning to Aſſault *Spalatro*; whom to divert, *Foſcolo*, together with Prieſt *Sorich*, Captain of the Morlachs, entered into the Enemies Country; ſpoiling, burning, and deſtroying whereſoever they came. The Morlachs more greedy of Prey than ambitious of Glory, divided themſelves into ſmall Parties to rob and pillage; in which interim they were aſſaulted by the Turks, but being ſcattered, were ſo far from making a ſtout reſiſtance, that they committed themſelves to a ſhameful flight, in which great numbers of them were miſerably Butchered; nor could the valour of *Sorich*, nor of the Governour *Poſſidaria*, reduce them by their Examples into any Order: whilſt together with ſome few valiant Dalmatians, and Morlach Captains, they endured the ſhock of all the Enemies Fury; in which Skirmiſh the Turks loſt ſeven Agas, and about ſeventy Souldiers: On the Chriſtians ſide were killed four hundred, ſome few Slaves, and about ſeventy Enſigns taken; amongſt the reſt the good Prieſt *Sorich* ſcorning to turn his back, had the misfortune to fall into the Enemies hands, whom they flead alive, and afterwards impaled; and although they ſubdued his Body, yet he was ſtill maſter of his mind; bearing the ſame conſtancy in his Torments, as he had ſhewed Magnanimity and Courage in the Face of his Enemy.

Whilſt theſe Martial Affairs were tranſacting, with the Blood and Life of many thouſands on both ſides, Sultan *Ibrahim*, like a ſtout Souldier of *Venus*, waged another War in the Elyſiums of *Cupid*; and caſting aſide all thoughts of *Candia*, remitted the ſole care and management thereof to the Vizier and Paſhas of the Divan; following a Life ſo laſcivious and ſenſual, as can neither be imagined with a chaſt Fancy, or deſcribed by a modeſt Pen. 1647.

A principal Inſtrument of his Delights, and Engine to compaſs his Amorous Deſigns, was a certain caſt Wench of his, which he named *Shechir Para*, which ſignifies a little piece of Sugar; for it ſeems ſhe was ſo complaiſant and dulcid in her Humour and Diſcourſe, as merited that apt Name to expreſs the ſweetneſs of her Converſation; this Woman having the convenience to viſit all the Baths in Town, took notice of every Woman which ſhe ſaw of more than ordinary Features and Proportion, and having enquired her Condition and Dwelling, preſently reported the ſame with all advantage to her Sultan, who having heard the Beauty deſcribed, became paſſionately Enamoured, and could find no repoſe in his Fancy, until his Inſtruments, either by fair words or violence, had ſeduced her, or forced her to his Bed. But growing now extravagant and over-wanton in his Amours, he fell in love with the Sultana, or Widow of his Brother Sultan *Morat*: To win her Affections he had recourſe to his Dear *Shechir Para*, who uſed all her Arts in this Service: but her pretty wheedling Terms could prevail nothing on this Lady, who anſwered her in ſhort, That at the Death of her Lord Sultan *Morat*, ſhe had reſolved upon a perpetual Widowhood, for that the memory of him was ſtill ſo lively in her, that ſhe could not entertain the thoughts of admitting any new Embraces. This repugnancy and oppoſition inflamed the heat of *Ibrahim* like a Feaver, ſo that he reſolved to aſſault her himſelf one day by force, and took his time juſt as ſhe came out of the Bath; but ſhe being a bold Woman, and diſdaining the wandring loves of *Ibrahim*, laid her hand upon her Dagger, (which Sultana's and great Ladies uſually wear) threatning to wound him in her own defence; the noiſe and brawling hereof being over-heard by the Queen-Mother, called her from her Retirements, and concerned her in the Quarrel; who whilſt ſhe reproved her Son, for the rape he intended on his Brother's Wife, gave opportunity to the Sultana to eſcape; and ſo delivered her out of the hands of this Satyr. But *Ibrahim* mad with love, and fuming with diſdain to be checked and oppoſed by his Mother, Commanded her immediately to the old Seraglio, where he confined her to ſeveral days Impriſonment, during which time he underſtood in what manner ſhe had treated his large-ſiz'd Armenian, of whom we have already ſpoken; whereof the Queen-Mother being conſcious, ſubmitted her ſelf with all humility to her Son, begging his Favour and Pardon; and ſo well acted her part by thoſe who carried her Addreſſes, that ſhe overcame quickly his eaſy Nature, and was again reſtored to his Grace, and her Lodgings in the new Seraglio.

In the mean time *Shecher Para* travelling over all the Baths in Town, to diſcover new delights for her Maſter, at length had the fortune to caſt her Eyes on a Daughter of the Mufti, a Maid of Incomparable Beauty and Features of Countenance, and proportion of Body, which ſhe reported to *Ibrahim* ſo ſenſibly, as if ſhe her ſelf had been in love; and after ſhe had praiſed every Part and Member of her, ſhe concluded in ſum, that ſhe was the moſt Excellent and admirable

Piece

1647. Piece that ever Nature framed. The Sultan had no ſooner heard the Story, but according to his uſual Cuſtom, fell moſt deſperatly in love, and had immediately, without farther conſideration or counſel, diſpatched his Emiſſaries; or without other Preamble, Ceremony, or Courtſhip, to have fetched her to him; had not the ſenſe of the late Rebuff he had received from his Brother's Wife, made ſome impreſſion of fear in him; and the apprehenſion he had of the Power of the Mufti, created in him a certain Caution and Reſpect in the treatment of his Daughter: wherefore he rather reſolved to ſend for the Mufti, with whom he treated of honourable Terms concerning Marriage; promiſing to take her into his Boſom, and prefer her in Honour equal to any other of his Sultana's.

The old Man who was tender of, and doated on his Daughter, knowing well the wandring humour of the Sultan in his Amours, intended rather to marry her to ſome great Perſonage, with whom ſhe might be more happy, than in being a Soltana: for he conſidered, that *Ibrahim* having already other Sons, her Iſſue would either be Sacrificed for ſecurity of their Brothers, or elſe ſpend their days in a Priſon, and become Grey-headed, whilſt they breath in a *medium* between Life and Death, and are ſad Recluſes in the Grave of their unhappineſs. Theſe conſiderations were well imprinted in the mind of the Mufti: but becauſe he durſt not deny his propoſal, he dealt with him as Inferiours uſually do with their Lords and Superiours; *that is*, he returned him thanks, expreſſing infinite Obligations, that he would vouchſafe to caſt his Princely Eyes on the unworthineſs of his Family: however he adviſed him, that according to the Canons of their Law, of which he was the Expoſitor, and obliged to be a ſevere and preciſe Obſerver; it was great Impiety in a Father to impoſe on the Affections of his Child; ſo that though he could heartily wiſh that his Daughter would embrace this Honour, to which he would exhort her with all the earneſt Perſwaſions of a Father; yet if ſhe proved refractory thereunto, it would not be becoming his Power to force her; and therefore hoped his Majeſty would believe, that in proceeding thus far, he had performed that Duty which became him, both as a Father, and a Loyal Subject.

Ibrahim ſuppoſing that by this Conceſſion he had gained his Deſign, thanked and imbraced the old Man, whom diſmiſſing with plenary ſatisfaction, he remained now with an impatient expectation and hopes of enjoyment. Next Morning the Mufti returned early to the Grand Signior, and having firſt ſufficiently inſtructed his Daughter to refuſe the Sultan's Proffers, told him plainly, that he had uſed all his paternal Authority and intereſt with his Daughter, that he might induce her to accept this mighty Fortune, which caſt it ſelf upon her; but that it found not that ready acceptance with her as he expected; what could be the reaſon he knew not how to conjecture, ſince Women are commonly irregular, and unreaſonable in their Affections.

Ibrahim being in this manner diſappointed, and more angry to encounter any boundary or reſtraint to the imperious violence of his Luſts, than oppoſition againſt the puiſſance of his Arms; diſmiſt the Mufti with ſome neglect and diſdain, whom he reſolved to treat with Rigour, and his Daughter with Courtſhip. In order to the firſt, he baniſhed him the Court, and forbad him his preſence in any other place; grew ſullen and unſatisfied at all his adminiſtrations of Juſtice, intending thereby to induce him to a reſignation of his Office, there being nothing more irkſome to an ingenuous Spirit, than to ſerve and not to pleaſe. On the other ſide he dealt with the young Lady in a different manner, by the crafty and flattering inſinuations of his truſty *Shechir Para*, who ſo forcibly managed her Tongue full of curious Words, mixed with Threats, repreſenting the Storms and Fury of the Sultan's Rage; and again, the Glory, Splendour, and Happineſs of the Seraglio; where ſhe ſhould Reign as Empreſs and Sovereign of the World: all which ſhe expreſſed with that paſſion, and laſcivious enticement, as would have ſhaken a firmer Conſtancy, than the Vertue of a Turkiſh Maid: but ſhe being well admoniſhed by her Father, remained obſtinate in her Denial: but to quiet the importunity of this Seducer, ſhe begged her not to ſollicite her Father in this Requeſt, but rather that ſhe would intercede in her behalf with the Sultan ſupplicating him with all humility to pardon her Childiſh refuſal, and to leave her unto her own Liberty and Choice, and a ſingle Life: to obtain which favour from her, ſhe produced a Diamond of conſiderable value, deſiring her to accept of that from her, and to become her Friend, her Aſſiſtant, and Protectreſs. *Shechir Para* being overcome by her Maiden Modeſty, could no longer reſiſt ſuch forcible Entreaties; and having her Eyes obſcured with the luſtre of the Jewel, promiſed to change her Note, and excuſe her refuſal with all the advantagious and compaſſionate Terms poſſible; and ſo taking her leave with a courteous farewel, repaired to the Sultan, to give an account of her Negotiations. 1647.

Ibrahim having with more doubtful Fear attended the Iſſue of this laſt Conference, than he did the Succeſs of his War with *Venice*; received his *Shecher Para* with exceeding joy, who being come in, began to recount all the Particulars that had paſſed: but the ſum of all was, that this ſilly Maid was ſufficiently ſenſible of the honour of being a Soltana, of being Courted by his Majeſty, of the Joys, Delights, and Glory of the Seraglio; but that when ſhe reflected, how that ſhe was to bring forth Children to die by untimely Deaths, and to end their Days by Poiſon, or the Bow-ſtring, or at leaſt to live miſerable Lives ſeparated from Mankind, and immured within Walls, and Intombed whilſt they breathed; ſhe could not but tremble, with ſome horrour, and judg, that all the blandiſhments of Worldly Fortune were but a tranſient Paradiſe; which could not poſſibly recompence, or out-weigh the ſenſe and tenderneſs ſhe conceived for the miſery of her unfortunate Off-ſpring. Howſoever ſhe ſo couched her Diſcourſe, that ſhe gave *Ibrahim* ſome hopes to overcome at length; by which ſhe appeaſed a little his Fury and Deſpair, and extracted ſome Jewels and Gifts in reward of her paſt Labour, and encouragement for her future Service. In this manner *Ibrahim* had patience awhile, expecting ſomething farther from the induſtry of *Shecher Para*; but finding no effect of all his expectations and gentleneſs, at length reſolved to break through all Conſiderations of Reſpect, either to the Father as the Mouth and Oracle of the Law, or to the ſimple and fooliſh innocence of the Maid; and therefore ordered the Great Vizier to cauſe a Watch to be ſet on the Girl, either going in, or coming out of the Bath, and without farther Ceremony to bring her

1647. her unto him. This Order being executed accordingly, and the Maid hurried to the Seraglio; *Ibrahim* poſſeſſed and enjoyed her for ſome days, but with thoſe Tears, Reluctancy, and Sullenneſs, as took off from the edg and appetite of Enjoyment; ſo that he returned her back again with ſcorn and contempt unto her Father; who at firſt diſſembled the injury with the ſame Countenance as he did before, when he was interdicted the Sultan's Preſence; ſuppreſſing his revenge like a concealed Fire, which burſts out afterwards with more violent Flames. But though the ſenſe of Obedience and Duty towards his Prince allayed much of the choler he conceived againſt him for the Rape of his Daughter, yet he knew not how to pardon the Great Vizier, whom he termed no other than a Ruffian or Pandor; the Miniſter of his Maſter's Luſts, and not of his Laws, and of Juſtice.

Thus full of indignation he applyed himſelf, and made his complaint unto one *Mahomet* Paſha, a principal Member of the Divan; one of great Wiſdom and Practice in the Conduct of Affairs, and one with whom he had a particular Friendſhip and Intimacy. Nor leſs intereſt had he with Janiſar-Aga, or General of the Janizaries; to both whom, with tears in his Eyes, and with ſuch words as the ſenſe of his injuries ſuggeſted, he railed at the Vizier, and aggravated the Raviſhment of his Daughter with all the circumſtances of Villany and Violence.

Theſe two Friends heard the Story with a ſenſible remorſe, and immediately concluded, That for the Honour and Security of the Empire, it was neceſſary to depoſe Sultan *Ibrahim*, and for the ſame Reaſon to cut off the firſt Vizier; agreeing amongſt themſelves that *Mahomet* Paſha ſhould receive the Seal and the Office. To effect which, they deemed it neceſſary to draw the Queen-Mother into the Conſpiracy, being a Woman of great Authority, and having, as it were, the Reins of Government in her Hands, by reaſon of the weak Judgment of her Son. But becauſe it was difficult to perſwade the tenderneſs of a Mother to the ruin of her Son, the wiſe Mufti reſolved firſt to ſound her Inclinations and diſpoſition towards this Deſign: and being well informed of her fierce Circaſſian Nature, and the Jealouſy and Anger ſhe conceived againſt *Shechir Para*, obtained Licence to be heard by her, as if he would beg her Interceſſion with her Son in his behalf; and being admitted to diſcourſe with her, he thereby plainly diſcovered her moſt inveterate hatred and diſpleaſure againſt her Son; not only for this, but for many other Actions of like nature.

This diſcovery which the Queen had made, gave him the boldneſs to propoſe the confinement again of *Ibrahim* to his old Priſon; not that he ſhould be abſolutely laid aſide and depoſed, but only corrected awhile, and being put in remembrance of his paſt Condition, might be taught Wiſdom, and inſtructed for the future, what moderation and juſtice Sultans are obliged to exerciſe in the Adminiſtration of Government; and ſo ſubtilly did he inſinuate his Diſcourſe, that the Queen-Mother aſſented to the Propoſal, and that the Seal ſhould be conferred on *Mahomet* Paſha; for ſhe had conceived an irreconcileable hatred againſt *Achmet* the Grand Vizier, by whoſe Counſel ſhe was ſent to the old Seraglio, and was united in Confederacy with the deteſted *Shechir Para*.

The Mufti greatly ſatisfied to have gained ſo conſiderable a Conſpirator to the Party, communicated the whole Buſineſs, with the Progreſs of it, to the two Kadileſchers, or Lord Chief Juſtices of *Romelia* and *Anatolia*; who approving thereof, and promiſing their utmoſt aſſiſtance, the *7th* of *Auguſt* was the Day appointed for the Inſurrection of the Janizaries, who being all in a readineſs on that day, went in a tumultuary way to call the Mufti, the Kadileſchers, and other Officers and Miniſters of the Law, whom they ſeemingly forced to accompany them to the preſence of the Grand Signior, of whom they demanded, that the preſent Vizier *Achmet* ſhould be deprived of his Office, and that *Mahomet* Paſha ſhould be conſtituted in his place. The Grand Signior at firſt refuſed their Demand, but being perſwaded by his Mother that it was neceſſary to content the Militia in that tumult; he conſented thereunto, and having called *Achment*, he took from him the Seal, and conferred it on *Mahomet* Paſha, and therewith the Office of Grand Vizier. *Achmet* trembling at the conſequences hereof, reſolved to commit himſelf to the Mercy of the Mufti, and therefore haſtned to his Houſe to attend his return, hoping to find him his Protector, under whoſe Shadow and Roof he fled for Sanctuary.

1648.

The Souldiery having thus obtained the firſt-fruits of their Inſurrection, accompanied the Mufti unto his Home, where finding the depoſed Vizier *Achmet*, the Janiſar-Aga immediately Commanded him out of Doors, from whence he had no ſooner drawn his Foot, than that he was ſeized upon and ſtrangled, and his Body thrown before the Gate of the new Moſch.

The next day being the *8th* of *Auguſt*, 1648, the Janizaries again ariſing in the like Tumult as before, came to demand of the Mufti, Whether that according to their Law, Sultan *Ibrahim* as a Fool, and a Tyrant, and unfit for Government, ought not to be depoſed? To which the Mufti giving Anſwer in the Affirmative, ſent to cite Sultan *Ibrahim* the day following to appear in the Divan, to adminiſter Juſtice to his Souldiers and Subjects, who expected it from him. But *Ibrahim* ſuppoſing that he had ſufficiently ſatisfied the Souldiery, by putting the Vizier out of Office, laughed at the Summons which the Mufti made him; which being ſeconded by a Fetfa, which is a point of Law reſolved by the Mufti, who is the Mouth or Oracle thereof, *viz.* That the Grand Signior being called to account, is obliged to appear before the Juſtice; the Sultan in high diſdain tore the Paper, threatning the Head of the Mufti: but it was now too late, he having already ſufficiently fortified himſelf with the Power and Strength of his Rebellious Companions. This Fetfa was immediately ſeconded by another of a higher nature, which declared, That whoſoever obeyed not the Law of God, was not a true Muſſulman or Believer; and though that Perſon were the Emperor himſelf, yet being become by his filthy Actions a Kafir or Infidel, was *ipſo facto*, fallen from his Throne, and no farther capable of Authority and Government. This Fetfa being ſeen by *Ibrahim*, he tore it in pieces, commanding the Grand Vizier inſtantly to put the Mufti to Death, as guilty of Treaſon againſt his Prince: but having now loſt his Authority, his Commands were not longer regarded, nor any reverence had of his perſon: For the Janizaries being again aſſembled about five a Clock in the Afternoon, came with their uſual tumult to the Gates of the Seraglio.

And now Sultan *Ibrahim* loſing all Courage at this third attempt, fled into the Arms of his Mother, begging her Aſſiſtance and Protection.

She

1648. She being a bold and ſubtle Woman, employed all her Rhetorick and Eloquence to perſwade the Souldiery not to offer Violence to the Perſon of their Lord and Maſter; promiſing that he ſhould relinquiſh the Government, and retire himſelf with a Guard into his old Lodgings. *Ibrahim* comforted a little, that he ſhould ſave his Life, ſhrunk himſelf willingly into his old Skell, wherein he had ſo long conſerved his Life.

In the mean time the Conſpirators taking forth his eldeſt Son Sultan *Mahomet*, ſet him on the Throne of his Father, and planting the Sargouch, or Imperial Feathers on his Head, ſaluted him for Emperor with loud Acclamations. *Ibrahim* continued his Impriſonment for ſome days with great patience, but at length growing deſperate and furious, often beat his Head againſt the Wall, until at length, he was on the 17*th* ſtrangled by four Mutes.

In this manner Sultan *Ibrahim* ended his Days, which puts me in mind of the ſaying of a wiſer and a better King than he, *That there is little diſtance between the Priſons and the Graves of Princes.* And this Example made a great Officer underſtand how King *Charles* the Glorious Martyr was put to Death. For he, I think it was the Great Vizier, falling into Diſcourſe with the Chief Engliſh Interpreter at *Conſtantinople*, not then calling to mind the Fate of Sultan *Ibrahim*, demanded, How, and when King *Charles* was put to Death? Sure, ſaid he, Your King muſt have no Power, or your People muſt be more Rebellious and Mutinous than other Nations of the World, who durſt commit an Act ſo horrid and vile as this. See, ſaid he, How our Emperor is revered and obſerved; and how ſubmiſſive and obedient half the World is to the Nod of our Great Monarch. To which the Interpreter replyed, that to recount unto him the Hiſtory and Occaſion of this prodigious Fact, would be too long and tedious for him to hear: but that the time it happened, was ſome Months after the Death or Murder of Sultan *Ibrahim*; which was an *Item* ſufficient to give him a perfect underſtanding of what he required.

Sultan *Ibrahim* having in this manner ended his Days, the Government was committed into the hands of the Grand Vizier, and the old Queen-Mother (which is ſhe whom we call *Kioſem* in the Ottoman State) and of twelve Paſhaws; who were to manage all Affairs with ſupream Power, during the Minority of Sultan *Mahomet*, who now Reigns.

Ibrahim was the fifth Son of Sultan *Achmet*, born of the ſame Mother with Sultan *Morat*, Educated like the other younger Sons of the Ottoman Family, within the Walls of an obſcure and unhappy Priſon; ſo that 'tis no wonder, if wanting the advantages of ſeeing and practiſing in the World, he ſhould neither have ſtudied Men, nor been experienced in the Art of Government. Nor leſs ſtrange is it, being natural to humane Infirmity; for Men who have lived under Reſtraint, Affliction, and fear of Death, to become licentious and immoderate in all kind of Pleaſures, whenſoever they paſs on a ſudden from the depth of Miſery to ſome tranſcendent degree of Happineſs and Proſperity; which as, I ſay, all Men are naturally ſubject unto, ſo more eſpecially thoſe whoſe Religion indulges them all kind of ſenſual Carnality in this Life. 1648.

Ibrahim was in his own Nature of a gentle and eaſy Temper, of a large Forehead, of a quick and lively Eye and ruddy Complexion, and of a good Proportion in the Features of his Face, but yet had ſomething in the Air of his Countenance, that promiſed no great Abilities of Mind. And giving himſelf up to all kind of Effeminacy and Softneſs, attended not unto the Government of his Affairs; and therefore it was his greateſt misfortune to be ſerved by wicked and faithleſs Officers to whom he truſted, and to whom he gave Credence, wanting in himſelf the Talents of Wiſdom and Diſcretion to diſcern their Malice.

The continual apprehenſions that he entertained of Death during his Impriſonment, had ſo frozen his Conſtitution with a ſtrange frigidity towards Women, that all the dalliance and warm Embraces of the moſt inflaming Ladies in the Seraglio, could not in a whole Years time thaw his Coldneſs; which was the occaſion at firſt of that Report, which ſpoke him to be impotent towards Women: during which time he attended to his Miniſters of Juſtice; and to a management of the Affairs of his Empire, which in the beginning of his Reign gained him a Credit and Reputation, and raiſed a great expectation of his goodneſs and Care of his Subjects Welfare; an evidence of which, he gave in his Charge to the Great Vizier, that he ſhould put no Man to Death unleſs for Capital and Enormous Crimes. But at length loſing himſelf in Luſts and Senſualities, he forſook the Helm of his Regency, committing the guidance of his Empire to other Hands: and as he was ignorant of War, ſo he fooliſhly ſported in the Calms of Peace; and ſuffering himſelf to be guided only by Fortune, felt the Stroke thereof in his laſt Unhappy Fate.

THE

1649. 1649.

THE REIGN OF Sultan MEHMET, OR MAHOMET IV. THIRTEENTH EMPEROR OF THE TURKS.

ANNO 1649.

SUltan *Ibrahim* periſhing in this manner, by the mutinous Violence of the Souldiery, his Son *Mehmet*, or *Mahomet*, being a Child of ſeven Years of Age, ſucceeded in the Throne: During whoſe Minority, (which was to continue for the ſpace of ten Years longer) his Mother, who was the firſt *Sultana*, aſſiſted with the Counſel of twelve Paſhaws, took upon her ſelf the Regency, and in the firſt place reſolved to continue the War againſt the Venetians, which *Ibrahim* intended to conclude, having engaged himſelf far in a Treaty of Peace with the Bailo or Ambaſſador, which reſided at the Port for that Republick.

Whilſt theſe Matters were tranſacting, and Preparations making to proſecute the War; the Malignant Humours of the Empire began to ferment unto that degree, as affected the Body Politick at firſt with unnatural Heats, which ſoon afterwards proceeded to a Feaver, and then to a dangerous Convulſion. The ill-affected Part was the Militia, which is the Heart and Principal of the Life of that Government. For the Spahees and the Janiſaries, being the Horſe and Foot, entred into a deſperate Controverſie.

The firſt judged it their Duty to revenge the Death of their Soveraign, Sultan *Ibrahim*; and in order thereunto demanded the Head of the Great Vizier, as the Chief Author and Contriver of the Death of his Lord and Maſter. The others being conſcious to themſelves of having, by their Arms, carried on the Conſpiracy, not only declared their Reſolutions to defend the Vizier, but owned that what he had acted was by their Order, and at their Requeſt and Inſtigation.

The Spahees being highly provoked with this Declaration, ſwelled with Anger and Malice againſt the Janiſaries; and both ſides being equally proud and rich, could not bear each others Reproaches. The Spahees being Men of Eſtates in Land, looked on themſelves as the Gentry, and to have the greateſt Share in the concernment of the Empire. The Janiſaries living regularly in their Chambers, or Martial Colledges, looked on themſelves as the better Souldiers, and the more formidable Party; and the truth is, both of them were proceeded to that height of Command and Authority in Government, that had they not been ſuppreſſed by the cruel Hand, and bloody Diſpoſition of *Kuperlee*, as ſhall be more largely related hereafter, this Empire was then in danger of falling into as many Diviſions, as there were at that time Paſhaws, or great Captains. The cauſe here-

1649. of proceeded from the warlike diſpoſition of Sultan *Morat*, who being the moſt Martial Man of his Age, preferred none but Men of great Courage, and ſuch as had ſignalized their Valour by undoubted proofs. And ſuch Men as theſe he loaded with Honour, and raiſed them to the higheſt and moſt eminent Charges in the Government.

But *Morat* dying ſoon afterwards, theſe Great Men had time to enrich themſelves during the gentle and eaſie Reign of Sultan *Ibrahim*; which being ſeconded by the Minority of this Young Sultan, their Pride knew no bounds, either of Modeſty towards their Commanders, or Reverence towards their Sultan. Hence it was that the Souldiery dividing, ſo great a Sedition aroſe amongſt them, that at laſt they came to Blows, reſolving to decide the Controverſy by the Sword. But the Quarrels of Turks amongſt themſelves not being commonly of long durance, the Care and Vigilance of the Magiſtrates prevented all open defiance in the Field; but yet could not ſo pacifie their Animoſities, but that ſeveral Skirmiſhes, or Rencounters, paſſed between them in the Streets, wherein the Spahees were always worſted, and at length were forced to abandon the City, ſcarce daring for ſome time to own the Name of Spahee within the Walls of *Conſtantinople*.

Theſe Diſturbances gave the Venetians ſome hopes to accommodate their Peace with better Advantage; but the Reply to this Propoſition was more fierce and poſitive than ever, and ſo ill reſented, that the Bailo going from his Audience, was on the 27*th* of *April* ſeized on, and with all his Retinue clapped into Priſon and Chains; being ſent to thoſe Caſtles which are ſcituate on the *Boſphorus*, in the middle way between *Conſtantinople* and the Black Sea. But this furious ſeverity, by the interceſſion of other Chriſtian Miniſters, continued not long, before the Bailo received more gentle Treatment, by the Sacrifice which the Turks made unto themſelves of *Grillo*, his Interpeter, who being called down from the preſence of the Bailo, was immediately, by two Officers, ſtrangled, and his Body thrown out at the Window of the Caſtle; the which act, though it may ſeem unjuſt and barbarous to us, hath yet been frequently practiſed amongſt the Turks, being to this day their common uſe to threaten the Druggermen, or Interpreters; which is the cauſe that they often mince, or wholly alter the ſenſe or meaning of their Maſters, on thoſe Occaſions, when words are ſpoken by them ungrateful to the Turks.

The Turks bearing this Diſdain to the Venetians, laboured to re-enforce their Armies in *Candia*, and ſupply them with Ammunition and Proviſions; and though the Venetians lay before the Mouth of the *Dardanelles* to intercept all Succours which might be carried thither; yet the Turks, notwithſtanding their Diviſions, having recruited their Fleet with forty Gallies, and ten Great Ships, broke through the Venetians, and in deſpight of them, convoyed five Gallies laden with Souldiers and Ammunition, and landed them ſafe at *Canea*; and about the ſame time ſix Gallies, and ten Ships of *Barbary*, entered into the Port of *Suda*.

The General which commanded in Chief was named *Chuſaein* Paſha, a Perſon of great Courage and Experience; he had for ſome time beſieged the City of *Candia*, but for want of Men and Ammunition was forced to riſe from that Place, and retire to *Canea* and *Retimo*, whilſt in the mean time the *Candiots* received recruits of Men, and ſupply of Proviſions, improving their leiſure-time to fortifie their Town with ſuch Works as rendred it almoſt impregnable, and made it become the Wonder and Diſcourſe of the World after ſome Years ſucceeding. 1649.

Nor was the War only carried on in *Candia*, but alſo in *Dalmatia*, *Morea*, *Boſna*, and *Albania*: For *Foſcolo*, the General of *Venice*, deſigning to force ſome Corn from the Parts of *Caſtel-nuovo*, he landed ſome Men there, but was ſo ill received by the Turks, that he was forced to retreat unto his Veſſels with great diſorder, and no leſs diſhonour. But he had better fortune in the Parts of *Boſna*, where he repulſed the Enemy to the very Gates of *Sarſay*, the Capital City of that Province, and took upon compoſition the Fortreſs of *Riſano*, which is ſcituate between *Cataro* and *Caſtel-nuovo*; but at length the Turks receiving an additional Aid of fifteen or ſixteen thouſand Men, the Venetians were forced to quit their new Conqueſts, and retire into their own Country.

During the time that theſe Affairs were in agitation, the young Emperor was proclaimed, and his Inauguration celebrated with the uſual Ceremonies, but with Rejoicings, and hopes extraordinary; who being yet ſcarcely arrived to eight years of Age, many Mutinies and Troubles aroſe in divers Parts of the Empire, as in *Damaſcus*, *Syria*, *Anatolia*, and other Countries, where the Paſhaws refuſed to pay in the cuſtomary Taxes and Tribute, declaring, That they would keep the Mony in their Hands during the Minority of the Grand Signior; and that when he came to Age of Government, they would be accountable to him both for the Principal and for the Improvement.

The Turks in *Hungary* making incurſions into the Territories of the Emperor, were overthrown by the Count *Forgatz*, near *Buda*, where the Paſha was taken Priſoner, and his Son ſlain.

Nor better fortune had they in the Aſſault they made on the Fortreſs of *Cliſſa*, where having loſt five thouſand Men, they were forced to retire with great diſhonour.

The *Coſſacks* alſo in this Conjuncture grew more bold, ſo that they covered the Black Sea with their Boats, doing great damage to the Saicks, and other Veſſels, which traded in that Sea; and at length came up the *Boſphorus* above *Therapea*, giving a great Alarm, with much Fear and Confuſion to all *Conſtantinople*.

Amidſt theſe Misfortunes, and inteſtine Troubles, new Diſorders, aroſe in the Ottoman Empire: For, as commonly, all the blame of miſcarriages and ill ſucceſſes in *Turkie* are caſt upon the Head of the Commander in chief; ſo the Enemies of the Great Vizier took the advantage in this conjuncture to reproach his ill Government, and carried the accuſation ſo far, as to depoſe him from his Charge and Office; in whoſe place the Aga, or General of the Janiſaries, ſucceeded.

The Spahees in *Aſia*, being diſpleaſed with this Election, aſſembled in a Body of ſeven or eight thouſand, and marched towards *Conſtantinople*, pretending to revenge the Death of Sultan *Ibrahim*; their Numbers daily encreaſing, the Divan very much feared leſt the Party which favoured the Spahees in *Conſtantinople*, ſhould join themſelves to the Aſian Mutineers; to prevent which it was judged good Reaſon and Policy, to anticipate the Juſtice they demanded,

1649. manded, by taking away the Life of the deposed Vizier; which being eaſily aſſented unto, and without much heſitation performed, gave ſome little ſtop to the Fury and Heats of the Spahees.

Notwithſtanding all which, as the Diviſions which the Turks entertain amongſt themſelves, were never ſo great as to afford the Chriſtians any Advantage thereby, ſo the Venetians did not reap any Benefit from theſe Quarrels; but on the contrary, the Turks ſtudiouſly attended to their Affairs in *Candia*, paſſing thither with ſixty Gallies, thirty great Ships, and twenty five other ſmaller Veſſels, laden with Men, and all ſorts of Proviſions and Ammunition for War; ſo that in this Year 1649, the Affairs of the Turks remained in that Iſland in this happy and hopeful poſture. Amongſt theſe Ships were thirteen Engliſh, which the Turks took up at *Smyrna*, and forced into their Service. For though the Ambaſſador, Sir *Thomas Bendysh*, then Reſident at *Conſtantinople*, oppoſed the Engagement of theſe Ships what was poſſible, and alſo the Commanders and Seamen were very unwilling and diſſatisfied to undertake the Deſign, yet the Turks with Menaces, and Promiſes of Reward, forced them to carry Men and Ammunition to *Candia*; ſo that, making a Virtue of Neceſſity, they complied with that which they could not reſiſt.

ANNO 1650.

Huſsein Paſha, Governour of the Iſland of *Candia*, having received theſe Succours and Recruits, reſolved to beſiege the Chief City of *Candia*; to which intent, drawing out from the Ships, and Gariſons of *Retimo* and *Canea*, what Men he was able, he formed an Army of thirty thouſand Men, with which he marched, and pitched before the Town. He was provided alſo with twelve Pieces of Cannon, four thouſand Sacks of Wooll, three thouſand Ladders, and with a good quantity of Granadoes; with this Force he attaqued the City in two places, *viz.* on the Forts of *Martinengo*, and *Mocenigo*; and preſſed ſo hard on the latter, that notwithſtanding the generous reſiſtance of the Defendants, he won the Fort, and there planted the Ottoman Colours; fortifying it with more Cannon, and a good number of Men.

Count *Coloredo*, Governour of that Place, was then ſick, the Gariſon very weak, and things reduced to the laſt terms of extremity; when General *Balbiani*, Admiral of *Malta*, arrived with ſix Gallies, and there landed ſix hundred Men, and ſixty Knights; which with great Courage mounted the Guard of the Fort *Martinengo*, which was the place of moſt Danger and Honour. The Turks excited with a deſire to welcome the new Gueſts, made three deſperate and furious Aſſaults on this Fort, but were with equal Valour repulſed by the Defendants; at which Diſgrace and Foil being highly enraged, they reſolved on a fourth Attempt, which they purſued with that Courage and Succeſs, that the Venetians were forced to give way to their Violence, with the ſlaughter almoſt of all thoſe which defended this Fort; until the Cavaliers of *Malta*, who having no greater Glory, nor readier Will, than to ſpill their Blood for the Chriſtian Cauſe, rallied all the Force they were able, and made ſo proſperous an Attaque upon the Fort, that they recovered it again, with the Blood and Deſtruction of all thoſe who defended it; but they enjoyed it not long, before the Turks regained it with the like ſucceſs and ſlaughter: which variety of Fortune the Venetians being ſenſible of, and that they could not bear ſuch coſtly Interchanges with the Turks, had recourſe to their ultimate Remedy of Mines, which ſucceeded ſo happily, that the whole Fort was carried into the Air, and therewith two thouſand good Souldiers of the Turks; with which Deſtruction, and other Repulſes in divers places, they were ſo weakned and diſcouraged, that they raiſed the Siege on the fifth of *October* new Stile. 1650.

In this Interim, the Tartar *Han*, called the *Krim*, demanded the Guardianſhip of the young Sultan, as of right belonging unto him; but the Council anſwered hereunto, That their Maſter was already in better Hands than thoſe into which they deſired to transfer him; and that his Grandmother, and the Divan, wanted neither Wiſdom nor Fidelity to direct his Affairs: with which anſwer the Tartar being forced to remain ſatisfied, was able to revenge himſelf no farther, than by exciting the Coſſacks to infeſt the Seas; which gave ſome diverſion to thoſe Arms, which otherwiſe had all been employed againſt the Venetians.

But theſe Deſigns from *Tartary* did little trouble the Council, in compariſon of that Spirit of Diſcord which was ariſen between the Spahees and the Janiſaries; for both Parties being emulous of each others Greatneſs, endeavoured on all Occaſions to elevate their Chief Commanders to the higheſt and moſt profitable Places of the Empire: which Diſſention touching the principal Miniſters of State, who were all engaged on the one ſide or the other, adminiſtred great Troubles, and retarded the execution and ſucceſs of all the grand Deſigns of the Empire. Nor was it of leſs importance and diſhonour to the Divan, that their Fleet was hindred paſſage by the Venetians, who blocked up the Mouth of the *Dardanelles*; whereby all intercourſe with *Candia* was interrupted: but being reſolved to remove this Obſtacle, they commanded the Captain-Paſha to force his Paſſage; which he accordingly performing, was ſo warmly received, that he quickly loſt two Gallies, and after much Blood, and loſs on both ſides, was forced at length to retire again within the Streights. But what was of worſe conſequence to the Turks, was the inveterate Diſcord between the Spahees, and Janiſaries; who having been unadviſedly embarked promiſcuouſly together, came oftentimes to Words, and then to Blows; which ended not without the Blood and Death of divers of each party. Theſe miſchiefs increaſed the rage which the Turks at *Conſtantinople* conceived againſt the Venetians; who were all thereupon (not excepting the Bailo *Soranzo*, nor his Secretary *Ballarino*) interdicted the Territories of the Grand Signior; and ſent back into their own Country.

The Captain-Paſha, that he might be in a capacity to make a ſecond Attempt to force his paſſage, ſent to *Conſtantinople* for new Recruits: when News came that the Siege of *Candia* was raiſed, and that the Turks had loſt the Fort of St. *Theodoro*; which ſo angred the Spirit of the Queen-mother againſt the Vizier, that ſhe immediately depoſed him from his Charge, and therewith had taken away his Life, had not the Faction of the Janiſaries protected him in this Extremity.

The Paſha of *Buda* was introduced into his place, a Perſon of a turbulent and ambitious

1650. Spirit, who to increaſe his Favour with his Miſtreſs the Sultana, evidenced his Heat and Zeal againſt the Venetians, and to that end ſent immediately expreſs Orders to the Paſha of *Boſna*, to inveſt *Cliſſa* with all the Power he was able; and therewith he preſented him with a Cimeter, and a Halter; the former to be his Reward in caſe of good Succeſs, and the latter to be his Puniſhment in caſe of Misfortune. But this furious Vizier continued not ſo long, as to experience the Iſſue of this Command; for he was in a few days laid aſide, and *Chuſaein* Paſha, the General of *Candia*, was placed in his ſtead; howſoever his Orders were to remain with the Army, by which means, much Emulation and Conteſt was prevented, which might otherwiſe have happened between the Spahees, and Janiſaries, at the Election of a new Vizier; and thereby all excuſes taken from the Souldiery of abſence from the War, who could now pretend nothing of Reaſon to withdraw themſelves, on ſcore of attendance on the Vizier's Perſon; and to ſupply his Authority at the Regal Court, a Chimacam was ſubſtituted to adminiſter Juſtice in place of the Vizier, which is uſual on ſuch Occaſions.

Notwithſtanding all which, Affairs ſucceeded not extraordinary well for the Turks in *Candia*; for being ſtraitned for Proviſions in *Canea*, by the near approach of the Chriſtians, the Turks were forced to make a Diverſion by appearing in great Troops before *Candia*; which they were enabled to do, by the Supplies they had lately received, with the arrival of their Fleet of Gallies; for the Winter Seaſon approaching, the Venetians were conſtrained to abandon their ſtation before the *Dardanelles*, and to leave the Paſſage open for the Enemy. And ſo this Year ended, rather with Advantage than Diſgrace to the Chriſtians.

ANNO 1651.

With theſe great Succours and Supplies ſent to *Candia* by the Turks, Affairs muſt neceſſarily have ſucceeded proſperouſly to their Deſigns, had not inteſtine Diſcords at Home interrupted their proceedings; which aroſe from a Jealouſy and Emulation between the Grandmother and Mother of the young Sultan. For each of them pretending to the tuition or guardianſhip of the Emperor, during his Minority, divers Parties and Factions formed at *Conſtantinople*, from whence all that Trouble and Combuſtion aroſe, which we have at large related in the third Chapter of the Preſent State of the Ottoman Empire.

So that now it was no time to talk to the Souldiers or People of a War in *Candia*; For the firſt thought themſelves engaged to contrive a Settlement and Determination of Diſputes at Home: and the latter being irritated with a new Tax laid on them, for want of Mony in the Treaſury, exclaimed, and talked loud, and at length, inſtead of paying, broke out into open Rebellion; which by aſſiſtance of the Souldiery, was appeaſed, under no leſs Terms than the Death of ſeveral principal Miniſters of State.

During theſe Diviſions, the Venetians had time to arm out a very conſiderable Fleet for defence of *Candia*; *Foſcolo*, who had been General in *Dalmatia*, being ſent thither with title of *Generaliſſimo* in the place of *Mocenigo*: But theſe Diſſentions amongſt the Turks, according to their uſual Cuſtom, laſting not long before they came to a Concluſion, by the entire deſtruction of one of the Parties; the Chief Miniſters began to reaſſume again the thoughts of proſecuting the War in *Candia*, and to ſend Recruits to reinforce the Army under the Command of *Chuſaein* Paſha, who was returned with new Forces and Courage to aſſault the City of *Candia*. 1651.

At this time a certain Greek, pretending to be a Perſon of Quality, and diſcontented with the Turks, fled from them to the Chriſtians, where being received with all kind and obliging entertainment, he had thereby liberty of ſeeing and viſiting all the Fortifications of the Place. After he had obſerved and diſcovered as much as he deſired, this traiterous Fugitive fled again to the Turkiſh Camp, where he revealed what places were moſt ſtrong or beſt fortified, and where the Town was weakeſt, and moſt eaſily to be aſſaulted. The Venetian General being awakened at this Diſcovery, and conſidering the numbers of his People to be few, in reſpect of the Enemy, and that the Outworks could not be maintained without a more numerous Garriſon, he reſolved to deſtroy ſome of thoſe Forts; and accordingly blew up with Mines four Baſtions, which being at a diſtance could not be relieved without much danger. The Turks hereby making conjectures of the weakneſs of the beſieged, cheerfully aſſaulted the Fort of *St. Demetrio*, thinking to carry it without much trouble; but contrary to their expectation, they encountred ſo bold a reſiſtance, that they loſt three thouſand Men on the Place.

At *Conſtantinople* they were ſtill ſo intent to carry on this War, that having prepared, and laden on the Fleet great quantities of Granadoes, Bomboes, and Mortar-pieces, with other Fire-works, the Captain-Paſha, with hopes agreeable to his Force, ſet forth to Sea, with eleven hundred Sail, conſiſting of Gallies, Ships, Galleaſſes, Saiques, Brigantines, and ſmaller Veſſels, with reſolution to engage the Venetian Fleet, whoſe Commanders alſo were equally deſirous and ready to conſent with them to a Battel.

On the *7th* of *July*, the Venetians being at an Anchor in the Port of *St. Ermina*, diſcovered the Turkiſh Fleet, to which, as they were much inferiour in number, ſo they were ſuperiour to them in the agreement and experience of their Commanders. The Turks having paſſed forward on their way, the Venetians purſued them, and the better to draw them to a Battel, *Mocenigo* ordered two Ships, commanded by *Barbaro* and *Dolphino* to croſs the Turks at the point of the Iſland; and his Vice-Admiral, *Bataggio*, with four Ships to engage the main Body of the the Turkiſh Fleet; to whoſe aſſiſtance many other Veſſels coming in, he ſo rudely treated ſeveral Gallies, that they were forced to ſeek harbour in the Port of *Chios*, now *Scio*, with the loſs of *Mahomet*, Paſha of *Anatolia*, who was ſent to ſucceed in the Office of *Chuſaein* Paſha, the General of *Candia*; but Night coming on, the reſt of the Fleet retreated to the Iſles of *Naxia* and *Paros*.

On the tenth day the Turks having watered their Fleet, gave a ſignal of defiance to the Venetians, by diſcharge of two pieces of Cannon; and the Venetians accepting the Challenge, both Fleets gave a furious charge one to the other; but the Turks were not able to withſtand the Courage and Skilfulneſs of the Venetians; for the Captain-Paſha having loſt many of his Men, and the Poop of his Gally being carried

away

1651. away with a Cannon-ſhot, the whole Fleet was put into Diſorder, and then unto flight, ſo that the Gallies began to employ themſelves in toaing the Ships. But one of their Mahones being ſeparated from the reſt, was aſſaulted by two Galleaſſes, and ſome Ships, and finding none to come in for Succour, the Captain was killed, with four hundred Souldiers, and two hundred were taken Priſoners.

In the mean time *Mocenigo*, the General, gave chaſe to the Gallies, which two to a Ship were toaing the heavier Veſſels as faſt as they could; but being hardly purſued, were forced to caſt off the Hauſer, and ſhift for themſelves as well as they were able. The Turkiſh Ships ſeeing themſelves thus abandoned, fired whole Broadſides upon the Enemy; but the Venetian Gallies leaving their own Ships aſtern, that they might purſue their advantage, *Querini* boarded a Great Galleaſs, called the *Soltana*, upon which were three hundred Souldiers, who offered to ſurrender upon promiſe of Quarter for their Lives. But the Chriſtian Souldiers heated with fight, and not then underſtanding any thing of Conditions, deſperately boarded the Veſſel, whereby the Turks being reduced to an extremity of deſpair, gave fire to the Powder, and therewith carried, as well the Vanquiſhers, as the Vanquiſhed, into the other World.

A great Victory obtained by the Venetians over the Turks.

According to this example four other Veſſels burnt themſelves, one of 60 braſs Guns, and three others of 40 to 44. Fifteen Veſſels of the Starboard Wing ſaved themſelves by good ſailing. Of the Larboard Wing, Captain *Nicolo*, a Renegado, with his Ship, was taken by the Admiral of the Galleaſſes, likewiſe another Great Veſſel by *Lazaro Mocenigo*, and another by Proveditor *Melino*. In ſhort, there was not one Veſſel which remained in ſight of the Venetians, which was not either taken, ſunk, or burnt. Notwithſtanding all which, conſidering the Veſſels which were eſcaped, and the 3 thouſand Men which the Turks had landed at *Naxia*, in order to their being tranſported unto *Candia*, the Victory ſeemed to be very imperfect; wherefore the Venetians attending another encounter with the Turkiſh Fleet, did happily meet them in a few days after; and being encouraged with the late Succeſs, as the Enemy was low in their Spirits and Reſolution, they bravely attaqued the Turks, and took 39 Gallies, 23 Ships, three Galleaſſes, together with the three thouſand Souldiers which were then embarked from *Naxia*: Thoſe which eſcaped took Refuge in the Port of *Rhodes*.

After this great loſs, the Turks entertained no great Deſigns of the Conqueſt of *Candia*; but only to conſerve *Canea*, and the footing that they had won in that Iſland: nor did ever the Turks after this, dare to ſtand a formal Battel with the Venetians at Sea, but rather contriving to eſcape than to fight, did ever after build light Gallies, for tranſporting of Men and Ammunition, with intention to wage their War only at Land, and not at Sea; it being a ſaying ever after common in their Mouths; *That God had given the Sea to Chriſtians, and the Earth to the Turks.*

To theſe ill Succeſſes abroad, were added great Diſſentions at Home; for the mutinous Spahees in *Aſia*, having united into a ſtrong Body, marched towards *Conſtantinople*, to join with their other Brethren in thoſe Parts. The Janiſaries on the other ſide, not leſs diligent to oppoſe their Enemy, to revenge the Outrages committed on their Brethren, whom the Spahees had ill-treated, having cut off the Noſes and Ears of ſeveral of them; beſides all which, they proceeded to that height of Inſolence, as to demand the Heads of the Great Vizier, and of the Aga of the Janiſaries; and being now by their numbers rendered formidable to the Court, it was judged agreeable to the preſent Conjuncture, to ſatisfy in ſome meaſure theſe Mutiniers, by diſcharging theſe two Officers of their employment, which did in ſome degree for the preſent qualify and appeaſe theſe Tumults. 1651.

ANNO 1652.

THE Seditions at *Conſtantinople* were ſcarce quieted, before advice came of a Rebellion of the People of *Grand Cairo* and *Damaſcus*, who both at the ſame time conſpired, as if they intended to caſt off Subjection to the Ottoman Family; the which Mutiny and Diſturbance aroſe to that Head, as gave great cauſe of fear to the Divan; and employed all their Counſels and Contrivances for this whole Year, in what manner they might reduce this People to their Duty and Obedience. During which time, the Chriſtians in *Candia* had time to breath, and opportunity to provide themſelves with all Ammunition and Proviſions; and to repair their old, and add new Fortifications to their Town.

ANNO 1653.

BUT theſe Troubles being with time compoſed, the Grand Vizier deſired greatly the Conqueſt of *Candia*, which being by experience proved to be with difficulty gained by the Sword, he endeavoured to win it by fairer Terms; and to that end wrote a Letter to the Republick of *Venice*, in letters of Gold; wherein he declared, that it ſeemed ſtrange to him, that the Senate had not diſpatched their Ambaſſador to him with the ſurrender of *Candia*, in regard that thereby they might aſſure themſelves to purchaſe a certain Peace, which they vainly retarded by ſuch delays. Howſoever in theſe Letters no mention was made of the Cauſes, or Reaſons, why Signior *Capello*, who was an eminent Perſon, being Procurator of St. *Mark*, and ſent thither for Bailo, was ſo ill treated with Imprisonment at his Arrival, notwithſtanding the permiſſion and encouragement which was given for his kind reception, obtained at the inſtance of the French Ambaſſador; but this Reſtraint continued not long upon him, before he was releaſed with a daily Allowance (which continued for ſome time) of 1200 Aſpers a Day; and afterwards the Court returning from *Adrianople* to *Conſtantinople*, he was permitted to lodge in the Palace which belongs to the Bailo's of *Venice*.

The Venetian Fleet being Victorious at Sea, made it their work to keep the Mouth of the *Dardanelles* always blocked up, whereby they hindered all Succours from *Candia*: notwithſtanding which diligence, the Venetians being ſometimes forced, for the ſake of Water and Proviſion, to abandon that Station; the Turks took hold of the opportunity to eſcape forth; but being eagerly purſued by the Venetians, they were forced to take Sanctuary in *Rhodes*, where being again blocked up, the affairs in *Candia* ſuffered much, and the Complaints from thence were loud at the Court. So that Orders were ſent, and often repeated unto the Captain-Paſha, that he ſhould ſpend no longer time in *Rhodes*,

1653. *Rhodes*, but that in deſpight of all Difficulties, he ſhould immediately proceed to *Candia*, and fight through the Venetians in caſe they remained in the way to interrupt his paſſage; but the Captain-Paſha, notwithſtanding theſe Orders, and Menaces which accompanied them, could not perſwade himſelf to the Hazard of a Battel; till at length, the ſeaſon of the Year ſpending, and being wearied in the Port of *Rhodes*, he reſolved to adventure abroad; but inſtead of going to *Candia*, he plundered the Iſlands as he paſſed, and returned to *Conſtantinople*, with 40 Gallies, where he hoped with the Booty he had plundered to appeaſe the anger of the Divan againſt him: but this Sacrifice did not much avail, for he was not ſooner arrived, than his Perſon was ſeized, and Goods ſealed up for the uſe of the Grand Signior; the which Seal his Sons broke open, and taking with them the richeſt and moſt conſiderable part of their Father's Eſtate, laded it on one of the Gallies, and fled therewith into Foreign Parts, little regarding that danger in which they had left their Father to periſh. During which time the Venetians ſtill maintained their Guards on the Coaſts of *Candia*, not ſuffering any Recruits of Men, or Proviſions for War, to be tranſported thither; ſo that if the Turks deſigned to proſecute this War, it muſt be by new Forces, and ſuch as were able to encounter the Marine Power of the Enemy; the which being reſolved upon by the Council, a heavy Tax was laid on the people to carry on the Deſign, which they not willingly ſupporting, made a publick Inſurrection in the City; and at the ſame time alſo the ancient Quarrel between the Spahees and Janiſaries, began again to ferment; which Troubles being added to a Rebellion raiſed by the Paſha of *Aleppo*, who increaſing in ſtrength and number, came marching towards *Conſtantinople*, put that great City into a horrible Fear and Confuſion.

ANNO 1654.

THE Venetians judged that theſe Troubles would naturally produce ſome Advantage to them, and much facilitate the Peace which they had long deſired: but as Seditions amongſt the Turks are always too violent to continue; ſo theſe Diſcontents evaporated in a ſhort time, and new Reſolutions were taken to proſecute the War in *Candia*; for notwithſtanding that *Monſieur de Ventelay*, Son to the French Ambaſſador, mediated with agreeable prudence to compoſe Matters in order to a Peace, yet his Endeavours were all inſignificant; for neither had Signior *Capello* Audience granted him, nor that liberty which was promiſed before his Arrival; the Turks ſtill inſiſting on the Surrender of *Candia*, would not underſtand any Terms which did not entirely inveſt them in that Conqueſt.

To effect which by Force, which could not be performed by Compoſition; the Paſha of *Buda* was Elected for Captain-Paſha, or Commander in Chief of the Seas; and Orders given to equippe a new Fleet of Ships, and Gallies, for tranſporting the Succours of Men and Proviſions to *Candia*: where *Chuſaein* Paſha the General, being wearied with his long Siege of the Town, withdrew his Men at ſome farther diſtance for their better refreſhment; for they wanting all Conveniencies in their Trenches, began to Mutiny, and to refuſe the performance of their Duty, until the General ſatisfying their Pay, and diſpenſing liberally Largeſſes to the Officers, gave them new Encouragement and Satisfaction; with which, being a little enlivened, *Chuſaein* ſent a Herald, with a defiance to thoſe in the City, challenging them to fight a pitcht Battel with him: but the Chriſtians refuſed the Offer, thinking it more prudence not to accept, than loſs of Honour to deny an Anſwer to the Challenge. Then the Turks ſought ſome means to effect their Deſign by Treachery; to which end, they treated with a certain Captain for delivery of one of the Gates of the City; which he promiſed to do unto the Turks, but gave Advertiſement unto the Governour. The Paſha the night following advanced with ſome Troops, hoping to find one of the Gates opened to him; but inſtead thereof, the Defendants having prepared a Mine to receive them, ſprang the ſame ſo opportunely, that it carried away the moſt of thoſe who were engaged in the Deſign, and therewith their hopes of becoming Maſters ſpeedily of that impregnable Fortreſs. Wherefore they reſolved for a while to repoſe, and attend thoſe Succours which were now preparing at *Conſtantinople*. 1654.

The Fleet being put into a readineſs, the Souldiery departed with their uſual hopes of Succeſs; but meeting with their Enemy again at the Mouth of the *Dardanelli*, the Fight was furious and hot for a long time between them, but concluded to the diſadvantage of the Turks, who there loſt 6000 Men, two Gallies, three Ships, and a Mahone: howſoever they broke through the Venetians, and landed 12000 Men in the Iſle of *Candia*. The News of this defeat, and the Confirmation thereof, by the wounded Men which were landed at *Conſtantinople*, made a great noiſe amongſt the people. Howſoever the Turks perſiſting conſtant to their Intentions of proſecuting the War, ſent Orders to the Captain-Paſha again to fight the Venetians ſo ſoon as the Fleet was refitted, and reſtored to a condition to engage in another Battel; but the Venetians ſcarce gave them the leiſure to repair, before they attacked them again, whereby they put them to ſuch diſorder, that they were forced to take refuge in the firſt convenient Port; where having attended a favourable Wind, they haſtned to *Conſtantinople*; and from thence were diſpatched into the Black Sea againſt the Coſſacks, who very much infeſted thoſe parts.

The Captain-Paſha being arrived, extolled his own great Services and Adventures, and on the contrary vilified the Great Vizier, diſparaging all his Actions, as mixed with weak Counſels, and proſecuted with Cowardiſe or want of true Reſolution: the which took ſuch deep impreſſion in his abſence, having none to anſwer for him; that all being given for granted which was alledged againſt him, Orders were diſpatched to *Candia* by an Officer to take off his Head, in whoſe place this Captain-Paſha ſucceeded.

Amidſt of all theſe Combuſtions of War, the mediation of Peace was carried on by the French Ambaſſador: For though Signior *Capello* was actually Reſident on the Place, qualified with the Character of Baſſo for the Republick of *Venice*; yet the Turks would ſcarce vouchſafe to Treat perſonally with him; and indeed his ſufferings by Impriſonment, and other barbarous Uſages, had affected him with ſuch a melancholy, as rendred him uncapable for ſome time of adminiſtring publick Affairs; for having loſt his Reaſon, by giving way to ſad and black Thoughts, he laid violent Hands on himſelf,

1654. himſelf, by wounding himſelf in two or three places of his Belly; but the Wounds proving not Mortal, he was in a ſhort time reſtored again to a ſound Eſtate both in Mind and Body; as I ſhall ſome few years after have occaſion to relate from the words of his own Mouth, which he was pleaſed to utter to me on his Death-bed, the day before he departed this Life.

ANNO 1655.

THE Great Vizier after all his evil Inſinuations againſt *Chuſaein* Paſha, fell very ſick and infirm; ſo that the Court conſidering him as a Perſon uncapable of farther Service, caſt their eyes on the Paſha of *Aleppo*, who being a daring Martial Man, was eſteemed to be the better Chief in ſuch a hazardous War, which for being on the Sea, was unuſual and diſpleaſing to the Turks. Againſt him nothing could be objected beſides his Rebellions and Contrariety to the Government; but hereunto it was preſently anſwered, that the extravagance of his humour proceeded only from his Ambition of being Great Vizier; which when he had attained, that thirſty deſire of Glory, which he exercis'd for acquiring this Office, would be buſied in thoughts to advance and improve his Honour in Actions beyond his Predeceſſors.

Letters being arrived at this Paſha's hands, which called him to Court to accept this Charge, did ſecretly pleaſe the humour of his haughty Spirit; howſoever, he remained for a while in ſome ſuſpence and irreſolution, not being aſſured whether ſome Deceit might not be concealed under this ſpecious appearance of Preferment: But conſidering, that the way unto Gains and Advantage was by daring Adventures, he reſolutely accepted the Proffer, and put himſelf in his March towards *Conſtantinople*, with a glorious Equipage of forty thouſand Men, thinking therewith to make good his Retreat, and ſecure his Perſon in caſe that Deceit were diſcovered which he rationally ſuſpected. Being arrived near unto *Conſtantinople*, he received from the Great Signior ſeveral Meſſages of Kindneſs, and a good welcome; and was accordingly received into the City, and inveſted in the Office, with all the Circumſtances of Favour and Honour imaginable.

Having thus taken poſſeſſion of his Charge, he promiſed the Grand Signior that he would employ all his Endeavours to reſtore the decayed Eſtate of Affairs, and reform the Government. And as an earneſt thereof, he began to remove ſuch Miniſters from the Court which were ſuſpected by him; and to render himſelf the more Abſolute, he cut off ſeveral others, whom he imagined might in any wiſe diſturb or controul him in the management of his Affairs.

After which he diſpatched his Orders to all Maritime Towns of the Empire, to fit and make ready what Gallies and Ships were poſſible to be provided, intending thereby to ſet out the greateſt Fleet that ever was ſeen in the *Levant*: but to compleat this Work, two great Difficulties aroſe; The firſt was, to find a wiſe and well experienced Commander: and the next, was in what manner to perſwade the Spahees and Janiſaries to embark; for they having heard and ſeen in what manner their Companions had periſhed in this miſerable War, abſolutely refuſed to go; and though the Animoſities of theſe two orders of Souldiers were irreconcileable one to the other, yet in this common Cauſe being united, they raiſed ſo horrible a Sedition, that they aſſaulted the Mufti in his very Houſe, and purſued him within the Gates of the Seraglio with a thouſand reproaches and injuries, as an Author of evil Counſels, and a Diſturber of the common Peace and Quiet of the Empire. Nor was it poſſible to appeaſe this Tumult, but by anticipating to them four months Pay; with which their Minds being made more pliable, they gently yielded to Obedience, and ſuffered themſelves to be embarked for *Candia*. 1655.

Zarnozan Muſtapha was made Captain-Paſha, or General of the Fleet, which was very numerous, and well equipped, conſiſting of ſixty Gallies, eight Mahones, thirty great Ships of War, and ſixty one Gallies belonging to the Beys. After having remained three days at the Mouth of the *Dardanelles* near the Caſtles, they went out in this Order; The Bey's Gallies were the firſt, then followed the Ships, next the Mahones, and the Rear conſiſted wholly of the Grand Signior's Gallies. The Van of the Fleet being the Bey's Gallies, which are always the beſt manned, and provided, were ordered to attack the main Body of the Chriſtian Fleet, for that, being ſeconded with the Ships, they would be able to ſuſtain the Shock until the Mahones could come up, which were directed againſt the Starboard Wing of the Enemy, compoſed of Galleaſſes. The Venetians, though much inferior in Number, yet as great in Courage, gave evident Signs of their deſire to fight, with hopes, by God's Bleſſing, to obtain a Victory. The Venetians whilſt the Turks paſſed, remained ſtill with their Anchors apique, which the Turks interpreting as a token of their Courage and Boldneſs, were ſo daunted, that they began to ply towards the Coaſt of *Greece*; but being forced to paſs under the Guns of the Venetian Admiral, they were ſo ill treated by his Broadſides, that they were diſcouraged from making a ſecond Charge. The Ships, and other Veſſels fared little better, being forced to paſs under the Guns of the Enemies Fleet. The Captain-Paſha attempted to paſs on the Coaſt of *Anatolia*, with his lighter Gallies, but being hindred by a ſtrong party of the Enemy, he was forced to follow the reſt of the Fleet, taking his Courſe with them by the Coaſt of *Greece*. In this Charge one of the Turks Mahones was ſunk, and two diſabled: But the greateſt Fight happened between a Squadron of the Turks Ships, and four of the Venetians, which had been hard put to it, had not the Captain *Mocenigo* come in to their Aſſiſtance; howſoever, the Venetian Captain of the Ship, called the *Crown*, was ſlain by a Musket ſhot.

In ſhort, the Chriſtians boarded the Turks with ſo much Vigour and Reſolution, that they took ſeveral of their Ships, and mixing with the thickeſt of their other Veſſels, they put many Aſhore, and others eſcaping in their Boats, left their Slaves and Gallies to the diſpoſal of the Enemy; ſo that the Venetians obtained that day a hundred braſs Guns, with a ſignal Victory, having had no other important Loſs, unleſs the Ship called the *David* and *Goliah*, which being overpowered, was burnt by the Turks.

The People of the Turks, who were in daily expectation to receive intelligence of a Succeſs, agreeable to ſo great Preparations, were much troubled to hear the News of the Defeat given to their Naval Forces; of which Miſcarriage, the World dividing it ſelf into different Conjectures, the moſt part, eſpecially thoſe of *Conſtantinople*, attributed the Misfortune of all

to

1655. to the ill Government, and want of Experience in the General. Wherefore to appeaſe the People, eſpecially the Merchants, who were weary of this Marine War; from whence they reaped nothing but Loſſes of their Ships and Goods; It was thought fit to enter into a Treaty with Signior *Capello*, the Venetian Bailo, concerning a Peace; but he having his Commiſſion taken from him, for the Reaſon before related, his Secretary *Ballarino* ſupplyed his Office; and in Order to an Accommodation, had two Audiences with the Great Vizier, to whom, and to others of the Divan, he made Preſents of rich Pieces of Cloth of Gold, in the Name of the Republick. Howſoever the Turks thinking it diſhonourable to accord unto other Terms, than the intire Reſignation of *Candia*, proceeded in their Preparations as formerly; at which the Merchants and Tradeſmen at *Conſtantinople* received ſuch matter of Diſcontentment, that in Tumults they cryed out for Peace at the Gates of the very Seraglio; and behaved themſelves with that Inſolence, that the Janiſaries were called to drive them from thence by force of Arms; howſoever this Tumult and Riot of the People ended not without the Life of the Great Vizier, to whoſe fury he was made a Sacrifice. And though his Son appeared at the Gates of the City with forty thouſand Men, to demand Juſtice on the Murderers of his Father, yet the People were ſo far from being diſmayed thereat, that their Fury and Rage encreaſed to a greater height, and required the Authority of the Divan to keep things from running into the Inconveniences of a Civil War.

ANNO 1656.

THeſe Diſorders induced the chief Miniſters to enter into another Treaty with *Ballarino*, propoſing to withdraw their Forces from *Candia*, and make a Peace, upon the paiment of ten Millions for the Charge of the War: And to incline the Venetians hereunto, the Turks gave ſevere Orders to their People living about *Corfou*, to moleſt the Inhabitants of that Iſland with all Acts of Hoſtility imaginable: and farther publiſhed, That their Intentions were to ſet out a more numerous and ſtronger Fleet, than any which from the beginning of this War had ſailed on the Seas; and in order thereunto, great Numbers of Slaves, conſiſting of Coſſacks and Moſcovites, were bought of the Tartars, and tranſported to *Conſtantinople*.

The Venetians were not in the leaſt affrighted at theſe Boaſtings of the Turk, but on the contrary, knowing that their Affairs in *Candia* were well ſecured and provided, gave Orders to *Ballarino* to deſiſt from farther Treaties, and to procure his Licence to depart. And the Turks, to evidence their intentions to proſecute the War, entered into *Canea* with twenty eight Sail, laden with Arms and Proviſions, on which alſo were fifteen hundred Men. By this conveyance was ſent a Janiſar-Aga with Orders from the Grand Signior, to conſtitute *Chuſacin* Paſha in the place of Captain-Paſha, or Admiral of the Seas; but he judging this to be a Deſign, or Lure, to draw him from his Poſt, or Office, wherein he was more ſtrong and ſecure, acknowledged the Honour of the Employment, but framed Excuſes to continue his Seat and Place of Reſidence, which the Chief Miniſters were forced to accept; it being a Conjuncture more ſeaſonable to diſſemble, than to reſent his refuſal.

Whilſt new Preparations were making againſt *Candia*, ſo horrible a ſtorm of Mutiny and Sedition aroſe at *Conſtantinople*, as conſtrained the Grandees of the Council to quit for the preſent all thoughts of providing for the War againſt the Enemy, that they might defend and ſave themſelves from the Fury of their own People; For the Spahees and Janiſaries joining together, pretended to reform the Abuſes of the State; to perform which, in a furious Tumult, putting themſelves in Arms, they ran to the Divan, where they depoſed the Great Vizier, and diſcharged divers other Officers of their Employment; The Mufti was conſtrained to fly to *Jeruſalem*, and the Queen-Mother ſcarce remained ſecure in her old Seraglio. And to ſo great a height their Rebellion proceeded, that they propoſed even to dethrone the Grand Signior himſelf. And having thus caſt off all Reſpect and Duty to their Prince, they entred the Imperial Palace, and forcing the Guards, broke up the Treaſury, and carried two millions from thence. 1656.

A Rebellion at Conſtantinople.

Amidſt of this horrid and affrighting Confuſion, Merchants and well-meaning Citizens remained in the moſt aſtoniſhing apprehenſions imaginable; for all Laws being broken, and Juſtice unregarded, the whole City laid open to be pillaged and ſacked by the licentiouſneſs of an unbridled Souldiery. For ſeveral days the Offices both of the Mufti, and Great Vizier remained vacant, by reaſon that the two Factions of Janiſaries and Spahees could not agree upon the Election. At length the moſt ſeditious amongſt them wearying out the others with Quarrels and Conteſts, advanced a Fellow of no Underſtanding or Reputation to the eminent degree of Great Vizier; in which condition he remained not long. For the Fire of the multitude being with time quenched, and the popular Heat abated, this new Vizier was diſplaced, all things returning to their uſual Channel, and Authority to its Fountain.

And that Matters might more eaſily be reſtored to their ancient order, the Grand Signior called for the Paſha of *Damaſcus* to receive the Dignity of Great Vizier; for he being a Perſon of eighty Years of Age, and of long Experience in Affairs, having managed the moſt weighty Charges of the Empire, was looked on by all as the moſt proper Perſon to compoſe and heal theſe great Diſtempers in the State; and this was that famous *Kuperlee*, who was Father to him who ſucceeded him in this Office. The Paſha of *Siliſtria* was alſo conſtituted Captain Paſha, and *Chuſacin* was confirmed in his Government of *Candia*.

And now the bright Beams of Juſtice and Government having diſſipated the Storms and Fury of popular Sollevations; the Grand Signior in Perſon mounting his Horſe, accompanied with his principal Miniſters of State, viſited all the Parts of *Conſtantinople*, where making Inquiſition for the principal Leaders and Fomenters of this Rebellion, he ſeized on ſome, and without further proceſs, boldly executed them in the Face of the People.

But before things were reduced to this condition, four Months were ſpent in this horrid Confuſion; and what is moſt ſtrange, this Great Empire for ſo long time remained without a Pilot, toſſed on the Waves of popular Commotions; all which ſerved to give eaſe and reſpite to the Venetians in their War, but not to operate towards a Peace; ſo reſolute were the Turks in their Deſign of making an entire Conqueſt of *Candia*.

For

1656. For having again Equipped a moſt formidable Fleet, conſiſting of ſixty light Gallies, twenty eight Ships, and nine Galleaſſes; they attempted to make their way for *Candia*, and therewith to fight the Venetians in caſe they ſhould oppoſe them in their Voyage, to which they were the more encouraged upon ſight of the Venetians, who appeared at the Streights of the *Dardanelli*, with no more than twenty nine Gallies, and ſome Boats, or Brigantines; howſoever the Turks were not ſo confident in their numbers, but that they judged it requiſite to fortify themſelves with two Batteries; one on the Coaſt of *Anatolia*, and the other on the European ſhore; whereby they imagined, that they might cauſe the Venetians to give way, and open a Paſſage to their Fleet.

Engagement between the Turks and Venetians.

But notwithſtanding the continual ſhot which the Turks made upon them, they ſtill kept their Station from the 23*d* to the 26*th* of *June*; when the Wind coming about to the North, which was favourable for the Turks to Sail out, and to bring them nearer to their Enemies, they began gently to approach; and the like the Chriſtians endeavoured, being deſirous to join Battel; at which firmneſs of Reſolution, the Turks being a little ſtartled, became willing to avoid the Fight, and to creep under the ſhelter of the point of *Babiers*, which locks in one of the Bayes between the Caſtles and the Mouth of the *Dardanelli*. But the Wind on a ſudden turning favourable for the Venetians, the Prior of *Rochelle* with his Squadron, and *Mocenigo* with three Ships under his Command, made up towards the Caſtles, with deſign to cut the Turks off from their Retreat; the others valiantly aſſailed the Turks, who defending themſelves like thoſe, whoſe chief ſecurity conſiſts in their Arms, there enſued a moſt miſerable ſlaughter on one ſide, and the other; at length the Succeſs of Victory happened to the Venetians, who were animated by the couragious Example of their General *Marcello*, though he having Boarded, and become Maſter of a great Ship called a *Soltana*, with the Gally which attended her, was ſhot in the thigh with a Cannon Bullet, and thereby gained the glory to die Conquering, and Triumphant.

The Venetians obtain the Victory.

After whoſe Death, the Proveditor taking upon him the Command of the Fleet, proſecuted the Victory ſo cloſe, that excepting fourteen Gallies which eſcaped with the Captain-Paſha, and four Gallies of the Bey's; all the whole Fleet was either taken, ſunk, or burnt. The Venetians not being able to man all the Veſſels that they had taken, ſet many of them on fire in the Night, excepting only twelve Gallies, four Ships, and two Galleaſſes, which they reſerved for a Demonſtration or Evidence of their Victory. With this glorious ſucceſs five thouſand poor Chriſtians obtained their Freedom, and had their Chains and Shackles knocked off. What number the Turks might have loſt is uncertain; but as to the Venetians, it is reported, that beſides their General, there were not above three hundred Men in all killed and wounded.

The Venetians being encouraged by this Succeſs, attacked the Iſland of *Tenedos*, and in the ſpace of four days became Maſters of it; as alſo in a ſhort time afterwards of *Stalithene*, antiently called *Lemnos*; the which ſhameful Loſſes and Overthrow, ſo irritated the Mind of the Grand Signior, that he gave Orders to carry the War into *Dalmatia*, intending the next Summer to go thither in Perſon; and in the mean time Commanded by the Paſſa of *Boſna*, that the City of *Raguſa* ſhould be put into a readineſs to receive his Troops, being judged a convenient Place for the Seat and Magazine of Arms for thoſe Countries. 1656.

But the poor Republick greatly apprehending this Misfortune, than which there could be no greater Miſchief, nor Ruin to their Country; diſpatched certain Deputies with their yearly Tribute to the Port, with Inſtructions, that in the way thither, they ſhould ſupplicate the Paſha to intercede with the Grand Signior in their behalf, repreſenting to his Majeſty, that they paying their annual Tribute for Protection, ought not in juſtice to be expoſed to the licentiouſneſs of an Army, which their little Territories were not capable to receive, nor provide with convenient Quarters: at which Meſſage the Paſha being highly incenſed, anſwered rudely, and impriſoned them; threatning to ſtrangle them, in caſe their Government did not obey the Commands of the Sultan.

ANNO 1657.

BUT the chief Miniſters at the Port, taking into their conſideration the preſent State of Affairs; that the City of *Conſtantinople* was full of Diſcontents; the Perſian on one ſide, and the Moſcovite on the other, ready to invade divers parts of the Empire; that there were Deſigns to depoſe the Grand Signior, and ſet one of his Brothers on the Throne; beſides a multitude of other Dangers; the reſolution of the Court's removal, and of the Grand Signior's March into *Dalmatia*, was ſuſpended; his Preſence and Authority being eſteemed moſt requiſite in ſuch a conjuncture of Troubles at the Heart and Center of his Empire. After which, the appearance of the Grand Signior in Publick was leſs frequent; for that he might haſten the departure of the Spahees and Janiſaries for *Candia*, he deferred his Journey to *Adrianople* for ſome time; but they being averſe to this War, refuſed to march, until firſt they had received all Arrears which were due to them; the which audacious Propoſal ſo incenſed the Grand Signior, that he cauſed the Heads of two of the moſt forward Mutineers to be cut off in his preſence.

This unſeaſonable rigour rather provoked the Spirits of diſcontented Men, than abated them; and the continual Prizes which the Venetians made on the Turks, and ſtoppage of Proviſions, which did uſually ſupply *Conſtantinople* from the *Archipelago*, raiſed the price of Bread, and of all Victuals in that populous City; ſo that the People murmured and exclaimed, as if they had been reduced to their laſt Extremity.

The Grand Vizier conſidering that the loſs of *Tenedos* was the cauſe of all theſe Inconviences; promiſed the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*, that he would regain it in a ſhort time; in order to which, he ſet forth a very numerous Fleet to beſiege that Fortreſs; but contrary Winds, and bad Weather, forced them into a Neighbouring Port, where they attended the conjunction of the Bey's Gallies with them.

The General of the Venetians having received advice hereof, put to Sea, that he might hinder theſe two Fleets from joining; and was no ſooner in the Channel of *Scio*, than that he met with ten Sail of Barbery Men of War, convoying a great number of Saiques, and other Veſſels, of which fourteen were laden with Proviſions, carrying alſo with them two hundred

1657. thouſand Crowns, which was the Tribute of *Rhodes*: Theſe the Venetians aſſailed with ſuch Courage and Succeſs, that they burnt the ten Ships, and many of the Saiques; killed a thouſand Turks, took four hundred Priſoners, delivered three hundred Chriſtians; with the loſs only of an hundred killed, and three hundred wounded.

This and other Loſſes augmented the Diſcontents at *Conſtantinople*, ſo that the Grand Vizier, to hold up the Spirits of the People, reſolved to go in Perſon to *Tenedos*; and accordingly equipped a Fleet of eighteen Ships, thirty Gallies, ten Galleaſſes, with an innumerable Company of Saiques, and other Veſſels, whereon he embarked twenty thouſand Horſe, and eighty thouſand Foot; with which Army the Vizier ſailed out of the *Dardanelli*, on the 17*th* of *July*, having firſt received Intelligence, that *Mocenigo* was not returned from the *Morea*, where he had been for ſome time in chaſe of certain Ships. Howſoever the Turks found not the Paſſage ſo clear, but that they encountred with a Squadron of eighteen Sail of Men of War, under the Command of Signior *Bembo*; the which ſeeming an inconſiderable number to the Turks, they aſſailed them with undoubted hopes of Victory. The Admiral and Vice-Admiral of the Turks, with five other great Ships, charged the Venetian Admiral, who defended himſelf ſo bravely, that for three hours they lay Board and Board; the reſt of the Turkiſh Fleet aſſailed the other part of their Enemies Fleet ſo cloſe, that the Fight became terrible and bloody, both for one and the other, until at length the Turks being worſted, were put to flight, and in the purſuit, a great Turkiſh Sultana was put aſhore near *Troy*; one of their Galleaſſes was diſabled, two of their Ships ſunk, and the reſt were chaſed as far as *Metylene*, being put by the Iſland of *Tenedos*.

In this Interim, the General *Mocenigo* was on his Voyage towards the *Dardanelli*; and being come within the noiſe of the Cannon, he haſtened with more diligence; and arrived ſo ſeaſonably to the aſſiſtance of *Bembo*, that at his appearance moſt of the Turkiſh Gallies began to turn their Sterns, and make towards the Shore of *Anatolia*, with ſuch diſorder, that of twenty eight Gallies, and two Galleaſſes, there were but five only which kept company with the Baſtard Gally of the Captain-Paſha, and entred with him under the defence of the Caſtles. The reſt of the Fleet was chaſed by *Mocenigo*; but the Turks being to windward, the Chriſtians were not able that day to come up with them. The next day the Wind being more favourable, a Council of War was held aboard the Venetian General; during which Conſultation, they eſpied five Gallies making towards the Point *Baba*, there to ſecure themſelves under the Shore: and thereupon reſolved, that whilſt the Captain General, with a Squadron of *Malta*, attempted thoſe five Gallies, and others which had taken the ſame place of Refuge, the reſt of the Fleet ſhould keep firing at thoſe without.

Accordingly the Captain-General made towards the Point *Baba*, where paſſing within Muſket-ſhot, and under the reach of five Batteries, an unfortunate Shot in the Powder-room blew up the Ship, and therewith ended the Days of this valiant *Mocenigo*, who died full of Honour and Glory; his brave Actions continuing his Memory in all the Hiſtories of *Venice*. The Proveditor ſucceeding in his Command, proſecuted the ſame Deſign; and as if he would imitate the ancient Funeral Piles, he celebrated the Obſequies of his General, by burning the Admiral Gally of the Turks, and thence retired towards *Tenedos*. 1657.

After the Turks had refitted their Veſſels, and put their Fleet in a reaſonable poſture, they departed from *Metylene* the 28*th* of *July* at Night, and on the 30*th* were on the Coaſt of *Tenedos*; where immediatly landing five thouſand Men, and great numbers approaching ready to ſet their foot on Shore, the Defendants of the Fortreſs ſummoned a Council of War; at which all agreeing that the Iſland was not tenable againſt ſo great a Force, embarked their Men, Ammunition, and Artillery, and reſigned their place to the diſpoſal and command of the Enemy. After which Succeſs the Turks in like manner landed ten thouſand Men on the Iſland of *Lemnos*; where, having laid a formal Siege to the Caſtle, they made a general Aſſault, but were repulſed with the loſs of five hundred Men, leaving their Scaling-Ladders to the Beſieged. They made afterwards divers Attempts, but in all were beaten off with conſiderable loſs; ſo that they had abandoned the Enterprize, had not the greater fear and apprehenſion of the Divan at Home, confirmed their Courage againſt the Enemy; until at length the Chriſtians being wearied with two Months Siege, without hopes of Relief, were forced to a Surrender; which was performed on Articles, That they ſhould depart with Arms, Baggage, and have free liberty to embark themſelves for *Candia*.

Tenedos taken by the Turks.

Lemnos retaken.

Theſe two important Places being regained by the Turks, were the Subject of great Joy to the Court, and of Courage and Satisfaction to the Inhabitants of *Conſtantinople*: So that the Grand Signior apprehending that by theſe Succeſſes, the Seditions and Mutinies of the City were appeaſed, he took his Journey to *Adrianople*; where to evidence his Grandeur to the Bailo *Capello*, and the Secretary *Ballarino*, he made his entry with an Army of twenty thouſand Men, beſides the ordinary Attendance of the Court, and uſual Concomitants of the Ottoman Train.

After which Oſtentation, the Grand Signior encharged *Ballarino* to write to the Senate, That though he was able to over-run all their Country, and take from them their Capital City, yet ſuch was his Clemency, that he was contented to grant them Peace, on Conditions that they ſurrendred to him all the Iſland of *Candia*, with the Fortreſs of *Cliſſia* in *Dalmatia*, and paiment of three Millions of Gold for the Dammages of the War.

But theſe ſeemed to the Senate to be ſuch unreaſonable Propoſitions, and ſo prejudicial to their Honour, that they reſolved to maintain the War, and to defend themſelves more vigorouſly than ever.

ANNO 1658.

NOtwithſtanding the Deſigns of the Turks againſt *Dalmatia*, they were not leſs intent to their Affairs in *Candia*, deſigning to try their Fortune once again in the Siege of the principal City of that Name, for that falling into their Hands, the whole Iſland would quickly be reduced, and with that Conqueſt an end would be put unto the War.

The Venetians, on the other ſide, attended to their Buſineſs with all diligence, not neglecting any Proviſions which might ſecure their Intereſt in

1658. in that Country; and that they might regain what they had loſt, they held Intelligence with ſome Perſons in *Canea*, hoping by their means to ſurpriſe the Town; but the Turkiſh Governour, being very vigilant, reinforced his Gariſon with five hundred Men: and *Chuſaein* Paſha coming to his Aſſiſtance with thirty Gallies, diſappointed the Venetians of landing at that place.

The Rendezvous of the Army which was to march into *Dalmatia*, was ordered to be at *Adrianople* where the Brother-in-Law of the Paſha of *Aleppo*, who was Commander of the Forces of that Place, arriving later than the day prefixed, was for that reaſon put to death by the Great Vizier.

This Severity ſo enraged the Paſha, that immediately he raiſed an Army of forty thouſand Men, and marched towards *Scutari*, threatning *Conſtantinople* it ſelf, unleſs the Head of the Great Vizier were given him by way of reprizal for that of his Brothers. The Divan being ſtartled hereat, returned him a gentle Meſſage, neither denying nor granting his Demand, as if they intended to amuſe him with Hopes: But he interpreting this Delay for a Refuſal, did not only perſiſt in requiring the Head of the Vizier, but of four other principal Counſellors, whom he judged to have concurred in the Sentence for his Brother's Death; and in farther proſecution hereof, he burnt and ſpoiled all the Country about *Conſtantinople*; and the Plague raging at the ſame time in the City, affected the Inhabitants with ſuch Sadneſs and Diſcontent, that the chief Miniſters apprehended more Evil from thence, than from the Enemy without.

The Army of the Paſha daily increaſing, and being grown from forty to ſixty thouſand Men, cauſed the Vizier to abandon all other Thoughts and Deſigns but thoſe which tended to the deſtruction of the Paſha, and his Complices; ſo that there neceſſarily followed a Revulſion of the Forces from *Dalmatia*; the Vizier himſelf diverting them from thence and *Tranſylvania*, marched with the whole Army towards *Conſtantinople*.

Yet before the Great Vizier departed from *Adrianople*, he perſwaded the Grand Signior to ſet the Bailo *Capello*, and the Secretary *Ballarino* at Liberty, that thereby he might give ſome jealouſy to the Rebels, as if he deſigned to make a Peace with *Venice*, to have more Power, and better leizure to make his War againſt them. This Counſel, though prudently given, had yet little Influence on the Humor of the Paſha, who continued his March, fortifying himſelf in the moſt advantageous Paſſes of the Country: But what was moſt bold of all his Actions, and rendred his Pardon beyond the Clemency of his Soveraign, was the proclaiming a Youth of twenty Years of Age, then with him in his Army, to be the Son of Sultan *Morat*, and conſequently the lawful Heir of the Crown; and that in right of him, he had taken poſſeſſion of a great part of *Aſia*, and was marching towards *Conſtantinople*, with reſolution to diſpoſſeſs Sultan *Mehmet*, and exalt this lawful and undoubted Heir on the Throne of his Anceſtors.

This and other Rumors from *Perſia*, that that King taking the advantage of theſe Diſorders, was making Preparations to regain *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, and revenge himſelf of all thoſe Cruelties which the Turks had inflicted on his Subjects and Country, increaſed the Fears and Cares of the chief Miniſters of State.

Notwithſtanding which, *Chuſaein* Paſha proſecuted his Buſineſs no leſs in *Candia* than formerly, in hopes to put an end to the War there before the end of the Summer; and in order thereunto, he received a Recruit of five and twenty thouſand Men from the *Morea*. But the daily increaſe of the Paſha's Forces, and his approach towards *Conſtantinople*, as it was a Matter of the higheſt Conſequence, ſo it required the moſt prudence and caution in the management. 1658.

In the firſt place therefore by *Fetfa*, or Reſolve from the Mufti, the Paſha was declared a Rebel, and guilty of High Treaſon againſt the Sultan; notwithſtanding which, a Chaous was diſpatched with Letters of Pardon, if now repenting of his Fault, he would disband his Army, and return to his former Obedience, he ſhould be received into Grace and Favour. The Paſha received the Chaous with the ſame Ceremony and Honour, as if he had been an Ambaſſador, being willing to conſider him under that Character, rather than under the Notion of a Purſuivant, or Officer ſent to affright him into his Duty; and in Anſwer to the Meſſage, replied, That it was not in his power to condeſcend to any Conditions, for that ſince he had aſſumed the Cauſe of this Youth, who was the Son of Sultan *Morat*, concealed to that Age by his Mother, for fear of the Power of his Uncle, he could not aſſent to any Terms or Conditions leſs than the Exaltation of him to the Ottoman Throne. And ſo carrying this Young Man with him, as a Property, whereby to cover his Rebellion with the Guiſe of Juſtice and Duty, he maintained a Court for him after the Ottoman Faſhion; and cauſing the Tagho, or Standards, to be carried before him, he permitted him to give Audiences, ſend Diſpatches, and to take on him all the Royal Marks of Empire.

The Army of the Paſha was by this time encreaſed to ſeventy thouſand Men, one part of which he ſent towards *Scutari*, and another towards *Smyrna*, which alarm'd all the Countries round about, and gave the Grand Signior ſuch cauſe of Apprehenſion, that he tried divers Means, and made many Propoſitions of Honours and Benefits to the Paſha, whereby to allure him to Obedience: One while he offered to him the Government of *Grand Cairo*: but that being rejected, he endeavoured to raiſe Men in *Aſia* to oppoſe the progreſs of his Arms; of which ſome numbers being got into a Body, and perceiving the formidable Force of the Paſha, revolted, and joined themſelves to his Party.

This Extremity of Affairs, cauſed the Grand Signior not only again to proclaim the Paſha a Rebel, but to give liberty to his People to deſtroy him and his Souldiers in any parts where they ſhould encounter them. In purſuance of which Licenſe, a Village in *Aſia* having killed twenty five or thirty of the Paſha's Men, which came thither to refreſh themſelves; the Paſha was ſo enraged thereat, that he cauſed his Souldiers to put Man, Woman, and Child to the Sword throughout the Village. And in this manner the Affairs of the Turks remained in the greateſt Confuſion imaginable through the whole courſe of this Year 1658.

ANNO 1659.

NOR did this Year begin with better Omens of Succeſs, for to the other Dangers was added a Report, that the Perſian had taken the Field with two hundred thouſand Men, for re-

1659. covery of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, which was the ancient Patrimony of his Foreſathers; ſo that the Grand Signior being rendred thereby more willing to agree and accommodate Affairs with the Paſha, proffered to him the Government of the Province of *Sonia* for ever, paying only a yearly Homage of an hundred thouſand Sultanees, in lieu of three hundred thouſand, which that Country always yielded. But the Pride of the Paſha ſcorned a Proffer of ſo mean a Conſideration, having nothing leſs in his Thoughts than the entire enjoyment of the Empire, or at leaſt to partake an equal ſhare thereof with the Sultan.

For the Hopes of the Paſha encreaſing with his Army, which was now grown to eighty thouſand Men, he took up for ſome days his Head-quarters near the Fortreſs of *Tocacaia*, within ten days march of *Smyrna*; and thence approaching towards *Conſtantinople*, the chief Miniſters concluded, that there was no other Safety but in their Arms; and that the Paſha was not to be reduced to any terms of Gentleneſs or Moderation. Accordingly the Great Vizier paſſed into *Aſia* with a numerous Army, and ſpeedily joined Battel with the Paſha, which continued for ſome Hours with great ſlaughter on one ſide and the other; but at length the fortune of the Day turned in favour of the Paſha; and the Vizier's Army being routed, he loſt all his Cannon and Baggage, and he himſelf was forced to ſave himſelf in the Neighbouring Countries; where not being purſued by the Paſha, he had time again to collect his torn and ſcattered Troops. The News hereof multiplied the Diſorders and Confuſions at *Conſtantinople*, to which being added the Motion of the Perſians, and that they were to join with the Paſha; as alſo ſome Troubles in *Tranſylvania*, cauſed by the unquiet Spirit of *Ragotski*, together with the ill Humour of the Male-contents in the City, made all things appear with equal or greater Danger at Home than Abroad.

Wherefore, as the ultimate Remedy of theſe imminent Dangers, it was reſolved, that the Grand Signior ſhould go in Perſon to the War, on ſuppoſition that Reverence to his Royal Perſon would produce that awe on the Spirits of his Subjects, which was not to be effected by Violence, or force of Arms. According to this Reſolution the Grand Signior paſſed into *Aſia*, and joining his Forces with thoſe of the Vizier, compoſed an Army of ſeventy thouſand Foot, and thirty thouſand Horſe; with which marching boldly towards the Enemy, the Heart of the Paſha began to fail him; ſo that calling a Council of his Officers, he propoſed his Inclinations towards Terms of Agreement, rather than to hazard all on the Uncertainties of a Battel; the Spirits of the Souldiery being now become tractable by the appearance of ſo great a Force, aſſented to the Propoſition; and thereupon Articles being ſpeedily drawn up, were ſent to the Grand Signior for his Approbation; who, though he would not ſeem to refuſe any thing therein contained, yet declined a perſonal Treaty, as being a Matter too mean for his Imperial Perſon to capitulate with his Vaſſals; and therefore ordered, that *Mortaza* Paſha ſhould Treat in his behalf, promiſing to confirm whatſoever Act *Mortaza* Paſha ſhould conclude in this Matter.

Mortaza being thus made Plenipotentiary, refuſed to treat with the Paſha, until ſuch time as he had retreated with his Army at a diſtance of ſome days March from the Grand Signior's Camp; which being performed near a Town called *Alexandria*, he fooliſhly ſuffered himſelf to be ſeparated in a private Place from his Army, on pretence that Peace was more aptly concluded in a free Retirement, than under the conſtraint and force of the Souldiery. Here *Mortaza* meeting the Paſha, forcibly ſtrangled him, with ſeventeen of his Complices, whom he had brought with him for Witneſſes to his Capitulations with the Grand Signior. With the news hereof the Army of the Paſha ſoon diſbanded, every one with ſhame and ſilence ſhifting for himſelf, retired to his own Country and Home. And herewith eaſily ended this Civil War almoſt in a moment, which but now threatned the Extirpation of the Ottoman Race. 1659.

The cruel Vizier retained his thoughts of Revenge, which we ſhall ſhortly hear in what manner he vented on the great Spahees and rich Men in *Aſia*, who had joined themſelves with the Paſha in this Rebellion. This good Service promoted *Mortaza*, and rendred him more conſiderable to the Grand Signior; ſo that he was employed in the Aſſiſtance of the Tartars, againſt *Ragotski* in *Tranſylvania*, and afterwards preferred to the important Charge of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, of whoſe Succeſs, and Fate, we ſhall hear in the Sequal of a few Years.

But as yet the Commotions of *Aſia* were not ſo wholly extinguiſhed, but that the Nephew of the Paſha of *Aleppo*, in revenge of the treacherous Death of his Uncle, took up Arms, and was followed by the People of the Territories depending on *Aleppo*. To his Aſſiſtance came in alſo the Son of *Chuſain* Paſha, late General in *Candia*, whom the cruel Vizier had put to death, notwithſtanding the merit of his late Services, which might ſeem to atone for his former Misfortunes, and make ſatisfaction for non-compliance with Inſtructions; but this Vizier, who never pardoned any Perſon, would not begin with an Act of Clemency towards one who was none of his Creatures or Confidents depending on him.

To theſe joined the Bey of *Torgue*, who caſting off his Obedience to the Paſha of *Cairo*, entred into the Cabal with ten thouſand Horſe; ſo that a formidable Army being compoſed by this Union, gave a new Subject of Fear and Apprehenſion at *Conſtantinople*. But the Great Vizier ſo dextrouſly managed his Affair, by ſowing Diſſention between the Chiefs, and beſtowing Largeſſes on the Souldiery, that the Army inſenſibly mouldred away, leaving their Generals, and Commanders to ſhift for themſelves, and expoſing them to the Juſtice of a Vizier, who was unacquainted with Mercy, and never pardoned any who was either guilty of a Fault, or ſuſpected for it.

Towards the end of this Year, the Vizier built the lower Forts, which are ſcituated at the entrance into the *Dardanelles*, commonly called by the name of the Queen-Mother's Caſtles. And diſpatched a Chaous to the Paſha of *Canea*, to put all things in a Readineſs for the Siege of *Candia*; Orders were alſo given to the Paſhaws of the Inland Countries to prepare themſelves for the Wars againſt *Dalmatia*, and *Tranſilvania*.

ANNO 1660.

THE Rendezvous of the Army being appointed at *Belgrade*, the Vizier haſtened thither in Perſon to quicken the Preparations, and

1660. and March of the Souldiers, which were flocking thither from all parts. This Vizier *Kuperlee*, though aged, was yet very active and vigorous, by which he created ſo much confidence of himſelf in his Maſter, that he acted nothing in all the Government but by his Counſel and Direction: which being always jealous and bloody towards thoſe who had any Power in the Empire, he for that Reaſon cut off the Cafir of *Damaſcus*, who though he was a good Governour, and a faithful Servant, yet becauſe he was a Favourite of the Queen-Mother, and conſerved the State of his Affairs in a laudable poſture, he grew jealous of his Power, and therefore ſacrificed his Blood to his own Security and Bloody Diſpoſition.

The which act of unjuſt Cruelty ſo enraged the Queen-Mother, that ſhe for ever after bore a mortal hatred to this Vizier, and continued the ſame to his Son, which was the famous *Kuperlee*; but his Moderation and Diſcretion was ſo well tempered with reſpect towards her, that She at length not only pardoned the Sin of his Father in him, but became his Friend, and reliſhed the Services which he performed for his Maſter.

The Venetians having about this time received conſiderable Succours, namely four thouſand French Foot, which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, after the Concluſion of Peace at the *Pyrenean* Treaty, had moſt generouſly Spared to that Republick, were enabled to attempt ſome notable Enterpaize; and thereby ſo hardly preſſed the Paſha of *Canea*, that he earneſtly wrote to the Grand Signior for Succours; aſſuring him, that without preſent Relief, he ſhould be forced to ſurrender his Town to the Mercy of the Enemy. The Grand Signior promiſed him ſpeedy Relief, and for his better encouragement ſent him the Preſent of a Sword and a Veſt of Sables; in the mean time the Venetians took three Forts, *viz. Calamo*, *Calegro*, and *Epicarno*, and proceeded to lay Siege to *Canea*; but the Enemy having received a Supply of three thouſand Men into the Town, the Chriſtians quitted this enterprize in hopes of beating the Turks out of new *Candia*; which was lately built near to the old *Candia*, with deſign to keep that Town ſtraitned by perpetual Alarms, and by the vicinity of ſo bad a Neighbourhood. 1660.

The Grand Vizer being very Aged, was ſubject to many Infirmities, and falling ſick at *Belgrade*, he was adviſed by the Phyſicians to change the Air, as the beſt Remedy for his Diſeaſe; and indeed they were all careful to give him the beſt and ſafeſt Counſels, for that he often threatned them, if he died of that Sickneſs, he would ſend them all to the next World before him. The Vizier following the Advice of his Phyſicians, returned to *Adrianople*, where having in a good meaſure recovered his Health, he ſent Orders to *Hali* Paſha, then General of the Forces in *Hungary*, to haſten the Siege of *Waradin*, being eſteemed by the Turks an advantagious Fortreſs for carrying on their Conqueſts in that Country; of the taking of which Town, and of all the Trouble in *Tranſylvania*, cauſed by the ambitious humour of *Ragotzki*, we ſhall treat at large in the following Hiſtory. For being come to that time, in which Providence allotted me a charge at *Conſtantinople*; I was thereby ſomewhat elevated on a riſing Ground, whereby I could with my own Eyes ſurvey the Tranſactions of that great Empire; and for that Reaſon I call them my Memoirs; which for being Matters tranſacted in my own Time, I have thought fit to introduce them with a ſhort Advertiſement to the Reader.

THE

THE MEMOIRS OF Sir Paul Rycaut,

Containing the

HISTORY OF THE TURKS,

FROM THE

YEAR 1660, to the YEAR 1678:

With the moſt Remarkable Paſſages

Relating to the

ENGLISH TRADE

In the ſpace of Eighteen Years.

TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader,

THIS following Hiſtory is ſome part of thoſe fruits ariſing from my vacant hours of eighteen Years reſidence in Turky, ſeven whereof I compleated at Conſtantinople, in quality of Secretary to the Lord Ambaſſador; and for eleven Years I exerciſed the Office of Conſul at Smyrna. In the firſt times of which, I had great advantages to obſerve, and make my Annotations; having for the moſt part been acquainted with the perſons as well as with the affairs of thoſe concerning whom I write; and indeed the incumbence which was then upon me, obliged me to a knowledg both of perſons and buſineſs. My latter time, which was that of being Conſul, conſtrained me to an attendance on matters relating to the government of our Trade; and therefore it is not to be expected, that at that diſtance from the Court, I ſhould lay down Tranſactions ſo poſitive, and particular, as in the preceding Years; yet the acquaintance, and correſpondence I afterwards continued at Court, and the care I took to inform my ſelf of what occurred, qualified me in ſome meaſure for an Hiſtorian; at leaſt put me into a condition to make a Breviate, or Collection of certain Obſervations occurring in the Turkiſh Court.

When I firſt entred on this work, I was carried with a certain emulation of French and Italian Writers, of whoſe Miniſters few there were employed in the parts of Turky, but who carried with them from thence, Memoirs, Giornals, or Hiſtorical Obſervations of their times. In which our Nation hath been ſo defective, that beſides ſome ſcattered and abrupt Papers, without coherence, or method, adjoined to the end of Knoll's Hiſtory of the Turks (which is an excellent collection from divers Authors) one ſhall ſcarce find five ſheets of Paper wrote by our Countrymen in way of Hiſtory. At which omiſſion having often wondred, I reſolved from my firſt entrance in thoſe Countries, to note down in a blank Book what occurred in that Empire, either as to Civil, or Military affairs; with what Caſualties and Changes befel our Trade, that ſo both one and the other might ſerve for Examples and Precedents to future Ages; the which after ſome years afforded me materials to compoſe and frame this following Diſcourſe. In which, having by Gods aſſiſtance thus far proceeded; As it may be an Example to my Succeſſors, to ſpin and draw out the thread of this Hiſtory through Ages to come; ſo it will be a good part, and office, of thoſe who reſide there at preſent, by a more diligent enquiry to correct, and amend what I have miſtaken, or miſunderſtood.

For next to the immediate attendance to the Charge and Truſt impoſed upon me, I judged it a chief duty towards my Country, to denote and Record certain Tranſactions relating to Trade, which is the grand Intereſt that hath engaged England to a Communication and Correſpondence with theſe remote Parts: nor doth the World perhaps expect much leſs from me, than that I ſhould add ſomething to the Hiſtory of the Turks in our time; which howſoever imperfectly I may perform it, yet the Offices which I have exerciſed, and the impartiality with which it is wrote, may gain it ſome credit and reputation in the World. For in the writing hereof, I cannot be taxed with animoſity to any perſon; nor am I to be eſteemed as poſſeſſed with affection, or partiality to any ſide; which is a point of ſobriety, and good temper neceſſary for all Hiſtorians: For we who lived in thoſe parts, were little concerned for the Houſe of Kuperlee, or for the Favourites of the Court; nor was it of any moment to us, whether the Faction of the Spahees, or Janizaries prevailed; or whether the Courtiers, or the Soldiers, ruled the Empire: only we eſteemed it our duty, to ſpeak beſt of that Government under which our Trade thrived moſt. And tho the times of Sultan Ibrahim were the golden days for Merchants, which employed our Navigation beyond the memory of any times, either before, or ſince; and conſumed of our Manufactories (tho not in greater quantities yet) perhaps with better advantage and profit to our Nation: Yet I ought not to be ſo injurious, or ungrateful to Sultan Mahomet the Fourth, as to accuſe his Government of Oppreſſion, or Violence towards us, or of any breach of Articles, and Priviledges, which he had granted to his Majeſties Subjects; but ſhall rather applaud, and be ready to own that Juſtice which our Complaints have found, and met at the Ottoman Court, under the protection of thoſe worthy Ambaſſadors ſent by his Majeſty to ſtand Centinel on the Guard of their Country.

For whereas in the time of Sultan Morat, when the Military men bore the ſway; Injuſtice and Violence, which mingled in all the actions of Rule, had an influence alſo on the Engliſh

affairs: And when in the time of Sultan Ibrahim, *that the Female Court had gained the predominancy, and that vaſt Treaſures were expended in Riot and Luxury; the prodigality of great perſons made it neceſſary to be rapacious and unjuſt: But in theſe more moderate times of this preſent Sultan, when neither exceſſive Wars abroad, nor Luxury nor immoderate expence at home, exhauſted the Coffers; We may eaſily imagine, that the diſorders of State did not drive the Rulers to a neceſſity of exerciſing unjuſt Arts, which are always moſt certain Symptoms, either of a bad Government, or a vicious incliuation in the Prince.*

The Engliſh Trade, according to the Chronicles of Sir Richard Baker, *was firſt introduced into the Country of the* Turks, *in the Year* 1579. *but* Sagredo *an* Italian *Writer, accounts only from the Year* 1583. *perhaps before that time Overtures were only made for a Trade, which might be ſo inconſiderable, as that until then it was not eſteemed worthy to be adorned with an Ambaſſador, or to be oppoſed by the Miniſters of Foreign Princes. For ſo ſoon as an Ambaſſador from* England *appeared at the* Ottoman *Court, with Credential Letters from Queen* Elizabeth, *the* French *and* Venetian *Miniſters took the Alarm, and oppoſed his reception, eſpecially the* French, *who (as* Sagredo *reports in his Hiſtory of the* Turks) *repreſented unto the G. Vizier, how much this new Friendſhip with the Engliſh would obſtruct that ancient Alliance which was made with his King, and would impeach and leſſen the Priviledges and Trade which they enjoyed in thoſe parts: To which the Vizier anſwered, according to their uſual phraſe and ſtile; That the happy Imperial Seat where his Maſter reſided, was called the* Port, *becauſe it was free and open to all ſuch who deſired to take refuge and ſanctuary therein, and therefore the Engliſh without juſt reaſon ought not to be excluded. That the Sultan ought not to be denied that freedom of love and hatred, which was common to all Mankind; and that he was as well reſolved to chuſe and cheriſh his Friends, as to proſecute and deſtroy his Enemies. Whereunto the French Ambaſſador urged, That ſince it was the pleaſure of the Grand Signior to admit the Engliſh; that at leaſt they ſhould be obliged to enter* Conſtantinople *under the French Colours. But the Engliſh Ambaſſador replied, that his Miſtreſs who was ſo potent, ſcorned all Dependencies on other Nations, and would rather abandon the Friendſhip of the Sultan, than admit the leaſt diminution of her own honour: And embelliſhing his Diſcourſes (as* Sagredo *proceeds) with the repreſentation of that advantage and profit, which the Engliſh Trade would bring to the Ottoman Empire; he ſo enſnared the hearts of the Turks, that they preferred the admittance of new Gueſts, before the Alliance of ancient Friends. Since which time our Commerce and Trade with the Turk hath been in its increaſe, and being governed by a Wiſe and Grave Company of Experienced Merchants, hath by Gods bleſſing brought an ineſtimable Treaſure and advantage to the Engliſh Nation, which that it may ſtill continue, increaſe, and flouriſh in all Ages and times to come, is the hearty deſire, and Prayer of him, who is a true, and faithful Servant to that worthy Society, and a ſincere Wellwiſher to his Country.*

Farewel.

THE

THE HISTORY OF Sultan Mahomet IV. THE XIII. EMPEROUR OF THE TURKS,

Beginning in the

NINTH YEAR OF HIS REIGN.

The First BOOK.

Anno Chriſti, 1661. *Hegeira*, 1072.

IT was now the beginning of this Year, when the Earl of *Winchelſea* arrived at *Conſtantinople*, the firſt Embaſſadour ſent abroad from His Majeſty of *Great Britain*, *Charles* the Second, after his happy Return to the Glorious Throne of his Anceſtors, to *Sultan Mahomet*, the Thirteenth Emperour of the Turks; it being judged fit, that amongſt other Alliances which were to be contracted with Foreign Princes, and States, this of *Turkey* ſhould not be omitted, but rather in the firſt place conſidered: In regard, that as the flouriſhing Eſtate and Proſperity of *England*'s richeſs depends abſolutely on her Foreign Trade, ſo on none more particularly than on that of *Turkey*, which conſumes great quantities of her moſt ſtaple and ſubſtantial Manufactures, and makes returns in whatſoever Employs, and gives Bread to the poor and induſtrious of the Nation.

But before we come to treat of the Succeſſes of this Ambaſſador, and the various Tranſactions in the *Turkiſh* Affairs; we ſhall relate ſome accidents which befel us in our Voyage by Sea to *Conſtantinople*. The Earl of *Winchelſea* and his Lady, with a numerous Retinue being embarked on the *Plymouth* Frigat, commanded by Sir *Thomas Allen*, and accompanied with a Catch and two Merchants Ships, the *Proſperous* and *Smyrna* Factor for *Turkey*, ſet ſail from the *Downs* on the Twentieth of *Octob.* 1660. And proceeding with a favourable Gale, and fair Weather, until we were come to the heighth of the Norward Cape, or Cape *Finiſterre*; we then contended with ſo ſevere a ſtorm, that we were forced to bring our Ship under a main courſe, to faſten our Helm, and lye, and drive. In the Twenty nineth about Five in the Morning, our main Tack flew, which ſhook and ſtrained our Maſs ſo violently, that it was ſhivered in two places between Decks: The danger hereof might have proved of ill conſequence, had the Maſt gone by the Board; for in all probability it would have carried up our Decks, unfixed both our Pumps, and laid us open to the Sea; but the Providence of God, and the diligence of our

1661. Seamen was ſuch, that we ſoon ſtruck our Top Maſt, boared our main Yard, and ſo fiſhed the Maſt it ſelf where it was defective, that with the help of our fore-Sail, and the benefit of better Weather we ſafely arrived on the Thirty firſt in the Port of *Lisbon*. The Match being then in Treaty between *Charles* the Second our Dread Soveraign, and *Catherine* the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, now our gracious Queen; all the concernments of *England* were extreamly acceptable to the Court of *Portugal*; and particularly the Perſon of the Earl of *Winchelſea*, a Peer of *England*, qualified with the Character of Ambaſſadour Extraordinary to the *Ottoman* Port. For at our firſt arrival there, I being then Secretary to the ſaid Earl, was employed to carry a Letter to the King, which was received by the Councel of State then ſitting: After the Letter had been read and conſidered, I was called in, and an anſwer given me by the *Marquis de Niſſa*, and *D. Gaſper Faria de Severin* then Secretary of State, to this purpoſe. That they were glad, ſo grateful an opportunity preſented, whereby they might Demonſtrate their warm and real affections towards the King of *England*, by ſerving his Ambaſſadour in ſo neceſſary a piece of Service as that which was required: That Orders were given to furniſh the Ship with a Maſt, and what ſhe wanted, out of the Kings Stores; and that both his Excellency and Lady, with all their Retinue ſhould be welcomed a ſhore, with due regard to their Quality and Condition. The Day following his Excellency was complemented from the King, by a *Maeſtro de Campo* ſent to him on Ship-board; and being come aſhoar, and lodged at the Houſe of Mr. *Maynard* the *Engliſh* Conſul, he was viſited by *D. Franciſco de Melo*, (who had before, and was afterwards employed Ambaſſadour into *England*) and by *D. Antonio de Saouſa* and others. After Eight days his Excellency had Audience of the King, and the Queen Mother, and was received by both, with many demonſtrations of a hearty deſire to contract a firm Alliance with *England*. He was afterwards invited by the *Conde de Odemira* Governour of the young King, and Chief Miniſter of *Portugal*, to a *Quinta*, or Garden-houſe at *Bellain*: where were preſent the Duke of *Calaval*, the *Viſconde de Caſtel Blanco*, and *D. Franciſco de Melo*; the entertainment was very ſplendid, with variety of Diſhes, and Wine, correſponding rather with the inordinate Tables of *Engliſh*, than with the frugality, and temperate Diet of *Spaniards*. Our Ship being in this interim refitted, we returned aboard on the Twelfth of *November*; the Earl of *Winchelſea* being preſented by the King, with ſeveral Hampers of ſweet-Meats, Veſſels of Wine, and other Proviſions for his Voyage; and his Lady by the Queen Mother, with a Jewel of conſiderable value, and with diverſe boxes filled with Purſes of perfumed Leather, and Amber Comfits.

Lisbon.

On the Thirteenth we ſet Sail, being deſign'd by Order of his Majeſty for *Algier*, to ſettle a Peace with that unſetled People; where arriving on the Tewenty ſecond day about Three a Clock in the Afternoon, we came to an Anchor about Two Miles diſtant from the Town, which we ſaluted with Twenty one Guns, but received none again in anſwer thereunto; it being the cuſtome of that People, not to acknowledge Civilities, but to repay injuries, and not requite benefits. We found that they had already begun to break the Peace: Having brought in thither an *Engliſh* Ship, which lay between hope and fear of freedom, or ſeizure: So ſoon as we had dropt our Anchors, a Boat came from that Ship, acquainting us of the State of *Algier*, and how near Matters were to a Rupture with them; by this Boat my Lord Ambaſſadour ſent a Letter to the Conſul, appointing him to come aboard; who the next Day, being the Twenty third, appeared accordingly; to whom his Excellency imparted the Inſtructions and Orders from his Majeſty to renew the Peace on the former Articles; and particularly to inſert a Caution, That the *Algerines* ſhould on no terms ſearch our Ships, but that the Paſſengers, and goods thereon, whether of *Engliſh* or Strangers, ſhould be free and exempted from all ſeizure, and Pyracy whatſoever. I being appointed to aſſiſt the Conſul in this Treaty, accompanied him aſhoar, and in the firſt place we applyed our ſelves to *Ramadam Bullock-baſhee*, then the Chief of their Divan, and Head of their Government; whom we acquainted, that on the Ship in the road, was an Earl of *England*, ſent Ambaſſadour by his Majeſty our King to the Grand Signor, and in his way thither was appointed to touch at *Algier*, and to inform the Government of that place of the happy Reſtoration of his Majeſty to the Throne of his Father, and to confirm the ſame Peace which was before concluded with uſurped Powers, and ſo delivered him the Letters from his Majeſty; which were ſuperſcribed in this manner:

Algier.

1661.

To their Excellencies the Aga, Jiabaſhees, and reſt of the Honourable Council of State and War, in the City and Kingdom of Algier.

Ramadam anſwered us, that he was well ſatisfied with the Propoſal; that there was a Peace already with the *Engliſh*; and that they were Brothers; that the next Day was appointed for a general Divan of great and ſmall, at which we might freely open our breaſts, and declare whatſoever was committed to us by our King and his Ambaſſadour.

But for the better underſtanding of the State of *Algier*, at this time, we muſt obſerve, that for many years before, this government was compoſed of a Divan, the Chief and Head whereof was a Paſha ſent every Three years to preſide there, and had ſo continued, until that ſome few Months before this time one *Halil* a poor Fellow, who had no better Eſtate than the Sixteenth part of a Veſſel, but bold and deſperate, complained one Day in open Divan againſt the Paſha, accuſing him of many miſcarriages, with which he ſo affected the Divan; that he rudely threw him from his Seat, drubbed him, trampled on him, and plucked the Hairs out of his Beard, which is the greateſt mark of ignominy and contempt that any Perſon can offer to another; and having committed him to Priſon and Chains, he with the Divan took upon himſelf the unlimited Power of an Arbitrary Government: And thus for the ſpace of Six or Eight Months this Miſcreant tyrannized, and ruled without controul: Until an obſcure and contemptible Moor, an ordinary Jerbin or Countryman, inſtigated (as was ſuppoſed) by the Aga, or General of the Souldiery, approaching near him in the Streets, under pretence of kiſſing his Veſt, ſtruck him with a long Knife between the Ribs; which boldneſs of the Moor ſo aſtoniſhed the Attendants which were about him, that none had power to lay hands on the Murderer, but ſuffered him to depart, and fly unpurſued: Of this wound *Halil* dyed in Two days, in which time he nominated *Ramadam* his Kinſman to be the moſt proper, and fit Perſon to ſucced him in the Government;

Halil killed by a Moor.

1661. vernment; and this recommendation ſo prevailed on the Divan, that he was elected for their Chief: A Perſon of a moſt ſordid, and Mercenary Soul, inured in Covetouſneſs, and Gluttony, guided by his Luſt and Intereſt, unleſs ſometimes reſtrained by the Authority of the Divan, and the fear of popular Inſurrection.

This *Ramadam* according to his Promiſe before recited, ſummon'd us the day following, being the Twenty-fourth to the Divan; which conſiſts in all of Twenty-four Bulluck-baſhees, who are Officers of the Souldiery, each commanding Twenty-four Souldiers under him, * Twenty-four Jiabaſhees, and Eighteen Ancients or grave Seniors: Though for that preſent, there appeared no more than Forty five, the others being at Sea, or abroad; *Ramadam* was placed in the Chair, or in a Seat at the upper end, and the Aga ſate by him, the others ſtood on their feet, and put themſelves into Two Files, or Ranks; and then *Ramadam* began with a loud Voice to cry, The *Engliſh* are come to treat a Peace with you, and have brought Letters from their King, and from their Ambaſſadour now aboard going for *Conſtantinople*; which very words every one diſtinctly pronounced, and repeated them, carrying the Voice from the lower to the upper end; I fancied, that it was after the manner of our repeating Syllogiſms in diſputations, that ſo no miſtake might be, and that the Reſpondent might have time to conſider and weigh the argument. Then *Ramadam* demanded, whether they were pleaſed to enter into Treaty with the *Engliſh*; which words being repeated as before, and anſwered in the Affirmative, the Letters were read in the *Turkiſh* Tranſlation; with the Articles of Peace propoſed, which were as followeth:

The *Algier* Divan.

* Jiabaſhees are of another degree; it may be in good *Turkiſh* Odabaſhees, or Captains of the Chambers of Janiſaries.

I. THat the Engliſh *ſhall be obliged to protect all Paſſengers belonging to* Algier, *aboard their Ships, to the utmoſt of their power, againſt any of their Enemies. And in like manner all forreign Paſſengers, Merchants and others, their goods, and Eſtates embarked and laden on* Engliſh *Ships, ſhall paſs free, and be protected from the Ships of* Algier, *and be ſuffered to paſs without moleſtation.*

II. *No Shipwrack of* Engliſh *on the coaſt of* Algier, *ſhall become prize, nor their goods forfeited, nor their men made Slaves, but the People of* Algier *ſhall do their beſt endeavour to ſave both them and their goods.*

III. *That neither the Conſul, nor other* Engliſhman, *ſhall be obliged to ſatisfie the Debts of another* Engliſhman, *unleſs he hath been bound, or become Security for him.*

IV. *That no* Engliſhman *in matter of difference ſhall be ſubject to any Judgment, but that of the Divan.*

V. *That the* Engliſh *in differences amongſt themſelves ſhall be ſubject to no determination, but to that of the* Engliſh *Conſul.*

VI. *That either ſide are to furniſh men of War with all neceſſaries their Ports afford, at the Market rates, without paying cuſtom.* 1661.

VII. *If any grievance happen, neither party ſhall break the Peace until ſatisfaction be denied.*

Theſe Articles being read, were all approved except the firſt; for they declared, that they would have a Liberty to ſearch our Ships, and take out the Goods and Perſons of Strangers; for that otherwiſe, we having this priviledge, might carry away the Trade of the whole World in our Shipping; and that *French*, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Dutch*, and all other Nations, had no need of other protection and ſafeguard for their Perſons and Goods, than to put them under the *Engliſh* colours: And that then their men of War might rove the Seas to no purpoſe, their City become poor, and their Souldiers ſtarve, when they returned home. We on the other ſide, being ſenſible how prejudicial and diſhonourable ſuch an Article as this would be, and how ruinous to our Navigation, and having his Majeſties Command to the contrary, abſolutely refuſed to aſſent, or agree thereunto. Whilſt we were thus arguing, a great fat *Turk* appeared with two young men his Slaves, one a *Frenchman*, and the other a *Dutchman*, requeſting *Ramadam* to recommend him to us for paſſage to *Smyrna*; and having performed his requeſt to him by kiſſing his Hand, *Ramadan* made it his requeſt to us in behalf of that his Kinſman, recommending him to our care and protection, and conjuring us thereunto, by that Sacred league of Peace that was between us: We readily aſſented thereunto, and at the ſame time took hold of the Example to repreſent the reaſonableneſs of that Article on which we inſiſted. For ſhall we (ſaid we) protect your People, and will you require, and impoſe it upon us as a matter Juſt and Sacred? And ſhall not the greateſs of our King have a Liberty to diſpence the like Priviledge to other Nations, his Neighbours, and Allies, governed by Kings and Princes, who are Chriſtian, and of his Kindred, and near Relations? But neither this, nor any other argument was Reaſon, or Sence to them; nor did they care to anſwer it by other arguments, than that of their own diſadvantage thereby; and that if they aſſented thereunto, their Ships might better rot in the Mould, than to venture them out at Sea with expectation of booty. They told us alſo ſtories of *Engliſh* Ships which had delivered ſome *Algerines* to their Enemies; and one particularly, who had ſold a Hundred *Turks* to the *Venetians*. In anſwer hereunto, we aſſured them, that upon complaints and proofs made hereof to our King; his Juſtice was ſuch, as that he would not ſuffer a piece of ſuch Treachery to eſcape unpuniſhed. And as to that argument, which they urg'd, that in this Caſe none would be employed beſides *Engliſh* ſhips, we largely repreſented the neceſſity of employing *French*, and *Dutch*, and the Ships of other Nations. But theſe People being Deaf and Blind to any Reaſon, but that which agrees with their intereſt, we concluded nothing; for after a long and loud diſcourſe, and repetition of the ſame things over and over again, we at length told them, that it was not in our Commiſſion to conclude on theſe terms; but that we ſhould inform the Lord Ambaſſadour of their deſires, and reſolution, and that we would return the next Day with his peremptory Anſwer; not but we knew, that the Inſtructions from his Majeſty extended not ſo far; but that we might have occaſion to leave matters, as it were in ſuſpenſe, and part fairly from them, at the preſent. For

as

1661. as to my own particular, I did not like to remain with ſuch Company, not knowing how far the perfidiouſneſs of that People might tranſport them to a Barbarity againſt the Laws of Reaſon and Nations.

The wind blew all this day ſo hard at Weſt, that our Ship drove, and a great Sea went; ſo that there was ſome difficulty for me to get aboard; howſoever in regard it was neceſſary to render his Excellency an account of the proceedings of that Day, I eaſed the Pinnace of all Proviſions, and unneceſſary Company, and ſo by God's Providence got ſafe, though wet, aboard that Evening. I did not fail immediately to render an account moſt exactly, how every thing paſſed, to the Lord Ambaſſadour, letting him know, what fruit was to be expected by a farther Treaty with this People. Wherefore it was thought fit rather to keep the buſineſs in ſuſpence, than to come to an open rupture with them; and rather than to uſe long diſcourſe to them, or perſwaſions to little purpoſe, to write them this ſhort Letter, the ſuperſcription of which was to *Ramadam* their Governour in Chief, and to the reſt of the Divan.

The laſt Letter to the Divan.

WE are ſorry that there ſhould be ſtill one difference in our Treaty, relating to the ſearch of Ships, and delivering up Merchants Forreigners, and Strangers goods. This is an Article which the King my Maſter did not think you would have inſiſted upon, becauſe it was granted to others, who were Uſurpers, and his Subjects, and therefore did not impower me to conclude with you in it. Howſoever, I ſhall acquaint the King my Maſter of your earneſt Deſires, and Reſolves in this Buſineſs, and doubt not, but what is Juſt and Reaſonable, will be aſſented unto. Wherefore in the mean time we muſt deſire you, whilſt his Royal aſſent is expecting to your propoſals, that the Peace may continue on the ſame Terms that it now ſtands. Let your Friend and Kinſman come aboard, (as is deſired) and he ſhall be welcome, and we ſhall protect him to the uttermoſt of our power. And on this Promiſe and word of ours, you may rely on, as of a Chriſtian, *and a true* Engliſhman. *Our deſire alſo farther is, that the Lord* Obryan *may remain in the Conſuls Houſe until ſuch time as his Ranſom comes. And ſo we wiſh, that a hearty and long Peace may be continued between the two Nations.* Given aboard the *Plymouth* Frigat, *November* 25. 1660.

Winchelſea.

Upon delivery of this Letter, it was concluded, that the former Articles ſhould ſtand in force; only that difference about ſearching our Ships ſhould remain in ſuſpence, and be ſpecified, as not fully agreed on: Howſoever they would ſearch our Ships, and it ſhould not be accounted a breach of our Capitulations, until the King ſhould intimate his diſlike thereof. And that when Notice ſhould come from his Majeſty to *Algier*, that he approved not thereof, then it ſhould be lawful for both ſides to break into Acts of Hoſtility. This moderate courſe we thought to be leſs prejudicial to us for the preſent, than an open, and ſudden War: For by this means we gained the releaſement of two ſmall *Engliſh* Ships which their Men carried in thither, and had time to give notice to our Merchants in all Ports and places, of the true ſtate of our buſineſs with *Algier*.

On the Twenty-ſeventh of *November*, we departed from the bay of *Algier* with a proſperous, and ſteddy Gale, ſteering N.E. and N.N.E. for *Meſſina*, from whence we intended to diſpatch Letters unto all places, rendring advices to his Majeſty, and the Merchants, of the State and Condition of our Affairs, and Negotiation at *Algier*. And whilſt we pleaſantly ſail'd with a proſperous wind, on a ſudden a cry was made of Fire, in the Ship, which aſtoniſhed us all with a great amazement. For the Cooper it ſeems, going into the Steward's Room to ſtave a Cask which formerly had ſome Brandy in it, by chance a Snuff of the Candle fell in at the bung, which put the whole Veſſel into a Flame: But the ſame Man immediately ſtopping the Bung, ſoon ſmothered the Fire, and therewith extinguiſh'd that and our fears. As to other Matters, our Voyage to *Meſſina* was ſpeedy and happy, for we arrived there on the Second of *December*. Meſſina.

Some Days paſſed before we could get pratick; for having touched at *Algier*, a place always ſuſpected for the Plague, great ſcrup'le was made of admitting us to free converſe in the Town: Until the Lord Ambaſſadour gave under his Hand and Seal an aſſurance of the Health of our Ship; on confidence of which we received Pratick, and the Palace called Paradiſe, where commonly the Vice-Kings are lodged, was appointed to receive his Excellency and his Retinue, and the Furniture thereof ordered by *D. Franciſco de la Villa Padierna*, a *Spaniard*, who was *Stratago*, which is as much as Commander in chief of all the Caſtles and Forts in and about *Meſſina*. So ſoon as his Excellency landed, this *Stratago* made him a Viſit, and at his departure left his Guard with him in a Complement, but in the mean time the *Jurati*, who were ſix in number, choſe (as I think) every year, or every third year by the Citizens for Government of the City, were wanting in the like civility towards our Ambaſſador; four of which are choſen out of the Burgers, and two out of the Gentry, for they took no notice of him, nor ſent him any meſſage until the hour that he was about to depart, when his Excellency refuſed to receive their viſits, excuſing his neglect of attendance to matters of Ceremony, at a time when buſineſs urged his departure: whence this omiſſion on the Jurats ſide proceeded, may in probability be deriv'd from the antipathy they have to the *Spaniards* and their Government, always running contrary to that, unto which they find the *Spaniſh* Miniſters moſt inclined. During our abode at this place, his Excellency having returned his Viſit to the *Stratago*, accompanied with *D. Joſeppe de Luna* a Cavalier of *Maltha*, and having wrote a Letter to the *Conde de Ayala* then Vice-King of *Sicily*, reſiding at *Palermo*, he gave advices unto all places of the doubtful ſtate of our affairs with *Algiers*, that ſo Ships might be cautious of that people, and how they adventured themſelves abroad without Convoy; and having compleated theſe Diſpatches, we again returned aboard on the ninth of this Month; when the *Stratago*, abounding in all points of civility, ſent an honourable preſent of all ſorts of freſh proviſions aboard Ship, and ſoon after came himſelf in perſon to bid Farewel to his Excellency. At his coming aboard we gave him nine Guns, and at his going off fifteen, and ſo ſoon as our Anchors were away, and our Fore-top-Sail filled, we bid adieu to the Town with twenty one Guns more, which they returned by firing all the Guns of the five Caſtles, under command of the *Stratago*, which is an honour they ſeldom pay to any other, than the *Generaliſſimo* of *Spain*, the Vice-King, and the Popes Admiral.

We had ſo fair a Wind, and ſo proſperous a paſſage, that we arrived at *Smyrna* on the 14th of *Decem-*

1661. *Smyrna.* *December*, where we found the *Proſperous* and *Smyrna* Factor, the Merchants Ships which we had loſt in the Storm, happily arrived. Here we remained for ſome days to order and ſettle ſeveral affairs according to Inſtructions given by the *Turky* Company. And on the ſixth of *January*, being Sunday and Twelfth-day, we returned aboard to proſecute this Ultimate ſtage of our Voyage to *Conſtantinople*; our Frigat the *Plymouth* Anchored near the Town within the very Port of *Smyrna*, from whence ſailing with a freſh Eaſterly Wind from the ſhore, we were carried without the Port, and out of command of the Caſtle; where the wind failing, and being wholly calm, we Anchored until the next morning, when with a gentle gale at South-Eaſt we proceeded forward, and being as high as *Cape Caraborno*, towards night the Wind came about to the *N E.* with ſo ſtrong a Gale, that with ſome difficulty we weathered the *Cape*, and making over for the Iſland of *Mytilene*, and bringing our Ship under a main courſe, we intended to paſs the night under the ſhelter of that Iſle: All this night the wind ſo increaſed one hour more than another, that in the morning it was grown to a perfect ſtorm, and the Sea into a breach; the ſky was ſo black, and thick, and the Sun ſo red, and louring, as ſignified the continuance of it; and the ſpray of the Sea was ſo forcibly carried by the wind over the Ship, that Maſts, Yards, and Decks were querned with a white Salt. This extremity of weather made us think of ſome Port, or Harbour, wherein to ſecure our Ship. The Iſland of *Ipſera* lying *S. B. W.* about eight Leagues from *Mytilene*, was judged by our Maſter to be the moſt convenient and ſafe place, wherein we might ſpend the fury of this ſtorm; wherefore putting before it with our Foreſail, and our Mainſail in the Brailes, the wind was ſo forcible, that it carried away our Foreſail like Paper from the Yard; and bringing another in the place thereof, it had the misfortune to be foul of the flook of our Anchor, and ſo became as unſerviceable as the former: being thus deprived of the benefit of our commanding Sails, we ſet our Spritſail, and Main-courſe, and ſo ſteered in between the two Iſles of *Ipſera* the greater, and the leſs. Being ſhot within, and keeping as near aluff as we could to the ſhore, we on a ſudden ſtruck upon a Rock, which aſtoniſhed us all with a ſtrange amazement; the Ship fetched five Sallies, or Seeles upon it with ſuch violence, that we expected to ſink immediately into the deep; and indeed if we conſider the forcibleneſs of the wind, the turgency of the Sea, and the weight of our burden, having four hundred perſons aboard, and ſixty Guns mounted, it will appear little leſs than a Miracle, that the Ship brake not into more pieces than our numbers were aboard. I ſtood then by the Mate, when he fathomed our depth of water by the Lead and Line; and we had then ſeventeen foot and a half by the ſide, but the Ship drawing eighteen foot, we began to fear a total ruin, and ſhipwrack, and with caſt-up eyes, and ſtretched out arms, thought now of no other than of our laſt and ultimate Port. But in the midſt of this horrid conſternation and diſtreſs, it pleaſed God, who was our beſt Pilot, and guided us to the edg of the Rock, to bring us clear of it; when we ſoon eſpied ſome of our ſheathing to ſwim upon the Sea; and running down to the Well of our Pumps, we perceived a great increaſe of water, but not ſo much but that Pumping once every half hour, we kept our Ship in a condition of ſafety. Being thus by Gods Providence come to a convenient place of Anchorage, being well furniſhed with ground-Tackle, we rode for two days in a ſtreſs of wind, with two Anchors a-head, of which our ſheet-Anchor was one, and with our Top-maſts and Yards ſtruck. Afterwards the wind abating ſomething of its late fierceneſs, though continuing in the ſame quarter, we had opportunities to go aſhore and to make ſome Proviſions of Wine, of which that Iſland yields an admirable ſort, and as rich as any in the *Archipelago*, though the people are as poor, or rather more miſerable than their Neighbours. In three or four days, by the ſullage and weeds which the Leak had ſucked in, the water began to ſtop, and our Ship became ſo perfectly tight, that our Captain judged it not neceſſary to enquire, when we arrived at *Conſtantinople*, into the damage which we had received from the Rock; and the Ship afterwards by Gods Providence arriving ſafe in the River of *Thames*, was brought into the Dock at *Woolidg*, where upon ſearch was diſcovered a great piece of the Rock, as big as a mans head, ſtruck into the bilge of the Ship, and ſo firmly fixed, as if it had been rivered within; which ſeemed ſo ſtrange a thing, that the Shipwrights before they would take it from thence, firſt thought fit to acquaint the King thereof; who was pleaſed in perſon to go and ſee it; which appearing a ſtrange, and almoſt a miraculous accident, His Majeſty commanded it to be taken out, and (as I am informed) it is kept in his Cloſet. And now for the better deſcription of this Rock, and for the avoiding of it, Seamen may obſerve, and take notice of it in this manner.

1661.

A miraculous eſcape from ſhipwrack.

The ſhallow water, or the Rock whereon we ſtruck, bore N. N. W. ½ N. from the place where we anchored on the North of Great *Ipſera*, and lyes about half a mile from the ſhore. The mark is, the falling away of the South-end of the firſt gray-cliff, with a gall upon the foot of the high hill, on which is a houſe, there is alſo a white ſand by the gray cliff; the longeſt way of the Rock is N. W. and S E. and the length not longer than the Ship; the water in the ſhalloweſt part thereof is about thirteen or fourteen foot, with a Northerly wind; and ſeventeen foot or more in the deepeſt which is the place where we ſtruck; yet as the people of the Iſland report, it hath ſix foot more with a Southerly wind; ſo that it is not ſtrange, that our Maſter, though he had frequented this place with the *Venetian* Fleet, ſhould not have knowledg of it, for ſuch a depth of water is ſeldom noted in Waggoners for a place of danger.

Rocks about Ipſera.

There is alſo another Rock near the Town about half a mile diſtant from the ſhore, bearing N. B. E. of the Point, the neat ſluff point E.N E. the Northermoſt point of little *Ipſera* N. W. B.N. the Southermoſt point of little *Ipſera* S. W. ½ W. the Southernly point of Great *Ipſera* S.-E. 1 S. upon it, there is not above four foot water.

We rode here until the 14*th* day, when between one and two in the morning, the wind ſprang out of the W.S.W. with an eaſie gale, with which we weighed our Anchors, and put to Sea; the next morning early being the 15*th* day, we were up with the Iſland of *Tenedos*, and towards Noon we entered the *Helleſpont* with a freſh gale, which was neceſſary to ſtem the ſtrength of the current; and about three a Clock we paſſed the Caſtles of *Seſtos* and *Abydos*; from whence came off a boat with a Druggerman, and Janizaries, bringing Letters from Sir *Thomas Bendiſh*, then Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, congratulating the Arrival of his Excellency, and ſoon returned again

1661. again aſhoar to carry the news of our entrance within the Caſtles.

On the Seventeenth Day about Noon, being juſt Three months ſince the Lord Ambaſſador with his Family embarked, we came to an Anchor near the Seven Towers, from whence we gave notice to St. *Thomas Bendyſh* of our near approach; and having given Two hours ſpace for to carry the intelligence, we weighed our Anchors, and ſtood in for the Port of *Conſtantinople*: At this time, a *Boſtangee*, one belonging to the Grand Signior's Garden, came aboard, ſent by the *Boſtangee*-baſhee or Head of the Gardeners, to diſcover, and know what Ship it was of ſuch Equipage, and greatneſs; adviſing us alſo, that the Grand Signior was ſeated in a Chiosk or Summer-houſe on the corner Wall of the *Seraglio*. Having thus our Anchor aboard with a freſh and favourable gale, our Flags and Enſigns diſplayed, and a Streamer at every Yard-arm, our Guns and Waſt-clothes out; and being near the Wall of the *Seraglio*, the ſame *Boſtangee* came again aboard, acquainting us, that it was the Grand Signior's pleaſure, that we ſhould rejoyce with Guns, (which was his expreſſion;) the Ship having her Sails ſwelled out with a gentle Gale, and the ſwiftneſs of her motion retarded by the current, gave the Turks an opportunity to take a full proſpect of her, the decks being full of men; we fired Sixty one Guns, as we paſſed, and with that order, that the Veſſel could never appear with better advantage, had ſhe been deſcribed by the Hand of the moſt skilful Painter: And thus we came to an Anchor on *Toppennau* ſide, where Sir *Thomas Bendyſh* came immediately aboard to congratulate the ſafe arrival of this new Ambaſſador; And now here it may be enquired, whether the *Seraglio* returned any anſwer to this ſalute by thoſe Guns which lye under the Garden-wall, of which moſt, or all are diſmounted: I anſwer, not; for this having been the firſt Man of War, or firſt Royal ſhip, that ever carried up an *Engliſh* Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*; it having been the cuſtom formerly to have them tranſported thither on ſome goodly Merchant-ſhip laden with the rich Commodities of our Country, a return of Guns was never demanded, or expected; and perhaps it was a matter not then thought of; which if it had, and been required, it is probable, in that conjuncture (if ever) it would have been granted; both becauſe old *Kuperlee* the Father, then governed, who was a great friend to the *Engliſh*, and Enemy to the *French*, whoſe Ambaſſador was then under reſtraint, would have in meer oppoſition and hatred to them, beſtowed thoſe honours on our Nation, which at another time could not have been extorted for a great Sum of Money; and ſo much I collect from the very words of *Kuperlee*, who after our Lord Ambaſſador had made his Entrance in a more ſplendid manner than uſual, as we ſhall underſtand by the ſequel, he demanded of our Chief Druggerman, how the *French* reſented this treatment? He anſwered, not well, but with an envious Eye, as he ſuppoſed; let them burſt with malice, replied the Vizier. Of late years ſince the glory and greatneſs of *France*, their Ambaſſadors have been always tranſported up to *Conſtantinople* in the Kings Ships. Monſieur *la Haye* the younger came on a Man of War of the Kings, and a Fireſhip; Monſieur *de Nointel*, with Two men of War and a Fireſhip; and now lately Monſieur *de Guilleragues* with no leſs an Equipage than the former. All which before they entered *Conſtantinople*, made a ſtop about the Seven Towers, capitulating firſt to have a re-ſalute from the *Seraglio*, before they would paſs their Complement to that place; which being denied, as a thing never practiſed; the *French* Men of War have of late paſſed with ſilence, without giving, or receiving a ſalute: Howſoever, as things ſtand now, I ſhould ſcarce adviſe, that *Engliſh* Men of War ſhould inſiſt upon the like, for we having once done it, a cuſtom may be pretended; and that may give a beginning to ſuch a diſpute which a new Ambaſſador ought ſtudiouſly to avoid, the preſent circumſtances of *France* not ſuiting exactly with the ſole Intereſt of Trade which is exerciſed by *England*.

Salutation of the *Seraglio*.

1661.

Againſt the next Day, being the Eighteenth, things were provided for the entrance of his Excellency; and indeed with that ſtate and handſome Equipage, that neither any Embaſſador from *England*, nor yet from the Emperor, paſſed with greater Splendor and Honour than this: For when his Excellency firſt deſcended from the Ship into his Boat, the Ship fired Fifty one Guns, ſo leiſurely, that they ſo continued, until he ſet his Foot on the ſhoar; where mounting on Horſe-back covered with a rich Velvet Foot-cloth, the whole Equipage marched in this Order, on Horſe-back alſo;

The Lord Ambaſſador landing at *Conſtantinople*.

Firſt, The *Vayvod* of *Galata*, and his Men.

2. The Captain of the Janiſaries with his Janiſaries.

3. The Chaous-baſhee with his Chaouſes.

4. The *Engliſh* Trumpeters.

5. The *Engliſh* Horſemen, Merchants of *Conſtantinople*, and thoſe of *Smyrna*, which came to attend his Excellency by order of the Factory, being in number Six, with their Servants.

6. The Embaſſadors, Druggermen and Janiſaries.

7. His Excellency with St. *Thomas Bendyſh*, attended with their Pages and Footmen.

8. The Secretary and Gentlemen.

9. The Counteſs of *Winchelſea* in her Coach, and Three other Coaches following with her Women, covered with Red-cloth, made after the faſhion of Waggons, lying on the carriages unhung.

10. Which were followed by ſome Officers, and Reformadoes of the Ship. Such an appearance as this being Extraordinary, the Streets were crouded with People, and all Windows filled with Spectators; and that which made the paſſage more uneaſy, was the Rabble ſcrambling for Five Sol-pieces, of which ſort of Money, 500 were by Order of the Lord Ambaſſador ſcattered amongſt the People, who regarded not the danger of being trampled under foot, whilſt they had the Silver in their Eye.

His Excellency being thus lodged at his Houſe at *Pera*, he was immediately ſaluted from the Emperors Reſident by his Secretary; and ſoon after by Signor *Padavino* Secretary to their Excellencies *Balarino* and *Capello*, of whom we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to name, being thoſe who negotiated the Affairs of the *Venetian* Republick. And the next Day following, the like Complement was paſſed from the *French* Ambaſſador, and the *Dutch* Agent.

Three days after, the Grand Signior ſent a Preſent to his Excellency of Ten Sheep, Fifty Hens, a Hundred Loaves of Bread, Twenty Sugar-loaves, Twenty Wax-candles, Ten whereof were white, and Ten yellow. This we mention particularly, becauſe it was a Gift anciently beſtowed in the times of the firſt Ambaſſadors; and though it had not been of late years practiſed, yet being found in the Old Regiſters, the cuſtom was again revived; becauſe the *Turks* were

The Grand Signiors preſent to the Ambaſſador.

1661. were in an humour to gratifie, and ſhew all the Honour they could to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador.

His firſt Audience with the Vizier.

On the Twenty eighth of this Month of *January*, his Excellency had his firſt Audience of the Great Vizier; and being attended thither, and met by the *Turkiſh* Officers on *Conſtantinople* ſide, (in the ſame manner, as when he firſt landed) he was conducted to the Viziers Palace; and being held up under the Arm by Two of his Gentlemen (that being the faſhion of great men amongſt the *Turks*) he was introduced to the Preſence of the Vizier; who being aged and decrepit, was ſitting on Cuſhions in a little Room with a Fire, and his Feet covered, ſeveral Paſhaws, Pages, and other Officers ſtanding by him. His Excellency and Sir *Thomas Bendyſh* were ſeated on Two Velvet ſtools; where firſt the Earl of *Winchelſea* having preſented the King's Letters to the Vizier wrote in Parchment, and put into a Bag of Cloth of Gold; Sir *Thomas Bendyſh* began to inform the Vizier, that this was that honourable Perſon, of whom he had formerly acquainted him, was coming to reſide for Ambaſſador in his place: That he was of that Nobility, and relation to our King, that had not his Majeſty intended highly, and in an extraordinary manner to Honour, and oblige the Grand Signior, he would not have expoſed his Kinſman, and a Perſon extraordinary, to the hazard of a Voyage ſo long and dangerous as this. Then the Earl of *Winchelſea* began to ſpeak, and relate the happy reſtauration of the King his Maſter to the Throne of his Anceſtors; extolling his Power, Greatneſs and Clemency in pardoning all, but ſuch, who were engaged in the Blood of his Father. That in his paſſage to *Conſtantinople*, he had by Command of the King touched at *Algier*, endeavouring to renew the former Articles of Peace, and releaſe an *Engliſh* Lord (meaning the Lord *Obryan*) taken Captive by them contrary to the Articles of Peace, but without ſucceſs, not being able to reduce them to any Terms of Reaſon, or Juſtice: And enlarging in his Complements with aſſurances of the friendſhip which the King his Maſter deſired to conſerve, and maintain with the Grand Signior, as a token thereof, he acquainted him, that he was the firſt Ambaſſador ſent abroad by his Maſter, ſince his happy return, before he had deſigned, or appointed any to Chriſtian Princes. The Vizier readily anſwered: *That it was but Reaſon it ſhould be ſo; ſince the Grand Signior was an Emperor, and they but Kings; and he the greateſt, and moſt Soveraign Potentate of the World: And that as to the Buſineſs of* Algier, *he would take care of it, and do him Juſtice.* This having paſſed, Two *China* diſhes with Sherbet were brought forth, and given to the Two Ambaſſadors, and Two larger bowles of the ſame to their Attendants: Then the Preſent was brought forth, and laid before the Vizier, conſiſting of Twenty Veſts; Four of them were of fine *Engliſh* Cloth of ſeveral colours; Four of ſeveral coloured Velvets; Four of ſeveral flowred Stuffs with Gold and Silver; Four of watred Tabbies, and Four of Sattins: In recompence hereof both the Ambaſſadors were veſted, with Six others, which Veſts are of no great matter of uſe, or value, more than that they are evidences and badges of the Vizier's favour. After this his Excellency with Sir *Thomas Bendyſh* aroſe, and departed, wearing theſe Veſts, until they were paſſed without the Gates of the Viziers Palace, and then they delivered them to be carried by their Servants, as the others did; and ſo his Excellency returned to his Houſe at *Pera*, with an appearance of a fair Correſpondency, and with aſſurances that the Capitulations and friendſhip ſhould be maintained, and conſerved with a ſtrict and inviolate Faith.

1661.

The day of giving pay to the Janiſaries drawing near, the Ambaſſador's Audience with the Grand Signior was deferred until that time, for with that occaſion the Court would appear in the moſt ſolemn manner, and the attendance of the Soldiery would render all things more great and powerful: In the mean time the Grand Signior often took a view from his *Seraglio*, of the *Plymouth* Frigat, and frequently rowed round her in a Boat; and ſome ſay, he once came *Incognito* aboard to ſee her; at length he was ſo pleaſed with her, that he fancied her to be a very proper Veſſel to carry Soldiers and Ammunition for *Candia*; but propoſing his Thoughts and intentions to the Vizier, he was diſſwaded from the demand, or conſtraint of the Ship, being admoniſhed, that this was a matter unpracticable, and uncivil towards a Prince, who on confidence of Amity and Alliance with him, had adventured his Ship within his Port.

Audience with the Grand Signior.

The Twenty ſixth day of *February*, being Pay-day of the Janiſaries, the Lord Ambaſſador had Audience of the Grand Signior, which was performed in this manner. His Excellency, with Sir *Thomas Bendyſh*, departing from his Houſe, with his retinue on Horſe-back, by break of day in the Morning, was met on *Conſtantinople* ſide by the Chaous-Baſhee, and his Chaouſes, and by them conducted to the *Seraglio*. We rode through the firſt Court which was very ſpacious, and then we alighted from our Horſes, and walked through another Court leading to the Divan, or place of Judicature; at the upper end of which the Great Vizier was ſeated; on his right Hand ſate Five Viziers of the Bench, of which the Captain-Paſha, or Admiral of the Seas, was one; on the left were the Two Kadileſchers or Chief Juſtices, one of *Anatolia*, and the other of *Romelia*, and by them the Teſterdar Paſha or Lord Treaſurer, with Three other Paſha's: The floar of the Divan was covered with Carpets, and on them a richer covering of Bags of Money, for payment of the Janiſaries. The Two Ambaſſadors with about Six or Seven of their retinue (amongſt which I was one) being admitted in, and placed at the lower end, their Excellencies approached toward the Vizier, and were ſeated near unto him on Two ſtools covered with Crimſon Velvet, and ſome Diſcourſe and Complement having paſſed between them, they retired to another part of the Room, that they might give way to Buſineſs. In the mean time the payment of the Soldiers went forward, every Churbagee, or Captain, taking from the heaps the Pay of his Soldiers, and laying the Bags on their Shoulders, made up to the Vizier, and having kiſſed the Hem of his Veſt on his Knees, he retired with great Humility and haſt from him, paſſing away with his ſide towards him, it being very unſeemly amongſt them to turn their backs to Perſonages of that Dignity.

The Payment being over, Three ſmall Tables were brought in; the firſt of which was covered with a Silver Voyder, at which the Two Ambaſſadors ſate with the chief Miniſters; but the Great Vizier by reaſon of his Age and Weakneſs retired into another Room. The other Two Tables were covered with a mixed Mettal, which ſerved in the place of a Table-Cloth, at which the others ſate: We had no Knives, Forks, nor Plate; but only Wooden Spoons were laid for us, which was ſufficient in that manner of eating, for their Meats are moſt boyled, and conveniently received by the Spoon; or are ſo well roaſted, that they are eaſily parted with the Fingers. The

1661. diſhes were ſerved in by one at a time, but ſo faſt, that we had ſcarce taſted of one, before it was ſnatched away to make place for another; and I think there might be about Twenty ſeveral changes, in this manner; at the end of all, to conclude our Feaſt, a great Bowl of Sherbet was brought in, and we drank of it, as large draughts as we pleaſed. Being riſen from the Table, Eighteen Coſtans, or Veſts, being the uſual number given to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour, with one extraordinary in favour to the New Ambaſſador, were brought forth, and beſtowed; and in the mean time, the Preſent from our King to the Grand Signior, provided at the expence of the *Turky* Company, conſiſting of Fifty Veſts, *viz.* Ten of Velvet, Ten of Sattin, Ten of Cloth of Gold, Ten of Tabbies; and Ten of fine *Engliſh* Cloth, were brought forth and diſplayed in the open Court by Fifty men which carried them, and Four *Engliſh* Maſtiffs, which were more acceptable to this Grand Signoir than all the reſt. The whole body of Janiſaries then payed, conſiſting of about Five thouſand, were drawn up in a body, and ranged on one ſide of the Court-yard; amongſt them there was that ſilence, that the leaſt whiſper, noiſe, or motion was not heard; and as their Janiſar Aga, and other Commanders paſſed, the bowings they made in ſalute were ſo regular, and at the ſame time, as may well teſtify the exactneſs of their Diſcipline, and admirable obedience, which hath in a great meaſure contributed towards their Conqueſts and Enlargement of their Empire.

Being thus Veſted, and ranked in Order, the Great Vizier entered into the Preſence of the Grand Signior; and then Two Capugi-baſhes or Chief of the Porters of the Gate, with long Silver Staves, took the New Ambaſſador under each Arm to conduct him to the Chamber of Audience; thoſe permitted to accompany him were Sir *Thomas Bendyſh*, the Earl of *Winchelſea*'s Brother, Sir *Thomas Allen* Captain of the *Plymouth* Frigat, the Interpreter, and my ſelf, who then being Secretary, carried the Credential Letters made up in a Purſe of Cloth of Gold. We gently knocked at the firſt Gate, which was immediately ſet wide open to us, in the Porch whereof Forty white Eunuchs attended, clothed in Veſts of Sattin, and Cloth of Gold of divers colours, and ſtood with their Hands before them with marvellous ſilence, and modeſty. Coming near to the Preſence-door, where the Kapi-Aga or Chief of the white Eunuchs attended, we made a pauſe in the Porch, and trod very ſoftly, ſo as not to diſturb with the leaſt motion, the greatneſs of that Majeſty; and ſo profound was the ſilence, that nothing was heard beſides the murmurings of a Fountain adjoining hereunto. Juſt at the entrance of the Chamber, hung a gilded Ball ſtudded with divers precious Stones, the Floar was covered with Crimſon Velvet; embroidered with Golden-wyre. The Grand Signior himſelf ſate in a Throne raiſed a ſmall heigth from the ground, ſupported with Four Pillars plated with Gold, from the top hung ſeveral gilded Balls twined with Maſſes of Pearl; the Cuſhions he ſate upon, and thoſe alſo that lay by, were richly embroidered, and beſet with Jewels, and on his right hand ſtood the Great Vizier. And having made a conſiderable ſtop at the Door, the Two Capugibaſhees, who held his Excellence under each Arm, brought him to the middle of the Room, and laying their Hands upon his Head, made him bow, until he touched the Carpets with his forehead; and then raiſing him again, they retired backward with him, unto the fartheſt part of the Room; and in like manner they took all the others ſingly and in order, placing them behind the Ambaſſador. The Credential Letters from our King were then preſented, and appointed that they ſhould be delivered to the hands of the *Reis-Efendi*, or Secretary of State. 1661

Then the Drüggerman or Interpreter, by Order of the Lord Ambaſſador, read a Paper in the *Turkiſh* Language to this Effect.

Firſt, Declaring how the King of Great *Britain* our Soveraign Lord and Maſter, was reſtored to the Throne of his Anceſtors without War, or any *Conditions*: And the great Clemency of His Majeſty in pardoning all, but thoſe who had a hand in the Murder of his Father.

Secondly, Recommending the Merchants and their Intereſt to the continuance of his uſual Favour and Protection.

Thirdly, Begging the freedom of all *Engliſh* Slaves, as a particular Teſtimony of Favour, and Grace to this New Ambaſſador.

Theſe Ceremonies being performed, and the Paper read, we immediately departed, paſſing to our Horſes by the ſame way which we came: And being mounted, we drew up a little out of the paſſage to ſee the Soldiers march by us, which indeed appeared to be a very flouriſhing Militia of young Men, robuſt, and well clothed; many of them running with Bags of Money on their Shoulders, and all of them chearful, and glad of the charge they carried with them; after them followed their Commanders exceedingly well mounted: And laſt of all came the Great Vizier attended with many Paſhaes, and a goodly Equipage. And then his Excellency, with Sir *Thomas Bendyſh*, and attendance, proceeded forwards, and returned to their home. After this Two viſits were made: Namely, to the Captain-Paſha or Admiral of the Seas, and the other to the Muſtee; at the firſt, Six Veſts were preſented, and at the latter, Five; and both were performed, and accepted with ſuch mutual kindneſs, that never did the *Turkiſh* Miniſters caſt more ſerene countenances on the Trade and Concernments of *England*, than on this conjuncture.

And thus the Earl of *Winchelſea* being very ſucceſsfully, and with ſignal Demonſtrations of Honour, and a good correſpondence, ſeated in the uſual reſidence of Ambaſſadors, the Grand Signior, as a particular Note and mark of his favour preſented him with Three *Engliſh* Slaves, and returned a kind and friendly anſwer to his Majeſties Letters, by Sir *Thomas Bendyſh*, who embarked on the *Plimouth* Frigat, and departed the Eleventh of *March*. And thus having given the Reader a Relation of the State of the *Engliſh* concernments in *Turky*: Let us view and conſider the Condition of the *Turkiſh* Affairs amongſt themſelves.

At the arrival of this Ambaſſador, the important affairs of this vaſt and ſtill growing Empire, were governed by the Great Vizier *Kuperlee*; a Perſon decrepit and infirm in body; by reaſon of his great Age, but of a ſolid and ſubtle judgment; by Nature cruel, and by Years froward; which diſpoſition was ſingularly well fitted to do ſervice to his Maſter, againſt the impetuous ſtorms of the Faction of thoſe times, in which the Paſhaws, and Chiefs of the Soldiery (as often it happens in Empires, whoſe Body is grown too vaſt to be ruled by a weak Head) became rich and powerful, and by the long Vacations of Peace, inſolent and wanton; for as then the Wars with *Venice* were carried on faintly, only by ſending forth an Armata of Gallies in the Spring; and the preparations became rather accuſtomary, returning with the Year, and made

for

1661. for exerciſe of the Arſenal, and amuſement of the People, than deſigned with any probable expectation of ſucceſs or Victory, proportionable to that Treaſure and Trouble which maintained them. So that to encounter ſo many difficulties, and predominancy of Ambition and Avarice, the Prince himſelf being young, the Fortune of his Empire had more than urgent neceſſity of ſuch a rough and cruel diſpoſition as was found in *Kuperlee*, who ſo ſeaſonably made uſe of it, to the deſtruction of all ſuch, who might either endanger his Prince, or himſelf; that in two or three Years time he became Maſter of the Lives and Eſtates of the Grand Mutiniers; confiſcating their richeſs and fortunes to the uſe and ſecurity of his Maſter; having in his time put to Death thirty ſix thouſand perſons, whom he proſcribed in ſeveral Countries, and privately ſtrangled in the City, by vertue of his abſolute and uncontroulable Authority, without giving the Offenders liberty of Proceſſes, or Pleas for their Lives, or the ſolemnity of Scaffolds, or applauſe of a Funeral Oration at the Gallows, whereby to win the affections and compaſſions of the vulgar, but went through with his bloody and tragical buſineſs, without noiſe, or rumour, or knowledge almoſt of the Souldiery, or the people; whilſt the great Perſonages, whoſe rapine and pride had contracted them envy and hatred from their inferiours, ſtood confuſed and amaſed, not having power to rebel, nor Sanctuary to fly unto.

Such is the effect of an abſolute, and arbitrary power, which is Maſter of times and affairs, and rather fits and ſquares Enterprizes to Counſels, than Counſels to Enterprizes. *Reges Herculè non liberi ſolum impedimentis omnibus, ſed Domini rerum, temporumq; trahunt Conſiliis cuncta, non ſequuntur. Liv. lib.* 9. The Grand Signior in the mean time applauded the diligence and circumſpection of his Miniſter; and though yet trembling with the memory of late ſollevations amongſt the Janizaries; yet being young, and active, addicted himſelf wholly to the delight of Hunting, and to follow the Chace of fearful, and flying Beaſts; whilſt his Vizier ſo cloſely follow'd his game of Bloud, that he left no Perſon conſiderable in the Empire, who was not a Creature made by, or depending on him; unleſs the Kahyabei, or Lieutenant General of the Janizaries; *Mortaza* Paſha of *Babylon*, now called by the *Turks Bagdat*, and the Paſha of *Magneſia*; Men, whoſe bravery, and generous Juſtice, or elſe their Guards, or Fortune, had only ſeated beyond the reach and Sword of this Tyrant. This was then the State of the *Turkiſh* Affairs amongſt themſelves; As to Foreign, and Chriſtian Princes; the Emperor, the King of *England*, the *French* King, and the States of *Holland*, had their Embaſſadors and Reſidents at the *Ottoman* Court, with whom as yet paſſed a fair and amicable correſpondence, excepting with the *French*; whoſe Embaſſadour had then lately obtained his releaſe from Impriſonment, to which he was confined contrary to the Law of Nations, and the Cuſtom of the wiſeſt, and moſt generous People of former Ages; and compelled to return into *France*; an Agent being there ſetled by the Merchants, to Negotiate their Affairs; the occaſions and grounds whereof we have at large ſignified in another place: which unlawful treatment of a Perſon Sacred, none will much admire, who conſiders the humour of ſupream Miniſters that judge themſelves under no reſtraint or limits of Law, either Civil, or National.

This Embaſſador from *France* was call'd Monſieur *le Haye*, the Father, a Perſon excellently well qualifi'd, having with ſucceſs paſs'd in that capacity for the ſpace of 25 years, until ſome miſunderſtandings paſſing between him, and this Tyrannical Vizier, he ſuffered many indignities from him, which being added to the extream torment of the Stone, under which he laboured, made him willing on any terms to return to his own Country.

1661.

The *Venetians* notwithſtanding the War, had two Miniſters there reſident; the *Eccellentiſſimo Capello*, Procurator of St. *Mark*, a right worthy and noble Perſon; and Signior *Ballarino*, a Perſon vigilant, and ſubtle, who omitted no opportunities to advance his own Fortunes, and with that the benefit of his Republick. The Emperors Reſident, called *Simon Renninghen*, a Perſon ſincere, free, and open hearted, agreeable to the Nature of the *Germans*; had for ſome Years, tho. with ſome difficulty, continued the Peace, or rather matters from breaking out into an open War; the Incurſions on the Frontiers, and other accidents, always adminſtring occaſions of diſcontent, and complaints to both parties.

The hiſtory of Prince *Ragotzki*.

But that the Series of this Hiſtory may be continud with an even Thread, and clear light to the Reader, we muſt caſt back our Eyes to the Year 1657. when the Ambition of *George Ragotzki*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, began New troubles in his own Principality, and laid the Foundation of a future War between the Emperor and the *Turks*. For now *Poland* was ſo weaſied with the inceſſant Wars of *Muſcovy* (the inveterate Enemy of that Crown) with the frequent Rebellions of the Coſſacks, and the invaſion of the *Swedes*, whom the traiterous Vice-Chancellour, and his Adherents, had invited to the ſpoils of their own Country; that King *Caſimirus* was reduced to the ultimate extremity of his Affairs; the publick Exchequer, and private Treaſuries were exhauſted, the Villages diſpeopled, the Fields uncultivated, Traffick and Commerce ceaſed; nothing but Wars, Robberies, and Confuſion filled the Diurnals with News, and the hearts of the Inhabitants with Sorrow and Calamities: Wherefore *Caſimer* King of *Poland*, vexed on all ſides, and not knowing where or how to apply a remedy, diſpatched his Great Chancellor *Albertus Praveſmoski*, in Quality of Embaſſador, to demand aſſiſtance from *Ragotzki*, promiſing in recompence thereof, to adopt his Son to ſucceed him in that Kingdom. No Meſſage could arrive more grateful to ambitious *Ragotzki*, who by ſo deſired a proffer, ſeemed to arrive to the Zenith of his Proſperity; which like the Land of Promiſe, being only ſhewed to his Father in a long Proſpective, ſeemed now as it were, by Inheritance, to devolve upon his Son; in order unto which, many days of Treaty and Conferences were held between *Ragotzki*, and the Poliſh Miniſters, but *Ragotzki* inſiſting on certain particulars, which were not in the Power of the King or his Commiſſioners to grant without the approbation of a Diet, the Treaty was diſſolved, and *Ragotzki* remained diſpleaſed, and angry; pretending himſelf to have been deluded and ſlighted, reſolved to avenge the Affront, and by his Arms gain to himſelf the Crown of that Kingdom; ſo that raiſing a ſtrong Army, and joining himſelf in a Confederate League with *Sweden*, he invaded *Poland*, waſting all the Frontiers with Fire and Sword. The *Ottoman* Port growing jealous of the ſucceſſes of theſe Affairs, and not ſo much of the Advance of *Ragotzki*, as of the growing greatneſs of the *Swedes*, with whom unwillingly they would be Borderers, iſſued an expreſs Command, That without contradiction or delay, he ſhould immediately give a ſtop to his March, and return with his Army into *Tranſilvania*. And though the Emperor of Germany, and the *Krim* Tartar

Ragotzki joins with the *Swedes* againſt *Poland*.

1661. Tartar declared their diſlike of his proceedings, threatning to invade his Principality at home, unleſs he retracted himſelf, and deſiſted from this enterprize; yet *Ragotski* having his underſtanding blinded with Ambition, and the luſt of Rule and Government, ſtopped his ears to the menaces of his Enemies, and the counſel of his Friends. This *Ragotski* enjoyed a State moſt happy, large, fertile, and populous, in Power inferior to few, ſuperior to many; ſo that he might have paſſed peaceably and honourably with all, could his great ſpirit have bowed to, and complied with his Potent Neighbours. For on the one ſide the Puiſſant power of the *Turk* threatned him, to whom the leaſt Ombrages of diſpleaſure adminiſter occaſion of War; On the ſide of *Hungary* the Emperour over-awed him: On the ſide of *Valachia*, and *Moldavia* he lay open to the incurſion of the *Tartars*. So that a man might rationally expect, That this Prince ſhould have eſteemed it honour enough to have conſerved his own without rendring himſelf obnoxious to the jealouſie and ſuſpicion of his Neighbours. But his great ſpirit was ſo enamoured of a Crown, and ſo bewitched with the hopes of obtaining it, that nothing ſeemed difficult or improbable to the acquiſition of his longing deſires, which were the occaſion of all thoſe calamities and miſeries in *Hungary*, which afterwards enſued.

The difficulty of *Ragotski's* Affairs.

In contemplation of all which foreſeen evils, his *Cæſarean* Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to the *Ottoman* Port, declaring againſt the temerity and audaciouſneſs of *Ragotski*; who in the mean time ſubdued the Fort of *Briſtia*, invaded with Fire and Sword the Province of *Ruſſia*, plundered *Podolia*, and advanced as far as *Camonitz*; a Fortreſs ſtrong by Art and Nature; and joining afterwards with the *Swedes*, aſſiſted them in the ſubjection of *Cracovia*. About this time the Emperour *Ferdinand* the third began to ſend ſuccours into *Poland*, and to proteſt againſt the proceedings of *Ragotski*, but being ſurprized by ſickneſs, ſoon after paſſed to a better life; which for ſome time, giving a ſtop to the aſſiſtance of *Poland*, was interpreted by *Ragotski*, as a happy Omen of his good Fortune.

But how vain and deceitful are humane hopes, whoſe foundations are Ambition and Violence! For *Leopold* ſucceeding in the place of his Father to *Hungary*, and the Empire, immediately proſecuted the deſign in favour of *Poland*, and in the firſt place beſieging *Turone*, one of the chief Cities of *Pruſſia*, taken by the *Swedes*, forced it to a Surrender. The King of *Denmark* alſo growing jealous of the encreaſing greatneſs of the *Swedes*, nouriſhed by ancient grudges, and National Emulations, took up Arms in defence of *Poland*, and being at firſt, ſtuffed with Money, gave conſtant pay and large donatives to mercenary Soldiers, which encreaſed his Army, drawing great numbers from the Swediſh Colours; ſo that being ſtoutly recruited, he entered into the Enemies Countries, poſſeſſed himſelf of the important Fort of *Olme* in *Norway*; overthrew the Swediſh Army at *Vorgaſt*, and obtained a victory over their Fleet in the Baltick Sea. The *Poles* alſo themſelves, who at firſt revolted from their Prince, and favoured the *Swediſh* proceedings, perceiving the Wind change, and become contrary to that Party, began to abandon the intereſt they profeſſed, and by degrees to return to the due obedience of their King. *Zerneski* alſo the General, and *Lubomiski* the Great Chancellour of *Poland*, met the *Swediſh* Forces near *Cracovia*, where giving them Battel, diſcomfited the whole Army, killed fourteen thouſand upon the place, took all the Cannon and Baggage, and won that day a moſt ſignal Victory. 1661.

Ragotski perceiving the face of things thus changed, and being by Command of the Ottoman Port abandoned by his Moldavian and Walachian Forces, began to turn his face towards *Tranſilvania*, where now he wiſhed himſelf and Army lodged in ſafety. But being overtaken by General *Zerneski* near the Mountains of *Tranſilvania*, he was, tho unwillingly, engaged to fight, and was with that fury aſſaulted by the *Poliſh* Horſe, that tho according to his uſual Bravery, he charged in Perſon at the head of his Troops, yet he was not able to withſtand a violence ſo diſadvantageous in number, but that his men being firſt put into diſorder, then to a Retreat, and then to open flight, his whole Army was defeated; many of them periſhed by the Sword, others flying through the Woods and Mountains, died with famine; and he himſelf obliged to buy a ſhameful Peace, engaging by Word and Oath to the payment of a great ſumm of Money, was permitted with a mean Retinue to return into his own Country. Nor did theſe misfortunes end here; but the *Tartars* commanded by the *Turks*, in revenge and chaſtiſement of *Ragotski's* Enterprize without their conſent, entered into his Principality with conſiderable Bodies of Horſe, againſt whoſe ſudden Invaſion, an Army under the Conduct of his General *Kemenius* could not be ſo ſoon collected and diſciplined, as to be able to reſiſt that fury of *Tartars*, who at their pleaſure burned the Towns and Villages, and carried away multitudes of people of both Sexes, and all Ages for Captives into their own Country, amongſt which ſome were of Quality and Condition. Amidſt which troubles came Letters from the *Ottoman* Port, directed to the Nobles of *Tranſilvania*, declaring *Ragotski* a Rebel, and commanding that according to the Laws and Priviledges of that Principality, they ſhould proceed to the Election of a new Prince, and in caſe of refuſal all the ruins and calamities were threatned, which they might juſtly expect in puniſhment of their diſobedience from a ſevere and angry Emperor.

Ragotski overthrown by the *Poles*.

The *Turks* threaten *Ragotski*.

Ragotski being well informed what was deſigning againſt him at the *Ottoman* Port; and knowing that his power was not able to oppoſe ſo much puiſſance, reſolved to give way to neceſſity, and voluntarily depoſe himſelf, before he ſhould be engaged thereunto by the Imperial Decree; ſo that he calmly receded from his Principality, hoping that his humility and ſubmiſſion might procure his pardon at the Court. The Nobility of *Tranſilvania* being as well deſirous to evidence their affection to their old Prince, as their obedience to the Grand Signior, did immediately appoint a day for Election, but with Proviſo, that a general Petition ſhould be made in behalf of *Ragotski*, that he might be again reſtored unto ancient Grace and Favour with the Port, who in the mean time ſwore to live peaceably in a quiet and private condition, without making diſturbance, or innovation in the Government, and that when this Grace ſhould accordingly be obtained, then that the new Prince ſhould recede, and ſuffer things to return to their former and priſtine Eſtate. For which purpoſe there was choice made of one *Francis Redeius*, a Perſon of a peaceable and gentle temper, who would eaſily condeſcend to the terms agreed, and as willingly reſign up his Government again, as he unwillingly received it. But though *Ragotski* had renounced, promiſed, ſwore, and in appearance ſeemed to recede from his Government, and ſurrender all at the irreſiſtible Decree of a ſuperior power; yet his

He depoſes himſelf.

Redeius made Prince of *Tranſilvania*.

1661. his high Spirit, and working Brain could not diſlodg that Ambition of his Heart, which at firſt privately countermined and enervated the Power of the new elected Prince; but afterwards his towering Thoughts ſwelled too big to be ſuppreſſed under the cover of Diſſimulation, yielded juſt Reaſon to the *Ottoman* Port to ſuſpect his deſigns; who not being ignorant of what was paſt, diſpatched Orders to the Paſha of *Buda* to demand the ſtrong Fort of *Janoua* for Caution and Security of the good Behaviour of the *Tranſilvanians*.

Ragotzki again declares himſelf Prince.

Ragotzki ſeeing himſelf thus diſcovered, unmasked himſelf openly, and threw away his Vizard, and with a vigorous Force and Courage reaſſumed the Rights and Standard of his Principality, forcing *Redeius* not only to relinquiſh his Power, but to ſwear never again to uſurp it; tho enforced upon him by the Authority of the *Turks*.

Theſe Extravagancies ſo exaſperated the minds of the *Turks*, that whereas before they began to entertain tender thoughts towards *Tranſilvania*, they now meditated its entire Ruin and Conqueſt; and ſo laying aſide Arguments and Treaties, they made Levies of Horſe and Foot both in *Europe* and *Aſia*. *Ragotzki* foreſeeing how unable he was to reſiſt a Force ſo unequal as the puiſſance of the *Ottoman* Empire, without the ſuccor of Foreign Force, reſolved, like the Prodigal Son, to throw himſelf into the compaſſionate Arms of the Emperor, as his Father, earneſtly ſupplicating, That whereas before, his diſorderly and diſobedient Life had rather merited Puniſhment than Favour; yet in this Cauſe, wherein the Intereſt of *Chriſtendom* was concerned, he would compaſſionate the common Good of the Chriſtian Church, rather than chaſtiſe his particular Miſdemeanours. With this meſſage *Michel Meſces*, his Chancellor, being diſpatched, was graciouſly received by the Emperor, and readily aſſured of powerful Aid and Protection.

Ragotzki elevated with this courteous Treatment and Promiſes, had his whole mind enflamed with hopes and deſire of Revenge; ſo that aſſembling ſuch Forces as he could; he entered boldly into the Field againſt the Paſha of *Buda*, who with a conſiderable Army, was ordered to March before, and enter the Confines of *Tranſilvania*, and there unite with the Paſha of *Temiſwar*.

1658. In the Tranſaction of all theſe Paſſages, *July* was well entered, when both Armies met in open Field; and tho the Forces of the *Tranſilvanians* were much inferior to thoſe of the *Turk*, yet *Ragotzki* full of his wonted Courage and Heat, ſo vigorouſly aſſailed the Enemy, that he quickly broke and diſordered their Ranks, put them to flight, and killed three thouſand upon the place. But little did this advantage benefit poor *Tranſilvania*, for the Great Vizier ſoon after following with the groſs of his Army, conſiſting of little leſs than an 100. thouſand Men, provided accordingly with Artillery, and all other Military Ammunition; ſeconded by the *Tartars*, and aſſiſted by the *Moldavians* and *Valachians*, and a Rout of other barbarous Nations; laid Seige to the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Janoua*; of which and of ſeveral others, in a ſhort time he rendered himſelf Maſter, laying waſte and deſolate all the Countries round with Fire and Sword. The Nobles of *Tranſilvania* ſenſible of theſe imminent and approaching Miſchiefs, diſpeeded three Perſons of conſiderable Quality amongſt them, in an Embaſſy to the Vizier; viz. *Francis Daniel*, *John Lues*, and *Acatius Berclay*, who greatly laboured by their Oratory to perſwade the Vizier, that they were in no wiſe conſenting to the diſobedience of their Prince, but did always readily ſubmit to the *Ottoman* Servitude; imploring his Clemency and Commiſeration of their diſtreſſed and ruined State. The Vizier inclining his Ear to their Petition, ſtopped the Progreſs of his Arms, but increaſed their Tribute to ſuch an exceſſive rate, that the burden of it became inſupportable; and appointed *Berclay*, one of the Embaſſadors, to be Prince; taking thereby from the People, the free Privilegd of Election; Commanding them to accept him without farther Diſpute or Repugnancy. It is uncertain whether *Berclay* deſigned the Principality to himſelf by any inſtance he made to the *Turks*, or whether his Election proceeded meerly from the Vizier himſelf; yet this is certain, that returning home, *Berclay* applied himſelf to eſtabliſh his own Dominion, and to diſappoint the deſigns of his Predeceſſor, and his party.

The Vizier beſieges *Janoua*.

Berclay made Prince of *Tranſilvania*.

The *Turks* being ſatisfied with this Submiſſion, with the Subjection of ſeveral places of Importance, with depoſing of *Ragotzki*, and eſtabliſhment of a new Prince, began to disband a great part of their Forces; and the Great Vizier, with the remainder, returned towards *Conſtantinople*; ſuppoſing the Fire of this War to be totally extinguiſhed.

In this condition of Repoſe, matters continued for about the ſpace of two Years, when *Ragotzki* impatient of his loſſes, and of the exchange of his publick State to a private Condition, inveterate in his hate towards his Rival and Competitor, reſolved to tempt Fortune once more, and make his ultimate Aſſay, either to eſtabliſh himſelf in his Principality, or at leaſt to render himſelf equal with other mortal Princes in the Grave; and ſo relying with much Confidence on the zealous Affection of his Subjects, and the promiſe of powerful Adherents, he once again juſtled himſelf into the Government, by the Expulſion of his Rival; whom he could not behold with other than with an emulous and unpleaſing Eye. *Berclay* perceiving himſelf thus enſnared, neglected, and perſecuted by all Parties, repreſented theſe Innovations to the *Ottoman* Port, with the moſt aggravating Circumſtances imaginable; beſeeching them to afford him aid, and vindicate their own Honour in maintenance of him, whom they had conſtituted a Prince, and was a Creature formed by their own favour. The *Turks* immediately touched with the Senſe hereof, Iſſued out Orders to *Cicdli Ahmet*, the new Paſha of *Buda*; Commanded him without delay, to gather what Forces he could to interrupt the deſigns of *Tranſilvania*; and to put matters unto a ſtand, until a greater Army could ſecond him, under the Command of *Ali* Paſha, appointed General for this Expedition. The Paſha of *Buda* readily obeyed, and aſſembling what Forces he could in *Hungary*, and joining with the Paſha of *Temiſwar*, paſſed the *Danube*, and with a very conſiderable Army entered *Tranſivania*. *Ragotzki* undaunted at the near approach of his Enemy, boldly entered the Field with his Forces, and joined Battel with them in the Month of *May*, 1660. between the Cities of *Clauſenburg*; and *Giulia Alba*. At firſt the Chriſtians endeavoured to have intercepted the Enemies paſſage, by ſome Ambuſcado or Stratagem of War; but the *Turks* ſtill advancing, were at length met by the Van-guard of the Chriſtians; to aſſiſtance of which ſeveral Bodies following one after the other, it became a general Engagement of both Armies; in which Battel,

Ragotzki makes new Troubles.

Ragotzki

1661. *Ragotzki* gave his uſual proofs of Valour; declaring by his Actions, that he was reſolved to dye, or to Triumph. But being at length wounded in four parts of his Body, and his Army overpowered with Numbers, he was forced to yield the Fortune of the Day to the *Turks*; leaving 8. pieces of Cannon, and his Standard in their hands; and the greateſt part of his Army being either killed or taken, he himſelf with a few of his Attendants, recovered *Varadin*; where after 18. Days diſtemper of his Wounds, he expired his unquiet and troubled Soul. This was the end of that vain *Icarus*, who attempted to fly with feigned Wings and borrowed Feathers; this is the fate of ambitious Spirits, whom Pride elevates and exhales like a Vapour, unto that height, until it diſſolves them into Showers, or precipitates them into the abyſs of all Confuſion. This *George Ragotzki* was of a tall and well proportioned Stature, black Hair, and a friſſled Beard: his Eyes quick and lively, of an active Body, and healthy Conſtitution: his Spirit was high and great, which betrayed him to Extravagancies: his Comportment was generous and courteous towards all, which rendered him exceedingly beloved and eſteemed by his Nobility: he was free in his Speech, and eloquent in his Expreſſions, prudent in his Counſels and Enterprizes: had not the quickneſs and vivacity of his Soul made him ſomething raſh and violent in his Attempts: he was of the Proteſtant Religion, leaving behind him a Widow, and a Son of hopeful and happy endowments.

The death of *Ragotzki*.

His Character.

After the Death of *Ragotzki*, it might well be expected that theſe Storms of War ſhould be diſperſed, and that *Tranſilvania* ſhould at length enjoy the Sun-ſhine, and calmer Weather of Peace and Repoſe. But *Ali* Paſha, General of the *Turkiſh* Camp, being by this time arrived the Confines with his powerful Army, reſolved not to return empty or in vain, without advantaging the *Ottoman* Intereſt, and making ſome Satisfaction towards the Expence and Trouble of ſo great an Army. Wherefore taking pretence againſt *Varadin* for receiving *Ragotzki* after his Defeat, abetting his party, and following his Intereſt, deſigned to ſummon that important Fortreſs to ſurrender, which is ſituated at the foot of thoſe Mountains which open a Paſſage into *Tranſilvania*.

The Inhabitants of *Varadin* terrified at the approach of this formidable Enemy, diſpatched a Meſſenger to the Emperor, imploring with moſt effectual Arguments his Sacred Protection and powerful Aſſiſtance againſt the commoſt Enemy to *Chriſtendom*, repreſenting to his Ceſarean Majeſty, how that the *Turks* in their Capitulations with him, had agreed to Build or Erect no new Fort on thoſe Frontiers: and whereas it was the ſame thing to force and uſurp a Fortreſs already made, as to form a new one; the taking of *Varadin* was to be eſteemed a real Violation of the Articles of Peace. That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to reflect on the fatal Conſequences which the loſs of *Varadin* might prove to *Hungary* as well as *Tranſilvania*; being that Gate, which obſtructed, cuts off all Intercourſe between them and *Germany*. Theſe Conſiderations with ſeveral others, were exceeding prevalent in the Imperial Council; ſo that it was reſolved, that General *Souches* ſhould prepare his Army, and put all things in readineſs to afford the Aſſiſtance which was deſired; ſuppoſing that with the *German* Regiments, and *Hungarian* Forces, might be formed an Army of about 25. thouſand fighting men. But in regard in thoſe Inſtructions given to *Souches*, there was a Clauſe, that he ſhould be careful not to engage his Forces in any attempt,

The People of *Varadin* crave aid of the Emperor.

where the event might be doubtful, he aſſembled the principal Perſons of that Country, and the Militia, to conſult whether ſuccor and relief might be given to *Varadin*, without hazarding the Army in a doubtful and a dangerous Adventure: in conſideration of which point, a true Computation being made of all the Imperial Forces, they were found much inferior to that calculate which was made of them at *Vienna*; For that ſince *Tockai*, *Zatmar*, *Kalo*, and other places belonging to the State of *Ragotzki*, had been Garriſoned by *German* Soldiers, there remained not of them above 4000. effective Men; the *Hungarian* Forces which were ſuppoſed to have conſiſted of 2000. Men, could not form 600.; the Haiducks which were computed to be 6000 Men, did not appear in the Perſon of one; being all diſperſed and retired to their own homes. The additional Forces from the Princes of the Empire were as uncertain, as the Expectation of them long and tedious; for tho the Imperial Forces united are of puiſſance ſufficient to bid Battel, and Defiance to the numerous Troops of the *Ottoman* Power; yet in regard the Union of that Body depends on the Aſſembly of Diets, Treaties, and long Debates, which are ſubject to time and delays, cauſed by different Factions, (which are impoſſible to be avoided amongſt different States) whoſe Diſunions, Competitions, Emulations and Pretences, always in ſuch meetings abound, and prejudice the common cauſe and benefit of the Empire; the raiſing of ſuch a formidable Army, becomes a matter always of time and difficulty. Howſoever the Emperor, whoſe Hereditary and Elective Poſſeſſions bordering on the Confines of the Enemy, is neceſſarily engaged to be the ſtanding Bulwark of the reſt, and a Bank againſt the Inundation of barbarous Nations; whilſt other Princes whoſe Dominions are more Remote and Secure, apprehend not the Premures and Storms that the Emperor ſuſtains, and is enforced to expel with the loſs and diminution of his own People, and impoveriſhment of his peculiar Treaſure: To theſe Conſiderations, which rendered theſe pious Intentions towards *Varadin* almoſt impoſſible, there wanted Money, which is the Sinews of War, and the Soul of all Enterprizes: And that which farther retarded thoſe Succors and Proſecution of the deſign in hand, was the departure of His *Ceſarean* Majeſty from his Court at *Vienna*, on occaſion of a Progreſs as far as *Trieſte*, to take Homage of his Provinces of *Stiria*, *Carinthia* and *Cragno*; which was an Action much againſt the Counſel and Advice of the Arch-Duke *Leopold* his Uncle; who foreſaw how great diſorders would enſue by the Emperors abſence, in this Conjuncture, from his Imperial Court. Upon which Conſiderations, Count *Souches* ſent a true Liſt of all his Forces, with an account of the ſtrength of his Enemy; remonſtrating that it was impoſſible to convey Forces into *Varadin*, without hazarding a Battel with *Ali* Paſha, which would prove an abſolute Breach of the Peace; which in this Conjuncture, and want of Preparation, was neither honourable, nor ſafe for the Empire.

The difficulty of making War with the *Turks*.

In the mean time *Ali* Paſha proceeded and encamped with his Army before *Varadin*, breaking firſt Ground the 4*th* of *July*, 1660. and beginning a formal Siege, he ſoon begirt the Town, and continually labouring in making Trenches, Batteries and Approaches, they arrived in a few days to the Counterſcrap of the Wall. But the better to deſcribe the Siege and Aſſaults on this famous City, it will be neceſſary firſt to explain the Condition and Scituation of the place.

Varadin beſieged.

Varadin

1661. *Varadin* therefore is ſeated in a Plain, on the Banks of the River *Chryſe*; to the Eaſt it is environed with ſuch craggy and rough Mountains, as render it almoſt on that ſide unacceſſible; to the South the Town extended it ſelf moſt; to the North it is waſhed with the River, over which ſome ſmall, yet fruitful, Hills raiſe themſelves; it is encompaſſed with a Wall filled with Earth, after the faſhion of Modern Fortifications, and ſtrengthened with five main Bulwarks, and a very deep Ditch filled with the River Water. It was well provided both of Victuals and Ammunition, and armed with Ordnance both great and ſmall, as was ſufficient to have repulſed a puiſſant Enemy, & have ſuſtain'd a long & ſtrait Siege. But the Gariſon within conſiſted only of 850 Soldiers, an inconſiderable number, both in reſpect of the Circuit of the Fortreſs, & of that groſs Army which encompaſs'd it.

The Enemy being now, as it is ſaid before, under the Counterſcarp of the Wall, they perceived that the Ditch was ſo deep, and filled with Water, that though their great Guns had made open Breaches in the Walls, yet there was no poſſibility to ſtorm them, or bring the Soldiery to ſcaling Ladders, or handy blows. The beſieged alſo made ſuch continued Sallies, with ſucceſs and ſlaughter of the Enemy, that after Three and Twenty days of vain labour to ſew the Ditch, *Ali* Paſha was at length almoſt reſolved to have raiſed his Siege, and given over the Enterprize; upon which whilſt he conſidered and ruminated (as ill Fortune would have it) a certain Maid, which formerly had been a ſervant to the Governour of the Gariſon, then a Captive in the *Turkiſh* Camp, having obſerved how on occaſion the Citizens uſed to empty and drain the Ditch, revealed the ſecret to the *Turks*, hoping thereby not only to purchaſe her Liberty, but with that alſo a Sum of Money for price of her Treachery; ſo that diſcovering where another Ditch was to be opened, the courſe of the Water was ſoon diverted, and the Walls of the Town laid dry and open to the Aſſailants. As this happened without, ſo another accident within, equally dangerous, befel the Beſieged; for one day an Officer of the Ammunition going into the Stores with a lighted Candle, by chance dropped a ſpark of fire from his Lanthorn into the Powder, which taking fire, blew up the Powder, Granadoes, Fire-works, and all other military Stores, with the neighbouring houſes, and above a hundred men; which loſs alone was ſufficient to have dejected the minds of frail men; yet they ſo valiantly bore up their courages, that they ſeemed not in the leaſt abated, but rather animated with the height of anger and deſpair. The *Turks* having now free acceſs to the Walls, undermined ſome ſmall Forts, which they blew up, and thereby made ſo great a Breach, that with facility hoping to gain the Town, if they made uſe of the occaſion, they poured in ſuch multitudes of People as the Beſieged were ſcarce able to withſtand; and the *Turkiſh* Soldiery being alſo weary of their ſufferings, and irkſomneſs of their tedious leagure, reſolved now or never to put an end to their labours; ſo that advancing with their open Breaſts to the top of the Battlements, without fear either of Cannon, or Muſket-ſhot, they entered within the Walls, and planted the *Turkiſh* Banners on the Works; but being afterwards received by a reſolute Company of the Defendants, they were again thrown from the Walls, and tumbled back into the Ditch with an incredible Slaughter. It is impoſſible here to deſcribe the anger, the courage, the deſpair which was apparent in the faces of the Beſieged, enflamed by the love of their own Country, and hatred of the *Turks*; ſo that three or four ſuſtained ſometimes the Aſſault of a Troop; and a ſmall number united, oppoſed a whole Sangiack of the Enemy. The Women alſo forgetting the imbecillity of their Sex, renewing in themſelves the Courage and Vigour of the Ancient Amazons, expoſed themſelves without fear upon the Walls, throwing ſcalding Water, Stones, burning Pitch, and whatſoever came next to hand, upon the Aſſailants; whom they ſo valiantly repulſed from the riſing of the Sun till twelve at Noon, that after much ſlaughter on both ſides, the *Turks* growing faint, retreated, and took breath a while within their Trenches. And now the Soldiery conſidering the Obſtinacy of the Chriſtians, began to mutiny, and reſolving not to caſt away their lives in vain, motioned to raiſe the Siege, and be gone; which when the General oppoſed, they threatned to ſacrifice his Life to the Ghoſts of their departed Brethren. But ſee, how many times the Devil ruines the fortune of the Chriſtians! for whilſt they were in this deliberation to depart, behold, a certain, *Thracian* one of the Gariſon Soldiers, advis'd the *Turks* that there were not above Three hundred ſound Men remaining in the whole Gariſon, that they were now reduced to their ultimate *Criſis*; ſo that if they appear'd only before them, and would but terrifie them with another aſſault, the Town was their own, without the leaſt doubt of Surrender. This advice retarded the haſty departure of the Camp; inſtead of which they again muſter'd themſelves before the Walls, and prepar'd to aſſault the Breach, reſolving to put all to a ſecond extremity. The Chriſtians within perceiving the reſolution of their Enemy, and being ſenſible how much they were infeebled by the laſt Convulſion, and loſs of blood, and as yet ſore of their wounds, immediately ſpread a white Flag of Treaty, which was as readily accepted by the *Turks*, and all Articles agreed on the 17*th.* of *Auguſt*, and on the 20*th.* the Gariſon marched freely out with Colours flying, and Drums beating, with liberty to go whereſoever they pleaſed, without hurt or injury; which Conditions were fully and faithfully performed and maintained.

Varadin being thus yielded, afforded matter of diſcourſe, of diſcontent, of fear, and apprehenſions at *Vienna*; ſome argued, That it was but common and natural Reaſon, when our Neighbours houſe is on fire, to look to our own; others blamed the ſlow and phlegmatick proceedings of the *German* Miniſters, who in ſuch urgent emergencies as theſe, could ſit as unconcerned, as Spectators at a Theatre, who regard nothing which way the prize is carried; and in ſhort, the whole Chriſtian World ſtood Admirers of this ſottiſhneſs, eſteeming either thoſe Borderers aſtoniſhed and ſtruck into a ſtupid timidity, or moved by principles of Policy, which none beſides themſelves either underſtood, or penetrated. Only Count *Nicholas Serini*, a Prince who had a fair and ſoveraign Inheritance in thoſe parts, Commander of *Croatia*, and the Confines under his *Ceſarean* Majeſty, a moſt mortal and inveterate Enemy of the *Turks*, could not endure their inſults, bravadoes and daily encroachments, but watching his occaſion of advantage, when *Caniſia* was almoſt deſtroyed by a dreadful fire, and thereby their Ammunition, and Proviſion for the moſt part conſumed, he gathered what Forces he could poſſible, and made uſe of the opportunity to lay Siege unto it, not doubting but in that Conjuncture, and miſerable Calamity of all things, to promote the Intereſt of his Maſter, and the common cauſe of *Chriſtendom*; which as ſoon as he had done, he wrote a Letter to the Emperor

1661.

A *Thracian* betrays the weakneſs of the Town.

Two ill accidents to the Gariſon.

Varadin ſurrendred.

Vienna troubled for the loſs of *Varadin*.

Count *Serini* deſigns againſt the *Turks*,

1661. peror, acquainting him that God had opened him a Gate and Path to his Intereſt, and to a juſt revenge of the *Ottoman* perfidiouſneſs: Who having violated their Faith, and the mutual Peace in taking *Varadin*, would be juſtly and gloriouſly recompenſed by the loſs of *Caniſia*; which being now, as it were by miracle, put into his hands, it were a neglect of the Divine Providence not to improve with advantage an opportunity ſo cheerful and ſo promiſing: to which, beſides other arguments, he added, That if his *Ceſarean* Majeſty ſhould not think fit to concur herein with aſſiſtance of his Imperial States, yet at leaſt he would be pleaſed not to interdict him from the Glory of that deſign, in which he queſtioned not but to ſucceed, and in a ſhort time to render not only to his Majeſty, but alſo to the whole Chriſtian World, proofs of his Valour, and a good account of his Enterprize. Howſoever, the Emperor's Council ſeriouſly conſidering that *Serini*'s State could not be engaged with the *Turk* without involving his Intereſt; and that the Princes of the Empire, though when aſſaulted, would willingly contribute their Forces in the defenſive part, yet would be backward to be the Aggreſſors, and engage their States in an offenſive and provoking War, did therefore not only deny to ſecond, or abet his deſigns with Military ſuccours, but poſitively commanded him to retire, and deſiſt from his reſolution againſt *Caniſia*; with which Anſwer, the Zeal and Spirit of *Serini* was ſo inflamed, that throwing in paſſion his Cemiter on the Ground, he raiſed his well-formed Seige, and retired to his proper Reſidence at *Chiacaturno*.

—is forbidden by the Emperor.

The *Tranſilvanians* conſult their ſafety.

The loſs alſo of *Varadin* moved the *Tranſilvanians* to conſult their ſafety in this extremity of their Affairs, which now amidſt theſe dangers and ſtorms which threatned them, appeared in a deſperate and languiſhing Condition, unleſs remedied by a deſperate Cure, and the reſolves of ſome wiſe and valiant Counſel. Wherefore in the firſt place, they concluded to depoſe *Acatius Barclay*, the Favourite of the *Turks*; and in his ſtead they conſtituted *John Chiminianus*, or *Kemenius*, the late General of *Ragotski*'s Army. In the next place, they made their Addreſſes and Applications to the Emperor for aſſiſtance, ſupplicating, as *Ragotski*, and thoſe of *Varadin* had done before, the powerful protection, and ſacred Patronage of the Imperial Eagles, alledging thoſe Arguments of common ſafety, and mutual intereſt, which apparent reaſon ſuggeſted, and which were the preſent Subject and Theme of all the Courts in *Chriſtendom*. To this Demand the Emperor aſſented, promiſing readily his aſſiſtance, but with Proviſo, that for his ſecurity, the Cities of *Zechelhid*, *Chowar*, *Julia*, and other places, ſhould receive Gariſons of *German* Soldiers. The *Tranſilvanians* willingly accepted the Propoſitions, ſo that ſoon after thoſe places were ſupplied with *German* Gariſons. But as yet no effectual Forces came from the Emperor, nay rather the *German* Councils ſeemed willing to perſwade the *Turks*, that there was no deſign, but to maintain the ancient, friendly and amicable Correſpondence; to which end it is ſaid confidently, that the Prince *Gonzaga*, wrote to the Paſha of *Buda*, That thoſe Gariſons ſent to poſſeſs certain places of *Tranſilvania*, were only in appearance, and not to create Diſſentions between the *Auſtrian* Court, and the *Ottoman* Prince; which Letters *Ali* Paſha ſent to the *Tranſilvanians*, with deſign, that diſcovering unto them an evident reaſon to diſtruſt the Emperor, they ſhould wholly reſign themſelves to the good will and diſpoſition of the Port. But notwithſtanding, theſe verbal aſſurances prevailed not ſo much with the *Turks* on one ſide, as the *German* Gariſons adminiſtred jealouſie on the other: So that the Vizier raged furiouſly againſt the Emperor, for encouraging *Kemenius*, who had treacherouſly murdered his two innocent Brothers in his Rebellion againſt *Barclay*, the only true and lawful Poſſeſſor. Nor did the *Turks* only vent their anger and diſdain in words, but alſo by the ſad and calamitous effects of War; paſſing without farther parly into the Emperors Dominions in *Hungary*, where they put all to fire and ſword. Count *Serini* perceiving evidently hereby that the War was broken forth, and that it was not longer time to ſtand at a gaze, and not make neceſſary Proviſions for defence; about the beginning of *June*, he laid the foundations of a Fortreſs on the Banks of the River *Muer*, within the Dominions of the *Turks*, about a League diſtant from *Caniſia*, and in memory of his Family and Name called it *Serinſwar*, a place convenient to aſſault, and offend the Enemy, and to fix the Bulwark, or Redoubt, of the Province of *Stiria*, which work was laid with that ſecreſie, and executed with ſuch expedition, that it was almoſt finiſhed before it was known, or notice taken thereof by the *Turks*; but ſo ſoon as it was diſcovered, and the News arrived at *Conſtantinople*, the old Vizier *Kuperlee* ſtormed with rage, and in his height of paſſion, ſigned a Command for ſtrangling the Paſha of *Caniſia*, for not timely preventing the Erection of that Fort in its beginning. In like manner this work was an occaſion of diſguſt at *Vienna*; for though the *Turks* were the firſt who had broken the Peace, and given juſt cauſe to the Chriſtians to provide all cautions imaginable for their ſafety; Yet I know not why, nor wherefore, there wanted not certain perſons in the Court either emulous of *Serini*'s Glory, or zealous of the Emperors Intereſt, who interpreted the activeneſs, and forward heat of this Count to be like fire to enflame the Fuel of Controverſie between the two Empires; yet certainly we cannot but meritoriouſly applaud the Heroick Spirit of this Prince, who was provident of his Countries ſafety, watchful of the Enemies Motion, ſoon touched with the ſenſe of the *Mahometan* infidelity, and in fine, a zealous Champion of the Chriſtian Cauſe. But now, with what Salve or Baſſome ſoever the *Italian*, or *Spaniſh* Chirurgions of Politick Government, imagined to obduct a callous over the ſmarts or wounds of theſe differing States; the Breaches grew every day too wide to be drawn up, or cemented by artificial compliances, or verbal lenitives; for now the ſuccours promiſed by the Emperor were arrived in *Tranſilvania*, under the Command of Count *Montecuculi*, and joining with the Forces of *Kemenius*, formed ſuch a numerous, and well compoſed Army, as was judged not only ſufficient to contend for the intereſt of the Chriſtian Cauſe, but alſo for the entire deciſion of the Worlds Dominion: So that both Generals with an unanimous conſent, confident of Victory, agreed, not to expect the approach of *Ali* Paſha, but boldly to meet and provoke him to Battel.

They beg aſſiſtance of the Emperor.

Prince *Gonzaga*'s Letter to the Paſha of *Buda*.

Count *Serini* builds a Fortreſs on the *Turks* Dominions. 1661.

The juſt commendation of Count *Serini*.

The Emperor ſends Forces to *Tranſilvania*.

Ali the *Turkiſh* General perceiving the ſtrength and reſolution of the Chriſtians, thought it prudence for a while to detract from Engagement, and temper the uſual mettle of the *Ottoman* fury with cooler Counſels of advantage, which delays and opportunities of time would adminiſter: for obſerving that the *Tranſilvanians* were divided into Factions, he humoured the diſſenting party, by conſtituting *Michael Apaf* their Prince; a perſon in the flower and ſtrength of his Age, of great parts and abilities; and one who violently affected

The *Turk* Policy.

1661. affected the Principality, having but lately purchaſed his freedom from ſlavery. In this manner *Apaſi* paſſing from his Priſon and Chains, to the glory and trouble of a Throne, poor *Tranſilvania* remained divided, and taking Arms againſt her ſelf, went daily working and contriving her own ruine. This hath always been the Maſter-piece of the *Turkiſh* Policy, and this diſunion amongſt Chriſtians hath availed the *Ottoman* Intereſt more than their Swords, and confirmed their obſtinacy in Religion with a Miracle, as if the diviſion of Chriſtian Princes (which in late Ages have fruſtrated the holy deſigns againſt this common Enemy) had been an effect of their Prayers; and a Conceſſion of Divine Providence to their daily Petitions. So now the *Tranſilvanians* being divided, great numbers of them revolted from *Kemenius* to *Apaſi*, which not only weakned, but diſcouraged the Chriſtian Army with fear and confuſion; amidſt of which, *Ali* Paſha took his time to aſſault them, not far from *Cladiopolis*; and being aſſiſted by the advantagious conjuncture of the preſent opportunity, ſo wholly diſcomfited them, that he killed and took 50000 perſons, which was the Iſſue of the preſent union, and the excluſion of *Kemenius*, who was now forced to abandon *Tranſilvania*, and ſeek his refuge in *Hungary*.

Kemenius routed.

Howſoever *Kemenius* could not here reſt ſatisfied, but revolving in his mind certain ways to recover his Principality, obtained from *Monteeuculi* ſome *German* Troops; with which, and with his own ſcattered Forces, which at length he had collected into a Body, he reſolved to try his Fortune once more with the *Turks*; and joining Battel with them, not far from *Presburg*, he fought with a reſolution becoming the deſperateneſs of his deſign; either that day to Die, or to Triumph. The Fortune of that days conflict remained a long time doubtful; ſo equal they ſeemed on both ſides to be in their Courage, in their Force, and in their Conduct, until at length the advantage of the *Turks* number prevailing, *Kemenius* was forced to a diſorderly retreat, and afterwards to a confuſed flight; in which, being by one of his own Soldiers knocked from his Horſe, was trampled under foot, & the greateſt part of his People remain'd a Sacrifice to the enraged Weapons of the *Turks*.

Kemenius a ſecond put time to flight

Apaſi's party being greatly encouraged with this ſucceſs, joining with a body of the *Turks*, laid Siege to *Claudiopolis*, the Court of the *Tranſilvanian* Princes, now Gariſoned by *German* Soldiers, and Governed by *David Retani*, a right valiant and truſty Soldier, who omitting nothing which might conduce to the defence and maintenance of the Town, either by his care or valour, made many ſucceſsful Sallies upon the Enemy, and tired and wearied them out in their Siege; until at length General *Schenidau* then in *Hungary*, gathering what force he could, which were not above 6000 Men, marched with all haſte poſſible to the relief of *Claudiopolis*; the report of whoſe approach arriving the *Turkiſh* Camp before his Perſon, or Army, and the common rumour and fear augmenting much their number; the *Turks* were ſo terrifyed hereat, that in haſte and diſorder they forſook their Siege after three Months continuance; leaving great quantities of Victuals behind for want of Carriages, and Beaſts of burden. *Schenidau* having gained this ſucceſs and honour with ſo much facility, he reinforced the Gariſon, and returned with Triumph home; carrying with him great Booties of Cattle and other ſpoils of the Enemy. The defence of this place was accounted almoſt miraculous; for beſides that the Fortifications were after the Ancient Model, it was unprovided of Cannon and other warlike Ammunition; and therefore we are not to paſs by the Governour *Retani* without due Commendations; whoſe valiant and generous ſpirit, with courage equal to his diligence, knew how to fortify and to defend his Walls; For out of the Town Bells he founded his Artillery; he daily wearied the Enemy with Sallies, ſurpriſed one of their Batteries, which moſt annoyed the City; compoſed the Mutinies of the Citizens within; and in ſhort, againſt the Opinion of all, he defended and maintained it in the poſſeſſion and right of the Emperor.

Claudiopolis beſieged.

The *Siege* raiſed.

Claudiopolis being thus relieved, the *Turks* ſtomached inwardly the diſgrace, and yet thought it prudence for the preſent to diſſemble; and therefore upon ſome addreſſes made for Peace from *Tranſilvania*, and certain Propoſitions tendered by the *German* Reſident; the Vizier counterfeited his inclinations thereunto ſo far, that he prohibited all farther Acts of Hoſtility upon the Frontiers.

Notwithſtanding which, the rumour at this time running, of a Combination of all Chriſtendom againſt the *Turk*, with Men or Money, forwarded by the endeavours of the Pope, and the contrivances of *Venice*, encreaſed the former jealouſy, and cauſed the Skirmiſhes on the Frontiers to be more hot and frequent: And the Vizier being froward and cholerick, and by nature jealous; matters had immediately proceeded to an open rupture, had not the *German* Reſident, by his Moderation and Prudence, repreſented affairs in the ſmootheſt guiſe of Peace, and delayed the War rather than compoſed it; ſo that this whole Summer was ſpent in diſputes, meſſages, and debates on both ſides.

The Turks jealouſy.

The Vizier deſigning this War in his Eye, and deſirous to comply with the vagrant humour of his Maſter, who was weary of his *Seraglio* at *Conſtantinople*, reſolved to tranſfer the *Turkiſh* Court to *Adrianople*, ſo that toward the end of *June* they entered their Tents without the City. But before they could diſpoſe their affairs for to depart, the Plague, which is the Epidemical Diſeaſe of this Country, and the common diſtemper of the Summer Seaſon, began to break forth and diffuſe it ſelf through all parts of the City; that in a ſhort time the Keys of many Houſes were brought to the Grand Signior for want of Pretenders and Heirs ſurviving to poſſeſs them: In greater Houſes of Paſha's and others, where have been a Hundred and fifty perſons, ſcarce five have remained alive for burial of the others; what the fury of that Mortality might be, was beſt conjectured by the daily account was kept of the Corps carried out of the City, by the Gate only of *Adrianople*, which for ſome Weeks amounted (I ſpeak moderately) to Twelve or thirteen hundred a Day; it being obſerved amongſt the *Turks*, when above a Thouſand in a Day are carried forth Dead by that Gate, that then Prayers are to be made to Almighty God to withdraw that heavy judgment. At which time the *Greek* and *Armenian* Patriarchs are likewiſe deſired to offer up their Devotions, and intercede with God for mitigation of the Peſtilence; and the ſame Day in a Field called *Okmaidan*, do all aſſemble, though divided apart, to pray againſt the common Calamity, it not ſeeming vain to them, that every one ſhould call upon his God. Nor did the Plague rage only in the City, but the Ships and *Turks* Saykes were infected in parts remote on the Black Sea, and the *Propontis*, ſo that above a Hundred Sail were reported to be lodged at ſeveral Ports for want of Seamen to navigate them home. The Camp alſo where the Grand Signior, and Vizier remained, was not exempted from this common

The *Turkiſh* Court removes to *Adrianople*.

A great Plague at *Conſtantinople*.

1661. Contagion, for the neceſſary intercourſe between that and the City communicated the evil equal unto both, ſtrowing the ways with dead Bodies, in that manner as repreſented a paſſage conducting to a Cœmetery, or Charnel-houſe, rather than to a Martial Camp or Court of a Great Emperor. This mortality haſtned the Grand Signior with his Army and Attendances into a better Air, the Vizier was to follow a few days after, but before his departure he ſetled and conſtituted his Son *Chimacam*, or Governour of *Conſtantinople*. Things in this confuſion and haſte not being well provided for, the Grand Signiors reception at *Adrianople* cauſed him to prolong his Journey by taking a compaſs round by the Caſtles at the mouth of the *Helleſpont*, and from thence went to *Dimotochum*, where having lingered out eight or ten days more, he made a ſolemn entrance into *Adrianople*, which will for ſome years following be diſcourſed in this Hiſtory as the Seat of the *Ottoman* Empire.

The time of this great Mortality was no ſeaſon for us to move in buſineſs or action, we and all other Chriſtians avoiding common converſation, every one conſulting his particular ſafety. Howſoever two buſineſſes brought our Lord Ambaſſador to Town from his Country Retirement. One was to obtain juſtice from the Vizier, on two miſcreant *Turks* who had committed a Robbery on his Page and Steward, as they were drinking at a Fountain near a place called *Bauchaſarai*, a Village inhabited by *Greeks*; the Steward by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe eſcaped, but the Page being ſickly and weak fell into their hands, and was grievouſly wounded by them. Complaints hereof being made to the Grand Vizier, he ſeemed much concerned at the evil treatment of the Ambaſſadors ſervants; and therefore ſent the Nayp of the Kadi of *Galata* to take notice, and write down the Wounds which the Page had received; and at the ſame time diſpatched Officers into all parts adjacent, to take the Thieves, and to examine, and torment the people in places where it might be ſuſpected only that they were harboured, and that nothing ſhould be neglected in order to this diſcovery. It is incredible with what diligence, ſeverity, and violence this command was executed, the people in the Villages where they had lodged or been, or but paſſed through, were all ſeized; and the men examined under the Cudgel, with Drubs on their feet; the men, women, and children of *Baucha-ſarai* were carried, and ſome of them in Chains, to our Ambaſſadors Houſe at *Pera*; and all the Countries round were ſo ill treated, that their common ſafety was concerned in the taking of theſe Thieves, and the allarum was by this time ſo far ſpread, that it was more preſſing and urgent than our *Hue-and-Cry*; in ſhort, one of the Thieves was taken; and he diſcovered the abode of his Companion, and both were brought to our Ambaſſadors Houſe, and there put into the Stocks, laden with Chains, and guarded by the *Turkiſh* Officers. The next day they were carried before the *Stambol-Efendi*, or Recorder of *Conſtantinople*, they confeſſed the fact, and Hoget or Sentence paſſed upon them, which by Law could reach no farther than to the Gallies; but being brought before the Vizier, he had a mind to ſtretch the Law, and their necks to a farther extent, and ſo without other demur calling the Hang-man, ordered him to put Ropes about their necks, and to carry them to the Lord Ambaſſador, following his directions for their execution; and ſo accordingly one was hanged by the Fountain, and the other on a Tree at the entrance into the Village of *Bauche-ſarai*. This Exemplary juſtice raiſed the reverence, and fear of the Country-people towards our Ambaſſador unto that degree, that during the time of the Earl of *Winchilſea*, nothing of this nature ever paſſed again, but on the contrary, the Paiſants, and the people in the Countries round, honoured and feared him like one of their Paſha's, or great men.

The G. Viziers juſtice towards our Ambaſſador.

1661.

The other buſineſs was of a different nature relating to the Emin, or Cuſtomer of *Aleppo*, who being diſmiſſed of his Employment was now come to *Conſtantinople*; before his departure from *Aleppo*, he had demanded of our Merchants there 16000 Dollars for Arrears of Cuſtom due to him, on Silk and other Goods; his pretence was falſe and unjuſt, howſoever it being uſual for *Turks* upon every demand to gain an advantage, the matter was compounded with the Sum of 2500 Dollars, and ſo the Cuſtomer departed with an appearance of perfect ſatisfaction; notwithſtanding which coming to *Conſtantinople* he renewed his pretenſions again, and by the favour of the *Reis-Efendi* or Secretary of State, ſo proceeded in his buſineſs, that the Lord Ambaſſador was forced to make a ſecond compoſition with 2000 Dollars.

The Grand Signior and Vizier, as we ſaid before, being now at *Adrianople*, the Viziers Deputy, called by the name of the *Caimacam*, governed *Conſtantinople*, to whom our Ambaſſador, according to cuſtom made a viſit, preſenting him with eight Veſts.

Likewiſe in abſence of the Vizier, it being uſual for the Ambaſſador to make a Viſit to the *Boſtangee-Baſhee*, or Head of the Gardiners; his Excellency paſſed that Complement on him, and preſented him with four Veſts. This perſon though entitled Head-Gardiner, is yet of great power, making a conſiderable figure at Court; for he not only commands all the Gardiners belonging to the many *Seraglio*'s of the Grand Signior, which are very conſiderable in number, but his Juriſdiction reaches all along the *Boſphorus*, and commands the Villages, Woods and Countries at a far diſtance, ſo that he may in *Engliſh* be compar'd to the chief Ranger.

It was now towards the Winter, when this Vizier *Kuperlee*, finding himſelf mature with Age, and ready to fall like Autumn Fruit, ſent for his Son from *Conſtantinople* to bear a ſhare with him in the Burden of the Empire. This he did with the conſent of the Grand Signior, for he alledged, that being now feeble and decayed, he could not make his perſonal Addreſſes as formerly, nor attend at the Court to render his Majeſty an account of his Affairs; and therefore had need of ſo truſty a Meſſenger as his Son, to carry his advices and directions, and faithfully to communicate what he ſhould encharge to his Relation; all others being on ſome conſideration or other ſuſpected, and at leaſt Enemies to him, or to the Grand Signior. The Sultan accepting the propoſition and the Perſon, had often occaſions of diſcourſe and familiarity with the Son, called *Ahmet*, who deported himſelf with that faith and prudence in the management of all his Affairs, that the old Vizier had no great difficulty to procure a Grant of ſucceſſion for him in that Office: For though there were many obſtacles therein, as the abhorrency of the *Turkiſh* Policy from all hereditary ſucceſſion in places of truſt; and the Youth of his Perſon, not exceeding thirty two years of Age, and ſome emulous, powerful, and ancient Competitors, who hated the Father; Yet the old Fox had ſo ingratiated himſelf with his Maſter, for (to ſpeak truly) he had been the only inſtrument that had preſerved him and his

Kuperlee ſends for his Son.

Procures Succeſſion for his Son.

Empire

1661. Empire from falling into as many Diviſions as there are Paſhalicks, or Governments, that the Grand Signior gave credit to him as to an infallible Oracle, aſſuring him that before any other, who might either pretend Merit, Age, or Precedency, his Son ſhould be preferred to the Succeſſion. The old Man acknowledged the favour with all humility and thankfulneſs, declaring, that he had now ſerved his Majeſty faithfully for the ſpace of five years, a longer proportion than commonly Viziers had managed that Office, in ſuch tempeſtuous and diſtracted times, who either for their own offences, or want of Providence, or good Conduct, have made ſhipwrack of their own lives, and the Charge they piloted: But he had lived in the worſt of times, when the ſpirits of men with diſcontent were enflamed round about him, and threatned the ruine of their Prince and Empire; and yet had reduced things to compoſure, and to the obedience of the *Ottoman* Yoke, that now he that was the Sultan might incline his Head to reſt with ſecurity, and enjoy his paſtimes and pleaſures, without being interrupted by thoſe Conſpiracies, which deſtroyed his Father, and endangered him in his years of Infancy. And becauſe the continuance of his Security and Glory depended on the execution of certain Maximes, which he had framed to himſelf, he was chalking out to his Son ſuch undoubted Rules and Doctrines of Government, as would certainly tend to the glory and proſperity of the Empire, being abundantly ſatisfied that his Son was faithful, prudent, and active. But three things he particularly recommended to his Majeſty.

Procures the Succeſſion for his Son.

Rules given to the Grand Signior.

1. Never to give Ear to the Counſels and Advices of Women.

2. To amaſs what Treaſure he could poſſible into his Coffers, though with Oppreſſion, and impoveriſhment of his People.

3. To be continually on Horſe-back, and keep his Armies in conſtant Action.

Kuperlee dies.

On the 19*th* of *October*, *Kuperlee* having ended his days, whoſe Diſeaſe was Old Age, and a Gangrene in his Legs, his Son by Hatteſheriff, or the Grand Signior's Parent under his hand, taking the Seal, was conſtituted Vizier in the place of his Father, to the admiration and diſappointment of the graver Seniors, who were diſcontented, not only to perceive themſelves neglected, but that perſon alſo to ſupplant them, who was judged uncapable of the Office, according to the Canon, and ancient Precedents of this Government.

The Body of *Kuperlee* was tranſported to *Conſtantinople*, where in his life time he had erected a very ſtately and magnificent Structure, and his Monument over the Grave, or Vault, where he deſigned to be interred. In his life time he had filled it with Corn, which daily was diſtributed to the poor, and being emptied after his death, received his Corps, over which a ſmall Moſch was endowed with Oyl for Lamps, and maintenance of certain Taliſmans and Sofaes, to make Prayers and Offerings for his Soul.

Paſha of *Magnaſia* cut off.

The Father being thus interred, *Ahmet* his Son began to contrive his own eſtabliſhment, and to ſettle his Greatneſs on the foundation of his Fathers Rules of Policy, from whom not to degenerate in cruelty of Nature, or leave his Legacies unpaid to thoſe he had proſcribed, he in the firſt place ſacrificed the Blood of the Paſha of *Magnaſia* to his Fathers Ghoſt, with ſome other petty attendences; ſo that the World perceived that they had changed the Vizier, but not his tyranny, or at leaſt the ſame ſpirit of the Father ſeemed to be renewed, tranſmitted again into the Perſon of the Son. But more difficult it was to obtain the like ſucceſs againſt *Mortaza*, the Paſha of *Babylon*, and the *Kayab-begh*, or Lieutenant General of the Janiſaries, who were long before (as we have ſaid) marked out for deſtruction by his Father. For the firſt was the moſt powerful Paſha of all *Aſia*, vigilant, and active, and had done and merited great rewards from his Maſter, and particularly in decoying, and cutting off the Head of the Grand Rebel *Aſan* Paſha, who dared the Sultan at the Gates of his Seraglio; but underſtanding the ill will of the Houſe of *Kuperlee* againſt him, ſtood always on his Guard, lodging without the Wall of the City, and under the protection of his Arms and Souldiers, who were greatly affected to the generoſity of his Perſon; ſo that, though many attempts were made upon him, and that Officers, or Executioners came from the Court, openly tendring from the Sultan the Preſent of a Sword, and Veſt of Sables, the uſual Signals of the *Ottoman* Grace, but privately bringing a Bowſtring, or a Halter; yet they were all entertained at a diſtance, and returned again with the ſame diſſimulation they had uſed in their feigned Addreſſes. In like manner the *Kayab-begh*, an ancient, prudent, and experienced Commander, beloved by the Soldiery, and ſecured by the Priviledge of his Office, (for a *Kayab-begh* cannot be cut off during his Command, without infringement of the honour and order of the Janiſaries) preſerved ſtill his Station, and Command in deſpight of the Viziers hate and endeavours. But what could not be done by meer virtue of the abſolute Power, was effected under the appearance of honour and favour of the Sultan, who by his Royal Commiſſion, having made him Paſha of *Damaſcus*, he was at the ſame inſtant deprived of his Military Power and Priviledge, and lay now naked and expoſed to the Arbitrary Pleaſure and will of his Adverſary. Nor could his prayers or tears incline the Grand Signiors mind to reverſe his Order, who, together with the Vizier, rather inforced it with the ſpecious pretext of Favour and Grace for his former merits, and with commendation of his Abilities agreeable to the importance of ſo conſiderable a Government, encreaſed the juſt ſuſpicion of *Solyman*, (for ſo the *Kayab-begh* was called) not being ignorant of the *Turkiſh* Proverb, A *Kayab-begh* is like a Fiſh in the Water, which out of its Element immediately dies. Howſoever, *ut finis omnium cum dominante, grates agit*, he acknowledges the favour of his Maſter, and gave thanks for it, according to the Duty of a good Subject, who ought to acquieſce in the ſentence of his Prince, which, though never ſo full of ſeverity, ought to be believed, and called Clemency. The Vizier now haſted *Solyman* Paſha to depart with all expedition, not allowing him above Four or Five days time to make preparation for ſo long a Journey, which otherwiſe he would have prolonged, as one, like the reſt of Mankind, deſirous to protract the thread of Life, imagining that in his journey, at ſome diſtance, where his Death might be moſt obſcure, and leaſt noted, the Edict of the Grand Signior might overtake him, and find a Grave for him in ſome ſolitary Deſert, or unfrequented Mountain. Wherefore he made one Day an Addreſs to the Vizier, under pretence of taking his laſt farewel, and freely acquainted him with his apprehenſion and his

Solyman Paſha in diſgrace.

Tac. Lib. 14. *Ann.*

1661. fears, desiring that he would deal as frankly with him, in letting him know the utmost of his Fate, for that now he was in his hand, and was so good a Proficient in the *Mahometan* Religion, as to oppose nothing which was his Destiny, or inconsistent with the Decree of the Sultan. The Vizier reverencing the Years, and pitying the Condition of so worthy a Commander, abased solely by his Power, bid him be of good cheer, assuring him of his Life, so long as he acted nothing contrary unto his, which he confirmed by Vows, and all imaginable Protestations, encouraging him to proceed forward to his Government with those cheerful Words and Assurances, that *Solyman* Pasha taking his farewel with more ease of mind, and confidence of Life, departed *Adrianople* in three days after his designment to the new Office: But not many days Journey had he advanced into *Asia*, before the Grand Signiors and Viziers Commands overtook him, altering his design for *Damascus*, and instead thereof ordered him a Pilgrimage unto *Mecha*, and exile into the remote and desert parts of *Arabia*, until he should be thought worthy to be recalled by that power which banished him. In like manner some few days after, the Mufti being on a *Friday* seated in his place, in the Mosch of Sultan *Selim* (a very noble and famous Fabrick) and attending there the Grand Signiors entrance, that he might begin his Prayers, was unexpectedly whispered in the Ear, that he should retire and give place to another Mufti; which immediately he obeyed, and in four hours departed *Adrianople*, being banished to *Gallipoli*, for his Friendship (as was supposed) to *Solyman* Pasha, and for not passing the *Fetfa* for his Death, according to the will and desire of the Grand Signior.

He is sent away.

During the Transaction of these affairs in divers parts, the Wars against the *Venetians* were carried on faintly; the Gallies had no other design, or employment, than to transport recruits of Men and Ammunition to *Canea*, that so the *Turks* might rather keep the ground that they had gained in that Island, than add thereunto by new Conquests, until such time as that being freed from other Wars, they might have leisure and opportunity to attend unto that alone. Accordingly the Captain Pasha set forth at the usual Season from *Constantinople*; and arrived at *Scio* with twenty three Gallies, besides his own called the *Bastard-Gally*, or Admiral; the advice of which, coming to the Captain-General of the *Venetians*, he hastned thither with all his Fleet to besiege him in the Port: but this seeming after some days a tedious work, and what might lose too much time; he resolved to depart from thence, and so leaving a sufficient Guard before the Port, he set Sail with two Galleasses, thirteen light Gallies, and seven Auxiliaries for the Coast of *Rhodes*; where his Brigantines advised, that the remainder of the *Turkish* Fleet were Anchored, and were taking aboard two thousand Soldiers for reinforcing *Canea*; but before the *Venetians* could arrive, intelligence was given them by the way, that the *Turks* were loosed from *Rhodes*, and were Anchored under the Island of *Patmos*; wherefore altering their course, they steered for *Nio*, and there watering their Vessels, sailed near to *Nixia*, where the Van-guard discovered five and thirty Gallies of the Enemy, which had made prize of a Tartana laden with Provisions designed for the *Venetian* Fleet, and having taken out her lading, had set her on fire. The *Venetians* having their Enemy in their Eye, gave them chase until the Evening, when the Night coming on, put an end to the pursuit: but keeping their course towards *Candia*, they had fight again of them the next Morning, and coming nearer, the *Turkish* Admiral put forth his Flag of Defiance, as if he intended to come to a Battel; but the Wind blowing hard, and the Sea increasing, both Fleets were separated until the Morning; when the *Venetians* discovered certain of the Enemies Gallies to Leeward of *Milo*, where bearing down before the Wind upon them, five of them ran ashore; one was sunk, and four were taken by the *Venetian* and *Maltese* Gallies, three of which fighting with great Courage and Valour, killed divers brave Cavaliers of one and the other Country. The men which ran the Gallies ashore at *Milo*, did it with design to secure themselves in that small Fort which the *Turks* possessed in that Island; but they were not able to withstand the valour of the *Venetians*, who having first recovered the Cannon of the Gallies which were ran ashore, with their rigging, and what else was useful, they set the Hulls on Fire; and immediately entering the Port, the Captain-General landed two hundred select men, and veterane Soldiers to besiege the Fortress, giving Orders to one *Manolacchi Macchiotti*, who was well acquainted with the *Turkish* Language, to summon them to a Treaty, the which they readily accepted, and were received to quarter at discretion of the General; the next Morning they were brought down to the Sea-Coast to the number of about nine hundred, amongst which there was a Janizar-Aga, a Bey of *Rhodes*, and three of *Constantinople*, besides Captains, and other persons of condition and quality. These Prisoners being divided into several Gallies and Ships, the *Venetians* departed, and cruising about the Coast of *Candia*, to hinder the importation of all succours, they encountered with *Antonio Priuli*, with a good Squadron of Vessels under his Command.

1661.

THE

THE HISTORY OF Sultan Mahomet IV. THE XIII. EMPEROUR OF THE TURKS.

The Second BOOK.

Anno Chriſti, 1662. *Hegeira*, 1073.

AT the beginning of this Year the People of *Algier* ſent Meſſengers and Preſents to the Grand Signiors Court, then at *Adrianople*, complaining againſt the Actions His Majeſties Fleet, under the Command of the Earl of *Sandwich*, had done againſt their Town and Caſtles, pretending thoſe Forts to be the Grand Signiors, and the Affront offered to him, as willing to intereſt him in thier Quarrels and Piracies. And that thier Addreſſes might be more graciouſly received, they brought with them certain Preſents, which tho in former times were Yearly, were now only as their Affairs required, and on this occaſion were doubled: for beſides their Preſents to the Miniſters and Officers of State; they brought to the Grand Signior a Ship made in Silver, beſet with Emrods, Rubies, and other Stones; fourteen young and hanſom Boys, and a Neger Eunuch for the *Seraglio*. But the Earl of *Winchelſea*, His Majeſties Embaſſador there Reſident, being then at Court, had ſo well prepoſſeſſed the Vizier with the Ground and Reaſons for the War, that the complaints of *Algier* were judged in no wiſe touching the *Ottoman* Intereſt, or the breach of Peace, any Impeachment of the good Correſpondence and Friendſhip which then intervened between the King of *England* and the Grand Signior. But their Preſumption to ſearch *Engliſh* Ships, and take out Strangers Goods, was objected as an Argument of their Diſobedience and Rebellion, contrary to the Grand Signiors Capitulations, which alſo was aggravated by their ill Treatment of the Grand Signiors Paſha, whom they had beaten, impriſoned, and caſt out of all Power and Authority; which ſevere Repreſentations ſo terrified and diſcouraged them, that they not only deſiſted from their Pretenſions againſt the *Engliſh*, but began to fear, leſt the Power and Intereſt of the Ambaſſador at Court, ſhould contrive ſome miſchief to their own Perſons.

Soon after this the Vizier eſteeming it neceſſary towards his better eſtabliſhment to gratifie the City of *Conſtantinople*, and the Grandees of the Empire, by the Grand Signiors return to his Imperial Seat, prevailed with him, (as a matter wholly neceſſary) to adorn and comfort that place by his Preſence; for now he began to declare a kind of abhorrency to it, in regard the memory of thoſe Rebellions which were nouriſhed in that place, to the Deſtruction of his Father, and to the great hazard and narrow eſcape after wards of himſelf, had taken that Impreſſion on his Fancy, that the Chamber of the Seraglio appeared melancholly and diſmal, and the Walks of his Garden ſolitary, and the noiſe of the Rooks and Daws amongſt his Trees, were like the croakings of Ravens or unlucky Birds. Howſoever the Vizier had ſo far entered into his Affection and Eſteem, that his Perſwaſions were ſtronger than his own abſolute Dominion; and prevailed ſo with him againſt the force of his own Fancy, that about the Equinoctial he began his Journey towards

The Gr. Signior perſwaded to return to *Conſtantinople*.

1662. towards *Conſtantinople*, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of his People: But by the way lingring out his time in Hunting and other Paſtimes of the Woods and Fields; it was the 30*th* of *March* before he made his Entry, for never was Prince ſo great a *Nimrod*, ſo unwearied a Huntſman as this; never was he at quiet, but continually in the Fields on Horſeback, riſing ſometimes at Midnight, to ride up the Mountains, that he might more early diſcover the Sun in the Morning; by which extravagant courſe of Life, he wearied out his Court and Attendants, who began to believe the amorous humour of the Father more ſupportable, than the wandring Vagaries, and reſtleſs Spirit of the Son. But not only were his Huntings tedious to his Court, but troubleſome and expenſive to the whole Country, which were all ſummoned in whereſoever he came, and ſometimes thirty or forty thouſand men appointed to beat the Woods for three or four days, carrying before them the compaſs of a days Journey about, incloſing all the Game and wild Beaſts within that Circuit, which on the day of the Hunt, the Grand Signior kills and deſtroys with Dogs, Guns, or any other way, with abundance of noiſe and confuſion; which Paſtime, tho lawful in it ſelf, and commendable enough in ſo great a Prince, yet the frequent uſe of it, was a burden and an oppreſſion to his People, whilſt in the Winter they paſſed many cold Nights in the Woods, and being unuſed to that hardſhip, many of them paid for their Emperors Paſtime with their own lives.

The Gr. Signiors extravagant Hunting.

The Vizier endeavours to eſtabliſh himſelf.

The Grand Signior being now at *Conſtantinople*, the Vizier judged not himſelf ſo well fixed in his Government, but that through the Malice of his powerful Enemies, who were familiar to the Grand Signiors Ear, he was then in danger to be ſhaken; the principal of which was *Kuzlir Aga*, or chief Eunuch of the Women of the *Seraglio*, who by means of the Valede, or Queen Mother, was ill-affected to him, being both inclined to prefer ſome Favourites of their own, for the Diminution and Eclipſe of the Viziers Power, one whereof was the *Tefterdar* Paſha, or Lord Treaſurer, placed in Office againſt the Viziers Approbation, which the Vizier underſtanding, made ſhort Work with him, depriving him of his Office, commanded him in a few hours to quit *Conſtantinople*.

But the Queen Mother, and *Kuzlir Aga* reſenting this Affront to their Favourite, reſolved to even ſcores in a piece of the like Nature: Wherefore they obtained for the Viziers *Kahya*, or Steward, the Paſhalick of *Darbiquier*, a rich and honourable Government, not for any diſaffection or hatred they had unto him, but only to deprive the Vizier of the Counſel and Aſſiſtance of ſo knowing and faithful a Servant; for he was a Perſon, who by his own Eſtate and Friends had raiſed the Houſe of *Kuperlee*, having in the time of his Poverty and Meanneſs lent him that Sum of Money, which gave him the firſt Riſe to his Richeſs and Authority; for Recompence and Intereſt of which, old *Kuperlee* made him his Steward, and ſhared to him his Honours and Proſperity; in which deporting himſelf towards all People with the ſame modeſty and evenneſs of Temper which he uſed in his former Condition, he procured no Enemies to his own Perſon, and ſuch as hated the Intereſt he ſerved, only wiſhing him diſobliged from it, ſo as to be able to diſpenſe their Malice on the Vizier, without concerning him in his Maſters ruin. This conſideration moved the angry Lady, and the envious Eunuch to vex their Adverſary by the removal of his moſt faithful Creature and Servant. 1662.

Mahomet Kahya now Paſha of *Darbiquier*, after a reaſonable and convenient time allowed him for his Preparations, being very rich, ſet forward towards his Government, with a very noble and numerous Retinue, having amongſt the reſt five hundred Perſons young, well mounted, and well armed; which notwithſtanding were not ſo ſtrong, but before they were advanced many days Journey into *Aſia*, were encountred by a greater force of bold and deſperate Robbers, who engaging with him, killed two hundred of his People on the place, rifled his Baggage, and conſtrained the Paſha himſelf to fly to the next City. This ſtrange and audacious Robbery produced many Commands and Orders for Seizure and Suppreſſion of Theives in the leſſer *Aſia*. And becauſe the cuſtom is, that ſomething muſt be done in Compliance with the Imperial Commands, many poor innocent Men were taken in the Fields and Mountains, and perhaps without any other Crime againſt them, than that they were not maſters of a thouſand Aſpers to bribe the Officers, were for want thereof ſent as Thieves to the Port, where without further Conviction or Tryal they were executed.

A notable Robbery.

The Vizier being thus weakned by the removal of his faithfulleſt Friend, his Condition was given over as deſperate by the generality of the World, and ſeveral appearances of Troubles ariſing from the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* parts, gave occaſion to the Queen Mother, and her Party, to diſparage his Abilities in the eſteem of the Sultan: Wherefore they exhorted him to imitate the Example of his Renowned Predeceſſors, who made uſe of their Viziers only to eaſe them from the troubleſom part of their Government, but did not entirely throw off the Knowledg and Privity of the important Tranſactions and State Affairs in the whole Empire. This Leſſon awakened the Grand Signior a little, ſo that he declined ſome days his Sports abroad, and Exerciſe on Horſe-back, and inſtead thereof paſſed much of his time in a *Chiosk*, or Garden-houſe on the Wall of the *Seraglio*, juſt oppoſite to the Viziers Gate, where his chief Buſineſs and Concernment was to obſerve ſuch as went in, or came out; and when at any time he eſpied thoſe enter, remarkable for their Attendance, of difference of Habit, he would ſend to know of the Vizier, what occaſion drew thoſe People thither, what their Buſineſs was, and the like, by which he gave himſelf that Satisfaction as to believe that he had now found the true way of inſpecting his Affairs, and taking care of his Empire. The Vizier was not inſenſible from whence this humour of the Gr. Signior proceeded, nor ignorant what ill Conſequences ſuch petty matters might produce; wherefore he reſolved, if poſſible, to reconcile the favour and good will of the *Valede*, or Queen Mother, but all his Addreſſes (it ſeems) were returned fruitleſs; ſo difficult was it to appeaſe the Malice of a feminine Spirit; and this malice She ſo ill concealed, that it was often ſaid by *Turks* of Quality and Judgment, That the Great Viziers Mother, who entertained a Familiarity with Spirits, as they believed, had by their Enchantments procured the Office of Vizier for her Husband and Son ſucceſſively, and prevailed ſtill to preſerve her Son in the favour of his Maſter, yet could not by force of Magick get Power or Dominion over the *Valede*; No Spells, it ſeems, had virtue enough to qualifie the Spirit of that angry *Juno*. Some hereupon judged, that the Vizier might

The Queen Mothers Enmity to the Vizier.

1662. might have thoughts to make Reſignation of his Office, and to content himſelf with ſome Paſhalick of a higher and more eminent Degree; but Apprehenſions and Jealouſies of their Dangers, and his own natural Ambition, ſoon ſtifled thoſe Conſiderations, reſolving to continue his Charge in Oppoſition to all the Difficulties and Dangers he might encounter. And perhaps he gave himſelf the ſame Counſel which the *Vitellian* Soldiers did to their General. *Nihil atrocius eventurum, quam in quod ſponte ruant, moriendum victis, moriendum deditis; id ſolum referre, noviſſimum Spiritum, per ludibrium & contumelias effundant, an per Virtutem.* Men who muſt dye, whether they yield or are conquered by force, have the ſame Fate; all the difference *is*, that the one dies with Valour and Reputation, the other with Reproach and Cowardice. But to execute this ſtout Counſel with Prudence and Wiſdom, he conceived it neceſſary, if poſſible, to reconcile the ſincere Friendſhip of *Samozade*, the *Reis Effendi*, or Chief Secretary of State, a Perſon the beſt practiſed of any, in the Affairs and Negotiations of the *Ottoman* Empire, and one much in the Eſteem and Favour of the Queen Mother, and in order thereunto treats him with more Familiarity and Condeſcenſion than was ordinary, or by many judged agreeable to the Greatneſs of a Grand Vizier; for always when he came into his Preſence, he aroſe up, calling him ſecretly Father, Tutor and Companion, in ſupporting the Burden of the weighty Government, and ſuch other Compellations, as the Grand Signior vouchſafed only to the Vizier: for tho this *Reis Effendi* was of the greateſt Abilities, and this preſent Vizier the moſt youthful and unexperienced of later Times, yet it may be accounted one ſpecial mark and token of his Prudence, in knowing how to elect ſo uſeful a Friend, and of his Policy in procuring his ſincere faithfulneſs towards him, and making him really his own. To which end he converſed much with him, communicated all his thoughts, freely demanded his advice, received his private Entertainments, and in fine, was wanting in no points of affable Courteſy and Compliance, whereby he might create him his own, contenting for ſome time himſelf with the name of Vizier, tho the other as one, who beſt knew how to manage it, enjoyed the Power.

Tacit. Lib. Hiſt. 3.

That is, of the *Hazoda*, or Royal Chamber.

The Chief Officers of the *Seraglio*, inſtigated by the Queen Mother to diminiſh ſomething the Power of the Vizier, put often the Grand Signior in mind, as a matter agreeable to his Dignity, to have a regard to his Government, which cauſed him more frequently than his humour ſerved, to betake himſelf to his *Choisk* over againſt the Viziers Gate, to make his uſual Obſervations; and perceiving ſome Chriſtians to enter the Court with red Calpacks or Caps, and yellow Shooes (prohibited to Chriſtians by orders of inferior Magiſtrates, but never until now thought worthy the Imperal Obſervance) immediately called for the Subaſhee or Conſtable of *Conſtantinople*, and from the Window commanded him with great Fury to enter the Viziers Court, and ſuch Chriſtians as he ſhould find there with yellow Shooes and red Caps he ſhould firſt beat, and then ſend uncovered and barefooted home. The Subaſhee armed with a Power in this matter as high as the Viziers, entered the Houſe without Complement or Licence, and encountring firſt the *Kapikahya's* or Agents of *Moldavia* and *Valachia* negotiating the Affairs of their Prince and Country, he rudely layed them down, and without Reſpect to their Perſons or Office, beat them on the Feet, tore off their red Stockins and Caps, and ſent them home with their Heads and Feet bare, derided by the People, and lamenting the Affliction of that Tyranny to which they were ſubjected. This inhumane Treatment of Perſons in a manner ſacred, was ſeconded by publick Proclamations, ſtrictly prohibiting all Chriſtians from wearing red Caps, yellow Shooes, ſcarlet Veſts, and the like; and *Janizaries* from the uſe of Hanjars or Daggers, and ſilk Turbants, upon pain of Death; which Order was ſo ſtrictly enjoyned, that the Corners of every Street were furniſhed with Officers to obſerve, and puniſh ſuch as were found to offend. The Grand Signior himſelf judged alſo the Execution of this Order of that importance, as to deſerve his own proper Care and Inſpection; wherefore walking abroad, as his manner was, in diſguiſe, with his Executioner at hand, encountred in the Streets an unfortunate Bridegroom, an Armenian, who that day, on priviledge of his Eſpouſals, had adventured to dreſs himſelf with yellow leathern Soks: nothing was, or could have time to be pleaded in his behalf, before the fatal Blow was ſtruck, which ſent him to his Grave inſtead of his Nupital Bed. This fury continued ſome few days with much rigour, and ſtrict obſervation, but afterwards growing cold again, all care was neglected, happening herein, as commonly it doth in all things, which have no other foundation than humour and fancy.

1662. The Gr. Signiors ſevere Prohibition of yellow ſhoes, and red Calpacks to Chriſtians.

But this inſpection into petty matters did not ſo much diſturb the thoughts of the Vizier, as did the power and greatneſs of *Mortaza* the Paſha of *Babylon*, by the Turks called *Bagdat*, a perſon of an undaunted Courage, and greate Conduct, whom he had hitherto ſuffered to live, contrary to the true knowledge of his intereſt, and the Rules his Father had left him: wherefore he reſolved to renew his deſign and attempts againſt his Life; one I remember was in *December* of the paſt Year, when in our Journey to *Adrianople*, we met a Meſſenger on the way, who amongſt other Diſcourſes informed us, that he was then going to *Babylon* for confirmation of *Mortaza*, and as a teſtimony of the G. Signiors favour and good will towards him, he carried him a Sword, and a Veſt of Sables: we immediatly, and that truly, gueſſed for what Preſent the Sword was ſent; for in ſome Months after the Chaous-baſhee, or chief of the Purſuivants, returned without delivery of his Preſent. For the wiſe *Mortaza* was ſo juſtly Jealous, that he would not ſo much as admit him to his Preſence, but returned him again with his Sword and Sables for thoſe who were more eaſy and credulous, and who believe to dye by Command of the Sultan to be Martyrdom, and the only Crown of all their Merits and Deſerts: and knowing that he could not long ſubſiſt in Oppoſition to ſo great an Enemy; he contracted an Alliance by Marriage with a Daughter of one of the *Gordean*, or *Curdean* Princes, and in Dowry had one of the ſtrongeſt Forts of thoſe Mountains delivered into his hands.

The Vizier ſeeks to cut of *Mortaza* the Paſha of *Babylon*.

The Vizier finding himſelf thus foiled in his occult Artifices, began publickly to profeſs his Enmity; and therefore in the firſt place perſwaded the Grand Signior, that the long continuance of *Mortaza* in that Government, beyond the uſual term, ſo Opulent and Powerful, and of a Spirit ſo Ambitious and Rebellious, could not but prove dangerous to himſelf, and in time give him Confidence of Competition for the whole Empire; which hazard to prevent with moſt prudence and advantage, (there being a preſent occaſion of good Soldiers for relief of *Candia*) *Mortaza* and his

1661. his Complices could not be better beſtowed than upon that Employment. The Grand Signior readily conſented to his Counſel, being naturally very apprehenſive of Danger, and in his place conſtituted the *Aga*, or General of the *Janizaries*, poſting him away with all ſpeed poſſible to his Government; who did not run ſo faſt in his Journey, but that the advices of the coming of a new Paſha, arrived timely the Ears of *Mortaza*, who judging it an unequal match to contend with the whole Empire, gave way to his Succeſſor, but withal, kept himſelf ſo on his Guard, that his Adverſary could not reach his Head, and ſend it as the firſt-fruits and Tribute of his new Office. For yielding up his command as in an honourable manner of Retreat, he gave out, that with his Army (reported to conſiſt of Forty thouſand Men) he was on his March to *Candia*, but ſoon after his deſign was diſcovered to be otherwiſe; for believing his own Force unable to contend with his Maſters, he retired with his richeſs, and ſome of thoſe moſt faithful to him, unto his Fort on the Mountains, and to the Protection and Country of the King of the *Curdi*, whoſe Daughter he had Married, and remained in Epectation of time and opportunity, to take his revenge on the Vizier, hoping that with time this ſtorm would blow over, and that the Beams of his Princes Favour would again ſhine upon him. *Curdi.* Theſe *Curdi* are called by ſome Writers *Cordiæi*, from whence the Province had the name of *Gordiene*, bordering on *Aſſyria*, the Kingdom once of *Zabienus*, who ſiding with *Lucullus* againſt *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, was by *Tigranes* murdered with his Wife and Children. Theſe People inhabit the Mountain *Amanus*, dividing *Syria* from *Cilicia*, which by reaſon of the difficult acceſs thereunto, was never yet ſubjected to the *Ottoman* Yoke; they are ſaid in former times to have worſhipped a black Dog, and dare not ſpeak ill of the Devil, not for love, but fear. But ſome report, that have lately been amongſt them, that they have left off that helliſh Superſtition, and embrace a certain ſort of Religion mixed with Chriſtianity and Turciſm; but yet without Baptiſm or Circumciſion. In brief, they are a bad ſort of groſs People at the beſt, contenting themſelves with little Religion, addicted to Blood and Robberies. Theſe *Curdi* or *Gordeenes*, being a people retired, keep within their Mountains, are ſhy in their Converſation and Diſcourſe, and afford us little ſubject, or opportunity of knowing with any Satisfaction, their Religion or Manners; but from ſuch of our Country-men, as have lately entertained Society with them, we have this account. They are ſeated on thoſe Mountains, as we have ſaid before, which of old are called *Cordiæi* or *Gordiai*, beginning near *Aleppo*, but running out as far as *Perſia*; they make ſhew of the *Turkiſh* Religion for fear, but have in reality another of their own, which permits them to eat Swines Fleſh, and drink Wine, as the *Druſes* and *Kalbeenes*; Bacon being eſteemed by them a particular Cordial, or Reſtorative for the Sick. The chief Country and City of thoſe near *Aleppo*, is called *Jeumee*, where they have a Convent of twelve Prieſts with a Superior over them; and another of the like ſort near *Moſul* or *Nineveth*. The two Chiefs of theſe Monaſteries meet at fixed times to conſult for the good of the Common-weal. Their Devotions are private in a Cave; they tell us of but one Book, which contains both their Law and their Rituals; being asked what they thought of our Saviour, they anſwered, he was their Breath, and their Soul; at the name of *Mahomet* they Spit, and with *Nicodemus* his Circumſpection and Aſſurance of Secrecy, 1661. they declared, themſelves and Chriſtians the ſame, which they would make appear ſo ſoon as they were delivered from their fear of Bondage to the *Turk*. They ſay that they worſhip God, and will not curſe the Devil, to which no Force or Power can compel them; partly, perhaps becauſe they have heard of our Saviours Precept, *Bleſs, and Curſe not*; but rather, becauſe they hold, that the Devil and his Followers ſhall one day be reſtored to their former ſeats of Bleſſedneſs and Dignity. When their Prieſts are together, and Wine brought in amongſt them, the Superior makes a ſign for Silence, and afterwards a ſhort Admonition, that Wine is the Blood of God. I have heard that a *Capuchin* Fryer was once invited amongſt them, with Promiſe to give him a ſight of their Book of Rituals, and being come to *Jeumee*, was detained a day or two in a Cave, on pretence that the other Superior of *Moſul* was then amongſt them, who being a ſevere Perſon, if he knew of his being there, would certainly put him to Death, as one who came to alter their Religion; upon which Suſpicion the *Capuchin* forgetting his Curioſity, fled for ſafety, with all ſpeed poſſible. Their Prieſts are ſaid to be Grave, wearing black throughout; their Garments plaited or quilted; the Veſtures of the Commonalty are agreeable to Mountainiers, whoſe Natures are Rough and Boiſterous, addicted to Blood and Robbery, the common Vice of thoſe People. I have heard, that the Son of a *Gourdeene* Widow being killed by ſome of that Country, She aſſembled her neareſt Kindred, and required them to bring her the Windpipe of the Murderer, which when they had done, She together with her Friends, eat it in Revenge. In fine, their Religion may have ſome ſmall Reliques of Chriſtianity, but mixt with the dregs of other Religions. 'Tis poſſible they may be of the *Manichee* Race. Their Opinion of the Devils Reſtoration, was once held in part by *Origen*: that of Wine (that it is the Blood of God) was the *Heatheniſh* conceit of the *Egyptian* Prieſts. Their whole Nation, if well united, may compoſe an Army of thirty or forty thouſand Men.

But to return to our purpoſe. The news of the Flight of *Mortaza* to this Ignoble Prince, troubled the Grand Signior, who ſtill retained *ſome Impreſſions* of kindneſs to his Perſon, remembring his Generoſity, Valour, and former Deſerts, the memory of which was encreaſed alſo by the Friends of *Mortaza*, who wanted not in the Court to repreſent them with ſome Compaſſion, arguing that his flight was not of Contumacy or Contempt to his Maſters Protection, but an effect of natural Preſervation; which worked ſo far on the Grand Signior, that he immediately ſent for the Vizier to enquire of him the State and Condition of *Mortaza*. The Vizier to defend himſelf, and make good what before he had counſelled his Maſter, aggravated his Adverſary's Crimes, and his Diſobedience and Flight to an inconſiderable King; with which, and ſome other light Excuſes and Perſwaſions, that the removal of ſuch a Perſon was agreeable to the preſent State of Affairs, and conducing to his own Security, eaſily pacified the Mind and Affections of the Grand Signior; but no ſooner was he returned to his Houſe, but advice was given him, that the *Emaum* of *Mortaza*, or his Prieſt or Chaplain, was then at *Conſtantinople*, whom the Vizier immediatly ſent for, and without any Plea or Indictment, ſtruck off his Head, and threw his Body into the Sea, on pretence that he was ſent thither, as a Spy for his Maſter, and to give Intelligence, and a

beginning

1662. beginning to Rebellion: Theſe were his colours and allegations for his deſerved Death; for Governours though never ſo wicked and ſo abſolute, and that have no need to render any other cauſe to the World of their actions, than their own will, yet eſteem it neceſſary to act under the ſpecious guiſe of juſtice, and in the good opinion of the multitude. The Aga of *Babylon* encountred the ſame Fortune; for *Mortaza* giving place, he thought it fit for himſelf to do the like; reſolving for *Conſtantinople*, but being intercepted in his Journey by the new Paſha, his Head was ſtruck off, and his Journey ſhortned.

But that which again renewed the trouble and fears of the Vizier, was a report that the late *Kahya-begh* degraded at *Adrianople*, was ſecretly returned to the City, and lived concealed, giving ſuch Orders to the Janizaries as tended to Mutiny and Inſurrection, and that the pretences and reports of his being gone to *Damaſcus*, and thence in his holy Pilgrimage to *Mecha*, were but all falſe ſtories to conceal his Reſidence at *Conſtantinople*. This ſet the Vizier all on fire, and made him tremble with the thoughts of it; wherefore ſearch was made for him day and night, but not found; for in reality he was gone on his deſigned Journey, only it was the misfortune of his Kahya, or Steward, as before it was of *Mortaza*'s Emaum, to fall into the Viziers hands, who being beaten to confeſs where his Maſter was, died afterwards of the blows.

But notwithſtanding that *Mortaza* was fled, yet the Vizier laid not aſide his fears and thoughts concerning him, not knowing how ſoon he might be recalled home, and ſeated in his place; of which various Examples are extant in *Turkiſh* Hiſtory; and therefore he ſent orders to *Mahomet* Paſha, his late Kahya, now Paſha of *Darbiquier*, as General (with the knowledge and conſent of the Grand Signior) and to the Paſhaws of *Aleppo*, *Erzirum* and others near adjacent, to prepare and aſſemble what Force was neceſſary to conſtrain the King of the *Curdi*, to ſurrender *Mortaza* into their hands: But whilſt theſe matters were in agitation, ſome unexpected troubles in *Georgia* diverted their Arms, and held them for ſome time in ſuſpenſe, not knowing what the iſſue might be.

The Provinces of *Georgia* in diſturbance.

The Original and Ground thereof was this: After *Sultan Solym* in had taken *Erzirum*, it was agreed in the Capitulations between the *Turks* and *Perſians*, that of the ſeven Provinces of *Georgia* (anciently called *Iberia*, but now as ſuppoſed to have received the Denomination from St. *George*, the Cappadocian Martyr, there had in great eſteem and reverence) three ſhould be tributaries to the *Turk*, and three to the *Perſian*, all govern'd by *Achic-baſh* as head and ſupream Prince, to whom the Seventh ſhould alſo be ſubjected, without acknowledgment to either; in payment of which Tribute, they continued moſt willingly, leſt for default thereof, the importation of Salt, of which their Provinces afford none, ſhould be hindred either from the *Turkiſh*, or *Perſian* Dominion. And now it happened that *Achic-baſh* dying, his Wife married again, who to gratifie her new Lover, was contented to have the eyes of her Son put out, who was the lawful Heir to the Government. This Fact was ſo hainouſly received by the Princes of the three Provinces under the *Perſian*, that with common conſent, they elected one to ſucceed *Achic-baſh*, and extorted the power out of the hands of the Amorous Traitor. The Princes of the three Provinces under the *Turk* alarm'd hereat, made inſurrection, reſolving rather than any Foreigner, to ſet up one of the Kindred of *Achic-baſh*, which the *Perſian* Provinces better underſtanding, approved likewiſe, and for confirmation; and maintenance of their choice, aſſembled an Army of Threeſcore thouſand men. The Paſhaws tending towards *Curdi*, were ſurprized in their March with the news of theſe diſturbances in *Georgia*, and not rightly apprehending the cauſes of theſe ſudden commotions, gave an arreſt to the progreſs of their Arms, inclining towards the parts of *Georgia*, to be in a readineſs to ſuppreſs all deſigns againſt the *Ottoman* Dominions, ſo that the thoughts of War againſt the *Curdi* was for ſome time laid aſide. The news of theſe troubles did alſo alarm the Port, with which alſo came a report, That ſix hundred Tents of the *Kuzilbaſhees* (which are the beſt ſort of *Perſian* Horſemen) were pitched nigh the Confines of the Grand Signiors Territories; ſo that Orders were diſpatched to the aforeſaid Paſhaws to watch the motion and iſſue of thoſe Affairs, but thoſe ſtorms blowing over by the eſtabliſhment of *Achic-baſh*, the *Turkiſh* Forces proceeded on their firſt deſign againſt *Mortaza*, marching to the paſs of the Country of the *Curdi*, which is very ſteep, aſperous and rough. The whole Kingdom being, as it were, one Mountain of dangerous and difficult acceſs, hath hitherto preſerved the Inhabitants from the *Ottomon* Subjection. The entrance thereunto being ſtrong by Nature, is alſo fortified with ſeveral Caſtles, the chief of which, poſſeſſed by *Mortaza*, is called *Zizri*, and the People there abouts *Zezidi*. The *Turkiſh* Army being arrived at this paſs, *Mahomet*, the Paſha of *Darbiquier*, appointed General, as we have ſaid before, ordered five hundred of his ſelect men to enter within the paſs, which the *Curdi* perceiving, with little oppoſition, put to flight, being ſo commanded by the General; the unadviſed *Curdi* eagerly purſuing the enemy, left the paſs naked, and undefended, ſuppoſing their whole victory and ſucceſs to conſiſt in the Rout of thoſe few: Whereupon the *Turkiſh* Army wiſely poſſeſſed the paſs, and got between the *Curdi*, and their place of Retreat, and laying the Siege to the Caſtle, required them either to ſurrender themſelves, or elſe *Mortaza* and his Complices into their hands.

The *Turks* Stratagem againſt the *Curdi*.

The *Curdi* perceiving themſelves thus hardly beſet, and in a manner defrauded, their Gariſon which poſſeſſed the paſs without the Confines, the Enemy gotten poſſeſſion of the Gate which opened to their Country, their Caſtles beſieged, and in danger to be gained, and an inlet made to an Inundation by their Enemies, cauſed them to requeſt a three days truce for Conſultation, which being granted, they began to conſider, whether it were better to hazard the welfare of their Country in a dangerous War, of which the *Turks* having already compaſſed the paſſage, had made half the Conqueſt; or to ſurrender up *Mortaza* to his own King, one in whom they had no part, no intereſt, nor relation. The latter Counſel was moſt generally pleaſing; wherefore they ſeized *Mortaza*, promiſing at firſt to conduct him through the Mountains to the *Perſians*; but afterwards being on Horſe-back, and about a Mile diſtant from the Camp, they bound his hands behind him, and with his Steward, the Maſter of his Horſe, and a Page, delivered him into the hands of the *Turks*, who immediately ſtruck off their heads, and ſent them to *Conſtantinople*, where for three or four days they lay before the Door of the Divan, with Inſcriptions on them whoſe they were, and afterwards were thrown into the Sea.

The ſurrender of *Mortaza* into the *Turks* hands, and his death.

1662. And thus ended this famous *Mortaza*, who had in like caſes, by order of this Viziers Father, been an active Executioner of other Paſhaws, and now included in the ſame Fate, by means of the Son, being proſcribed (as we have ſaid before) by Teſtament, and the moſt likely of any Paſha in the Empire to ſtand in competition for the Office of Vizier.

The Vizier upon this ſucceſs began to ſhew a more cheerful Countenance than formerly, ſuſpecting leſs of danger upon removal of ſo ſuſpicious an Enemy. And truly it was now hard to ſay where in the whole Empire was a generous, bold, or ambitious ſpirit remaining, who had Reputation and Authority enough to attempt a priority, ſuch havock was made by this Viziers Father of all hopeful and daring diſpoſitions, and ſuch an Addition made to the ſlaughter by this man in preſent Office, that whether mens ſpirits were vanquiſhed, and cowed with former Examples, or that the Age really afforded not ſuch Heroes, it is hard to ſay: None now appearing other than obſequious to this Vizier, and to fear, and court him.

The Vizier having thus ſucceſsfully contrived his Eſtabliſhment, and ſecurity at home, had time to confirm it by his Wars abroad, well judging that foreign Wars allay Civil Diſſentions, and the Proſperity thereof doth both produce reputation and terrour of his Perſon amongſt his Enemies, as well as reconcile affections, and increaſe Authority amongſt his ſubjects at home. Wherefore he meditated on a War againſt the Emperor, and was glad to embrace the occaſion from the late Diſturbances made in *Tranſilvania* by *Kemenius*, as we have related in the former Year. But yet like a crafty Politician, who looketh one way, and ſteers another; ſo the Vizier, that he might the better lull the *Germans* into a ſleep, and apprehenſions of ſecurity, he diſſembled his inclinations to Peace, and to hearken to ſuch propoſitions as were tendered him by the *German* Reſident, namely, that the Fort of *Serini* ſhould be demoliſhed; being built againſt the intention, and without the knowledge or conſent of his Imperial Maſter; that the Gariſons of *Zechelhid*, *Celoſwar*, and other places ſhould be removed, with other overtures, and the faireſt Propoſitions imaginable, which might give the *Turks* ſatisfaction, and by ſome means or other reconcile the differences, if poſſible. To which counſel the Emperor was the rather inclinable, in regard that a Treaty at that time was on foot between the *French* King, and the Duke of *Lorain* for *Alſatia*, and that the reſult might prove prejudicial to the Empire, ſhould he at the ſame time be engaged in a War againſt the *Turk*, whilſt as dangerous a friend as the other was an Enemy, crept eaſily into a ſuſpected Neighbourhood. But the other Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially *Rome*, and the Allies, engaged in the *Venetian* Quarrel, perceiving the Emperor to detract from his reſolutions of War, upon this ſuſpicion, endeavoured to clear him from all jealouſie in reference to the *French* deſigns, and for better evidence thereof, had their own engagements ſeconded by Proteſtations from that King, not only not to moleſt the Empire during this War, but to afford him conſiderable aid and aſſiſtance both in Men, and Money. Theſe Negotiations and incitements to a War, encouraged the Emperor, and the *German* Princes in that manner, that whilſt the *Turks* expected the return of the Currier from *Vienna*, as it were with an Olive Branch of Peace, and Confirmation of all Articles, which before were eſteemed to be concluded, and agreed; the Scene was wholly changed, and the Letters contained new demands and propoſitions, and in fine, made all doubtful and unſatisfactory. The *Turks* penetrating rightly into this Affair, preſſed hard to have a ſpeedy Peace, or War; wherefore the *Reis Effendi*, or Secretary of State, did at a private Conference with the *German* Miniſter in name of the G Signior, and in few words declare, That three months were allotted to demoliſh the Fort built by the Count *Serini*, and for coming of an extraordinary Ambaſſador to confirm the Articles: Notwithſtanding which, the Grand Signior unmindful of the time, and of the Conditions he had given, and prefixed for Peace, ordered the Vizier immediately to prepare for the War, declaring that he would in Perſon accompany him in part of his March, and remove his Court to *Adrianopie*; for this being a Country, champian, and plain, full of Game of all ſorts, ſo drew the heart and delight of the Grand Signior, that his Seraglio at *Conſtantinople* ſeemed as a Cage, or Priſon, in reſpect of thoſe deſired Plains of *Thrace*: His Women were no paſtime or recreation to him, in whoſe Apartments he ſpent little time: For this exceſſive humour in Hunting made him daily to preſs the Vizier to depart for *Adrianople*, not that he had ſo real a deſire to the War, as he had to his Game; which gave occaſion to that ordinary Saying amongſt the Turks, *That the Grand Signior had left ſome Hares behind him at* Adrianople, *and would return to ſeek them.* At length the Vizier not longer able to reſiſt his importunity without his diſpleaſure, ſummon'd a Council of all the Viziers of the Bench, where alſo the Janiſ. Aga was preſent, to conſult concerning the time of their departure, at which they unanimouſly concluded, that for divers Reaſons, it was moſt neceſſary to defer this expedition until the next Spring. Firſt, Becauſe that three months time were already given to the Emperor for ſending his Extraordinary Ambaſſador. Secondly, Becauſe in ſo ſhort a time, Proviſions could not be ſent into thoſe Parts for relief of the Camp. Thirdly, Becauſe the Souldiers which were abroad could not have timely notice to repair to their Colours. Fourthly, Becauſe many Souldiers had begun to rebuild their houſes deſtroyed by the late Fires, which by the Spring they might ſee finiſhed. And laſtly, That the Summer being now almoſt ſpent, was not ſo fit for action, as the Spring, which gives new life and blood to men, as well as ſap and moiſture unto Vegetables. Theſe Reaſons being repreſented with all humility to the Grand Signior, he ſeemed to reſt ſatisfied, and his heat of viſiting *Adrianople* for the preſent allayed. And in the mean time, that the deſign againſt *Germany* might be the more covertly carried, it was given out that the preparations were intended againſt the *Venetian* Territories in *Dalmatia*, (*viz.*) *Zara*, *Sebenico*, and *Cataro*, and Proclamation was made that all Souldiers ſhould prepare themſelves for the Wars againſt the next Spring. In which Interim no accident intervening which might bring matters to an accommodation and better underſtanding, the daily Skirmiſhes on the Frontiers made the Controverſie every day more difficult to be reconciled, and the breach the wider. The Count *Serini* alſo proceeded in finiſhing the Fortification he had lately raiſed near *Caniſia*; and the other Commanders of the *Ceſarean* Army ſeeing the great progreſs of the *Turks* in *Tranſilvania*, ſecured *Claudiopolis*, *Somoſwar*, *Sechilhid*,

1662.

The reſolution of War uncertain.

The Reaſon why the *Turks* deferred the War with the *German*.

1662. The ſad Condition of *Tranſilvania.*

Sechilbid, *Clewar*, alias *Coloſwar*, and *Betlem*, with ſome other Towns and Fortreſſes. The *Turks* on the other ſide, under the Command of *Ali* Paſha, penetrate into the very Center of *Tranſilvania*, and conceiving a jealouſie of War from the paſſages before mentioned, loſt no time to take their advantages, ſo that the Paſha of *Varadin* not contenting himſelf with that Country, and limits formerly preſcribed for maintenance of his Fortreſs, adjoined to his Juriſdiction what Villages and Towns he thought fit, the whilſt the poor Prince *Michael Apaſi*, though made by the Turks, durſt not lift a hand, or interpoſe the leaſt Obſtacle or Impediment to his quiet progreſs, or peaceable poſſeſſion, which ſo harraſſed the People of the Country, and wrought that miſery and deſtruction therein, that the Prince, deprived of his power in Government, and diſabled by oppreſſion to pay his Annual Tribute, had no hopes of redreſs, but from the aſſiſtance of Divine Providence, governing the hearts of Chriſtians and Turks to compaſſionate the miſery of his Country. Wherefore he craved the aſſiſtance of the Emperor, and of the King of *Poland*, acquainting other Chriſtian Princes more remote of the ſad eſtate of the Chriſtian Cauſe; he ſent alſo his Ambaſſadors to the Port with moſt ſubmiſſive Letters to the Vizier, complaining againſt the Paſha of *Varadin*, and craving his Commands for retirement of his Army, within their due and ancient bounds. Letters were alſo directed to the Publick Repreſentatives of Chriſtian Princes reſiding at *Conſtantinople*, one of which was directed to the Earl of *Winchelſea*, his Majeſties Ambaſſador, which being that which may conduce to the more full underſtanding of the preſent deplorable Condition of *Tranſilvania*, I thought fit to be here mentioned.

Excellentiſſime Domine, & Amice obſervandiſſime,

The Prince of *Tranſilvania*'s Letter to His Majeſties Ambaſſador.

AFflictiones Regni Tranſilvaniæ quibus per complures annos juſto Dei Judicio caſtigatur, toti Orbi Chriſtiano manifeſtæ ſunt, nec poſſumus non fateri, inter duos Potentiſſimos Monarchas adeo indies hoc Regnum coanguſtari, ut niſi extraordinaria Dei clementia aliquod ſubſequatur levamen, vix, immo ne vix quidem, diu duraturum credamus. Sed ut ad rem proximius collimemus. Potentiſſimus Imperator per Legatos Regni, & noſtros nunc reduces Clementiſſimum ſuum patrocinium pollicetur, interim autem Paſſa Varadinenſis non contentus Villis ac Pagis ad dictam Arcem pertinentibus, uſque ad meditullium plane Tranſilvaniæ, metu Mortis, integras ad deditionem cogit Regiones, quæ nunquam eidem Arci applicatæ fuerant, nec poſſible eſt Principatum Tranſilvaniæ iis ademptis, ulterius perſiſtere, Tributumq; annuum perſolvere poſſe. Qua de re tam Potentiſſimum Imperatorem quam Supremum Vezirium denuo requirere cogimur, veſtram quocirca Excellentiſſimam Dominationem confidenter rogamus, eo quo convenientius putaverit modo continuo noſtro Oratori opitulari, eaq; qua pollet Authoritate Cauſam promovere, ne gravetur rem non ſaltem Tranſilvaniæ, verum quoque Chriſtianitati perutilem factura, noſq; ad vincula amicitiæ arctiſſime devincturа, cui felicem vitam precamur; & manemus indubitati. 1662.

Datum in Caſtris ad Pagum *Koczard* poſitis die 26 *Septembris*, An. Dom. 1662.

Excellentiſſimæ Dominationis veſtræ
Amicus Benevolus,
Michael Apaſi.

In *Engliſh* thus.

Moſt Excellent Lord, and moſt worthy Friend,

'THe Miſeries of *Tranſilvania*, with 'which for many years, by the juſt 'Judgment of God, we have been afflicted, 'are manifeſt to all the Chriſtian World; 'nor can we but confeſs, how between two 'moſt Potent Monarchs, our Principality is 'ſo daily ſtraitned, that unleſs through the 'extraordinary Mercy of God, we obtain 'ſome relief, we believe not our ſelves 'longer able to ſubſiſt. But to come nearer 'to our Buſineſs. The Moſt Potent Emperor, by his own Ambaſſadors, and ours now 'lately returned, hath promiſed us his moſt 'Gracious Protection; yet notwithſtanding, 'the Paſha of *Varadin* not content with the 'Towns and Villages appropriated unto his 'Caſtle, hath entered into the very middle 'of *Tranſilvania*, and hath compelled, for 'fear of death, thoſe Provinces entirely to 'yield themſelves, which never before were 'belonging to his Fortreſſes, which being 'taken away, it is impoſſible for the Princi'pality of *Tranſilvania* longer to ſubſiſt, 'and pay its annual Tribute; wherefore we 'are conſtrained again to beſeech the moſt 'Potent Emperor, and the Supream Vizier, 'as alſo we confidently deſire your Excel'lency, in that manner which your Excel'lency judges moſt convenient, to be aſſi'ſtant to our Agent, and with your Au'thority to countenance our Cauſe, in 'which your Excelleney will not only per'form a matter beneficial to *Tranſilvania*, 'but to all *Chriſtendom*, and oblige us for 'ever with the Bonds of friendſhip; and 'praying for all happineſs of Life and Pro'ſperity to your Excellency, we remain 'your undoubted Friend.

Given in our Camp at the Village Koczard *the five and twentieth day of* September, 1662.

Your Excellencies
Loving Friend,
Michael Apaſi.

This Letter was received by His Majeſties Ambaſſador with that humanity as was agreeable to his Noble Nature; and with that ſenſe of the Chriſtian Cauſe as became a Religious Miniſter of the Faith's Defender, and an Anſwer returned thereunto full of affectionate Piety and Compaſſion. But it was feared that the time was elapſed, and the Diſeaſe proceeded too far to admit a gentle Cure; for it could not probably be expected, that the Vizier ſhould, upon fair words or perſwaſions, or by the force of paſſionate and Rhetorical expreſſions, be induced to let ſlip the

1662. fair opportunity of an intire and total ſubjection of *Tranſilvania*. And the truth is, herein lay the ground of the great Quarral between theſe two Emperors; for ever ſince the Defeat of *Chimianus* (or as the *Tranſilvanians* call him *Kemenius*) the *Turk* ſwallowing in his thoughts the intire ſubjection of that Country, deſigned to reduce it to the Government of a Paſha, rather than of a Chriſtian Prince, though elected at the *Ottoman* Port; and in order thereunto, advanced beyond the Limits of the ancient bounds, and pitched his Camp in the very Bowels of the Country. Theſe proceedings giving matter of jealouſie to all the Captains of the bordering Chriſtians; the Count *Serini* firſt haſtned the finiſhing of his Fort, as much as was poſſible; and next, according to his example, the *Imperialiſts* in all parts of the Borders fortified their Towns and Caſtles, and reinforced their Gariſons; which was anſwered by the *Turks* in the like preparations. And thus mutual fears and jealouſies effected that ill Correſpondence, in which the State of Affairs then remained.

And ſince *Tranſilvania* is the preſent Scene of Action, it will not be much from our purpoſe to digreſs a little in declaring the ſtate of that miſerable Principality, and by what ways and means the *Turks* encreaſed their Tribute, and encroached on their Liberties; the which Relation I received from one of the *Tranſilvanian* Agents, to this effect.

A Hiſtory of *Tranſilvanian* Miſery.

In the time of *Sultan Solyman*, *Tranſilvania* was governed by her own Laws, and her natural Prince, paying then only Thirty Thouſand Dollars of yearly Tribute. After which *Ali* Paſha taking *Varadin* on the Frontiers, had ſome part of the Country alloted him for maintenance of his Gariſon, and at that time ſolemnly ſwore, That beyond thoſe Limits alloted to *Varadin*, the *Turks* ſhould not farther enter into *Tranſilvania*, but that Oath being little regarded, they have ſince that time poſſeſſed themſelves of ſix Provinces, (*viz.*) *Bichar*, *Doboka*, *Halnock*, *Coloſ*, in which is *Claudiopolis*, and of the beſt part of *Zarand*. Nor were the *Turks* ſatisfied herewith, but in the year 1658. the Vizier *Kuperlee* entered *Tranſilvania*, and by force of Arms took the ſtrong Town of *Janowa*, and demanded the Surrender of *Lugas* and *Karanſebes* into his hands. Nor could the allegations of the Oath of *Sultan Solyman*, or of *Ali* Paſha, or any other perſwaſions or ſubmiſſion induce him to moderate any part of his ſevere demands, until firſt having miſerably deſtroyed the whole Country, and ſatiated himſelf with blood, he was contented, upon the ſad and humble ſupplication of the Ambaſſador from that Prince, to withdraw his Army out of *Tranſilvania*, on condition that Fifty thouſand Dollars of yearly Tribute ſhould be added to the former Thirty thouſand, and that *Lugas* and *Karanſebes* ſhould be wholly abandoned by the native Inhabitants, and delivered into poſſeſſion of the *Turk*: And as a mark of his abſolute Dominion over that Country, he forced one *Achacius Barcley*, employed before as Ambaſſador to him, to take on him the Government; threatning that if he accepted not of the Charge, he would inveſt a Carter in the Principality: Notwithſtanding all this Treatment; and though the *Tranſilvanians* comply'd with all the propoſitions offered them by the *Turk*, yet not long after the *Tartar Han* paſſed twice through the Country, miſerably harraſſing, ſpoiling, and killing, or making Captives all he met, whoſe departure alſo from this Country was purchaſed with a conſiderable Sum of Money. And this was the ſtate of the miſery of *Tranſilvania*, when the troubles raiſed by *Ragotzki* and *Kemenius* added to the other diſcontents, and adminiſtred farther occaſion to the enſuing War.

1662.

But whilſt the thoughts of the *Ottoman* Court were intent on their preparation for the next years War in *Hungary*, advice came that the *Turkiſh* Fleet, conſiſting of Seventeen Ships, and Thirty ſeven Saiques, lately departed from *Conſtantinople* bound for *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, and convoyed by ſix Gallies, which met them at *Scio*, very rich with Money, and other goods, (whoſe returns are yearly for the moſt part made in Sugar, Coffee, Rice, and other Commodities) were encountred near *Rhodes* by the *Venetian* Armata, and ſuch ruine and prize made of them, that of the Threeſcore Sail, Twenty eight Saiques, & 4 Ships were ſunk and taken: (*viz.*) 18 Saiques taken, & 10 burnt, 3 Ships taken, and one burnt, and thereon Two hundred and ſeventy Slaves, among which there were of note, *Arnout Aſan Aga*, Eunuch of the Seraglio, *Mahomet Aga*, *Baſcut Agaſey* of *Grand Cairo*, and *Emin Reis*, Captain of a Ship. When this news arrived, I happened to be at the Viziers Court, and perceived a ſtrange diſturbance and alteration in the faces of all then preſent; but more particularly the Grand Signior ſeemed to be heated with fury, and preſent reſolution of revenge; ſo that he had almoſt forgotten his deſigns againſt the Emperor; and quitting his paſtime in Hunting, he began to talk of tranſporting his Arms into *Dalmatia*, and thereupon ſent Orders to one *Beco* a Begh of the *Morea* to cauſe a ſurvey of the High-ways, Paſſages, and Bridges towards *Dalmatia*, as if he had intended immediately to march, and either to defer his *Hungarian* War, or wage both at the ſame time. But his graver, and more ſober Council moderated his heat with Reaſon, knowing that the deſigns of Princes, though never ſo abſolute, muſt be ſubject to times and ſeaſons, until their Powers can extend to Omnipotency, which never yet could exceed the abilities of a mortal man, though ſome have affected Divine Honours, and by Flatterers have been ranked after death in the number of the Gods. The *Venetians* loſt Seventy men only, or thereabouts, and amongſt them *Giacomo Semitecolo*, a noble *Venetian*, with other Braves and Souldiers of Fortune. The *Turks* horribly touched with this loſs and diſgrace, eſpecially the Grand Signior, who had an Intereſt in the *Caravana*, had a mind to vent ſome of their fury on Signior *Ballarino*, the *Venetian* Miniſter to the Port, like thoſe (as we ſay) who cannot beat the Horſe, will beat the Saddle; ſo that they intended to impriſon him again in ſome dark Cell, or obſcure retirement, of which, or of ſome other rigor Signior *Ballarino* was ſo ſenſible, that he wrote this enſuing Letter to the Senator *Nicolo Contarini*, which may ſerve to explain the anguiſh and ſorrowful apprehenſions of his Soul.

The *Alexandrian* Fleet encountred by the *Venetians*.

IF my Mind were capable of Comfort, I could not in the midſt of ſo much anguiſh entertain a more efficacious Motive thereunto, than thoſe obliging Expreſſions which your Excellency uſes towards me, who like a Terreſtrial Deity is pleaſed to protect me. But alas, I am too much overwhelmed with Grief to diſcover any Subject which may cauſe me to dry my Tears. I find no ſhelter againſt that Storm which I foreſaw. Nor is it ſufficient for me to diſcover the Tempeſt before it arrives: It is not

1662. *not ſufficient in this darkneſs to loſe my Sleep, diſturb my Quiet, tire my Body, debilitate my Health by a ſlender Diet, whilſt toſſed in the Boſom of an inexorable Element, I am denied the enjoyment of a ray of Light. I hold the Helm of the Ship as direct as I can; but the adverſe Waves of my Fortune drive me into the midſt of thoſe Storms where I apprehend the greateſt Dangers: I am here in the midſt of the Sea, which is the Neſt of Extravagancies, the grand belief of unthought of Accidents, the ſpacious Theatre of Tragedies, a fierce Giant, a horrible Monſter, who with gentle* Opiates *endeavours to lull aſleep, and lead thoſe to Deſtruction who have too great a confidence in their own Strength. I reproach my ſelf for not having been able to make it ſufficiently underſtood, how one ſtroke of adverſe Fortune is capable to put all into Danger, who are imbarked in the ſame Veſſel; And as little able am I to inculcate into the minds of Men, that whilſt the Waves of the vaſt Sea are ſmooth and calm, the nearer is the raging of the Waters, and the fury of a Tempeſt. It was therefore neceſſary that there ſhould have been ſome more skilful Pilot than my ſelf to conduct this Veſſel. I was long ſince acquainted with my Imperfections, and therefore called aloud for the aſſiſtance of an abler Pilot, to direct me in this tempeſtuous Region; but ſince I was not heard, I gloried at leaſt to be alone in this Gulf, that being ſwallowed up by a final Ruin, my Martyrdom may be a means to ſave the reſt. Rains and Lightnings do not affright me, but rather ſerve to quench that fire of Diſdain which I conceive againſt my ſelf, for not knowing how to perform better, and ſerve to enlighten me daily to find out that Compaſs or Card which may direct me to a courſe or path of Security. I fear Thunders and Tempeſts, becauſe the violence of one, and the hardneſs of the other is able to render a cold Sweat mixed with Blood altogether unprofitable. This miſerable School, tho of eleven Years continuance, conſtrains me to ſtudy the Diſpoſition of the Stars, the Signs in the Air, the Ebbings and Flowings of the Waters, concealed Rocks, the Dangers of a long Voyage, and the neceſſity of recovering a Port. I have ſtudied indeed, but I fear I have not well learned this profound Diſcipline; for where there is the greateſt urgency, there I have gathered the leaſt Fruit; for ſince the Aſpects of the Spheres are become more inauſpicious, I am doubtful that I ſhall ſee the Ship beaten with ſwelling Surges, and being full of Water, it will be ſo far from being eaſed by thoſe opportune Remedies which I bring, that it will rather be encreaſed by my Tears. God grant by his miraculous Providence, the Tranquillity which we deſire, and which by humane means will be difficult to obtain. I had not the underſtanding to take Opportunity by the Foretop when She preſented her ſelf unto me with gentle and benign Appearance, ſhowing me the means to ſave this floating Veſſel, and ſpare our inſidious* 1662.
rewards. For this Reaſon my dejected, but not conquered mind, makes my very Bowels feel an unuſual anguiſh of an over-troubled Eſtate. May it pleaſe the Divine pity, that theſe my Afflictions may prove the Off-ſpring of my own villeneſs, but not the means of my Ruin. I truſt therein, I confeſs, and yet frail hope, amidſt this Gulf of Sin, induces me to expect doubtful Succeſſes; Yet certainly I will endeavour to avoid a ſhipwrack on thoſe Rocks of Deſpair; And ſo imploring the Patronage of your Excellency here on Earth, I confirm my ſelf. From Pera *of* Conſtantinople *the* 19 *of* December, 1662.

This Letter ſeems to be wrote in the ſtile of a deſpairing Perſon; yet if it be well conſidered, the meaning is no other than what the Iſſue of Affairs ſome years afterwards did evidence; and his Intentions were no other than to deſcribe the ill nature of the *Turkiſh* Miniſters, and their obſtinacy of continuing a War, until they had wearied out the *Venetians* into an Humour of ſurrendring the whole Iſland of *Candia* unto them. I had the Honour to be well acquainted with the Perſon of Signior *Ballarino*, and I always eſteemed him in his external Behaviour accompliſhed with the Exceſſes of *Italian* Civility; he was endued with great fluency of Language, both in Diſcourſe and Writing; he was jealous, Acute and Wary; and in ſhort, was a proper Miniſter for that Republick well practiced and verſed in the manner of Treaty with the *Turkiſh* Court. He at firſt was ſent from *Venice* to *Conſtantinople* in quality of Secretary to the Excellentiſſimo *Capello*, Procurator of St. *Mark*, a Perſon eminent for his Office, and the ſeveral great employments which he had exerciſed in that State; he was ſincere, and of a generous Soul; his comely Looks, and grave Habit ſpoke him to be a Gentleman, and a Senator. In ſhort, he was ſo well eſteemed of at *Venice*, that he was thought worthy to be imployed in this Embaſſy to the Grand Signior, which is commonly granted to Perſons after they have run through all Services of the Commonwealth, as a Conſummation of their Honours and Riches. This Gentleman then had the misfortune to be inveſted in this Honour in the worſt of Times, when the War was broke forth, and being thereby expoſed to their cruelty, he was put into Priſon, where paſſing for ſome time a Life of Sorrow and Sadneſs, he fell into a Melancholly, which repreſented all things to him in the blackeſt manner; ſo that, I know not why his fancy ſuggeſted to him, that he was not only miſerable in his Imprisonment and Reſtraint amongſt the *Turks*, but that he was fallen alſo into diſgrace and diſpleaſure of his Prince at home. I will not ſay that Signior *Ballarino* did nouriſh the Operation of this black humour in him; but I have heard that he did not adminiſter that comfort to him, as might ſerve to diſpel the thickneſs of that Vapour which obſcured the generous temper of his Soul. In ſhort, he gave ſuch way to his melancholly, that he laid violent hands upon himſelf (as we have ſaid before); but afterwards by the Care of his Friends and Servants, being cured of his wounds, he lived ſome years after, by his Sorrows and Repentance for it, to give Satisfaction to God and the World. Howſoever, the Senate being informed thereof, and judging this Act to be the effect of a violent Phrenſy, appoint-

ed

1662. ed *Ballarino* to take on himſelf the intire management of Affairs, reſerving only the Title and Honour to Signior *Capello*. *Ballarino* now managing all Affairs, *Capello* looked on himſelf as neglected and laid aſide, howſoever comported his Condition with Submiſſion and Gentleneſs, never openly reſenting the Honours of *Ballarino*, or to ſee him preferred before himſelf; Howſoever, ſecretly nouriſhing an inward Diſcontent, his robuſtious Nature, upwards of eighty years of Age, was forced to give way to its final Diſſolution; and falling Sick, he ſent to the Earl of *Winchelſea*, then Ambaſſador for his Majeſty at *Conſtantinople*, to acquaint him of his Diſtemper, deſiring him to ſend me, who was then his Secretary, unto him. At theſe Summons I was eaſily perſwaded to go, having always had his Perſon in great Reverence; and being come to his Bed-ſide, he raiſed himſelf upon his Pillows, and embracing me in his Arms, I fancied my ſelf to receive the Benediction of one of the Ancient Patriarchs. He began with a weak Voice to ſay to me, Sir, I am near my end, expecting every Minute to render up my laſt Breath, and therefore as a dying man, I deſire of your Maſter, the Ambaſſador, that ſo ſoon as I am dead, he would be pleaſed to deliver this poor Carcaſs of mine from under the covering of this accurſed Roof. For Anſwer whereunto I did not ſtand to expoſtulate the Reaſons with him, well knowing the cauſe of his diſcontent; but that I would communicate his deſires to my Lord Ambaſſador, and ſpeedily return with my Anſwer to him. Accordingly I departed from him, and quickly brought from my Lord a Promiſe to endeavour his utmoſt to comply with his requeſt; at which he ſeemed to be much ſatisfied, and commanded his Servants then preſent, eſpecially one called Sig. *Tomaſo Gobbato*, his great confident, to be Witneſſes thereof. The next day he expired his laſt Breath, and the day following his Body being embalmed, his bowels were buried, and the Funeral Rites performed with ſuch order and decency as was ſeemly in a Country where he lived rather like a Priſoner than an Ambaſſador. All things being thus prepared, the Earl of *Winchelſea*, according to the Will of the Deceaſed, ſent for his Body, already embalmed, which was immediately without oppoſition or ſcruple ſent to his houſe; where it remained for ſome months, in expectation of a conveyance for *Venice*. At length a Dutch ſhip, being bound from *Conſtantinople* thither, it was deſigned that the Body ſhould be thereon imbarked; but I know not for what reaſon, the Cuſtomer refuſed to ſuffer it to paſs; though it may well and rationally be conjectured, That *Ballarino*, who was ſenſibly touched to have the care of the Body of his Maſter, his Countryman and Colleague taken from him, did with Preſents prevail with the Cuſtomer to put difficulties in the way, which he ſuppoſed might vex thoſe who were thought worthy of this employment. This oppoſition being made, and not to be overcome without much Money, it was contrived that the Ship departing, ſhould attend the Corps at *Tenedos*, which was without the command of the Caſtles; and the Body being divided from the Legs, was packed up in a But of Cavear, and ſo ſent down by a boat with Licence of the Cuſtomer, as a parcel of Goods and Merchandice; and ſo ſafely arriving aboard, the Corps were ſeparated from their adjuncts; and being laid decently in a Coffin, covered with a Pall of black Velvet, with Scutcheons, and other ornaments apperraining to the Funerals of ſuch great Perſonages, it arrived ſafely at *Venice*, where it was interred with the uſual ceremonies, in the Tomb of the Anceſtors of that Ancient Family. 1662.

But the heads and thoughts of theſe Governours were not ſo employed in their preparations of War, but that the Vizier could lend an ear to the ſuggeſtions of ſome malicious Phariſees, who, under pretence of Religion, informed him, That the Chriſtian Churches, burnt down in *Conſtantinople* and *Galata* by thoſe dreadful Fires in the year 1660, were again re-edified againſt his command, and the Law of the *Turks*, which allows the reparation of Churches, and continuance of ſuch which were found ſtanding when *Mohometaniſm* was introduced; but not to erect new, or rebuild what are either by time, fire, or other accidents fallen to ruine. And being farther informed, that though thoſe Churches were reſtored under the notion of Dwellings, or Ware-houſes, yet ſecretly ſerved for Celebration of Divine Service, and thereby his Decrees and Edicts were fruſtrated and diſappointed: Wherefore, furiouſly tranſported with a *Mahometan* Zeal, commanded immediately that the Authors of thoſe Buildings ſhould be impriſoned, the Churches themſelves levelled to the Foundation, and the ground whereon they ſtood confiſcated to the Grand Signior. This action, though naturally agreeable to the diſpoſition of the Vizier, who was a perfect *Turk*, zealous in execution of all points of the *Mahometan* Law, being educated after the ſevereſt ſort of Profeſſors, and one of thoſe whom they called Softaes; yet he was chiefly prompted unto this, and to a greater abhorrency of Chriſtianity, by one *Vanni Effendi*, a Shegh, or Preacher, one who was as inveterate and malicious to the Chriſtian Religion, as any *Enthuſiaſt* or Fanatick is to the Rites of our Church and Religion. And thus we may ſee how troubleſom Hypocriſie and *Puritaniſm* are in all places where they gain a Superiority; for this Preacher not contented only to ruine the Chriſtian Churches, but perſwaded the Vizier that the terrible Fires in *Conſtantinople* and *Galata* in the year 1660, and the laſt years unparallel'd Peſtilence, and the inconſiderable advance of the *Turks* on the Chriſtians for ſome years, were ſo many parts of Divine Judgments thrown on the Muſſulmen or Believers, in vengeance of their too much Licence given to the Chriſtian Religion, permitting Wine to be ſold within the Walls of *Conſtantinople*, which pollnted the Imperial City, & enſnared the faithful by temptation to what was unlawful: Wherefore a command was iſſued, That no Wine ſhould be henceforth ſold within the Walls of the City. And it was farther intended, that *Greeks* & *Armenians*, & all other Chriſtians, who had Dwellings or Poſſeſſions within the Walls of the City, ſhould within Forty days ſell thoſe habitations, and depart; which otherwiſe ſhould be confiſcated to the Grand Signior; but God who ſupports the Faithful in Tryals of Perſecution, moderated this Decree, and reſerved ſtill his Church in the midſt of Infidels; not ſuffering this City to loſe the Name nor Religion of that holy Emperor, who both erected, and chriſtned it; as alſo to preſerve moſt of the Churches, which though again uncovered, yet were redeemed for Money from the poſſeſſion of the *Turks*. Nor was the *Mohometan* Zeal ſatisfied in Demoliſhment of the Churches themſelves, unleſs it vented part of its fury againſt the poor Workmen, which for their hire and days Wages erected them; ſuch as *Greek* Labourers, Maſons, and Carpenters, who were all beaten and impriſoned. But it happening at that time that the Queen Mother building a ſumptuous Moſch, and having occaſion of many Labourers and Artiſts to forward ſo vaſt a Work, ſent to the Maimarbaſhee (who is the

The Vizier deſtroys the Chriſtian Churches rebuilt after the Fire.

The Zeal of a *Turkiſh* Preacher.

1662. the Maſter work-man, or Cape, over all ſuch who are employed in Building) to ſupply ſuch a number of Carpenters, Maſons, and others, as were convenient to carry on that Fabrick with expedition; who readily replyed, That he would provide all that was poſſible, but could not promiſe a ſufficient number, unleſs thoſe *Greeks* were ſet at liberty, who were impriſoned by the Grand Vizier for building the Chriſtian Churches; which anſwer being reported again to the Queen Mother, ſhe interceded with the Vizier in their behalf, who being glad of any occaſion to gratifie ſo great a Lady, immediately releaſed them, without any fine or reward, which he deſigned to obtain for their liberty. Howſoever the Vizier not well brooking ſuch an indignity (as he ſuppoſed) put upon him by ſo mean a Slave, as the Maimarbaſhee, dealt with ſome of the impriſoned Labourers to accuſe him, as the Author and Licenſer of building the Chriſtian Churches. The *Greeks* eaſily enough perſwaded to pleaſe ſo great a Perſonage, accuſed him accordingly, whoſe Evidence, though nor paſſable againſt a *Turk* by the *Mahometan* Law, yet ſerved the Viziers revenge for the preſent, who immediately commanded his head to be ſtruck off, and his Eſtate confiſcated; which was reported to conſiſt of Two thouſand Purſes of Money, every Purſe importing Five hundred Dollars, then found actually in his Houſe, which, if true, is a ſtrange Wealth for ſo ordinary a Perſon. But by this, and by many other inſtances, we may perceive that there is no People in the World more covetous and deſirous to amaſs Wealth than the *Turks*, nor none more uncertain to enjoy it.

The Viziers revenge on the Cape of the Builders.

About this time the *French* Merchants in the *Levant*, having adviſed his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty that the *Turks* were ſenſible that the affront to the Perſon of *Monſieur la Haye*, his Ambaſſador, was contrary to the Law of Nations, and ſuch an injury as could not but provoke the Choler of ſo puiſſant a Prince to a juſt revenge; and knowing that his Majeſty being powerful at Sea, was able to extend his Arms to the utmoſt Confines of his Empire, whilſt the interpoſition of other Countries limited the *Turks* march by Land, and their ignorance and inability in Marine Affairs rendred them uncapable to arrive thoſe Banks of *France*, which the Sea waſhes: Theſe Conſiderations the *French* Merchants having perſwaded the King to be the thoughts of the Grand Signior, and that he deſired the continuance of the Peace and Traffick with *France*, and as an evidence of his remorſe and diſpleaſure for the injury to Monſieur *la Haye*, the Father, his Majeſty was contented in ſatisfaction thereof to redreſs this injurious tranſgreſſion of the Law of Nations, by ſome extraordinary marks of favour and honour to the Perſon of Monſieur *la Haye* the Son; that ſo exceeding the uſual method and rule of Ceremony towards this Ambaſſador at his arrival, the World might be convinced of the real affection, and hearty deſire the Grand Signior had to renew his Peace, and preſerve his Commerce with *France*. This is ſuppoſed to be what the Merchants of *Marſeille* and *Lyons*, governed by the intereſt of their Trade, ſuggeſted to their King, to induce him to ſend an Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*; for at this time Monſieur *Roboli*, a Merchant, remained only as Conſul or Agent for the Affairs of Commerce. Things thus repreſented at the *French* Court, the King diſpatched away two Gentlemen to *Conſtantinople* with Letters to the Grand Signior and Vizier, and one to the *Sieur Roboli*, the Agent, declaring that if the *Turk* would make amends for the laſt Affront done to the Ambaſſador, by ſome ſignal notes of Honour in the abuſed Perſon of Monſieur *la Haye*, the Son, he would then condeſcend to confirm the Ancient League and Amity. The Letters tranſlated out of the *French* Tongue, were as followeth.

Meſſengers from France to introduce a new Ambaſſador.

1662.

To Our Dear and Well Beloved *le Sieur Roboli*, Agent for Our Affairs at *Conſtantinople*.

By the King.

Dear, and Well Beloved,

THE Inclination We have to continue that Amity with the Emperor of the Turks, which hath remained ſo long between Us, and Our Empires, and maintain the ancient Alliances, hath cauſed Us to write to Him, and his Great Vizier, to know the Entertainment and Reception that they will give to the Sieur de la Haye, *the Son, in ſatisfaction of the violence exerciſed before on his own Perſon, and the Perſon of the* Sieur de la Haye, *the Father, our Ambaſſador, againſt the Law of Nations. We write to You this Letter, to give you Order to conduct and preſent before the Vizier, the Secretaries* du Preſſoir, *and* Fontain, *which We have ſent to carry him our Diſpatches, and return with the Anſwers, which you ſhall ſolicite without loſs of time, the which you ſhall bring your ſelf, in caſe they be not agreeable to that reſolution we have taken not to receive any ſatisfaction, but in the Perſon of the ſaid* Sieur de la Haye, *the Son, which is due to Us, for that Inſolency and Affront which hath been done them. Willing alſo notwithſtanding, that before you depart, you aſſemble the* French *Merchants in* Conſtantinople *together, that they may chuſe among ſt themſelves one for their Chief; but if the Anſwers be ſuch as We have cauſe to expect, We approve that you remain in the Station where you are, in Quality of Our Agent, until the arrival of the ſaid* Monſieur de la Haye, *and that you ſend them by the ſaid Secretaries* du Preſſoir, *and* Fontain, *of which you ſhall not fail, for ſo is Our Pleaſure.*

Given at *Paris* the Twentieth of *January*, 1662.

Signed,

LOUIS.

De Lomenie.

The

1662. *The King of* France *his Letter to the Great Vizier.*

To the Moſt Illuſtrious and Magnificent Lord, the Chief Vizier of the Sublime Port of the Grand Signior.

Moſt Illuſtrious and Magnificent Lord,

ALthough the Indignity offered to the Perſon of the Sieur de le Haye Venteley, *Our Ambaſſador, and to his Son, which We have deſigned to the ſame Charge, have touched Us as far as becomes a victorious Prince, who holds the firſt rank over Chriſtian Kings, and who hath under his Power one of the moſt warlike Nations of the World; Notwithſtanding after being informed, that the diſgrace which the ſaid Genrlemen have incurred, hath proceeded rather from malice, and the ill Offices of ſome Perſons, who have endeavoured to diſturb, by this ill Treatment of them, the good Correſpondence which hath been between Us, than from any deſign on the Grand Signior's part to offend Us; and that on the contrary, there continues in His will an intention to maintain the Ancient Friendſhip which remains between Our Eſtates and People after ſo many Ages. We being not deſirous to eſtrange Our ſelves, ſhall ſend an Embaſſador in ordinary to his high Port, and having caſt our Eyes upon the ſaid* Sieur de la Haye, *the Son, We are much inclined to diſpatch him for this employment; but as We deſire to be aſſur'd of the good reception that ſhall be made him, We give You advice of Our intentions by this Letter; that according to the deſire You have teſtified of the continuance of Our friendſhip, and Our Ancient Alliances with His Highneſs, ſhall pray God to have You, Moſt Illuſtrious and Magnificent Lord, in His holy and worthy Protection.*

Written at *Paris* the twelfth day of *January*, 1662.

LOUIS.

De Lomenie.

The King of France *his Letter to the Grand Signior.*

To the moſt High, moſt Excellent, moſt Puiſſant, moſt Magnanimous, and Invincible Prince, the Great Emperor of the Muſſulmans, *Sultan Mahomet*, in whom all Honour and Virtue abound. Our moſt dear and perfect Friend.

MOſt High, moſt Excellent, moſt Puiſſant, moſt Magnanimous, and Invincible Prince; the Grand Signior, Emperor of the Muſſulmans, Sultan Mahomet, *in whom all Honour and Vertue abound. Our moſt dear and perfect Friend. May God encreaſe Your Greatneſs and Majeſty with a happy end. We have not known how to impute the ill uſage, which hath been offered to the Perſon of the* Sieur de la Haye, *our Ambaſſador, and to his Son, deſigned by Us to the ſame employment, to any cauſes and motions in Your Highneſs, but rather to the Inſtigation of ſome People which would trouble that good Correſpondence, which hath been ſo long eſtabliſhed between Us, and our Empires. And as we have cauſe to believe that Your Highneſs deſires much to continue this friendſhip and good underſtanding, upon what hath been wrote Us on Your Part; and to concur with You herein, we deſire much likewiſe to continue to maintain an Ambaſſador at Your High Port, in place of the ſaid* Sieur de la Haye. *And ſince We have none of Our People that is more intelligent than the* Sieur de la Haye, *the Son, in what concerns the Affairs and Functions of this Embaſſy; We have elected him for this employment, to which we We ſhall willingly diſpatch him, if We may be aſſured of the good uſage and kind reception which ſhall be given him. This is that which We expect from Your Highneſs, reſerving a more particular information to be ſent by the* Sieur de la Haye, *the Son, of the good Correſpondence which We deſire always to have and maintain with You. And hereupon We pray God, That You may be moſt High, &c. as above, in his Holy and Worthy Protection.*

Written at *Paris* the twelfth day of *January*, 1662.

Your true and perfect Friend,

LOUIS.

De Lomenie.

The Viziers Anſwer to the foregoing Letters.

TO the moſt Glorious amongſt the Sublime Chriſtian Princes, choſen amongſt the Great and Sublime of the Religion of the Meſſiah, *Mediator of the Affairs of all the* Nazarene *Nation, Lord of Majeſty and Reputation, Maſter of Greatneſs and Power,* Louis *Emperor of* France, *the end of whoſe days be happy. The Salutations which reſpect Friendſhip, and are deſired from Love and Affection, being premiſed. Your Majeſty ſhall know that the Letter which was ſent to Your Friend, by the Honourable* du Preſſoir *and* Fountain *hath been delivered me by the* Sieur Roboli, *Agent and Attorney of the Embaſſy, at the High and Imperial Port; the Contents whereof We have apprehended to be as Your Majeſty gives to underſtanſtand, touching the intire*

1662.

1662. *tire Amity and good Correſpondence. Certainly Your Majeſty knows, that the Augmentation, and daily Encreaſe of that Amity, proceeds from the protection and honourable Obſervance of Conditions and Capitulations between both Parties. By the Grace of the Moſt High GOD, the Sublime and Imperial Port of the moſt Happy, moſt Puiſſant, moſt Valarous, moſt Magnificent, and moſt Strong Emperor, Support of the Muſſulmans, My Lord, whoſe Arms God proſper with double Force, is always open for our Friends, and others, without any Obſtacle, as all the World knows; and particularly for Your Majeſty, Who is our Friend, and hath been long in Amity with the moſt Serene* Ottoman *Family, whom God eſtabliſh until the day of the Ballance. It being a moſt certain Truth, that there hath happened neither on one ſide or other any Action contrary to the promiſed Faith.*

And now, ſince Your Majeſty deſires for a new Ornament of the Ancient and Good Correſpondence, and to the end that the Agreement and Conditions thereof be honoured as they ought, that the conſiderable Perſon amongſt the Nobles of the Court of Your Majeſty, the Sieur Denys de la Haye, *Son of the late Ambaſſador, a Subject of Reputation, Your Gentleman of Credit, whoſe Days may they conclude in happineſs, be ſent to reſide at this Happy and Imperial Port, for Your Majeſty, according to the ancient cuſtom; to the end that the Intention of Your Majeſty may be performed, We have expoſed it at the High Throne of the thrice Happy, moſt Myſterious, and moſt Great Emperor, My Lord, Who with an Imperial regard of courteous Demonſtration, hath accepted the ſaid Demand with willingneſs, and therefore in ſignification of his Pleaſure, We write You this Our preſent and friendly Letter; and if it pleaſe God, according to the ancient Cuſtom, when the ſaid Embaſſador ſhall arrive at this High Port with the Letters of Friendſhip from Your Majeſty, he ſhall be honoured on the Imperial part, and entertained according to the ordinary cuſtom, the Imperial Capitulation ſhall be renewed, the Ornament of Affection on one ſide and the other ſhall be confirmed; and for an efficacious Confirmation of a good Peace between both Emperors, an Imperial Letter ſhall be ſent to Your Majeſty, whoſe health be happy and proſperous.*

From the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople.*

The Vizier ſtiles himſelf, The Poor, in reſpect to the Greatneſs of his Maſter.

The Poor *Hamet* Paſha.

In Anſwer to the Kings Letters, the Grand Signior made no reply, but only by his Vizier, by reaſon that in all the Ancient *Turkiſh* Regiſters and Archives, there was no example found, that the Grand Signior ever wrote to any King, who had not an Ambaſſador actually reſident at his Port. But this Negotiation about a *French* Ambaſſador took not effect, until ſome time after, in which other Letters and Meſſages intervened, as will appear by the following Sequel of this Hiſtory.

1662.

The return of the *Turkiſh* Armata to winter at *Conſtantinople.*

It was now towards the beginning of Winter, when the Seaſon of the Year compelled the *Turkiſh* Fleet of Gallies to return according to cuſtom, to the Port of *Conſtantinople.* The whole Summer before, they had for the moſt part paſſed in ſome Harbour or Creek amongſt the *Greek* Iſlands, having afforded nothing of Convoy or ſuccour towards the ſafe Conduct of the Fleet of *Grand Cairo,* but ſuffered them to fall into the hands of the Enemy, as before mentioned, and indeed for ſeveral years the Marine Affairs of the *Turks* have always gone decaying in Fame and Force; and the preparations of the Armata every Spring, have been of Form and Courſe, rather than with hopes of ſucceſs correſpondent to the expence. In their return home, near *Conſtantinople* they encountred a fierce ſtorm, ſo that three Gallies were caſt away at *Ponte Piccolo*, (by the *Turks* called *Cucucheckmage*, about four Leagues diſtant from *Conſtantinople.*) Howſoever the Weather clearing, the remainder of the Fleet got into Port, entring with Joy, with Vollies of great and ſmall Shot, with Streamers flying, Pipes ſounding, and all other ſorts of their Country Muſick, bringing with great Oſtentation a ſmall Flyboat, which had been a Leghornese Man of War, taken by them as ſhe was cruiſing ſingly in the Arches of *Pelago*; which was brought in with ſo much Ceremony uſed in toaing her into Port, decking her with Streamers and Pendants, with ſuch ſigns of Victory and Triumph, as if they had led Captive the whole *Venetian* Armata. But I muſt not omit the relation of what befel one of the Beghs Gallies, deſigned, with the reſt, to rendezvous at *Conſtantinople*, whilſt ſhe loitered amongſt ſmall Iſles in the Gulf of *Nicomedia.* It was a Gally, the Commander of which had newly received as the Portion of his Wife, being a Young man lately married, who entertained great thoughts of raiſing his Fortunes by the ſpoils and prize he was to make. At theſe Iſles ſeveral of the Officers, and * Levents went on ſhore; where whilſt they entertained themſelves with Wine and merriment; the Slaves made an inſurrection in the Gally, ſeized the Captain, cut off his Head, and threw his Body into the Sea; and ſo becoming Maſters of the Veſſel, weighed Anchor, and ſet ſail. Thoſe on the ſhore admiring at the unexpected departure of the Gally, accompanied her with their Eyes and wonder as far as they could perceive her in ſight, but obſerving her to ſteer a different courſe from the Port, to which they were deſigned, ſuſpected much of the truth of what had ſucceeded; wherefore taking their Boat immediately, they haſtned to *Conſtantinople* to give advice of what had paſſed, that (if poſſible) Orders might timely arrive the Caſtles on the Helleſpont, which might obſtruct their farther paſſage. But alas! the poor Slaves were ſo diſmayed with their own action, and ſo tranſported with a ſlaviſh fear and apprehenſion of what might ſucced, ſhould their eſcape not be effected; that they knew not what courſe to ſteer: All things ſeemed to contradict their liberty, the Wind proved contrary, their Spirits dejected, their underſtandings void of counſel and contrivance; ſo that wandring three or four days in the *Propontis*, at laſt ran their Gally aſhoar on the *Aſian* ſide, near *Pdlermo*; from whence they were brought back to *Conſtantinople*, and there, by ſentence of the Captain Paſha, fourteen of them had their Legs and Arms broken, and ſo ſuffered to die in that torture, and afterwards their Bodies were thrown into

The Slaves make an Inſurrection in one of the Beghs Gallies.

* The Soldiers at Sea called by that name

1662. the Sea, to the terrour of all other Slaves, who prefer a miſerable Life at the Oar, before the torments of ſome hours in dying.

Though the *Turks* have their Affairs but ill managed at Sea, and their ſucceſs accordingly fortunate; yet their preparation for Land ſervices are more expedite, and executed with that ſecreſy and ſpeed, that oftentimes Armies are brought into the Field, before it is ſo much as rumoured by common Mouths that any deſigns are in agitation: For though it was now Winter, yet the deſign againſt *Germany* went forward, Forces were daily ſent to the Frontiers, Cannon, and Ammunition for War, tranſported by way of the black Sea, and the *Danube*. Orders iſſued out to the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia* to repair their Wharfs and Keys along the River, for the more convenient landing of Men and Ammunition, and to rebuild their Bridges for the more commodious paſſage of the *Tartars*; that Horſes ſhould be provided againſt the next Spring, for drawing all Carriages of Ammunition, and Proviſions; their Magazines ſtored with quantities of Bread, and Rice their Fields well ſtocked with Sheep, and other Cattel, and that no neceſſaries be wanting which concern the victualling, or ſuſtenance of a Camp. The *Tartars* were appointed to have in a readineſs a Hundred thouſand Horſemen, to make Incurſions on the Frontiers; likewiſe the Paſhaws of *Darbiquier*, *Aleppo*, *Caramania*, and *Anatolia* received their orders, and ſeven and twenty Letters, accompanied with as many Veſts, after the *Turkiſh* manner, were ſent to as many Paſhaws of the Empire, to diſpoſe the ſtrength of their Countries in a Warlike poſture, ſo as to march when the Grand Signiors Commands ſhould require them to attend his deſigns: And that the occaſion of the War might appear the more juſtifiable, it was reſolved, That no Acts of Hoſtility, or other Breaches of Peace ſhould be pretended, than the Fort built by the Count *Serini*, being a matter really againſt the Articles of the laſt Peace; the Demoliſhment whereof, the *Ottomon* Force intended to make the principal end of their firſt Enterprize, in which if they encountred any oppoſition from the Emperor, the Cauſe of their War would be then the more plauſible; for as yet the Emperour had not fully declared his approbation of that Work, raiſed by *Serini*, as agreeable to his Aſſent, or Pleaſure. On the other ſide with no leſs caution and labour did the Chriſtians endeavour to ſecure their Frontiers, by raiſing their Militia, and reinforcing their Gariſons, and eſpecially to perfect the new Fort near *Caniſia*, which, as it was thought ſo conſiderable, as to countervail the inconveniencies and miſeries of a War, ſo the Turk thought it neither honourable, nor ſecure, until he had ſeen it razed, and levelled with the ground.

The Preparations for the *German* War.

An Accident diſpoſes the Chriſtian Affairs to a peace with the *Turk*.

All things thus growing black and ſtormy round about, that nothing ſeemed leſs probable, and it may be ſaid, leſs poſſible, than an accommodation; behold, on a ſudden, an Accident fell out at *Rome*, from whence this War with the Turks received its life and heat, which becalmed much of the fury and ſtorm on the Chriſtian Confines, and inclined matters in *Germany* towards propoſitions of Peace, fearing that *Italy*, who had begotten this War, was not able (as things ſtood) to contribute towards its maintenance and ſupport. The occaſion was this. It happened that in the ſtreets of *Rome* the *French* Ambaſſadours Coach was aſſaulted by the *Corſi* Natves of the Iſle of *Corſica*, which are of the Popes Guard, the Page killed at the Boot of the Coach, and the Ambaſſadors Lady wounded; whether this barbarous act was deſigned againſt the Perſon of the Ambaſſador by any Perſons of Eminency, or malice of the People, is little to the purpoſe I have now in hand; only the King took this Affront ſo heinouſly, that for the preſent no acknowledgments or ſatisfaction the Pope could make, could allay his juſt reſentment, or any thing be imagined poſſible to expiate this indignity, beſides a VVar. This News of this Diviſion between the Son, and the ſpiritual Father, filled all the Miniſters of *Conſtantinople* with much Joy, and with ſubject of Laughter, and expectation of the Event, judging now that their daily Prayers for the Diſcord of the Chriſtian Princes amongſt themſelves, were heard and granted, ſince they had ſo far availed, as to diſunite the very Oeconomy of Chriſtendom. And now they imagined that this difference would have a forcible influence on their Affairs in *Hungary*, and either incline the Emperor ſpeedily to a Peace, or otherwiſe to undertake a War on diſadvantageous terms. Things had an iſſue accordingly, for in a few Weeks after, advice came by Poſt from *Ali* Paſha, then at *Temiſwar*, that is *Salam-Chaous*, called *Chuſaein*, who had long ſince been ſent to *Vienna*, with more diſtinct Demands of what the Turks propoſed, and being ſuppoſed, through his long ſtay, to be detained a Priſoner, was again returned, and with him had brought the Baron of *Goez*, as Internuncio, ſent to *Ali* Paſha, to receive a more particular Imformation of the Turks propoſitions, for that the Emperor pretended, he was not as yet throughly ſatisfied therein. And thus matters, beyond all expectation, began to incline to an agreement, in regard that *Rome* being now in danger her ſelf, not by the Turks, but by the Chriſtians, held her ſelf uncapable to adminiſter that Fuel to the Fire of War which ſhe had promiſed; ſo that the League treated there beginning to fail, the Emperor grew faint, and the Princes cold, in their Preparations, wiſhing ſome Courſe could be effected, which might bring matters to an accommodation. Such were the Diſcourſes and imaginations of the Turks; in which condition we leave the ſtate of Affairs until the beginning of the next year; and in the mean time it may not be from our purpoſe, nor tedious to the Reader, to record what befel this year moſt remarkable to the *Engliſh* Nation, and their Trade in *Turky*, which alſo may be beneficial, by inſtruction of paſt examples, to ſuch who ſhall for the future be concerned in the Traffick and Buſineſs of the Levant.

1662.

The Baron of *Goez* ſent to *Ali* Paſha.

What Remarkable accidents befel the ENGLISH *Nation, and their Trade this Year in* TURKEY.

THE Meſſengers from *Algier*, as before related, having promiſed better Obedience for the future to the Commands of the Grand Signior, obtained a new Paſha for their City, and Country thereunto belonging; who before his departure, was enjoyned by the Grand Signior to diſpoſe Affairs with the Earl of *Winchelſea*, his Majeſties Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, as might demonſtrate his diſpoſitions towards a Peace, and his deſire that the *Algerines* ſhould do the like, and accept of that Clauſe in the Articles,

pro-

1662. prohibiting the ſearch of *Engliſh* Ships, either for their own or Strangers Goods. The place appointed for the meeting between the Embaſſador and the Paſha, was a certain Chiosk, or Garden houſe, belonging to an Eunuch, the *Aga* of a Seraglio at *Pera*; where both parties being met, the Paſha declared that the Grand Signiors deſires were, That a Peace ſhould be concluded on the Ancient Capitulations, and that by him theſe Orders were to be carried unto *Algier*, from whence he was adviſed, that the *Algerines* were ready to accept thoſe Articles, if one of his Majeſties Ships ſingly appeared about the Treaty; ſo that the World might not eſteem their condeſcenſion to proceed from Force and Compulſion. Hereof Advices being ſent into *England*, a Peace enſued in ſome Months after; but what faith theſe Infidels kept will be related in the Sequel of this Story; the Memory of which is engraven with the Point of a Diamond, and the Loſſes which enſued thereupon to the Exchange at *London*, deſerve a particular Treatiſe, which in the mean time many Families retain in a ſad remembrance.

In *May*, Advice was brought to the Lord Ambaſſador, how that the *Ann*, a Frigat of his Majeſties Royal Navy, commanded by Captain *Jonas Pool*, which had convoyed the general Ships to *Symrna*, in her paſſage homewards ſtopped at the *Morea*, and came to an Anchor near a place in that Country, called the Black Mountain, commodious to Wood and Water in; to which end were landed threeſcore men, armed with Swords and Firelocks; theſe made havock of the Woods on all ſides, loading their Boats away as faſt as they could, and not only ſo, but ſet great Trees on Fire, which in that dry Seaſon of the Year diſperſed it ſelf far and wide; which being ſeen at a diſtance in the Night, alarmed the People of the Country, ſo that the Begh; or Governor came down with ſome Force to diſcover the matter, ſuppoſing that ſome *Malteſes*, or *Venetians* might be landed. At the approach of this Body of *Turks*, our Men quitted the Woods, and ſhifted away as faſt as they could to their Boats, of which Thirty eight eſcaped, the reſt falling ſhort were intercepted by the *Turks*, and Eleven of them were killed, and Eleven taken Captives; and of the *Turks*, two Aga's, and Two or Three others had the fortune to fall by ſome Musket-ſhot from our men, whilſt in this confuſion they endeavoured to defend themſelves. On the news hereof, our Lord Ambaſſador repreſented the whole matter to the Vizier, declaring, That it was lawful according to our Capitulations, to take refreſhments, and ſupply our wants in any part of the Grand Signiors Dominions; and that therefore he demanded Juſtice on the Begh of the *Morea*, and reſtitution of the Captives. But the Vizier underſtanding that ſome *Turks* were killed in the skirmiſh, lent not ſo ready an ear to theſe Complaints; howſoever, to be acquitted of the Ambaſſadors ſolicitations, referred the buſineſs to the Examination and Juſtice of the Captain Paſha: But it falling out that at that time the Conſul and Merchants at *Smyrna* had an unhappy difference with the Captain Paſha, (which ſhall in the next place be related) was the Cauſe that all Applications to his Favour and Juſtice were ſuſpended, and a ſlow progreſs made towards obtaining the liberty of thoſe poor unfortunate men. Howſoever, ſome months after it happened that the Begh of the *Morea* being removed from that Government, and coming to *Conſtantinople* with his whole Eſtate, brought with him the Eleven *Engliſhmen*, which he had taken, and offered them to ſale unto the Ambaſſador, who conſidering that they were *Engliſhmen*, and ſuch as had been enſlaved in actual Service of their King, he eſteemed himſelf obliged both in Charity and Honour to redeem them. But the Caſe appeared too foul to demand their Liberty by ſtrength of the Capitulations; for beſides that, the cutting Wood in places inhabited without permiſſion, is a Robbery and a Crime in its ſelf, not to be maintained by the Law of Nations, the killing of a principal Aga, and wounding others, might ſufficiently warrant the *Turks*, without any Breach of Peace, to detain theſe men as lawful Captives: Wherefore the Lord Ambaſſador deeming it unſeemly, that thoſe who had ſerved in his Majeſties Navy ſhould be condemned to the *Turkiſh* Gallies, diſburſed Fourteen hundred Lion Dollars, which was demanded for them, which was afterwards repay'd him by his Majeſty; and having cloathed, and provided them with neceſſaries for their Voyage, conveyed them with the firſt occaſions into *England*. 1662.

The difference between the *Engliſh* Nation, and the Captain Paſha which impeded the Liberty, for ſome time, of theſe Captives, had its Original at *Smyrna*, where ſome *Engliſh* Merchants making Collation one Evening in a Garden, were aſſaulted and beaten by certain drunken * Levents, belonging to a Gally then in Port, in whoſe Company was a *Portuguez* Slave. The News hereof flying to the Frank Street, put all the Neighbourhood into an uproar, ſo that divers People with ſuch Weapons as came next to hand, in a fury went in purſuit of the Levents, and unhappily meeting one, drew him into the *Engliſh* Conſuls houſe, where they treated him with ſuch blows as abated much of the heat and fumes of his Wine; during which diſturbance and confuſion, the *Portuguez* Slave found an opportunity to make his eſcape. The Conſul knowing it ſome advantage in *Turky* to complain firſt, ſent to the *Kadi*, giving him to underſtand the ill uſage of Four of his Merchants (whoſe names he gave in writing) by the unruly Levents, whilſt they innocently, and without injury to any, diverted themſelves in a Garden; to which, for the preſent, little more was given in anſwer, than that on a farther examination of the Buſineſs, the Conſul ſhould receive Juſtice. In the mean time the Turk, who had been beaten in the Conſuls Houſe, reſolved not to leave the Gate till he had received ſatisfaction for his blows; and the others that were his Comrades demanded their Slave from the *Engliſh*, which was loſt, by whoſe means and aſſiſtance (as they pretend) he had made his Eſcape. The matter came now to high Demands on both ſides, which the *Kadi*, either not being deſirous, or not of ſufficient Authority to compound, the Gally departed without any agreement, and the complaint was carried by the Turks to the Captain Paſha, who then being with his Fleet at *Mytiline*, with little other thoughts or buſineſs, was glad of this occaſion to get Money, and therefore ſuddenly returned the Gally again, with Orders to bring before him the Four Merchants, whoſe names he particularized, to make anſwer to their accuſation of having beaten his Levents, and contrived the eſcape of the ſlave. The Conſul and Merchants being affrighted by this Meſſage, and Command of ſo great a Perſonage, endeavoured with Money to accommodate the Buſineſs, by force of which it was at length taken up, coſting in all the ſumm of Two thouſand ſeven hundred Dollars, or thereabouts. The which paſſage

* Soldiers belonging to the Sea. The Garden Avania.

1662. may ſerve for an example to ſuch as live in *Turky*, that all troubles of this nature are beſt compounded for at firſt; for at the beginning nothing more was demanded than the price of the Slave, & of the broken pate of the Levent: But being ſuffered to come under the Cognizance of powerful and covetous Tyrants; as there is no fathoming their unſatiable deſires, ſo there is no proſpect into what inconvenient dangers ſuch Affairs will involve, and entagle themſelves.

As *Turky* hath been ſeldom or never without having falſe Money currant, ſo the beſt ſort of Silver hath been ſo clipped by the Jews, *Armenians*, Merchants, and others; that the Dollar was brought at *Conſtantinople* to ſix Drams, and at *Smyrna* to ſeven, which made great confuſion in the Trade of theſe Countries. Wherefore the Vizier as he had already given proof and teſtimony to the World of his ſtrict obſervance, and adherence ro the *Mahometan* Law, ſo he was deſirous to appear highly careful and ſenſible of the Publick Intereſt: And therefore as the moſt neceſſary work, he began with the Dollars of ſix Drams, proclaiming that they ſhould no longer paſs in payments, and that thoſe in whoſe hands they were found, delivering them into the Mint, ſhould receive a 8 o in return of every ſuch Dollar, by which means the Mint would advance a Fourth on every Dollar, eſteeming every Dram worth Fourteen Aſpers, and that for the preſent no Dollar being currant under ſeven Drams, it might afterwards be brought to Lyons, and Dollars of nine Drams; which regulation, though at firſt grievous to ſome particular perſons, would afterwards redound to the common advanrage and benefit of Trade. To forward which Deſign the Grand Signior, and Queen Mother ſent all their Dollars of ſix Drams to be new coined into Aſpers at the Mint, ſo likewiſe did the Vizier, intending to be very ſtrict in prohibition of that Money. But a while after it happened that the Treaſurer of the Viziers Steward having occaſion to pay Monies, either for his own or his Maſters account, forced ſome Bags of Six Drams on thoſe to whom payment was to be made; the Receivers denied to accept them; but he being a powerful man, and very urgent, forced the Mony upon them, with which laden, as they had received them, they went directly to the Vizier, acquainting him that they were deſirous to obey his Commands, as to the ſix Dram Dollars, but his Stewards Treaſurer had forced on them that ſort of Money, which if it was his pleaſure that they ſhould ſtill paſs, they were contented to receive; if not, they deſired him to give Command for their payment in other Money. The Vizier being highly enraged, that the firſt Violation of his Commands ſhould begin in his own Family, immediately ordered, without farther proof or proceſs, that the Offenders Head ſhould be ſtruck off, and his body thrown into the Sea; which Sentence was executed in the ſame hour for example and terror of others, and to expiate the crime, and take away the ſcandal from the Fountain of Juſtice, whoſe ſtreams can never be eſteemed to run clear when the ſource is corrupted. In like manner the Overſeer of the Mint was ſtrangled, and *Emir* Paſha, formerly Paſha of Grand *Cairo*, was baniſhed to the Iſle of *Lemnos*, for making the Coin of Aſpers 5 *per Cent.* worſe than their true value.

The Vizier's Edict, againſt Dollars of ſix Drams.

The Merchants at *Aleppo*, being far from the Court, are more ſubject to troubleſom Avanias than others, who are nearer to the Head or Fountain, from whence Juſtice ſhould proceed, as may appear by many examples, and particularly by an accident which fell out there this year. For it happened, that a Janiſary which ſerved the *Engliſh* Nation, riding abroad with ſome of the Merchants, for want of heed, or the unrulineſs of his Horſe, chanced to hurt a Youth playing in the ſtreets. Whereupon the Merchants, and the Janiſary, not to ſuffer this buſineſs to come within the knowledge of the Cities Officers, immediately for ſome Money quieted the complaints, and ſtopped the farther demands of the Father; and to make the buſineſs more ſecure, cauſed the Father to make Hoget before the *Kadi*, that he was well ſatisfied, and remained without farther pretence, either on the Merchant, or the Janiſary, for the hurt which his Child had received. But the Paſha, who had for a long time attentively watched an opportunity to extort Money from the *Engliſh*, was reſolved not to let paſs this fair occaſion; and therefore ſent to demand from the Conſul thoſe Merchants, which he called Acceſſories to this miſchief, and the Aſſaſſinates of a *Muſſulman*. The Conſul appearing in Perſon before the Paſha, denied to deliver up the Merchants, being guiltleſs of any crime; and that for hurt to the Child, the Father had received full ſatisfaction from the Janiſary, and given a diſcharge before the *Kadi*. Howſoever this reaſon would not pacifie the Paſha, who could acknowledge no other argument available than a Sum of Money; and therefore in proſecution of his deſign produced Ten falſe Witneſſes, that the Child was dead of its hurt, and that *Engliſh* men had done the miſchief. The Conſul had now no other anſwer than a flat denial; for the Paſha had forced by threats the Hoget from the Janiſary, and perſiſting with conſtancy in defence of his Merchants, the Paſha confined him for an hours time in a Chamber of his Houſe, and beat, and impriſoned his Druggerman. The Conſul afterwards returned home; and perceiving a difference between the Paſha and the Mufti, purchaſed the favour of the Mufti on his ſide, and procured from him an Hoget of the ſeveral proceedings in this buſineſs, which was diſpatched away with all expedition to *Conſtantinople*, that a redreſs of this injury might be obtained from the Superiour Power. Whilſt the Lord Ambaſſador in due manner reſented this breach of Capitulations, and prepared to make his complaints to the Vizier, it happened that certain Chriſtians of *Aleppo*, from whom the Paſha had forced 18000 Dollars by unjuſt extortion, were then at Court ſolliciting the reſtauration of their right. The Ambaſſador judging this a convenient and opportune preparation to prepoſſeſs the mind of the Vizier with a true apprehenſion of the injuſtice of this Paſha, encouraged and pricked forward theſe abuſed and oppreſſed Chriſtians in their complaints; and the next day preſented his Memorial to the Vizier, containing all the particulars of the late paſſages at *Aleppo*: Which with the other Crimes alledged the Day before, ſo moved the mind of the Vizier, that he promiſed the Ambaſſador to ſend a Kapugibaſhee of the Grand Signior to enquire into the Truth of theſe Allegations; and that he might be ſatisfied of his real intentions to do him juſtice, he adviſed him to ſend a Meſſenger in company with this Officer, who might witneſs the reality of his proceedings. The Kapugibaſhee being in this manner diſpatched, and arriving at *Aleppo*, made the Paſha refund the Money he had unjuſtly taken from the poor oppreſſed Chriſtians of that Country; in which good action my Lord Ambaſſador had been an uſeful inſtrument, having encouraged the Agents

Merchants of *Aleppo*.

of

1663. of thoſe Chriſtians at *Conſtantinople*, counſelled them what Courſe to take, and introduced them by his Chief Interpreter to the Preſence of the Vizier, for which he received the thanks of the *Greek* and *Armenian* Patriarchs, who gratefully acknowledged to the *Engliſh* Conſul at *Aleppo*, how much they were engaged to the charity and favour of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador: But whilſt all mens eyes were in expectation what farther proceedings were deſigned againſt the Paſha in favour of the *Engliſh*, the Officer denied to have received any inſtructions therein, and ſo returned to *Conſtantinople* without taking notice of the *Engliſh* Concernment. The Ambaſſador judging himſelf herein ſlighted, ſent to the Viziers Kahya to know the myſtery of this neglect; for the Vizier and himſelf having pawned his word and promiſes to do him juſtice againſt the Paſha of *Aleppo*, it ſeemed ſtrange that his aſſurances ſhould vaniſh into nothing; and that he ſo meanly eſteemed his Quality and Office, as to diſparage it with ſo much diſrepute and contempt as muſt neceſſarily befal him, ſhould this Paſha eſcape without exemplary puniſhment; for then the World might with reaſon believe his Applications of no prevalency, and his Merchants fear the inſufficiency of his protection. To which the Kahya anſwered, That it was true, that the Kapugibaſhee was not inſtructed in the Concernments of the *Engliſh*, in regard a more ſolemn and eminent piece of Juſtice was deſigned for the Ambaſſador, than any that could be performed by the Kapugibaſhee, and that in twenty or thirty days at fartheſt, the Paſha ſhould be deprived of his Office. The next day following the Kahya adviſed that the Hatteſheriff, or Imperial Command for depoſing of the Paſha, was ſigned, and that old *Mahomet* Paſha of *Darbiquier* was conſtituted in his place; which News was highly pleaſing to the Lord Ambaſſador, in regard he had been an ancient Friend to the *Engliſh*, under whom he preſaged to our Nation at *Aleppo* all ſecurity and contentment. By which Story it is obſervable, That though the Supream Officers amongſt the *Turks* are willing to ſatisfie Chriſtian Ambaſſadors reſident with them, in the Care they have of their Welfare, and maintenance of their Capitulations; yet are not deſirous to publiſh to their own People the puniſhment of their Grand Officers, at the inſtigation or for the concernment of a Chriſtian: And that tho the *Turks* are apprehended amongſt us for a People of great Morality, and ſingleneſs in their Dealings; yet it is obſervable in this, as well as in other their actions, that they have double Tongues and Faces, and know how to act with as fine a Thread, and plauſible pretences, as are accuſtomary in the moſt politick and refined Courts of *Italy*.

Reflections on the Premiſes.

Anno Chriſti 1663. *Hegeira* 1074.

THE Baron of *Goez*, which at the end of the laſt Year arrived at *Buda* with ſeveral overtures of Peace, had ſo far proceeded in his Treaty with *Ali* Paſha of *Buda*, that all Articles ſeemed almoſt concluded, and ſcarce any difficulty to remain, unleſs the Surrender of *Zekelhyd* on the Confines of *Hungary*; which alſo was afterwards accommodated by Agreement, That the City ſhould be reſigned into the hands of the Prince of *Tranſilvania*, as the moſt equal Condition between the Emperor and the Turk. So that, matters thus ſeeming to be compoſed, all People talked of Peace with *Germany*, and that the force and miſeries of Wars were to be turned upon *Dalmatia*: And though the *Turks* had no deſign leſs in their thoughts than this, or any intentions towards a Peace, as will be proved by the Sequel; howſoever, the *German* Miniſters, as men credulous of what they deſire, gave the Peace for certainly concluded, in which conceit the *Turks* ſo humoured and indulged their fancy, that they perſwaded Prince *Portia*, the Chief Miniſter of State to the Emperor, in that manner of the reality of their intentions, that he neglected the neceſſary Proviſions and Preparations of War. And though he was often adviſed by the Reſident at the *Ottomon* Port, that all theſe Demonſtrations of Peace were only Artifices of the *Turk*, to delude the Emperors Council; yet ſo tenacious was he of this Opinion, that though it be but common reaſon, and the vulgar Rule of Policy for a Prince to arm, and ſuſpect his Neighbour, who puts himſelf into a Warlike poſture; yet this Great Perſonage, though in other things profoundly wiſe, and circumſpect, was ſo deluded, that he replyed to the Reſidents Advices to this effect, That it was the Office of a prudent and experienced Miniſter to diſcover with diligence the reſolution of the Cabinet Councils of Princes, and not to give ear or credit to what is the common Voice or vogue of the Vulgar.

1663.

The *Turks* with words deceive the *German* Miniſters.

The Spring drawing near, the Vizier prepared all things for action, nominating and appointing ſuch, who in his abſence were to ſupply the Offices of State: *Iſhmael* Paſha, then Paſha of *Buda*, was deſigned for *Chimacam*, or Governour of *Conſtantinople*, and *Muſtapha* Paſha, Captain Paſha, Brother in Law to the Grand Vizier by Marriage of his Siſter (and now the preſent Vizier) was made *Chimacam* at *Adrianople*, near the Perſon of the Grand Signior. All other preparations for War went forwards, Thirty pieces of Cannon from *Scutari*, and fifty from the Seraglio, moſt of a vaſt bigneſs and weight, which had ſerved in the taking of *Babylon*, with great ſtore of Ammunition and Proviſions of War, were tranſported up the *Danube* to *Belgrade*, and the Princes of *Moldavia*, and *Valachia*, had now Commands ſent them to quicken their diligence in making their preparations of War, and in providing Sheep, Beef, Rice, and all ſorts of Victuals for ſupply of the Camp; and general Proclamation was made in all places, That all Soldiers, who received one Aſper of pay from the Gr. Signior, were to prepare themſelves for the War.

About the middle of *February* the Horſe Tail was ſet forth at the Viziers Gate; (which is the uſual ſignal of the Camps motion within the ſpace of a Month) ſo that none may excuſe himſelf from the War for want of due and timely intimation. And though the time for departure nearly approached, yet the Grand Signior was ſo impatient, that he would ſcarce expect until the Equinoctial, which was the Term formerly appointed and publiſhed for this expedition; reſolving ſometimes to proceed before, and leave the Vizier to follow him, letting fall words often, That ſuch as loved and honoured him would keep him company. But this haſty reſolution, and eager deſire of his Journey, the Vizier, Muſti, and others of his Counſellours, did moderate, perſwading him to a little longer patience: to which, though with ſome difficulty, he aſſented; yet he could not forbear from his Horſes back, and conſtant exerciſes abroad, nor could he be induced to take one Nights repoſe longer in his great Seraglio at *Conſtantinople*, but lodged at *Daout* Paſha, a ſmall Palace about four miles diſtant from *Conſtantinople*. Which extravagant manner of living moſt People attri-

The Gr. Signior impatient to leave *Conſtantinople*.

1663. tributed to his wandring humour, and delights in hunting, riding, and ſuch like exerciſes, having his ſole pleaſure in the Woods and Fields: But others, who judged with better Foundation, did conceive, That the Grand Signiors choice of other places of Reſidence rather than his Imperial Seraglio, proceeded not ſo much from his own unſetled humour, and courſe of living, as from an apprehenſion of ſome Deſigns, and mutinous Treaſons of the Janiſaries againſt him: For to ſpeak the truth, ſince the death of *Kuperlee*, the Militia began again to be corrupted; and if we may believe the opinion of the moſt principal *Turks*, the Vizier undertook this War to employ the buſie ſpirits of the Soldiery, which began to grow reſty and inſolent through idleneſs, and by that means ſecure his own life, and eſtabliſh his Condition and Fortune.

The Equinoctial being come, the Grand Signior would not have one days longer patience; for though the Seaſon was wet and rainny, yet the Tents were pitched; and though the Wind was ſo violent and forcible as overturned almoſt the whole Camp, yet no difficulties and inconveniencies of Weather could give one hour of intermiſſion to the Sultans deſires: Wherefore *March.* on the Ninth of this *Month*, the Grand Signior departed from *Conſtantinople*, attended with his Court, his principal Officers of State, and with what part of his Army was then a in readineſs to march. The magnificence of the ſhow they made, was according to the uſual Solemnity, yet worthy the ſight of a Stranger, and perhaps not incurious to the Reader in its Relation.

The Cavalcade which the Gr. Signior made when he departed from *Conſtantinople*.

Firſt, marched with a ſingular Gravity, the ſeveral and diſtinct Orders of Civil and Military Officers in their proper Habits and Capariſons, the Santones in their wild dreſs followed by the Emirs, or ſuch as are of the Kindred of their falſe Prophet; the Great Vizier and Mufti rode in rank together, the Vizier on the left hand, the moſt honourable place amongſt the Soldiery, being the ſide to which the Sword is girt, as the right is of greateſt eſteem amongſt ſuch as are of the Law, being that hand which guides the Pen: The Trappings of the Viziers Horſe were plated with Gold, and before him were carried three Horſe-tails, called in *Turkiſh* (*Tugh*,) and behind him came about Three hundred and fifty Pages, all Young men well mounted, and armed with Jacks and Coats of Male: Next followed the Minions of the Court, or Seraglio, (*viz.*) the Paicks with Caps of beaten Gold, and embroidered Coats, the Solacks with Feathers, armed with Bows and Arrows; theſe two laſt are of the higheſt degree of Lacqueys, which more nearly attend the Perſon of the Grand Signior; theſe were followed by Nine led Horſes of the Grand Signior, richly adorned with precious Stones, and Bucklers all covered with Jewels of an unknown value. Immediately before the Perſon of the Grand Signior was led a Camel carrying the Alcoran in a Cheſt covered with cloth of gold: The Gr. Signior himſelf was clothed in a Veſt of cloth of gold lined with a Sable incomparably black, held up from the ſides of his Horſe by four Pages; his Perſon was followed with great numbers of Eunuchs, and Pages with long red Caps wrought with Gold about the head, carrying Lances and Mails, with two Locks, one on each ſide of their Head, which are worn by ſuch only as are of the Royal Chamber: After theſe crowded great numbers of Servants, with the chief Comp. of Saphees, commanded by the *Selictor Aga*, in number about 1800. And in this manner and order they marched to their Tents.

The Tents were raiſed on a ſmall Hill, as may be judged about Four Miles diſtant from *Conſtantinople*, and about Two Thouſand in number ranged at that time without order, only the Grand Signior's ſeemed to be in the midſt, and to over-top all the reſt, well worthy obſervation, coſting (as was reported) One hundred and eighty thouſand Dollars, richly embroidered in the inſide with Gold, and ſupported by Pillars plated with Gold. Within the * Walls of this Tent (as I may ſo call them) were all ſorts of Offices belonging to the Seraglio, all Retirements and Apartments for the Pages, *Chioskes* or Summer-houſes for pleaſure; and though I could not get admittance to view the innermoſt Rooms and Chambers, yet by the outward and more common places of reſort, I could make a gueſs at the richeſs and greatneſs of the reſt, being ſumptuous beyond compariſon of any in uſe amongſt the Chriſtian Princes. On the right hand hereof was pitched the Grand Viziers Tent, exceedingly rich and lofty; and had I not ſeen that of the Sultans before it, I ſhould have judged it the beſt that my eyes had ſeen. The oſtentation and magnificence of this Empire being evidenced in nothing more than in the richeſs of their Pavilions, ſumptuous beyond the fixed Palaces of Princes, erected with Marble and Mortar.

1663.

The richneſs of *Turkiſh* Tents.

*In *Turkiſh* Perdéh.

On the Sixteenth of this Month the *Aga* of the Janiſaries firſt raiſed his Tents, and began his march; the next day followed the Grand Signior, Vizier, and other Officers, and Spahees. At which time all *Aſia* was full of Soldiers flocking from all parts of the Eaſt, as from *Aleppo*, *Damaſcus*, *Arabia*, *Erzirum*, and *Babylon*: So that for a long time Boats and Barks were continually imployed to ferry the Souldiery from *Scutari* into *Europe*: And the High-ways, Villages, and all parts of the Road towards *Adrianople* were filled with Soldiers, as if all *Aſia* had iſſued out to devour and inhabit the *German* Poſſeſſions. And for greater expedition in the march of the Army, Proclamation was made of a general Rendezvous at *Sophia* at the * *Biram*, then within Three weeks time, where they deſigned to foil their Horſe, and refreſh themſelves before they fell in earneſt to their buſineſs. But before the Grand Vizier departed from *Adrianople* to proſecute a War in *Hungary* againſt the Emperor, he called Signior *Ballarino* to his preſence, as if he would treat with him of matters tending to an adjuſtment with *Venice*; when at the ſame time he had 20000 men in a readineſs at *Scutari* to march into *Dalmatia*, and to joyn with other Forces in *Boſna* and *Croatia*; but this diſſimulation and appearance of Treaty ſerved only to diſcover on what Terms a Peace might be obtained, in caſe Affairs in *Hungary* ſhould be ſo preſſing as to require an application ſolely of Arms to that Country.

The *Turks* begin their March.

* The *Turks* Feaſt.

Not only had Signior *Ballarino* Affairs of publick trouble, but likewiſe ſomething touched him of private concernment in his own Family; where the *Turks*, I know not upon what information coming to ſearch, found in his Houſe two figures, one of a man, and the other of a woman made of Linen cloth, ſtuffed with Wool and Cotton; the which were interpreted by the *Turks* to be Images of Sorcery and Inchantment; one repreſenting the Grand Signior, and the other his Mother, were deſigned in a ſecret manner, by thruſting Needles and Pins into thoſe parts, where the Heart and Liver is, to cauſe thoſe whom they repreſent to dye with macerations and conſumptions, according to the Inchantment of *Medea*. *In jecur urget acus.* And this ſuſpicion

was

1663. was augmented by the reports of the Neighbourhood, who hearing the Prieſt often recite his Litany, and ſing Evening-ſong, avouched that they conſtantly over-heard the Charms muttered in ſuch forms as are uſed by Magicians and Sorcerers: Wherefore deſigning to take the Prieſt, who was the Father Provincial of St. *Francis*, and puniſh him for his Witchcraft, the good man fairly fled, and kept himſelf out of harms way, until Signior *Ballarino* could quiet the minds of the *Turks* by ſome Art, which he more forcibly practiſed upon them by a ſtronger charm of Money and Preſents than that which was the ſubject of their complaint.

In the mean time all fears and dangers of *Candia* vaniſhed, becauſe the *Turks* bent their Forces and chief of their ſtrength againſt their Enemies at Land: To provide againſt which, the Senate of *Venice* ſent into *Dalmatia* the Baron *Spaar* for General, with many other Officers under him, namely the Marqueſs *Maculani*, Count *Ettore Albano*, *Carlo Martinengo*, and *Roverelli*, Count of *Caudes*, the Cavalier *Grimaldi*, *Echenfelt*, and others. Into *Friuli*, *Franciſco Moroſini* was diſpatched in quality of Proveditor General with ſupream Power and Authority, and in this manner all matters were as well provided and ſecured by Land, as they were by Sea.

The *Biram* chanced to happen out this Year towards the end of *April*, by which time the Vizier, and moſt of his Army, aſſembled according to Proclamation at *Sophia*; where having continued ſome time, and conſulted well in what manner to put their deſigns in execution, they proceeded in their March towards *Buda*, and the Confines of *Hungary*; but in the way the Vizier was encountred by a Meſſenger from the Emperor, offering all reaſonable Propoſitions of Peace, if poſſibly a ſtop might be given to the farther progreſs of that vaſt and formidable Army. All matters were propoſed which probably might give ſatisfaction; the Fort of Count *Serini* (the grand Eye-ſore of the *Turks*) was proffered to be demoliſhed, with other Conditions which before the March of the Army were never propoſed or demanded. But the Vizier gave little ear to theſe fair Overtures, but proceeded forwards in his Demands, as he did in his March: Requiring now, not the demoliſhment of the Fort, but the Surrender of it entirely with all the Strength, Artillery, and Ammunition into the hands of the Grand Signior. Had this condition been granted, it is probable the deſires and pretenſions of the *Turks* would not have ſtopped here, but have riſen, as the ſpirits of their Enemies had condeſcended, and exceeded all the hopes and advantage which they imagined probable and feaſible to be obtained by the War. Wherefore this Meſſage proving fruitleſs, the Bringer of it was permitted Licence to return into *Germany*: But the Reſident was refuſed diſmiſſion, being detained in the *Turkiſh* Camp, as an Inſtrument to mediate a Peace, when both ſides ſhould grow weary of the War.

About this time the *Tartars* were greatly infeſted by the Coſſacks, who were then very formidable and ſtrong, approaching near the City of *Oſac*, the Key and chief Fortreſs of *Tartary*, under the Commann of a Fiſherman of the *Boriſthenes*, who having had great ſucceſſes, and collected a conſiderable ſum of Money, became a dangerous Enemy: By Sea alſo they commanded abſolutely, roving uncontrouled, having a Fleet of Saykes and Gallies near an hundred and fifty Sail, againſt whom the Tartar *Han* or King of *Tartary* craved

The Coſſacks infeſt the *Tartars*.

of the Grand Signior forty ſail of Gallies that year to oppoſe them. But this Force of the Coſſacks was ſoon abated; for it pleaſed God, that paſſing out of the *Palus Mæotis* through the narrow paſſage of *Colchos* into the Black Sea, the beſt part of this Fleet ſuffered ſhipwrack; with which they were ſo diſmayed, that the twelve ſail of Gallies (which was the whole Force the *Turks* could ſpare this year for that Sea) gave a check to the remainder, and forced them again to the Banks of the *Boriſthenes*. The reſt of the *Turkiſh* Fleet, conſiſting, together with the Beys Gallies, in all but of thirty Sail, departed from *Conſtantinople*, with deſign rather to make ſome appearance of a Fleet, and a noiſe amongſt their own people, and collect the Contributions of the Iſles in the *Archipelago*, than out of hopes of effecting any thing againſt the *Venetians*; and ſo it ſucceeded; for this Fleet remained the whole Summer at *Mytilene*, not daring to appear abroad for fear of the Enemy.

1663.

Though the *Tartars* were ſo hardly beſet by the Coſſacks, yet their danger at home was not a ſufficient excuſe to diſingage them from their aſſiſtance in the War of *Hungary*. For the Vizier marching towards the Frontiers, ſent one Meſſenger after the other to haſten the Tartar *Han* with all ſpeed poſſible to the Wars. But the *Tartars* ſeeming not ſo willing, or ſo ready as the *Turks* expected, more poſitive commands, and ſevere threats, were diſpatched than before, that laying aſide all excuſes or delays, they ſhould with all the Force of their Country attend in this preſent War againſt the Emperor, or otherwiſe the Tartar *Han* was to be deprived of his Government, and his Son conſtituted in his place. Theſe ſevere menaces reduced the *Tartar* to great ſtraits; fearful he was to diſpleaſe the Sultan, not knowing what ill conſequences might proceed from thence; but more apprehenſive he was of the approaches of the Coſſacks, and of the diſpleaſure of his own People, who were reſolved to ſee this fire of War extinguiſhed in their own homes, before they would attend the deſigns, or ſatisfie the Luſts of a ſtranger Prince. In this Dilemma the Tartar *Han* finding himſelf, made uſe of fair words and promiſes, ingaging his word, That after the harveſt was paſt, no obſtacle ſhould prevent his compliance with the Sultans expectations; for at preſent it was impoſſible, in regard that ſhould their People at this ſeaſon be diverted from gathering the harveſt, the Corn and Fruit would remain on the ground, and ſo occaſion a Famine and deſtruction of their Country. And herein the *Tartar* had ſome reaſon; for theſe People go not to the Wars, as other Nations, who leave a ſufficient number behind to cultivate their Country, and perform all other Offices and Imployments in a Common-wealth: But theſe making their chief livelihood and ſubſiſtence on the prey and robberies they make on their Neighbours, as many as reſolve to eat Bread and live, who are men not old or impotent, able to bear Arms, betake themſelves to their Horſe and Bow; ſo that when their Army is abroad, their Towns and Villages are only inhabited; and defended by their Women. But the *Turk* whoſe deſires are never ſatisfied with reaſons, or withſtood by words, or with any thing beſides the execution of his Commands, diſpatched another Meſſage more full of threats and reſolution than formerly, carried by the Embrahor, or Maſter of the G. Signiors Horſe, menacing nothing but Fire, and Sword, and Deſtruction to the *Han* and his Country, if he longer delayed to perform his Duty. But by this time the

The *Tartar* unwilling to go to the War.

The courſe of life amongſt the *Tartars*.

They are threatned again.

1663. They ſend an Army into *Hungary*.

the Harveſt being almoſt gathered, and their fears againſt the Coſſacks partly extinguiſhed, the *Tartar*, promiſed with all expedition an Army of Seventy Thouſand men, under the Conduct of the Prince his eldeſt Son, who whilſt they were putting themſelves in order, and aſſembling for the War; reports were murmured, as if the *Turks* were in a Treaty of Peace with the Emperour, and matters in a fair likelihood of compoſure: At this news the common Souldiers amongſt the *Tartars* were not a little ſtartled, fearing that they who are free Booters, and have no other pay than their purchaſe, ſhould by ſuch a Treaty be forced to return empty; and therefore before they would proceed, ſent to adviſe the Sultan of theſe their fears; ſupplicating him, that if he ſhould think fit to conclude a Peace, and ſo oblige them to return into their own Country, that he would not take it amiſs, if, upon their march home, they ſhould make themſelves good upon his Subjects of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, whoſe perſons and Eſtates they reſolved to carry with them, as a juſt prey and recompence for their loſs of time and labour. The Sultan who ſets a ſmall value on the Lives and Eſtates of his Chriſtian Subjects, judged this Propoſition but reaſonable, ſo long as upon theſe terms he might obtain the benefit of the *Tartars* aſſiſtance, who are the beſt Horſe to forage, deſtroy, and make deſolate a Country.

The Story of Aſan *Aga the Moſayp or Favourite, and other inſtances of the uncertainty of the* Turkiſh *Richeſs, and Glory*

THE Great Vizier being by this time arrived on the Frontiers with a very conſiderable Army; the G. Signior at *Adrianople* continued his uſual pleaſures in Hunting, Riding, throwing of the Gerit or Dart, and in other paſtimes and ſports of this nature; at which time caſting his Eyes upon one *Aſan* Aga, a ſprightly youth of his Seraglio, a *Polonian* by Nation, to be more forward and active than any of his Court, took an affection to him, ſo ſudden and violent, as might be judged neither well founded, nor long durable; for the Grand Signior having heard, that there were examples amongſt the Emperors his Predeceſſors, not only in the abſence, but in the preſence alſo of the Vizier, of maintaining and conſtituting a Favourite, in Turkiſh called *Moſayp*, did own publickly the Election of this perſon for his Friend and Companion; ſo that this Minion was on a ſudden ſo highly ingratiated in the favour of his Prince, that he always rode equal with him; Cloathed as rich, and mounted as well, as the Sultan himſelf, as if he had been his Coadjutor, or Companion in the Empire. The Queen Mother, the *Kuzlier* Aga, and other rich Eunuchs of the Seraglio, the Chimacams of *Adrianople*, and *Conſtantinople*, with all the Great Officers and principal Miniſters, were commanded to make Preſents of Money, Jewels, and other Sacrifices, to this riſing Sun; whom now every one ſo courted and adored, that he became the only talk and admiration of the whole Town; no other diſcourſe there was, but of *Aſan Chelabei*, *Aſan* the fine accompliſht Gentleman, *Aſan* the only Creature of Fortune, and Idol of the whole World. This high and ſudden promotion of this Youth, greatly diſpleaſed the Queen Mother, *Kuzlier* Aga, who had Creatures of their own to perſer, and by their means became the Envy and Emulation of the whole Court, ſo that there wanted not ſuch who poſted the news to the Vizier, as him, on whom the growing greatneſs of *Aſan* might have the moſt dangerous reflection: But the Vizier duly conſidering, that the deep impreſſions this Youth had made in the affections of his Maſter, were not to be removed by plain dealing, but by ſome more occult Artifice and diſſimulation, took occaſion to write to the Grand Signior, in favour of *Aſan* Aga, extolling the prudence of his choice of ſo compleat and hopeful a Youth for his Favourite; but that it was pity, ſo pregnant parts as thoſe with which *Aſan* was endued, fit to promote his Maſters Service and Intereſt, ſhould be Encloiſtred, and Buried in the ſoftneſs and delights of his Seraglio; and therefore his Counſel was, to have him preferred to ſome government, and degree of a Paſha, to which, his Abilities and Education, in the Nurſery and Diſcipline of the Court, had abundantly accompliſhed him. *Peſſimum genus inimicorum, laudantes.* Nor were the Queen Mother, and *Kuzlier* Aga, all this time wanting in their contrivance to undermine him, but not with a deſign ſpun with ſo fine a Thread, profeſſing themſelves openly his Adverſaries: For which Courtly Policy, the Vizier only received a check, and ſome few verbal reproofs, for intermedling with what ſo nearly concerned his Maſters Fancy and Affection: But the *Kuzlier* Aga, was by one word from *Aſan* (whom he had diſcovered to be his Enemy) deprived of his Office, and had therewith loſt his Life; had not the Queen Mother powerfully interceded for him, and gained an exchange of his puniſhment from death to baniſhment in Grand *Cairo* in *Ægypt*. The Baltagibaſhee alſo (who is the Captain of that part of the Grand Signiors Guard; who carry Hatchets, and are empyloyed in cutting Wood for the uſe of the Seraglio) being diſcovered to be a Confederate in the ſame Plot againſt the Favourite, was condemned to the ſame puniſhment, and immediately both of them diſpeeded away to the place, where they were to ſpend the remainder of their days. Grand *Cairo* hath always been the place of Baniſhment for unfortunate Courtiers, or rather of ſuch who have with much greatneſs, plenty, and contentment ſometimes enjoyed the Fruit of their great Richeſs, gained in the Sunſhine and ſummer of their Princes favour. To this City alſo was this *Kuzlier* Aga exiled, who in the enjoyment of his Office for ſeveral years, had amaſſed a moſt vaſt Wealth, incredible to be ſpoken, and much to be wondred, that a Negro, whoſe hue and perſon is contemptible amongſt all, whom God hath created of a Colour different from thoſe who partake more of Light, and are of nearer ſimilitude with the Sun, and Nature of an Angel; one whoſe Original was a Slave, and his price never above a Hundred Pieces of Eight, ſhould be loaded with ſuch Goods of Fortune, and enriched with the Treaſury of a Prince: His Retinue conſiſted of about 900 Horſe, (beſides Camels, and Mules for his Baggage) amongſt which a Hundred were led Horſes, worth Seven or eight hundred Dollars a Horſe, and that he might ſtill ſeem to live by his Princes Bounty, a thouſand Aſpers a day was to be his conſtant pay, to be iſſued out of the G. Signiors Revenue in *Egypt*; by which we may in part calculate the greatneſs of this Empire, when ſo [illegible] Richeſs is accounted but a reaſonable proportion for ſo vile and mean

1663.

Taciti.

The *Kuzlier* Aga baniſhed to *Cairo*.

As alſo the Baltagibaſhee.

1663. mean a Slave: Howſoever the Grand Signiors Treaſury ſuffers little hereby, for this wealth and pomp is but lent him to keep, and look on; he is uncapable to make a Teſtament, or conſtitute an Heir; the Grand Signior himſelf ſucceeding to all the Eſtate he hath given him, and the improvement of it. This Negro being proceeded as far as to *Conſtantinople*, had his Companion the Baltagibaſhee, recalled from him with deſign to be put to Death, but afterwards by mediation of ſome powerful Friends, who took advantage of the gentle and benign humour of the Sultan, his pardon was obtained, and he preferred to a ſmall * Paſhalick in the leſſer *Aſia*. Howſoever the Eunnch proceeded in his Journey to *Grand Cairo*, where being arrived, after three Days, was by the Imperial Command ſtript of all his wealth and greatneſs, which amounted unto Two Millions of Dollars, to be reſtored again to their firſt Maſter, who uſes to lend his Slaves ſuch gaieties and Ornaments, only to afford the World occaſion to ſee and admire the vaſtneſs of his Wealth, and contemplate the vanity and unconſtancy of Richeſs and Worldly glory. This poor Negro thus deveſted of all, returned to his primary condition of a Slave, in which he was born, and for many years had lived, and was now baniſhed, forſaken, and diſconſolate in the upper *Egypt*; whither going ſcarce with ſufficient to preſerve him from Famine and Beggery, the Beyes of *Egypt*, out of compaſſion, beſtowed on him an Alms of twelve Purſes, being Eight Thouſand four hundred Dollars, according to the Account of *Cairo*, now the only ſupport and ſuſtenance of his Life.

* Government of a Paſha.

This Victory gained over theſe great Perſonages, and foyl given to the Queen Mother her ſelf, was not carried by this young Favourite with that prudent equality of mind as was decent; but being puffed up with pride and glory, adventured to a judgment and cenſure of the deepeſt matters of State, which touched not a little the jealouſie and ſcorn of the Great Vizier, who therefore wrote to all thoſe grave Sages, to whoſe Counſel he conceived the Sultan gave any ear or credit; repreſenting with extraordinary paſſion and fervency the dangers he apprehended might befal his Maſter, and his Empire, whilſt both were ſubject to the unexperienced Counſels of *Aſan*, a Youth both in years and knowledge. That it was much to the diſparagement of the Supream Office of Vizier, whilſt he was with Thouſands of *Turks* on the Frontiers contending for the Glory and Enlargement of the *Ottoman* Dominions, ſubjected to millions of dangers and labours; to be ſupplanted by a Boy, fit only for an attendant in his Maſter's Chamber; and to have the privacy of the Emperors State Counſels and policy rifled by a Youth, whoſe years had not fitted him for the knowledge and continence of an ordinary Secret. Theſe reaſonable Complaints of the Vizier's were by ſome of his wiſe Friends, whoſe Age and Gravity had produced ſomething of Reverence towards their Perſons, not without hazard and fear communicated unto the Sultan, the violence of whoſe Love being with time moderated and abated, he began to conſider the reaſonableneſs of this Diſcourſe, and ſo on a ſudden, to the great admiration of all, caſt off his Favourite, creating him a Kapugibaſhee, or chief Porter, with a hundred and fifty Aſpers a day Sallary.

1663.

The Ruine of Samozade, *the Reis Effendi, or Chief Secretary of State to the Great Vizier.*

AND ſince we have related a Story which partly repreſents the unconſtancy and tyranny of the *Turkiſh* Greatneſs, it may yet pleaſe the Reader, ſhould we add another, tho' a little out of its due order, not leſs remarkable, and worthy of Record, than the former.

When *Newhauſel* was beſieged, called by the *Turks* and *Hungarians*, *Oyar*, and divers attempts made on it in vain; *Samozade* the Reis Effendi, with leſs caution and wiſdom than he did uſually practiſe in other matters, wrote a Letter to the Chief Eunuch of the Women, then in the Seraglio at *Adrianople*, to this effect. That if the Grand Signior deſired to have that Fortreſs taken that was then beſieged, he ſhould chuſe a more able Captain for his Army than the preſent Vizier, a Perſon who had only been educated in a Tekeh, or Colledge, and ſtudied in the ſpeculations of Law, and not in the Oda's of the Janiſaries, or Cuſtomes and Exerciſes of the Camp: And therefore if his Majeſty thought fit to chuſe another General, he could not caſt his eyes on any more able and deſerving than *Ibrahim* Paſha his Son in Law, a Perſon qualified for the Office of Vizier, being skilful in all points both of War, and Peace. This Eunuch being the perſon that had ſucceeded to the former lately exiled, having received this Letter, immediately without farther Art or Prologue, read it to the Grand Signior, at which though at firſt he was ſtartled, yet not as yet weary of the Vizier, but ſtill conſerving a kindneſs and eſteem for him, took the Letter from the Eunuch, and ſent it to the Vizier, permitting him to inflict what puniſhment he judged moſt agreeable to his own preſervation and vindication of honour. The Vizier, having received this Letter, ſeemed not in the leaſt to be ſurprized with the perfidiouſneſs of *Samozade*, but in a cool temper recollecting all the Applications and Addreſſes (which we have mentioned before) at his firſt entrance into this Supream Office, and judging from thence, that he was not a Perſon capable of friendſhip, or a ſteadineſs to his Intereſt, ſent for him, and for *Ibrahim* Paſha his Son in Law to his preſence, and firſt having upbraided his Treachery, and want of Integrity, in return to all the Careſſes and Endeavours he had uſed to win his Faith, cauſed both their heads to be ſtruck off by the Executioner.

This *Samozade* was one of the moſt wiſe and beſt practiſed Secretaries of State that ever ſerved the *Ottoman* Empire, and one whom our *Engliſh* much lamented, being perfectly acquainted with the particulars of our Capitulations, and Conſtitution of our Trade; and had not his extraordinary Covetouſneſs blemiſhed his other moral Vertues, he might have been eſteemed a man rare, and a Miniſter not unworthy the greateſt Monarch of the World. The Richeſs he had collected during the time of his State Negotiations were incredible and immenſe, for he ſpared and loſt no opportunity of gains, which rendred him the more liable and obnoxious to the ſtroke of Juſtice. His Goods were now ſeiſed on for ſervice of the Sultan, his Maſter, as juſtly confiſcated for Treaſon; his Eſtate was found to amount unto three Millions of Pieces of Eight in ready Money; he had ſixteen hundred Camels, four Hundred

1663. Mules, Six hundred Horſes of the beſt ſort, beſides ordinary Horſes, of ſervice proportionable to thoſe of value. In his Cheſts and Stores were found Four thouſand Girdles or Saſhes, of the beſt ſort of Silver, never worn; Seven and twenty pounds weight of Pearl, three hundred Daggers (or *Turkiſh* Hanjars) moſt-ſet with Diamonds and Rubies, beſides Ninety Sable Veſts, each whereof might be valued at a Thouſand Dollars his Swords and rich Furniture were without number, or account, with a Cart-Load of the beſt and fineſt *China*; over and above all this, remained to his Son a Revenue of about Ten pounds Sterling a day, who being condemned to the torture to confeſs the hidden Riches of his Father, at his firſt examination diſcovered One hundred and twenty five thouſand Zaichins of *Venetian* Gold.

Of an Avania brought upon the Dutch *Nation.*

BEfore we proceed on with the Relation of the War in *Hungary*, where we for a time ſhall leave the Great Vizier, it will not be from our purpoſe to digreſs a little in recounting certain intermediate Accidents, which had reference to our own and the *Dutch* Nations Intereſt at the *Ottoman* Court. And firſt I ſhall begin with the *Dutch*, to whom a conſiderable trouble and misfortune befel, by means of a Ship of theirs called the Emperor *Octaviano*, which deſigning to lade *Turks* Goods at *Alexandria* for *Conſtantinople*, had her Licence and Diſpatches obtained by means of the *Holland* Reſident, the Sieur *Warnero*. This Ship being accordingly laden at *Alexandria*, whereon alſo the Grand Signior himſelf had Thirty thouſand Dollars Intereſt, and being ready to depart, was near the Port ſurprized by the *Venetian*, and *Malteſe* Corſairs, and ſo taken. This News was poſted over land from Grand *Cairo*, and the Cargo ſent of the Goods, importing Fourſcore and four thouſand Dollars, which in the Month of *June* arrived at *Conſtantinople*. The perſons intereſted in this loſs being many, in the nature of a Tumult applied themſelves to the Grand Signior, and demanded ſentence againſt the *Dutch* Reſident for reparation, alledging that he had recommended the Ship, and Commander, who had combined with the Corſairs to ſurprize him, and that the Reſident had engaged for the faithfulneſs of the Captain, who had betrayed their Goods, not endeavouring to defend himſelf ſo much as by the ſhot of one Musket. The Grand Signior being likewiſe concerned herein himſelf, was eaſily perſwaded to grant his Order and Sentence, That the loſs of all ſhould concern the *Dutch* Reſident, and his Nation, requiring the Chimacam of *Conſtantinople* to ſummon the Reſident, and intimate his pleaſure therein, exacting a time limited for the payment. The Reſident being called to ſeveral Audiences thereupon, denied to have had any hand in the employment of this Ship on the this Voyage, and that their Capitulations, to which the Grand Signior had ſworn, acquitted him from being reſponſible for the miſdemeanors of any of his Nation, for whoſe fidelity and good behaviour he had never perſonally engaged, and thereupon poſitively refuſed to make himſelf liable for payment of this Money, to which he was neither obliged by the Law of Nations, nor his own private Act. Notwithſtanding which, the *Turks* ſentenced the Reſident to be liable to make ſatisfaction, in regard that when the Ship was firſt freighted, he appeared before the Chimacam at *Conſtantinople*, and being asked whether the Commander of this Ship was an honeſt man, and one who might be intruſted with ſuch a concernment of the *Turks*; his Anſwer was, That he believed he might, and that he was always eſteemed faithful and honeſt to his Truſt: which in the *Turkiſh* Law amounting to as much as if he had ſaid, he would become his ſecurity, the Grand Signior confirmed the former ſentence againſt the Reſident, and with haſte and fury diſpatched a Kapugibaſhee to bring his Perſon to *Adrianople*; where being arrived, and continuing as yet conſtant to his firſt Anſwer, was committed to cuſtody of the Chaousbaſhee, or Chief of the Purſuivants, where they gave him time until after the Feaſt of the little *Biram*, to conſult his own good and ſecurity of his Nation within the *Turkiſh* Dominions. The Feaſt was no ſooner ended, but the Grand Signior ſent immediately to know his ultimate reſolution, declaring, That if he continued ſtill obſtinate againſt his Power, he had commanded that he ſhould be committed to that Dungeon which had ſome few years before been the Lodging of other Chriſtian Miniſters. The Reſident terrified at the thoughts of ſuch an Impriſonment, declined from his former conſtancy, ingaging to pay the Money in an Hundred and five days time, for no longer would be granted; ſo violent and unreaſonable the *Turks* were in their demands, againſt the Law of Nations, the particular Capitulations, and the common reaſon and juſtice of the World. This Money was for the moſt part taken up by the *Dutch* Nation in *Turky* at Intereſt, and afterwards the debt extinguiſhed by Money lent them by the States, for payment of which a particular Impoſition was granted on all Goods brought from *Turky*, until the Debt to them was cleared, with an Intereſt of one *per cent.* for the year. By which it may be obſerved, how little are eſteemed the Perſons of Chriſtian Repreſentatives in the *Turkiſh* Court; who having proved with what tameneſs ſome Princes have taken the affronts offered to the Perſon of their Ambaſſador in former times, and now obſerving with what patience the States of *Holland* have ſuſtained the like inſolence and injury in their Reſident, they may poſſibly profeſs their Function ſacred, but yet in matters of their own intereſt will never be induced to vouchſafe them that reſpect or juſt treatment which is due to them.

1663.

In what ſtate the Affairs of England, *in reference to the* Turkiſh *Court, ſtood about this time with* Algier, *and other Parts of* Barbary.

IN the preceding year we declared how a Peace was concluded between *England* and *Algier*: For better confirmation whereof, and ſecurity of our Merchants Eſtates in the *Levant*, upon occaſion of a future breach, it was judged neceſſary by His Majeſties Council, That the reſpective Articles laſt made and concluded with *Algier*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*, ſhould be diſtinctly de-

1663. deſcribed and ratified by the Grand Signior, with this Claufe at the Concluſion of each, *viz.* "That "in caſe the foregoing Articles were not kept by "theſe his Subjects reſpectively, but ſhould con- "trary to the meaning thereof through Piracy "be broken, that then it ſhould be lawful for "the King of *England* to chaſtiſe thoſe People by "his own Arms and Force, without Impeachment "or Breach of that good Peace and Amity which "Intervenes between His Majeſty of Great *Britain* "and the *Ottoman* Emperor: And this was ſuppoſed might always be a Plea in defence of the *Engliſh* Nation in *Turky*, when at any time His Majeſty provoked by the Injuries of thoſe faithleſs and piratical Nations, ſhould take due Revenge upon them, not only on the Seas, but alſo on the Land, ſubverting thoſe very Cities and Fortreſſes, which are the Neſts of Piracies, and the common Chaſtiſement and Gaols of Chriſtendom. When theſe Articles came to the hands of His Majeſties Ambaſſador the Earl of *Winchelſea*, with Orders to have them ratified and ſubſcribed in the manner foregoing, the *Turkiſh* Court was then at *Adrianople*, to which place on this occaſion the Lord Ambaſſador made a Journey from his uſual Reſidence at *Conſtantinople*; and having acquainted the *Chimacam* with the whole matter, and the Propoſitions rightly apprehended by him, they were offered, and the next day communicated in behalf of the Ambaſſador to the Grand Signior, who readily promiſed compliance with His Majeſties deſires, ordering the Articles and Concluſion of them, to be ingroſſed and prepared for the Imperial Aſſent. Howſoever ſome conſiderable time ran on before they were delivered out, in regard that being matters of State relating to War and Peace, they could not be fully granted without Privity and Knowledg of the Grand Vizier, who was the ſupreme Counſellor, and therefore we were forced to attend thirty five days before an Expreſs could go and return from the Frontiers with the Anſwer expected, which was as eaſily granted by the Vizier, as before it was entertained by the Grand Signior. On *Auguſt* 5. the Confirmation of the ſeveral aforeſaid Articles were conſigned unto my ſelf in preſence of our Lord Ambaſſador by the hands of the *Chimacam*, being my ſelf deſigned in Perſon to deliver them; for which Service a Frigat of His Majeſties Navy attended at *Smyrna*: ſo that very Evening I departed, and arrived at *Smyrna* the 15*th* of *Auguſt*.

In my Journy from *Adrianople* to *Smyrna*, omitting the Geography of the Countries, and the pleaſent view I had from the top of a Mountain between *Malagra* and *Gallipoli*, from whence I could ſurvey all the *Helleſpont*, and at the ſame time take a proſpect of the *Propontick* and *Ionian* Seas, I ſhall only relate two paſſages which befel me in this Journey, not unpleaſant to be remembred.

The firſt was at a ſmall Village called *Iſheele*, at the foot of the Mountain *Ida*, not far from the Ancient *Troy*, now named by the *Turks Kauz-dog*, which ſignifies the Mountain of Geeſe; the People that inhabit here, are of a rude Diſpoſition, great Thieves, and of a wild and ſavage Nature; at my entry thereupon I was adviſed by thoſe that were with me, that it was neceſſary to take Mules to carry my Baggage through the Mountains, and to preſs the People to convoy me to the next Government by Virtue of a Command the Grand Signior had granted me for the ſecurity of my Travels; ſo that arriving at this place by break of day, I went directly with all my Attendance, being about eighteen or nineteen Horſe, to the *Kadi*'s Houſe, where knocking hard at the Door, a Servant looked out at the Window, and ſpying ſo great a company, wholly affrighted, ran to his Maſter, and awakening him with ſuch dreadful news, he had ſcarce any Soul or Life remaining to render an Anſwer; for he was one of thoſe, who three times a day was uſed to take his Doſe of *Opium*, which gave him a ſtrange kind of Intoxication or Drunkenneſs; during the Operation of which, men have their Spirits violently moved and agitated, that afterwards it leaves them ſo wearied and languid, that in the morning when they firſt awake, they remain like dead Stocks, their Members are benumbed, and can ſcarce turn from one ſide to the other. In this condition the News of new Gueſts ſurprized this *Kadi*, when wholly feeble he called to his Servant to reach him his Box of *Opium*, of which when he had taken his uſual Propotion, and that it began to work, his Life returned again to him, and he began immediately to recover, ſo that he had Courage to open his Gates and receive us in: when he had read the Command, and found no hurt in it, the Man was tranſported with Joy and *Opium*, and was ſo kind, chearful, and of a good humour, that I could not but admire at the change; he told me, that he lived in a barbarous Country, and was forced to uſe that for Divertiſement, and as a Remedy of his melancholly hours. I eaſily perceived the effect it had upon him, for he ſeemed to me like a Bedlam; in which humour he called all his Neighbours about him, and after a wiſe Conſultation, they provided me with two Mules, and five Men on foot with ruſty Muskets without Powder or Shot, to guide and guard me through the Mountains. I had not travelled two Miles before all my Guard were ſtollen aſide, and taking advantage of the Woods and Mountains, were fled from me, ſo that I found my ſelf with no other than my own People, in an unbeaten Path, and a way unfrequented; the man excepted who drove the Mules, who for ſake of his Beaſts was obliged to a farther attendance. We travelled in this manner through the Mountains about four hours, when near a Village called *Suratnee*, we met one of the Principal men on Horſe-back, carrying a ſlead Mutton behind him, which upon Examination we diſcovered to be carried for a Bribe to the *Kadi* of *Iſheelee*, that ſo he would be his Friend, and favour him in his Cauſe: And further upon inquiry, finding that our Entertainment was likely to be mean at *Suratnee*, we forced the Gentleman to return with us, and to ſell us his Mutton at the market-price, and ſo for that time we diſappointed our *Kadi* of his Fee or Reward: and being upon the riſe of a Hill deſcending to *Suratnee*, ſo that the People could ſee us at a diſtance, they like true Sons of *Kauz-dog* forſook their Habitations, and fled, which we perceiving poſted after them, and catched two of their men, whom we brought under Shart, (or the Country-mans Oath, which they account very ſacred, and will by no means break) to be true and faithful to us, to ſerve, and not leave us for ſo long time as we ſhould remain in their Village; and accordingly theſe men were not only ſerviceable, but diligent: ſo ſoon as they diſcovered me to be one who would pay juſtly for what I took, and was not a *Turkiſh* Aga, or Servant of Great men who harraſs the People, and take their Service and Meat on account of free Quarter, the whole Village returned again from their places of Refuge amidſt the Woods, ſo that I neither wanted Proviſions nor Attendance.

1663.

1663. Another paſſage happened unto me of better Civility and Entertainment in the Plains of *Pergamus*, where not many Miles from that Ancient City, I arrived about ſix a Clock in the Evening at certain Tents or Cots of Shepherds, being only Hurdles covered with Hair-cloth, lined within with a ſort of looſe Felt, a ſufficient defence againſt the Sun and Rain; the *Turks* call theſe People *Euruchs*, and are Shepherds who with their Wives, Children and Cattel, Live and Inhabit, where they moſt delight, or like the Shepherds of Ancient days, remove their dwellings to thoſe Places where they find moſt plenty of Water and Paſture. Amongſt theſe Cots ſo ſoon as I alighted from my Horſe, I was received and ſaluted by the Aga or Chief, with great Humanity and Kindneſs; for ſo ſoon as he underſtood who I was, and that I was imploied in publick Affairs, he preſently placed me under ſome neighbouring Trees, and called for Carpets and Cuſhions to ſit on, which were more Fine and Rich, than agreed with the outward appearance of Men wholly unaccuſtomed to a City-life. After ſome Diſcourſe had with me, which I remember to have been very Courteous and Inquiſitive of my Condition and Buſineſs, he provided Provender for our Horſes, and in a ſhort time ordered Bread and Eggs to be brought for to ſtay my Stomach, ſuppoſing that hard Travels had ſharpened my Appetite. About an hour after that, he invited all my Company, and then we fed very plentifully of ſeveral Diſhes, which the good Houſwives had dreſſed within the Precincts of their poor Tents; whilſt the Shepherds had in the Field killed a fat Kid, and were then roaſting it whole at the ſuel of a Tree which they had fell'd; this Roaſt-meat they cut into quarters, and with Bread and Salt put it into a Linen-cloth, delivering it to one of my Servants for our Breakfaſt the next morning. Having thus well refreſhed my ſelf with the Charity of theſe good Shepherds, I aroſe with the Moon about eleven a Clock at Night; but before my Departure, I demanded what I had to pay; to which the generous Shepherd replied, That my Acceptance was a ſufficient Payment, for that all Men were obliged to be Civil and Hoſpirable to Men who travelled the World like me for publick Service; and withal deſired me to ſpeak well, whereſoever I came, of ſuch poor Men who led their Lives in the Fields, who were inſtructed in theſe Principles, *viz.* to hurt none, and to be humane and helpful to all Mankind.

In a few days after my Arrival at *Smyrna*, I imbarked on the *Bonaventure* Frigat, Commanded by Capt. *Berkeley*, afterwards Sir *William Berkeley*, and ſhaping our courſe firſt for *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, we came to Anchor before the Town the 29*th*; and immediately going aſhore, we were conducted to the Preſence of the Paſha of that Country, whom I acquainted with the occaſion of this Addreſs, delivering into his hands two Copies of the late Treaty of Peace, one confirmed by the Hand and Seal of His Majeſty our Gracious Soveraign, and the other of the Sultan; both which he received with ſingular Reſpect and Reverence, promiſing to maintain the Peace ſacred and inviolable; and ſo being diſmiſſed fairly from him, we ſpeedily repaired on Board, and ſetting Sail again that Night with a proſperous Gale, we anchored in the *Bay* of *Tunis* on the ſecond of *September*; and the next day being landed, we in the firſt place made our Addreſſes to the *Dey*, who bears the Office of Prince or Governor in chief, tho in the *Arabian* Language the word ſignifies as much as Uncle, to whom I tendred the Confirmations of Peace in the ſame form and manner as before at *Tripoli*: the *Dey* received them with Reſpect and Honour, promiſing to continue the Peace; that part which was from our King, he received himſelf; but that which was from the Grand Signior he adviſed me to deliver to the Paſha; for coming from his Maſter, it might more nearly concern him than any other; the Paſha having ſeen and read, the Hatteſheriff returned it again to the *Dey* to be placed amongſt the Records and Regiſters of the Divan, and ſo making a Viſit to all the great Men in Power, giving them notice of our Buſineſs, that ſo none might take Exceptions, or judg themſelves neglected for want of Addreſſes; we the ſame Night departed from *Tunis*, and proceeded forward in our Voyage to *Algier*. But before we arrive there, I have time to acquaint the Reader of the Peſtilential Fever which then affected our whole Ship. When we departed from *Smyrna*, we had fourteen Sick of the Autumnal Diſtemper, but before ten Days, we had ninety five out of a hundred and ſixty Men, which lay Sick on their Beds and Hamocks; and we feared ſo general a Weakneſs, that we ſhould not have had Strength ſufficient to have Sailed our Ship; for I think there was ſcarce any amongſt us in perfect Health. But God ſhewed his Strength in our Weakneſs, ſo that in ten Days, having buried nine of our Men, he was pleaſed with the change of our Climate, to renew our Health, and in Anſwer to our Prayers, as it were by a Miracle, to reſtore us to all the Health, and Strength, and Comfort, that we could deſire.

Tripoli.

Tunis.

At *Algier*, that Den of Thieves, and Harbour of Faithleſs Men, and all Impiety, we arrived the 10*th* of *September*, where immediately with aſſiſtance of the Conſul, we deſigned to tender the Confirmations of the Peace unto the Divan; then the ſupreme and Abſolute Power. But whilſt we imagined the Peace firm, and improbable that thoſe Articles which were concluded and agreed but the laſt Year, ſhould ſo eaſily and ſoon be forgotten; we found the Scene of Affairs greatly altered, and fears of an unexpected Rupture; for the Ships of *Algier* roving in the Seas, had lately ſent in nine ſmall *Engliſh* Veſſels without a Paſs from the Duke of *York*, for want of which, they pretended by a new Agreement they ought to be prize; of which, fix by means of the Conſul being releaſed, three only remained under Detention at our Arrival; when immediately we applied our ſelves to *Shaban* Aga, a *Spaniſh* Renegado, then Cape or Chief of their confuſed Divan; to him we firſt diſcloſed the import of our Meſſage, and ſhewed the Confirmations of our Peace ſubſcribed by the King of *England*, and the Grand Signior. After he had read them, a Divan was called, and the Confirmations openly publiſhed; at which time it was aſſented and agreed, that the Articles ought to be maintained, and the Peace continued; but to have this eſtabliſhed by firm Authority, it was farther referred to the Great Divan, which is a Grand Aſſembly of the People, who uſually meet together every *Saturday* of the Week. In the mean time, having had an Acquaintance formerly with the Paſha of this Place, ſent hither by the Grand Signior, we were deſirous to make him a Viſit, the better to diſcover in what nature they Honour and own the *Ottoman* Port; but, before we could be admitted to his Preſence, we were obliged to demand Licenſe of the Divan, which they granted with ſome unwillingneſs, and with the caution of two or three Witneſſes of our Diſcourſe. We were ſcarce welcomed into the Room, and the uſu-

1663.

al

1663. al Salutations paſſed, before we were interrupted by the Officers, and not ſuffered to proceed; ſo little eſteem they made of the Paſha, to whom notwithſtanding they allowed twelve thouſand Dollars a Year for his Maintenance, ſo as to carry the fair and ſpecious outſide at the *Ottoman* Court, of receiving a Paſha from thence; but were ſo far from permitting him to intermeddle in the Government, that they confined him like a Priſoner, not ſuffering him to ſtir Abroad without Permiſſion and Conſent of the Divan, and that very ſeldom, tho he often pleaded his Health was much impaired by his Reſtraint, and craved Enlargement, rather for neceſſity than his Pleaſure.

The Day of the great Divans Aſſembly being come, the Confirmations of the Peace was again read, and well approved, and ſo laid up in the Repoſitory of their Writings; and promiſe made us for Releaſement of our Ships. But let us now obſerve the levity and unſteadineſs of this popular Government; for being the day following appointed to receive our diſpatches, and diſcharge of the three Ships; there aroſe unexpectedly at the Divan, certain Scruples and Jealouſies amongſt them, which immediately quaſhed all our Negotiations, and inſtead of confirming the Peace, produced a War. For the Divan being met, they were afraid to releaſe the Ships, leſt the Soldiers who had ſent them in, being then abroad, ſhould call them to queſtion for it at their return; and not to releaſe them, might be an occaſion of a War; which not ſucceeding according to their deſire, the cauſers thereof might be called into queſtion, and puniſhed for it; of which ſtill remained the freſh memory of late Examples. In this *Dilemma* of their Affairs, they reſolved to make the Act herein, to be of general and publick Aſſent; and to that end they Aſſembled a Grand Divan, calling the Captains of Ships and Galliſes, then in Port, unto their Council; who without Heſitation, or queſtioning other Matters, declared, that the three *Engliſh* Ships were lawful Prize; and that it was no longer requiſite to maintain the ſecond Article of freeing Strangers Goods on *Engliſh* Veſſels; it neither being the deſign nor intereſt of *Algier*, to benefit all Chriſtendom by their Peace with *England*: this Sentence was followed by the whole Rabble of the Divan, with cry and noiſe; to which the wiſer ſort, notwithſtanding our Plea, and Reaſons to the contrary, which laſted for full two hours, were forced to condeſcend, and concur in the ſame Vote. Howſoever by Importunity, and ſomething of the force of Reaſon, which in the moſt blind and obſcure minds of Men, hath ſomething of forcible Violence; we obtained the releaſe of the three Ships, upon diſcharge of the Strangers Goods, and payment of their Freight. But the ſecond Article of Peace, forbidding the ſearch of *Engliſh* Ships for Strangers Eſtates, or their Perſons, was declared null, and no longer to be maintained; nor the Peace likewiſe, unleſs His Majeſty would accept it upon that Condition, to which end, they wrote this following Letter.

The unconſtancy of the popular Government at Algier.

The Letter of the Government of *Algier* to His Majeſty.

GReat and Chriſtian Prince, King of England. *After Health and Peace*, &c. *Since we have made Peace with You, unto this day there have no Injuries nor Damages been offered by Us. Your Ships that have been as Prizes, for Your ſake we have let free, not offering them the leaſt Injury, nor diminiſhing any thing from them in the leaſt, until ſuch time as Your Conſul gave Us Counter-paſſes, that what Ships were found with them, to be let free, and thoſe that are without them, to be brought in: And we have found divers without them, which for Friendſhip ſake which is between Us, We have let go free. Now from henceforth, if that we find any of our Enemies Goods or Men in Your Ships, we ſhall take the Goods and Men, paying the Freight to their Port. And we ſhall deſire you, as ſoon as you ſhall receive this our Letter, that you will ſend your anſwer hereunto, for we ſhall think it long until we receive it from You; and for the future, what Ships ſhall be brought in without a Paſs-port, we ſhall take them, and detain them here, until ſuch time as we have an anſwer from You; which pray ſend without delay. The end of the Month* Sefar, 1074. *which was then in the Month of* September, 1663. 1663.

In this manner a ſecond War broke forth in the ſpace of two Years, by which a Perſon may judg of the inconſtancy and unſteady humour of this People; who but three days before, gave us all the evidence of fair Correſpondence and Friendſhip; and it is probable, that when they entered the Divan, they came not with Reſolutions or Thoughts of War; however accidents and occaſional diſcourſes each with other, following the cry and humour of ſome rude Savage Perſon, which leads the reſt, carried all things with Violence towards a Breach: So that by what preceded, and from theſe following Reaſons, it may be concluded impoſſible to maintain a firm and laſting Peace with this People.

Firſt, Becauſe theſe People are compoſed of the worſt Sort or Scum of the *Turks*, and worſt of Chriſtians, which are Renegadoes, who have renounced God and their Country, and a Generation of People who have no Religion, nor Honour; Peace cannot be longer expected or maintained, than fear or intereſt enjoins them to compliance.

Secondly, The Government of *Algier* being popular, and in the hands of a vile Commonalty, who are ignorant Perſons, guided by no Rules or Principales; unſteady in all their Councils, not reſolving or conſulting any thing before they enter the Divan, do commonly follow that Reſolution, which they perceive to be carried on with the greateſt noiſe; and therefore are a People not capable of Peace or Friendſhip.

Thirdly, This irrational Commonalty is overawed by a heady Soldiery, who are only then affrighted into a Peace, whilſt a ſtronger force compels them into good Manners. But when that Power and Puniſhment is withdrawn, they again harden their hearts like *Pharaoh*, and then when the Temptation of rich Merchant-men preſents it ſelf, their natural Inclination to Piracy returns, and their Covetouſneſs again prevails, and then they curſe the Peace, and the makers of it, and without remorſe break their Articles, and their Faith, having neither Honour nor Conſcience to reſtrain them. Wherefore unleſs the

Heads

1663. Heads of the chief Cauſers of the War be given in ſatisfaction, or Money paid for the expence, and Hoſtages given for ſecurity of it, it can never be expected that a laſting Peace ſhould be maintained with this People; the proof of which, hath been made appear by the ſequel of affairs, and by thoſe Wars which have enſued ſince this time. And now let us return to the Wars in *Hungary*, and become Spectators of thoſe Tranſactions, which were then the general concernment of the Eaſtern and Weſtern World.

The Proceedings of the War in HUNGARY.

WE left the Grand Vizier on his March towards the parts of *Hungary*, with an Army, as computed, to conſiſt of Eighty Thouſand fighting men, and of about Seventy Thouſand deſigned for Pioniers, and other neceſſary ſervices of the Army. In this march the Vizier out of deſign to ſlacken the warlike Preparations of the Chriſtians, and to diſcover the inclinations of the Emperor to Peace, deſired a Treaty, that if poſſible, matters might be reduced to terms of accommodation. The Reſident of *Germany*, was then in the Army, but he, not being impowered ſingly for any ſuch Treaty, the Baron of *Goez*, then with *Ali* Paſha at *Temeſwar*, was ſent for, and being arrived, were both called into the Viziers Tent at *Belgrade*, to whom it was propoſed, That in Caſe the Emperor deſired a Peace, he ſhould reſign into the hands and poſſeſſion of the Sultan *Zekelhyd*, *Zatmar*, *Clauſenburg*, alias *Coloſvar*, with the late built Fort of Count *Serini*, without which, no Sacrifice could appeaſe the anger, and give a ſtop to the progreſs of the *Ottoman* Arms. Whilſt theſe Propoſitions by Poſt were diſpatched to *Vienna*, the Vizier proceeded in his Journey to *Strigonium*, now called *Gran*, to which place, after ſixteen Days time, the Meſſenger returned with an Anſwer from the Emperor, which ſhowed an inclination towards an acceptance of Peace on the terms propoſed, but with inſtructions to his Miniſters to moderate by their diſcreet management (what was poſſible) the rigour of the demands. For by reaſon of the diſaffection of the *Hungarians*, whom the Emperor had lately diſguſted by demoliſhing ſeveral of their Churches, and diſcountenancing the *Proteſtant* Religion which they profeſſed; and by reaſon of the Phlegm of the Princes of *Germany*, whom different intereſts made ſlow and unactive in their preparations againſt the common Enemy; the Emperor was wholly unprovided to oppoſe the violence of this over-flowing Torrent, and became an unequal match for the *Ottoman* Force. The *Turks* perceiving that the *Germans* began to condeſcend, and yield to any conditions, which might purchaſe their quiet, ſtarted a farther demand of Fifty thouſand Florins of Yearly Tribute, and two Millions of Crowns for expence of the War, to be paid by the Emperor to the Sultan. Theſe proud and unexped Propoſals ſtartled not a little the Baron of *Goez*, who readily made anſwer, that he clearly perceived now, that there were no intentions to a Peace, ſince the Vizier was pleaſed to make the matter ſo difficult and impoſſible, for that it were as eaſy to bring Heaven and Earth to meet, as his Maſter to meet the G. Signior in the Conceſſion of this particular. Theſe extravagant demands awakened the Imperial Court, who now obſerving the *Turks* without their Vizard, to march haſtily to ſurprize them, vigorouſly rouſed themſelves to make that convenient proviſion and defence by War, which the ſtraitneſs of time permitted them: So that in the firſt place they Aſſembled a Diet at *Ratisbonne*, where it was reſolved to raiſe four Armies; the firſt for the Guard and defence of *Moravia* and *Sileſia*, under the Command of Count *Suſa*, a Native of *Rochel*. The ſecond under the Command of Count *Raimond Monteculi*, for ſafety of *Raab*, *Newhauſel*, and *Komorra*, and the Frontiers of *Hungary*. The third under Command of Count *Nicholas Serini* for defence of *Croatia*. The fourth compoſed ſolely of *Hungarians*, commanded by the Palatine of that Country, which they reported to conſiſt of Thirty thouſand fighting men. Fifthly, It was ordered that all Gariſons ſhould be well provided of Victuals and Ammunition; and that the Inhabitants of *Vienna* ſhould take into every Houſe a proviſion for a years maintenance, and ſuch as were not able at their own Coſt, were to abandon their Dwellings. And in the mean time the Villages round about were demoliſhed, to the great amazement and confuſion of the People.

The *Turks* now bearing in their thoughts nothing but War, began to deſign and chalk out the beſt order and method for its proſecution. The principal places then in eye of the Vizier, were *Raab*, and *Komorra*, Fortreſſes of conſiderable ſtrength, maintained and defended by Souldiers of known proweſs and conduct, and provided equally with all ſorts of Ammunition and Proviſions, agreeable to ſuch conſiderable Bulwarks and Walls, not only of the *German* Empire, but (I may ſay) of all Chriſtendom. *Raab*, called by the *Italians*, *Javarin*, and by the *Turks*, *Yanick*, is ſcituated in a plain, level, and Champion Country; the Town it ſelf very regular and compact, the Fortifications moſt exact according to the new Model, and much improved in its ſtrength ſince the recovery of it from the hands of the *Turk*, by whom it was once taken, in the year 1594. it hath its name from the River *Rab*, on which it is ſeated juſt on the meeting of the *Danube*. *Komorra* is a ſtronger Fortreſs, erected in an Iſland of the River *Danube*, called after the ſame name, which hath often been attempted by the *Turks*, but with ill ſucceſs; at both which places I have perſonally been, and viewed them with much delight. Wherefore the Vizier conſidering the ſtrength, and difficulty of theſe places, reſolved to take due and mature conſideration before he engaged himſelf in any enterprize, and to that end aſſembled together in Conſultation with him the moſt ancient and grave men, that were Natives of the Country; ſome of theſe being ſuch who had lived in *Rab*, been Slaves there, and had well marked and obſerved the ſtrength of that Fortreſs both as to Nature and Art, aſſured the Vizier, That the Work was immenſe, difficult, and dangerous, and not to be accompliſhed in the ſpace of one Summer; and that the Winters in that Countrey were very cold and rigid, and ill agreeing with the temperament of the Aſiatick Souldiery. The Vizier, though he farther conſidered that his Souldiers were as yet young and unexperienced, and that a foyl encountred at the firſt Enterprize, might be a diſcouragement from following the continued Tract and Courſe of this War, which muſt be ſuſtained with labour and patience, and that to withdraw his Forces in the Winter would be a diſhonour to the *Ottoman* Arms, a blemiſh in the beginning to his own Reputation, and an encouragement of the Enemy: Howſoever, having a

vio-

The Vizier deſires a Treaty to amuſe the Chriſtians.

This Tribute was paid by the Emperor to Sultan Solyman.

Raab.

Komorra.

The *Turks* deliberate of the method to be uſed in War.

1663. violent Ambition and Deſire to become Maſter of *Rab*, he could not reſt ſatisfied in this Counſel before he had conſulted with *Ali* Paſha, and other Paſhaws of the Frontier Countries, who duly conſidering the matter as it ſtood, concurred in the ſame judgment that was formerly made of the difficulty of this deſign; and herein they were the more ſtrongly confirmed, by the report of certain *Hungarians*, whom ſome parties of Horſe, under the Command of *Ali* Paſha, roving and ſallying out near the Walls of *Rab*, had ſurprized and taken, who being brought bound before the Vizier, related, That the Town was well provided with all ſorts of Ammunition and Proviſions, and the Gariſon reinforced by Count *Montecuculi* with ſupply of four Thouſand men, and in this manner reported the Work as difficult as the *Turks* of the Countrey had formerly ſignified. This relation confirmed by ſo many hands, diverted the Vizier from this Deſign: for before that time imagining it a place which might eaſily be ſubdued, he propoſed to himſelf, without any interruption, a clear and undiſturbed March to the Gates of *Vienna*, which he ſwallowing alſo in his thoughts, hoped by his own ſucceſs to repair the ſhame of *Solyman*'s flight from the Walls of that City, and beſides the glory of forcing the Emperor from his Imperial Seat, he ſhould atone for the ſin of the *Ottomon* Cowardice, and be the firſt who undertook to mend the actions, and outvie the proweſs of the moſt magnificent, and moſt ſucceſsful of their Sultans. But the Ambition of this grand deſign giving way to neceſſity, and to thoſe other impediments which obſtructed it, after due and mature Conſultation, *Newhauſel*, called by the *Hungarians Oywar*, was fixed upon as the place to be firſt attempted, and held up to the eye of the Souldiery, as the reward and prize of their valour and hazard. Wherefore Boats were provided, and Planks, and Timbers for a Bridge to paſs the *Danube*, which the *Turks* in a few days, according to their uſual expeditions, had raiſed; ſo that the Army both Horſe and Foot began to tranſport themſelves as faſt as was poſsible to the other ſide, but the multitudes crouded over in that diſorder and haſte, that Three or four Thouſand men had ſcarce paſſed the River before the Bridge was ſo broken and ſhattered, that ſome time was neceſſarily required to repair it, before the reſt of the Army durſt adventure to follow their Companions. The Approach of the *Turkiſh* Army alarmed all that ſide of *Hungary*, but eſpecially the Inhabitants of *Newhauſel*; who obſerving the *Turks* to bend their Courſe that way, plainly fore-ſaw the Storm of VVar to be breaking on them: The News alſo of the fall of the Bridge, and thereby the Separation of about Four thouſand *Turks* from the Body of the Army, was brought in by the Countrey people, who forſaking their Villages, fled for ſuccour to the ſtronger Fortreſs of *Newhauſel*. Hereupon *Forcatz*, the Governour of *Newhauſel*, a valiant and experienced Souldier, though eſteemed by the *Turks* unfortunate, taking this Alarm, judged that this occaſion of cutting off that part of the *Turkiſh* Army which had paſt the River, was in no wiſe to be omitted, and therefore aſſembled a Council of VVar, which conſiſted of all the principal Officers and Commanders of the Gariſon; (amongſt which was Colonel *Volter*, that commanded the Four thouſand men, lately ſent to reinforce the Town) he declared that his Opinion was, immediately to make a Sally on that part of the *Turkiſh* Army, which had already paſſed the River, before the Bridge was repaired for Tranſporration of the others; which endeavours, by God's Aſsiſtance, ſucceeding well, might not only diſcourage the Enemy, but be a means to divert them from their preſent deſign upon their City. This Advice, though he preſſed with heat of Argument, and violence of Speech, yet could it not prevail with the reſt of the Council, which ſeemed wholly averſe thereunto, eſpecially *Volter*, who declared, That his Commiſſion was not to fight in the Field, but to conſerve himſelf within the Walls, for maintenance of his Gariſon: Some days paſſed in this Diſpute, whilſt *Forcatz* growing more eager and hot on this deſign, uſed opprobrious Terms, and expreſsions of infamy towards the other Officers, accuſing all ſuch of Cowardice and Treaſon, who refuſed to concur with him in this Enterprize and advantage on the Enemy, which Heaven ſeemed to reach out to them for their Deliverance, if their wiſdom and courage afforded them only will and grace to lay hold on the opportunity. Theſe ſharp words and reſolution of the Governour provoked the minds of the Officers to a condeſcention, and thereupon about Eight thouſand men of Choice, and approved Souldiers, well armed with ſtout hearts, and hard Iron; not ſuffering themſelves to be upbraided with ſuch reproach, in the ſilence of the Night, under the Conduct of *Forcatz*, (their own Commander, *Volter* remaining in the Town) took their way towards the *Turkiſh* Camp, and being armed with Firelocks, marched with all privacy, without lighted Matches, or ſound of Drum or Trumpet. But whilſt the foregoing Diſpute laſted, the *Turks* had tranſported the groſs of their Army over the River, and then lay on her Banks, reſting ſecurely under their Pavillions. The Chriſtians approaching near the *Turkiſh* Camp, with the firſt twilight, and dawning of the Morning, (perceiving the Enemy unprovided, but not diſcovering their Force) dealt at firſt on-ſet, their ſhot moſt plentifully amongſt them, and proceeding amidſt the thickeſt, cutting, ſhooting, killing, and making havock of all before them. The amazed *Turks* having many of their Companions brought to their laſt ſleep, before themſelves were throughly awake, and ſome flying before they diſcovered the reaſon or the danger, an Alarm was given by the confuſed murmur of *Allah*, *Allah*, and that the Chriſtians were upon them, reached the fartheſt Quarters of the *Turkiſh* Army, which immediately put themſelves into Battalia, and order of fighting, whilſt this handful of *Germans* proceeded forwards, dealing their blows amongſt their Enemies, cutting the Cords of the Tents, and deſtroying all before them. But by this time the *Turks* having put themſelves into a poſture of Defence, the Horſe and Foot came marching in a Body, extending their Wings in the form of a half Moon, ſo as to encloſe this ſmall number, and on all ſides to aſſail them. The *Germans* ſeeing this formidable fight approach, and no ſafety in flight, encouraged each other to ſell their Lives at as dear a rate as they could; all hopes of eſcape ſeeming deſperate, they fought with that courage and obſtinacy as amazed the *Turks*, and yielded not until their Spirits fainted with labour, and their Swords were blunted by the Bodies of their Enemies. The Count *Forcatz* hardly eſcaped, but by the help of his Horſe, with ſome few others, fled to *Newhauſel*, which unwillingly received him, wiſhing that the raſhneſs of his Counſels had only proved his own deſtruction, and not involved ſo many brave and innocent Souldiers, who were only unfortunate for being over-

1663.

Newhauſel.

Forcatz the Governour of *Newhauſel*, ill adviſes a Sally.

Forcatz ſurpriſes the *Turkiſh* Camp.

The *Germans* are routed, and fly.

1663. over-powered by his command and perſwaſions: The reſt overwhelmed with multitudes yielded; for though they behaved themſelves beyond the power and courage of men, yet the numbers of the Enemy prevailed at length over theſe Chriſtian Champions, whoſe Gallantry was more eminent and conſpicuous in being ſubdued, than the Glory of their Enemies in the Victory. In this Skirmiſh few eſcaped, amongſt which Four hundred Gentlemen were ſlain, and about eighteen hundred Priſoners reported to be taken, a bad *Omen* at the beginning of this War. This Rout being given, the *Turks* triumphed in Blood, and ſucceſs, and returned with their Captives, and Trophies back to *Strigonium*, where the Vizier mounting a Throne of State and Majeſty, treated theſe valiant Souldiers, not like men of War, or Captives taken in open Field, but as a Judge condemned them to dye by the hand of the Hangman or Executioner, paſſing a formal Sentence of Death upon them, as if they had been Thieves or Aſſaſſinates arreſted by the hand of Juſtice. The Sentence being paſſed, and the *Turkiſh* Army drawn up, theſe valiant Chriſtian were ranked in order and file to dye, who had ſo lately with Swords in their hands, ranged themſelves in Battel againſt their Enemy; and ſo ſoon as the Executioners fell to their work, and the horrid Maſſacree was begun, the Guns were fired, and the whole Camp reſounded with barbarous Muſick and ſhouts. In the mean while the moſt ſuperſtitious amongſt them triumphed, that God was now deſtroying the Infidels, manifeſting the truth of their Prophet, and doing his own work; not unlike the aſſertions and doctrines of thoſe Pretenders to Religion, who have always hallowed and excuſed their cruelties with the Name of God, and ſanctified the blood they have ſhed by making their Enemies *Amalekites*, and by pretence of falſe Lights and Prophecies countenanced their moſt impious Sacrilege in God's Churches, and Invaſions of their Neighbours Rights. The mercileſs Executioners had proceeded to bereave of life about Thirteen or Fourteen hundred perſons, the Vizier ſtanding a Spectator with zeal to his Sect and Prophet, until the *Turkiſh* Souldiery who inhabit the Borders, glutted with ſo much cruelty towards their Neighbours, began to murmur, and at length to ſpeak aloud, That to deſtroy Captives in cold Blood was an action againſt the Law of Arms, and might be revenged by their Enemies with like examples of cruelty, ſince none there preſent, being all Souldiers, were ſecure from the misfortunes and mutabilities of War. The Vizier over-hearing theſe whiſpers of the Souldiery, gave a ſtop to the cruelty of the Executioners, and ſent ſuch as ſurvived to different Priſons in *Buda*, *Adrianople*, and *Conſtantinople*. I have ſeen not far from *Strigonium* the heads of theſe Wretches thus miſerably butchered, thrown up into a heap, the Beards and Hair of thoſe that lay undermoſt ſtill growing; the Earth which ſucked in their blood, became thence ſtenched up and barren, and the white bones and carkaſſes of their bodies lay diſperſed and ſcattered in a large Field; ſo that I could not but call to mind the maſſacred Legions under the Conduct of *Quintilius Varus* in *Germany*; and thoſe *albentia oſſa*, and the barbarous Altars flowing with the *Roman* blood; and I could as paſſionately fancy to have ſeen the angry *Germans* return to appeaſe the Ghoſts of their Country-men with decent Burial, as I was ſenſible of *Germanicus* in zeal, when he adventured to contaminate his Augurs Office by his too forward Humanity and Religion towards his Country and Parentage. But this cruelty of the Vizier was recompenſed by Count *Serini* not long after, who having had ſome ſucceſs againſt *Arnaut* Paſha and his Army, of whom he had ſlain ſix hundred men, and ſuch as he took alive, in cold blood he diſmembred and tortured, and having of ſome cut off their hands, and plucked out their eyes, ſent them to report the reaſon of this inhumane and mercileſs uſage to the Vizier.

The Vizier deals not like a Souldier with his Priſoners of War.

1663.

In the mean time *Forcatz* adviſed General *Montecuculi* the Governour of *Rab* of this defeat, and how the flower and ſtrength of his Gariſon was deſtroyed; and that if he were not immediately ſupplied, he ſhould be forced to abandon his Fort, and leave all to the fury and mercy of the Enemy. Hereupon a Thouſand *Germans* were ſent for ſuccour with all ſorts of Ammunition and Proviſions requiſite; but the *Turks* after their Triumph before *Strigonium*, returned and marched on ſo faſt towards *Newhauſel*, having paſſed the *Danube*, that certainly they had intercepted this Recruit, had not *Forcatz* amuſed their minds, and for a while ſtopped their haſty approach, by advancing a white Flag to the top of the Walls, as if he had had a deſign of Treaty and Surrender of the Town upon Conditions: So that here the *Turkiſh* Army made a halt, and for Three or Four hours time remained with expectation when Conditions for the Surrender ſhould come; every one wondering to ſee the Flag of Truce erected, and ſo much ſilence in the Fort, and yet no appearance of a Meſſage. In this interval and breathing of time, the Succour ſafely arriving within the Town, the white Flag was changed to colours of defiance, to the great aſtoniſhment and anger of the *Turks*. Whereupon the Vizier drawing ſomewhat nearer, began to intrench and begirt the Town on the 4*th* of *Auguſt*, which was defended by three principal Officers, *viz.* Count *Adam Forcatz*, the Marqueſs *Pio* an *Italian*, and one *Lucatelli* an old and experienced Souldier. But the Vizier, before he would offer any violence to the Town, thought fit to ſummon them in this ſtile: *That through the Grace of God and the Miracles of our Prophet, who is a Son of both Worlds, and by whom there is Happineſs and Glory, I that am the firſt of the Council, and General of the moſt Mighty Emperor of the Turks, that is the King of all Kings on the Earth, To you* Adam Forcatz *that are the Chief among all the Nobility of* Hungary, *do make known, That through the Command of my moſt Gracious Lord, the moſt terrible, the moſt puiſſant, and moſt myſterious Emperor, I am come with his Forces before* Newhauſel *to reduce it to his Obedience. Wherefore if you ſhall deliver up the place to Us, you ſhall have liberty to march out with what belongs unto you from the higheſt to the loweſt, and he that would rather ſtay ſhall keep his Goods and Eſtate: But if you will not yield, we will take it by force, and every man of you, from the higheſt to the loweſt, ſhall be put to the Sword. If the* Hungarians *did but know the good intentions of the mighty Emperor; they and their childrian would bleſs God for him. Peace be to the Obedient.* The Chriſtians not ſubmitting to theſe Summons, the *Turks* continued to make their nearer approaches, and being now at a convenient diſtance, raiſed two great Batteries, on which they mounted a Hundred Pieces of Canon, and from thence made ſuch conſtant ſhot as ſhaked the Churches, and almoſt levelled the moſt lofty Buildings with their Foundations. The 14*th*. of *Auguſt* was deſigned for a general ſtorm, ſo that before break of day Faggots and Rubbiſh

The *Turks* approach to *Newhauſel*.

The *Turks* Summons.

1663. The *Turks* storm the Town.

biſh were brought to fill the Ditches, and ſcaling Ladders to aſcend the Walls; but though the *Ottoman* Forces were puiſſant, and their Aſſault they made fierce and briſk, yet they were received, with that gallantry by the Defendants, that the Trenches early in the Morning were filled with the Carkaſſes of the Dead, and at laſt the *Turks* forced to give over the Aſſault, with the loſs of great numbers of their men.

The Siege ſtill continuing, and the *Turks* angry, and inflamed with the diſgrace of their late foil, endeavoured to redeem their Honour by their Attempts, filling up the Ditches with Rubbiſh, ſerving themſelves therein of the Chriſtian Captives lately taken: The Defendants on the other ſide, by the dictates of Nature and Reaſon, were directed to maintain their Houſes, Wives, and Children from the rapine and violence of an unjuſt Enemy; ſo that both Parties moving from different Principles, uſed all the Art and Valour poſſible for deſtruction each of other: The noiſe of Cannon from the Forts raiſed by the *Turks*, reſounded continually in the Air, and from the Town the ſhot were often ſo fortunately placed; that daily, beſides great numbers of ordinary Soldiers, many Perſons of Note and Quality amongſt the *Turks* were ſlain.

The *Turks* enter *Moravia* and *Auſtria*.

But the *Turks* having before this Town a greater number of Soldiers than either could come to fight, or what was thought neceſſary to ſubdue it, the Vizier ſelected from his Army a very conſiderable Force to enter and ſpoil *Moravia* and *Auſtria*; of theſe were Six hundred *Tartars* joined to a ſtrong Force of *Turks*, who by the guidance of the Natives paſſing the River *Waegh*, ſpoiled and deſtroyed all the Country round about, carrying men, women, and children into ſlavery, leaving what was not conveniently portable, in aſhes. But in paſſing the River, they incountred a conſiderable Body of *Germans*, both Horſe and Foot, and being oppoſed by them, were at firſt forced to retreat again over the River with the loſs of about Eight hundred Janiſaries; but the *next* Day, renewing the Fight with better courage and ſucceſs, paſſed the River in deſpight of the Imperialiſts, whom they purſued almoſt as far as *Presburg*. Theſe *Turks* were ſeconded by a greater Body of *Tartars*, every one after the manner of his Country, leading one or two ſpare Horſes, made Inroads within five miles of *Vienna*, deſtroying and laying in aſhes all places before them; things there reſembling Dooms-day, conſumed with fire, and not ſo much almoſt left as marks or appearance of habitation.

The confuſion of the *German* Councils.

Theſe Troubles and Confuſions in *Hungary* were the talk and amazement of all Chriſtendom, and indeed little more they were than talk; for the Chriſtian Princes farther diſtant, as leſs concerned ſtood at a gaze, expecting the iſſue of that Treaty which was between the King of *France*, and the Pope; and the Princes of *Germany* (whatſoever was reſolved at the Diet) like men ſurprized, knew not what Succours to afford: Some thought it now time to treat with the Emperor, and recover the Rights and Priviledges they thought their due, and to condeſcend to no Terms of confederate aſſiſtance againſt the common Enemy, unleſs with advantageous conſiderations to their State; and all in general acted with that negligence and coldneſs, as if only the State of *Auſtria*, and not the common Cauſe of *Germany* had been concerned. The Election of a General for the Imperial Army admitting long debate, was another retardment to the Preparations for the War; the Duke of *Brandenburg* was nominated, and ſollicited to accept the ſupream Command; but the Title of being General of the Empire, or the Imperial Army, was a diſpute undeterminable, and a difficulty not to be overcome! And though the Enemy had paſſed their Frontiers, and triumphed in their Poſſeſſions, and threatned the ſubverſion of all Chriſtendom; yet Jealouſies, Niceties, and aery Formalities took up all the time; ſo that at length their Councils had no other reſult than an increaſe of Animoſities and Difficulties amongſt themſelves. The Emperor alſo terrified with the Siege of *Newhauſel*, and the near Incurſions of the *Turks*, abandoned his City of *Vienna*, carrying with him the Records and greateſt of his Riches to *Lintz*, to the greater apprehenſion, diſcouragement, and fear of the whole Country in general, and was an act which might have produced very fatal effects, had not the Winter approached, and the progreſs of the Infidels been interrupted by the Valour, Vigilance, good Fortune, and Conduct of Count *Serini*, who in requital of thoſe Incurſions the *Turks* made into the Chriſtian Territories, entred the *Turkiſh* Borders near *Komorra*, and there with Fire and Sword deſtroyed all before him, defeated a Party of about Three thouſand Janiſaries, taking from them a good Booty of Money and Proviſions deſigned for Relief of the Leaguer before *Newhauſel*.

1663.

The Emperor removes to *Lintz*.

During theſe varieties of ſucceſs, the *Turks* ſtill continued the Siege, and having now made a breach, and almoſt filled the graft with rubbiſh, Faggots and other implements, attempted a ſecond ſtorm on the 28*th* and 29*th* of *Auguſt*, but were repulſed with an extraordinary loſs, by the couragious Gallantry of the Defendants: On the 9*th* of *September* was given another more furious Aſſault, every Paſha leading his men in the Front, ſo that the Action this Day was ſo violently and couragiouſly performed, that the *Turkiſh* Enſign was advanced to the top of the Rampire of the Fort *Frederick*, where both ſides coming to handy blows, the diſpute continued a long time; but the courage of the Defendants at length prevailing, the *Turks* were driven headlong from the Walls, and their Colours wreſted from them with the loſs of about Five thouſand men, and Four hundred Chriſtians. Though the *Turks* were much abated in their courage by this days work, yet the Vizier obſtinately continued the Siege, preparing ſpeedily for another ſtorm, in which he hoped to force the Chriſtians to a Surrender. In the mean time, to facilitate the deſign of the *Turks*, on the 15*th* of *September* the chief Magazin of Powder (none knows how) took fire, and blew into the Air, by which blow fifty Soldiers and ſeveral Officers were ſlain; but the worſt was, that the beſieged were deprived of all their Powder, unleſs what remained in private houſes, which ſo diſmayed the Inhabitants, that immediately with one voice they demanded a Parly; The Women alſo began a confuſed tumult, crying out for a Surrender, in which they were ſo impetuous and violent, that they threw ſtones from their windows on the Souldiers. Amidſt of this confuſion the *Turks* diſpoſing their Companies to make another ſtorm, the Officers reſolved upon a Treaty, which concluded with theſe following Conditions.

The *Turks* make another aſſault on the Town.

Newhauſel yielded.

First, *That the Commanders and Gariſon ſhould march out on the Seventeenth of* September, *with Bag and Baggage, and have ſafe conduct as far as* Komorra; *And that for a convenience of the ſick*

1663. *Sick and Wounded, the Vizier ſhould be obliged to provide Four hundred Carts and more, if there ſhould be occaſion.*

Secondly, *That as ſuch as deſire to abandon their dwellings, may have liberty to depart, ſo ſuch as deſire to abide may continue their habitations: And that the Religious and Eccleſiaſtical perſons may perform their Functions as in former times.*

Thirdly, *That upon the Surrender of the principal Works, no* Turk *ſhall enter within the Town, until all ſuch as intend to depart have quitted their ſtations.*

Fourthly, *That for performance of Articles, two Aga's ſhould be given for Hoſtages; and that until the foregoing Articles were fully accompliſhed, all acts of Hoſtility ſhould ceaſe.*

Fifthly, *That the Gariſon might not be neceſſitated to march through the* Turkiſh *Camp, the* Turks *themſelves were obliged to make them a new Bridge, or repair the old to paſs the* Niter.

Theſe Articles, though punctually obſerved by the *Turks*, yet the *Tartars*, who are of a faithleſs and barbarous nature, upon certain pretences aſſaulted the Gariſon, as they marched out, and had doubtleſs moved the reſt of the Camp Rabble to imitate their example; had not many of the Paſhaws at the Head of their Troops, killed the moſt forward in this Rebellious attempt, whoſe perfidious inſolence and riot could not yet have been reſtrained, had not the Gariſon quickned their pace, more like a flight than an orderly March. But the Vizier on the contrary, diſtributed Money to the Gariſon, and eſpecially to the *Hungarians*, with deſign (as is ſuppoſed) to allure and attract their minds to a belief of the gentleneſs of the *Turkiſh* Yoke; as if he compaſſionated the miſeries of that Country, which was the Stage whereon the Tragedies of ſo many miſeries and ſlaughters were acted. This Siege continued about the ſpace of Forty three Days; of the Gariſon marched out Three thouſand five hundred ſound men, and about Five hundred wounded; thoſe Inhabitants who would remain, had protection and liberty. The Army which beſieged the Town, conſiſted of Fifty thouſand men. In the Town were found Sixty pieces of Braſs Cannon, but moſt broken and unſerviceable, with little Ammunition; but with great proviſion of *Hungarian* Wines. The loſs the *Turks* might receive, is computed to have been of about fifteen thouſand men, amongſt which was ſlain, the Spaheelar Agaſee, or General of the Horſe, *Beco* Paſha, Beglerbeg of *Romalia*, *Uſaff*, Paſha of *Anatolia*, and *Ibrahim* Paſha of *Seyda*, with ſixteen Captains belonging to *Buda*, and nine to *Conſtantinople*.

The loſs of *Newhauſel* affected the *Auſtrian* Court with ſo dreadful apprehenſions of the *Ottoman* Fortune and Fury, that they haſtened the finiſhing of the Works, and Fortifications of *Vienna*; cutting down all the Woods and Boſcage thereabouts, which might benefit or ſhelter the Enemy; and ſo great an impreſſion did the fear of the *Turks* prevalency and power work on the minds of the *Germans*, that they not only Fortified the Frontiers, but ſecured the innermoſt parts of *Auſtria*, which extend along the River, as far as within three Miles of *Linz*.

Poſſonium gariſoned.

But above all, *Poſſonium*, which was upon the Frontiers, though not an open Town, yet of no ſtrength or reſiſtance, was not neglected, but reinforced with a conſiderable Gariſon, and the Works reſtored and repaired, with as many additional Fortifications as time would admit. But the Inhabitants had loſt ſo much of their Spirit and Courage, by the melancholly relation of the fate of *Newhauſel*, and the apprehenſion of the dreadful advance of the whole *Turkiſh* Force, that their conſtancy to the Emperor began to waver, and to entertain ſome thoughts of ſubmitting to the mercy and clemency of the *Turks*, who had newly declared, that ſuch as voluntarily ſubmitted to the *Ottoman* Obedience, ſhould for Three years be exempted from all Tribute or Taxes. This conſideration adjoined to fear, ſo prevailed on thoſe of *Poſſonium*, that they ſhut the Gates againſt the Gariſon which was ſent to recruit and defend them; ſome publickly declaring the extremity of their affairs had no other ſafety than in a ſurrender of themſelves to the mercy and protection of the Vizier. Howſoever the Count *Strozzi*, with his *Italian* Artifices, ſo wheedled the groſſer humour of the *Hungarians*, that they were perſwaded to admit him and his Regiment within the Town, where he diſpoſed all things with that Conduct, and built thoſe Forts, and in a ſhort time ſo apparently render'd the Town tenable, that the Inhabitants taking Courage, reſolved to defend themſelves, in obedience to their Prince, to the ultimate point of Eſtates and Lives. In the mean time the *Turks* made themſelves Maſters of *Leventz*, a Town, though tenable, and not contemptible for its ſtrength, yet was by the Peoples fears, and allurements of the Viziers promiſes and fair Propoſitions, committed to the mercy of the *Turks*, and ſwore in Fealty to them the 23*d* day of *September*.

Count *Strozzi*.

Leventz taken by the *Turks*.

By this time the news of the taking of *Newhauſel*, was arrived at the *Ottoman* Court, where it was entertained with ſo much joy, that a Dunelma, or Feſtival, was appointed for the ſpace of ſeven days through the whole Empire; which according to the faſhion of the *Turks*, is Celebrated by adorning the Gates, and outward Walls of their Houſes, ſo ſoon as it begins to be dark, with grate ſtore of Lamps and Candles, during which time the Nights are ſpent with Muſick and Banquets, as the Days are with Viſits and Preſents, and *Corban*, (which is an Alms which rich men make in fleſh to the poor ſort, and is given either at the little *Biram*, which is called the Feaſt of *Corban*, or upon ſome publick Thankſgiving, which is performed in this manner.) He that makes the *Corban*, firſt lays his hand upon the head of the Sheep, or Lamb, makes a ſhort Prayer, and then in the Name of God cuts the throat, the Butcher afterwards fleying off the skin, the Corbaniſt divides the fleſh into ſmall pieces, to as many poor as flock to receive it. In the heat of theſe Revels, and Banquets, every one ſpake high in praiſe of their fortunate Arms, and Congratulated each with other, the proſperous beginnings of this War, promiſing to themſelves the following year, rather a time of Peregrination or Travel through the pleaſant Countries and Cities of the Chriſtians, than blood and ſweat in obtaining the poſſeſſion of their Enemies. Nor were ſuch imaginations vain or abſurd for the Commonalty to entertain; in regard it was evident to the World, in what manner the *Ottoman* Arms roved through *Hungary* uncontrouled, without an appearance of any conſideraable Force to give them the leaſt ſtop or interruption; ſo that under the very Walls of *Rab* and *Presburg*, and on the Banks of the *Danube* near *Komarria*, Incurſions and depredation were made, and great numbers of People of both Sexes, and of all Ages, were carried into ſlavery, the Country all round laid waſte, the Corn and Hay burnt; with all other miſerable effects and Concomitants of War.

Feſtivals for Victory amongſt the *Turks*.

The manner of *Corban*.

In

1663. In this manner all places ſeemed to fall down and yield at the very rumour of the *Turks* approach; for not only *Leventz* ſurrendred it ſelf, but likewiſe *Nitra*, though over-topped by a ſtrong and an impregnable Caſtle, was by the Cowardice of the Commander betrayed at the firſt Summons of the *Turks*; for which action, the Captain afterwards, by expreſs Command of the Emperor, ſuffered Death.

After all theſe ſucceſſes, though no oppoſition appeared in the Field, to obſtruct the luxuriant and wanton march of the victorious Squadrons of the *Ottoman* Army; and not only *Hungary*, but *Auſtria*, and the lower *Germany* was Alarmed and terrified with the rumour of the *Turkiſh* numbers; and though the Vizier (as it is ſaid) began this War with the ambitious thoughts of poſſeſſing *Vienna* it ſelf, and out-vying the Acts of *Solyman* the Magnificent: Yet it ſeemed ſtrange, that being come thus far, and almoſt in proſpect of his hopes, that he ſhould give a check to his Fortunes, and not advance towards *Vienna*, to which now the paſſage ſeemed wide and open; but it was almoſt a miracle, that he ſhould not make a Viſit to *Poſſonium*, before which, had he only diſplaid his dreadful Arms, it had ſurrendred at his firſt Summons and Appearance. Inſtead whereof he attempted *Schinta*, the Magazine of the Emperors Arms and Artillery, but found not the ſame eaſy entrance as he did with the Governour of *Nitra*; but inſtead thereof, being ſtoutly repulſed after ſeveral Aſſaults, concluded the enterprize too difficult, and requiring more time and blood than could be countervailed by the acquiſition of that place. Wherefore raiſing his Camp, he employed a conſiderable Party to take *Novigrade*, a Caſtle ſcituated on a high Rock, encompaſſed with a Ditch of 34 Foot deep Gariſoned with Six hundred Soldiers, and provided ſufficiently with Victuals and Ammunition; howſoever by ill fortune, and worſe Conduct, this place alſo was reſigned into the hands of the *Turks*.

The Vizier aſſaults *Schinta*, but beaten off.

Novigrade taken by the *Turks*.

By this time the Winter approaching, and the ſeaſon of the Year beginning to be unfit for action, the Great Vizier retreated as far as *Belgrade*, to take up his Winter Quarters with the groſs of his Army: Where remaining with full ſatisfaction and glory, contemplating the ſucceſſes of the paſt Year, and promiſing to himſelf greater renown, and exaltation of his mighty acts, for that inſuing; he ſo contemned the Force of his Enemies, that he Licenſed great numbers of the *Aſian* Spahees, who came as far as from *Baylon* and Grand *Cairo*, to return home to their own poſſeſſions. Howſoever, to vex the Chriſtians with continual Alarms, the Vizier ordered a flying Body of *Turks* and *Tartars*, to the number of 30000. under the Command of * *Chengiogli*, to paſs into *Stiria* and *Croatia*, the Country of Count *Serini*, and there to burn, lay waſte, and depopulate all before them. Count *Serini* was now newly returned from *Hungary*, and ſuppoſing the ſeaſon for action finiſhed, had lodged the greateſt part of his Forces within their Winter Quarters, and ſecurely laid himſelf to repoſe; when an Alarm came of the approach of Thirty thouſand Horſe; the Count rowſing his great Spirit from its eaſe, collected as many of his People into a Body, as the ſhortneſs of time would permit, which were not above 480 men; and with theſe he betook himſelf to the River *Muer*, to give a ſtop (if poſſible) to the paſſage of the Enemy, placing Centinels in all places where the River was fordable. On the Seventeenth of *November*, the Chriſtians eſpyed the *Turks* Encamped on the other ſide, and at the ſame time diſcovered Two thouſand of them to have paſſed the River; on which, *Serini* immediately made that furious Aſſault, aſſiſted with the Courage of Captain *Chirfaleas* (a Perſon who had oftentimes given glorious proofs of his valour againſt the *Turks*) that he ſoon put them to open flight, and they ſeeking to paſs the River, and miſſing the place where the River was fordable, threw themſelves headlong into the Water where the moſt part of thoſe periſhed who eſcaped the Sword. The *Turks* on the other ſide were ſo amazed at this ſtupendious Valour of *Serini*, that their Courages failing them, they deſiſted from their farther attempt upon *Croatia*; ſo that this poor Country ſeemed as it were for the preſent, to be reprieved, by Miracle, from a total deſtruction.

The Vizier retreats to his Winter Quarters.

1663.

* Paſha of *Temiſwar*.

Count *Serini* overthrows a Party of *Turks* and *Tartars*.

THE HISTORY OF Sultan Mahomet IV. THE XIII. EMPEROUR OF THE TURKS.

The Third BOOK.

Anno Chriſti, 1664. *Hegeira*, 1075.

THE Month of *January* was now well entred with its rigid Froſts, when *Apaſi* Prince of *Tranſilvania*, beholding his Souldiers in their Winter Quarters, and all things quiet and ſtill about him, judged it ſeaſonable for his eſtabliſhment to diſcover himſelf with ſome luſtre to the World, ſeated in the uſual Throne of the *Tranſilvanian* Princes; which ſight appeared ſo univerſally grateful to the People, that they began to be enamoured of their Prince, and to applaud his Perſon, his Proweſs and Vertues, and to caſt an ill and envious Eye on thoſe Cities which were Garriſon'd with *German* Souldiers. About which time the Fortreſs of *Zechelhyd* revolted from Obedience of the Emperor unto *Apaſi* the Prince: For the Souldiery of that Garriſon having long Arrears of pay due to them, made a Mutiny, and expelled their Collonel *Dempenbal* from his Office, and pillaged his Houſe, placing the Quarter-Maſter of *Strozzi*'s Regiment in his ſtead. The news of this Sedition flew quickly to *Vienna*, from whence immediately a Meſſenger was diſpatched with an Act of Pardon from the Emperor, upon ſubmiſſion, and proffers of full ſatisfaction of all Arrears; but the Souldiery finding themſelves only paid with words, hearkened to the more effectual Propoſitions of *Apaſi*, who taking hold of this opportunity, ſent every Souldier ten Dollars with a Suit of Cloaths, promiſing larger and more conſtant Pay than they received from the Emperor, with which the Garriſon being ſatisfied, ſurrendred up their City on the 20*th* of *January*. But whilſt other Armies remained in their Quarters, and other Commanders gave themſelves up to eaſe, and drowned themſelves in Wine and Banquets; and whilſt Jealouſies, Envies, and Ceremonies, diſturbed and confuſed the reſolves of Diets and private Councils; the generous and vigilant *Serini*, having received advices from *Adrianople*, that the *Turks* deſign in the next Campagna, was to convert the whole heat and fury of the War upon *Croatia*, and through that Country to open a paſſage unto *Friuli*; his active ſpirit conceived that heat and flame, that the Winters cold could not chill, his hot and eager deſires from entring into the open Field, and commencing ſome attempt and enterprize on his Enemy. Wherefore on the 16*th* of *January*, he began his march from *Serinſwar*, with an Army of about 25000 men; and in the firſt place, marching along the Banks of the *Dravus*, ſhewed himſelf before *Berzenche*; which upon conditions of marching away with Arms, Bag, and Baggage, was ſurrendered to him. *Bakockza* was likewiſe yielded, and a Palancha on the River quitted upon report of the Counts approach, leaving behind them Eight braſs Guns in the Fort. From hence he marched towards *Eſſeck*, otherwiſe called *Oſeck*, which is the only paſs from the upper to the lower *Hungary*, having a Bridge of Wood over a Moor or Fen, about ſix or ſeven miles in length, which once I remember, with my Horſe, I was an Hour and three quarters in paſſing (as I obſerved

Zechlhyd revolts to Apaſi.

1664. observed by my Watch), and reported to have been ſix years in building. This Bridg *Serini* reſolved to burn, which coſt the *Turks* 300000. Dollars, and ſix years time to build; imagining that to rebuild it again, was a Work of that time, as could not be repaired in one Summer, and that by this means the *Turks* would be diſappointed of all Action the following Year, and the Empire have time to breathe, and aſſemble the utmoſt of their Strength and Force together; wherefore taking opportunity of the hard Winter, when the Marſh was frozen, and a ſtrong Wind to carry the Flame, he ſent before him 2000. Dragoons, and 3000. Croats, which encountring 6000. *Turks* at the foot of the Bridg, ſet for Guard of that place, were ſo ill treated by them, that they had been wholly cut off, had not a conſiderable Force of Horſe and Dragoons come in to their aſſiſtance, by whoſe Reſolution they not only routed the *Turk*, but took the *Palancha*, which was the Defence of the Bridg, and having gained it in hot Blood, put all to Fire and Sword; after which, Fire being ſet to the Bridg in divers places, in a ſhort time it was conſumed, and remained in Aſhes. The news of this Exploit was received at *Vienna* with great Joy; believing that for the following Year, they had diſappointed the *Turks* of a Paſſage; but by the ſequel it will appear, how much they erred in the account made of the Diligence of the *Turks*, who in forty days repaired that which they eſteemed a work of ſome Years; and as I obſerved, it was all built of new Timber, and on another Foundation different from the old. From this place *Serini* marched to *Quinq*; *Eccleſiæ*, or *Five Kirk*, at whoſe near approach, the *Turks* ſet out a white Flag on one of the Towers, ſignifying a deſire of Parly, as if they had had intentions to ſurrender on Terms and Articles of Agreement; the Chriſtians with this Confidence marched near the Walls, where the *Turks* eſpying their Advantage on their Enemies now under command of their Guns, fired upon them, and did ſevere Execution, killing amongſt others, ſeveral principal Officers, of which were General *Hammerling*, and Count *Harberſtein*; which perfidious Action ſo tranſported *Serini*, that he reſolved on a furious Aſſault, and performed it with that Gallantry, that on the 5*th* of *February* he took the Town by Storm and Force of Arms, and in Recompence of their treacherous Stratagem, put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, and gave up the Town to the Pillage and Plunder of the Souldiery, and afterwards ſetting it on Fire, rendred it the moſt horrid Spectacle of Fire and Sword that had as yet been ſeen or known in this preſent War.

Oſeck

The Bridge burned.

Quinq Eccleſiæ taken by *Serini*.

Theſe Succeſſes of *Serini* gained him the Reputation of a valiant and fortunate Prince, and his liberal hand in frankly beſtowing the Booty and Pillages amongſt the Soldiery, invited great numbers to follow his Banner. His active Spirit and Vigilance gained him likewiſe a Reputation amongſt the *Turks*, that their principal Fear and Dread was of *Serin-Ogli*, as of a watchful and politick Enemy; for in every place he made great Havock and Spoil, being reported to have laden two thouſand five hundred Carts with Slaves, Goods and Ammunition, and to carry with him an hundred fifty five Pieces of Cannon taken out of ſmall Forts and *Palancha's*, and to have laid waſte all the Country between the *Dravus* and the *Danube*. In theſe Incurſions, and victorious and dreadful Travels through the Enemies Country, the valiant *Serini* at length arrived at *Sigeth*, a Fortreſs conſiſting of a new and old Town conjoyned by a Bridg which croſſes a famous Marſh or Fen, ennobled by the Attempt made thereon by *Solyman* the Magnificent in the year 1565. with an Army of ſix hundred thouſand Men; in defence of which *Nicholas Serini*, the great Grandfather of the preſent Count, immortalized his Fame and Memory with the loſs of his Life, and renowned the Place it ſelf by his Feats at Arms. At this place *Serini* was reſolved to revenge the Blood of his Anceſtors, and ſacrifice great numbers to the Ghoſt of his Grandfather; to which end he ſent the Count *Olack* before him with part of his Army, to Summon the Enemy, and prepare the way to his own more effectual Force; *Olack* had ordered all things accordingly, when *Serini* full of Glory and Spoils arrived him in his Leagure, and joyning together, appointed a day for a general Storm; but whilſt theſe things were meditating, and that *Sigeth* was reduced almoſt to the laſt Extremity, advice came of the near approach of a Body of twelve thouſand *Turks* and *Tartars*; to encounter which, the Attempt was accounted difficult, conſidering the loſs and diminution of the Chriſtian Forces, which by continual Actions, and the bitter Sufferings of the Winter Seaſon, were reduced to a number inferior to that of their Enemies; and wanting all ſorts of Proviſion and Ammunition, it was reſolved, as moſt expedient, to raiſe the Siege, which was the next day performed, and the Soldiery taken into Gariſons to Repoſe and Recruit themſelves. But whilſt by the active and zealous Spirit of this great Champion, moſt matters proceeded ſucceſſfully on the ſide of *Croatia*, the Chriſtian Affairs on the other ſide, by the negligence of ſome Miniſters, ran into evident Ruin and Diſorder. For *Claudiopolis*, which not many years paſt had defended it ſelf ſo valiantly againſt the *Turks* under the Command of the Governor *Retani*, did now, wanting pay, (the Sinew and Life of the Soldiery) follow the late Example of *Zechelhyd*, and ſurrendred it ſelf into the hands of *Apaſi*; and tho the Complaints and Murmurings of the Soldiers gave a ſufficient time of warning to make due Proviſions againſt a Misfortune ſo imminent and plainly appearing, yet the want of Expedition at *Vienna*, and the unprofitable Application only of empty Words and Air to feed the penury, and ſatisfie the Appetite of ſtarving Men, was a Remedy ſo little available, that the Gariſon ſubmitted to *Apaſi*, and yielded to Conditions whereby they might Eat and Live: the Story of which Place, compared with that of *Zechelhyd*, was ſo ſhameful and pungent to Men capable of any impreſſions of Honour or Duty, that at length it awakened the *Germans*, and admoniſhed them to provide better for *Zacmar* and *Tockey*, and other Frontier Gariſons, leſt they alſo ſhould incur the like Fate and Misfortune with the two former.

Sigeth Beſieged.

1664.

The Siege raiſed.

Claudiopolis yields it ſelf to *Apaſi*.

By this time the Actions of *Serini* were rumoured in the Grand Signiors Seraglio, and the report of them became common in the mouths of the Vulgar; wherefore full of Anger and Diſdain, the Sultan wrote ſeverely to his Vizier, reproving him of negligence for ſuffering *Serini* ſo freely to Range his Countries without controul, to the great Diſhonour of his Empire, and Damage of his People: whereupon the Vizier not as yet having received his Recruits, nor prepared ſo early for the March of the groſs of his Army, diſpatched notwithſtanding a conſiderable Force to precede him, with Orders either by ſtealth to ſurprize *Serinſwar*, or elſe to lay Siege unto it. This Army marching by the way

of

1664. Count *Peter Serini* defeats the *Turks* in the Streights of *Morlac*.

of *Bosna*, the news thereof was brought to Count *Peter Serini*, appointed by his Brother to ſtand Centinal on the Guard of his Country, whilſt he in Perſon was buſied in *Hungary*, who immediately thereupon, with what Force he could collect, ambuſhed himſelf at the narrow Paſs of a Mountain called the *Morlac*, where he had not long attended, before the *Turks*, without order or care, entred with their whole Body; but being on a ſudden ſurpriz'd by the Count, were wholly defeated, leaving two thouſand dead on the place, with many Priſoners.

The Month of *March* being now well entred, the Froſts began to thaw, and the Air become more mild and moderate, when Count *Nicholas Serini* entertained thoughts of laying Siege to *Kaniſa*: But to lay the Foundation of this Deſign with the better Judgment, it was thought firſt neceſſary to view the State and Scituation of the Place; wherefore the Count in Perſon, accompanied with about fourteen Officers, went one day to take a ſurvey thereof; but he was not ſo private in his Deſign, but that it was known to the *Turks*, who ſecretly laid five hundred Men in wait to take him, and upon the near approach of *Serini*, ſtarted from their Holes with Shouts and Out-crys; but the Count was ſo well mounted on his *Croatian* Courſer, that he out-ran them all, and got Refuge in the Thickets of a neighbouring Wood, where three hundred of his own Horſe alarmed at a diſtance by the Echo's of the cry, came in to his Succor, and making Head againſt the *Turks*, routed and defeated them, killing and taking many Priſoners; amongſt the Slain was found one armed Cap-a-pe, with a ſilk Twiſt, or Cord of divers Colours about his Waſte, who was, as reported by the Captives, to have been one who reſolved to have taken *Serini*, and with that Cord to have brought him bound to the Feet of the Vizier. *Serini* having thus eſcaped, reſolved to Revenge himſelf of the Affront, and therefore made moſt dreadful Spoils and Confuſion in all Places round *Kaniſa*; ſo that the People flying thither for Sanctuary, were refuſed Entertainment by the Paſha, who at that time labouring with ſcarcity, and expecting a Siege, had no need of unneceſſary Gueſts.

The danger of *Serini*.

Serini having now fully reſolved to lay Siege to *Kaniſa*, thought fit firſt to ſignifie the Deſign to his Imperial Majeſty; for which purpoſe he diſpatched away the Engineer General with Letters to the Council of War of the Lower *Hungary*, containing a perfect Relation of the Succeſs and Progreſs of his Arms in that Winter, and how he had laid waſte and deſolate all that circumference of Land which lies between the River *Dravus* and *Serinſwar*, by which means *Kaniſa* was already ſtraitned with Famine, and that now was the only Seaſon to recover that Fortreſs, if the Deſign were put into immediate Execution, before the *Turks* aroſe from their Winter-quarters, or had time to afford a powerful Relief. The Reſolution of *Serini* was ſo well pleaſing to the Council, that by the ſame Meſſenger they ſignified their Approbation thereof to the Emperor, then at the Diet at *Ratisbone*, humbly deſiring, that this Deſign might proceed, which would undoubtedly take effect, if the Count were provided only with thirteen thouſand Foot, and ſeven thouſand Horſe; but then the Siege was to be laid before the beginning of *April*, leſt the early motion of the *Turkiſh* Camp ſhould blaſt and defeat the too late beginning of this Action. The particular Journal of *Serini*'s Succeſs was not leſs pleaſing to his *Cæſarean* Majeſty, than his preſent Heroical Reſolution againſt *Kaniſa*; who thereupon gave Orders to the General Council to ſupply him with all Proviſions, Ammunition and Men which were requiſite for this Siege, and was graciouſly pleaſed himſelf to expreſs in a Letter to the Count the Senſe he had of his Merits and Valour; which he applauded and extolled in the Words following.

Serini makes known to the Emperor his deſign againſt *Kaniſa*.

1664.

Poſtquam mihi Architectus Militaris de Vaſſemboij eximios Veſtros progreſſus famoſique Pontis Eſſolcienſis exuſtionem, & cætera a Vobis edita Virtutis Militaris ſingularia ſpecimina longa ſerie expoſuiſſet, ſupervenerunt Veſtræ de 19. Februarii, & omnia breviori, quam tantorum geſtorum magnitudo capit, enarratione confirmantes. Poſuit fortunatus iſte progreſſus labeſcenti rei Hungariæ firmum adminiculum, erexit conſternatos meorum fidelium animos, & futurorum fœlicium ſucceſſuum non exiguum jecit fundamentum. Proinde hæc Veſtra egregia facta non minus mihi grata & accepta accidunt, quam in Nominis Veſtri perennitatem, & augendam apud Poſteros memoriam redundant. Spero omnino per Divinam aſſiſtentiam, virtutemque, & experientiam Veſtram ejuſmodi ultiores fœlices ſucceſſus, atque hoſtilium armorum debellationem.

According to this Order of the Emperor, the Reſolution of the Council of War was eſtabliſhon the 10th of *March*, and *Serini* publiſhed, That on the 8th of *April* he would begin the Siege; but in regard the *Germans* in *Stiria*, and the Forces of the *Rhyne*, by reaſon of the Abſence of their General, the Count *Olack*, could not be ſo ſoon ready, the time of the Siege was deferred until the 30th of *April*, on which, or the firſt of *May*, the Town was formally beleagured, not ſo much with hopes of Succeſs, as with Deſign to maintain the Reputation of the Imperial Arms, and to divert the groſs of the Enemies force from the more eaſie and delightful Plains of *Hungary*, or the plenteous Confines of *Vienna*, to a Country leſs happy or fruitful, encompaſſed with Fens and Marſhes, poiſoned with bad Airs and Vapours, and made more miſerable already by the Deſolations of War. But let us leave *Serini* at his Siege before *Kaniſa*, and travel a while with our thoughts to the Diet at *Ratisbone*, and underſtand what is there forming and deſigning towards Preſervation of the Commonweal of the Empire. The taking of *Newhauſel*, and the Progreſs of the *Ottoman* Arms, had awakened the *German* Princes with that Senſe of the common Danger, that a Diet was aſſembled at *Ratisbone* to conſult of the moſt effectual means that might give a ſtop to the uncontrouled Incurſions of the *Turk*. And not to trouble the Reader with the Names of all thoſe Princes and Ambaſſadors which there appeared, it will be ſufficient to ſignifie, That beſides his *Ceſarean* Majeſty, there were preſent, as his Plenipotentiaries, the Elector of *Mentz*, and Arch-Biſhop of *Saltzburgh*: And tho many Princes ſhowed themſelves with Glory and Splendor; yet none appeared with that Pomp and Magnificence as the Elector of *Bavaria*, who for number of Coaches, richneſs of his Liveries, and compleat Government of his Retinue, was ſo neat and polite,

Kaniſa beſieged.

The Diet at *Ratiſbone*

1664. lite; that he ſeemed not only to exceed every Court in particular, but in Elegance and Magnificence to equalize them all together. Upon Debate of matters in reference to this War, the Count of *Olack* was unanimouſly choſen General for the Confederates of the *Rhine*; but the more hot diſputes between the Proteſtants and Papiſts about Election of other Generals kept matters in longer ſuſpence; yet at length the Marqueſs of *Baden* was choſen Marſhal General in behalf of the League, the Marqueſs of *Durlach*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter* his Councellours, and Directors of the War; and Count *Francis Fucher*, General of the Ordnance. But in the Levies of their Forces they concurred more freely and willingly; for beſides the Imperial Forces, which conſiſted of 41600 Foot, and 13900 Horſe, the Allies and Confederates furniſhed 13850 Foot, and 3350 Horſe; the Auxiliaries of the Empire made up a Body of 16991 Foot and 4037 Horſe, beſides the Forces of *Saxony*, and *Brandenburgh*, and the Succours of *France*; ſo that, by Gods Providence, the Chriſtian Army was this year eſteemed equal, if not more numerous than the multitudes of their Enemies.

The ſtrength of the Chriſtian Army.

Italy. The next matter under conſideration was the nomination of Miniſters to be ſent abroad to implore aſſiſtance from Chriſtian Princes more remote; the Count *Piccolomini* was to negotiate in the Courts of *Italy*; but having taken a Diſtemper in his Journeys, died after a ſhort ſickneſs at *Milan*.

England. Alſo the Count *Colalto*, ſent to his Majeſty of Great *Britain*, died in his Journey before he arrived at *London*; notwithſtanding which the generous Piety of His Majeſty was not wanting with a liberal Hand to contribute towards the Promotion of the Chriſtian Intereſt.

Poland. From *Poland* nothing more could be obtained than Terms of Courteſy, and Demonſtrations of Good Will and Deſires, for that their Forces being employed againſt the *Moſcovite* to recover the loſt Countries of *Lituania*, could not poſſibly attend the Service and Command of his Imperial Majeſty, tho they could not but at the ſame time reflect on their Premures and Neceſſities with Shame and Confuſion which diſabled them from anſwering with like returns the grateful Memory they ſtill retained of the aſſiſtance againſt *Sweden*.

France. To his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty Count *Strozzi* was employed, before whoſe Arrival at *Paris* the common Report and Vogue was, That that King reſolved to contribute an effectual Aſſiſtance to the Chriſtian Cauſe in that preſent Conjuncture; which pious Diſpoſition *Strozzi* ſo happily improved, that he obtained from his Majeſty a Grant and Promiſe of four thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, raiſed and payed at his own Charge, to be united with the Troops of the Rhiniſh League: And farther, His Majeſty was ſo gracious herein, that he publiſhed a Declaration, That what Perſon ſoever would ſerve the Emperor againſt the *Turk*, his Reſolution and Action therein ſhould be accepted by him, in the ſame manner as if the Service were immediately tendered to himſelf. Upon which many Perſons of Quality re olved upon this Expedition, amongſt which was the Duke of *Buglion*, the *Marquis de Villeroy*, the Abbot of *Richelieu*, and many other Heroes, and Perſons of Bravery, who ventured their Lives with no other Conſideration than that of Honour and Religion. But before I paſs from this Embaſſy, give me leave to report a Complement which Count *Strozzi* paſſed upon this King, which ſome ſay did ſavour a little too much of Flattery and Affectation. The matter was this: Count *Strozzi* being admitted to his Audience, ſo ſoon as he entered into the Chamber, I know not whether it was feigned or real, he ſeemed to be ſtruck with ſuch an Amazement and Fear, that for a while he was not able to pronounce a word Articulate or Intelligible; but at length recollecting himſelf, he began with a trembling Voice to excuſe this Heſitation of his Speech, having his Senſes diſſipated, and his Eyes dazled with the Rays and Splendor of ſo much Majeſty; and with that, as in a Rapture or Ecſtaſie, broke out into an Admiration of the *French* Monarchy, the report of whoſe Greatneſs and Glory, tho arrived to the utmoſt Confines of the Univerſe, came yet far ſhort of that real Majeſty which he ſaw and admired, whoſe dreadful and myſterious Throne was ſufficient to revive the dead Aſhes of the *Sabean* Queen to proſtrate her ſelf before this new *Solomon*, much excelling the Wiſdom, the Richeſs, the Virtue, and Happineſs of the former. And thence deſcending with the like ſagacious Obſequiouſneſs, to confute the malicious Reports of malignant Tongues, who, envious of the harmony of Chriſtian Spirits, repreſented His Majeſty as ill-affected to the *Auſtrian* Family; whereas to the contrary, he could teſtifie to have found that exceſs of Affection, and admirable Diſpoſition in His Majeſty towards the Emperor his Ally, as rendred his Embaſſy abundantly happy and ſucceſsful, which joined to the Zeal His Majeſty had towards the Chriſtian Cauſe, was like Friendſhip united to Charity, and moral Virtues made perfect by ſpiritual Qualifications. In fine, he compared his Chriſtian Majeſty to that Glorious Sun, which communicating his light to the Chriſtian World, affords the moſt benign Influence to the Catholick Climate; with much better reaſon therefore ought *Germany* to participate ſo great a Circle of thoſe Rays, as may ſerve wholly to obſcure and darken the dim and barbarous Light of the *Ottoman* Moon. In ſum, *Strozzi* knew ſo well how to manage his Diſcourſe, and play the Orator, that he obtained conſiderable Aſſiſtances, and returned to his Maſter the Emperor with full Demonſtrations of all obliging Terms, and courteous Treatments. And having thus underſtood what Preparations are making in *Chriſtendom*, let us paſs over into the *Turks* Quarters, and ſee what is in the mean time tranſacting in thoſe Dominions.

1664. Count *Strozzi's* Speech to the *French* King.

At this time the Rumour of a Rebellion and Mutiny amongſt the Great *Beghs* at Grand *Cairo* in *Egypt*, afforded matter for Trouble and Conſultation at the *Ottoman* Court; for that thoſe *Beghs* who have great Poſſeſſions and Power in that Country, made Seizure of *Ibrahim* Paſha, and impriſoned him, being about the Expiration of his three years commonly allotted to that Government; and therefore near upon departure. The demands they had upon him was for no leſs than three thouſand Purſes of Money, which according to the *Cairo* Account, are reckoned ſeven hundred and fifty Dollars a Purſe, and pretended to be taken from them againſt Law and Juſtice; and that without Reſtitution thereof they reſolved not to reſtore him his Liberty. This Inſolence againſt ſo eminent a Paſha, qualified with ſuch abſolute Power in his Government, and one related to the Grand Signior by Marriage of his Siſter, compared with the late neglects and diſobedience of that People, who for ſome years had failed in the full payment of their Tribute, were interpreted as evident Symptoms of Diſaffection and Malignancy, which that People entertained againſt the *Ottoman* Subjection.

Rebellion of the *Beghs* in *Egypt*.

1664. Subjection. Wherefore the Sultan immediately diſpatched away the Maſter of his Horſe to *Cairo*, with full Power to apeaſe this Rebellion, and with Lenitives to moderate the Fury of the People, who ſeemed to be too Licentious and Unbridled to be governed by a Muſſelim or Deputy: Wherefore the Selictar Aga was elected Paſha, and to depart with all Expedition. In the mean time this Meſſenger, to make greater haſte, took poſt through *Aſia* with thirty in his Company, and in a ſhort time arrived at Grand *Cairo*, where, with fair terms, and Reſtitution of ſome Money from the Paſha, all matters were reduced to an amicable compoſure, only the puniſhment of the chief Mutiniers, with a fair Countenance, deferred for a Seaſon, was afterwards according to the *Turkiſh* Faſhion, when time and opportunity preſented, remunerated to thoſe factious Spirits with a ſevere Intereſt, and Satisfaction to Juſtice.

Not long after, *Ibrahim* Paſha having obtained his Liberty, returned from his Government of *Cairo* to *Conſtantinople*, where refreſhing himſelf ſome time with the Embraces of his young Sultana, an Imperial Command for immediate payment of four hundred Purſes of Money to the Grand Signiors Treaſury, diſturbed his delightful quiet. The Paſha made a preſent payment of one half, but deſired time for the Remainder, either for want of that inſtant ſupply, or elſe in hopes of eaſe of his Fine. But the Sultan, who is impatient of any delay in his Slaves, which favours of obſtinacy or diſobedience, tho never ſo reaſonable, diſpatched another Command, enjoining preſent Compliance, and as a Penalty for the late Neglect, raiſed the Demand from four hundred to ſix hundred Purſes, which if not as readily payed as required, the Kimacham of *Conſtantinople* was impowered to commit him Priſoner within the four Gates of the Seraglio, the fatal Priſon, from whence few find other Releaſe than by Death. The Paſha not being able to comply, was there reſtrained of his Liberty; and yet had the good fortune in a few days to obtain his freedom, by the endeavours (as ſome ſuppoſe) of the Great Vizier, who having by this Act weakened his Power and Treaſure, did afterwards as an inſtrument of his Deliverance, conſerve his Life, and obtain for him the Government of *Darbiquier*, where being remote and obſcure at ſo far a diſtance, could never be capable to ſhadow, or by his great popularity and affable comportment endanger the preſent happy ſtate of the Viziers Office.

Ibrahim Paſha fined,

and impriſoned.

Matters growing now towards Action, by return of the Spring, the Grand Signior, to incourage his Vizier in a continuance of his duty, ſent him a Horſe and a Sword as a Teſtimony of his favour and good eſteem of his Perſon; and Orders were iſſued out through all the Empire for publick Prayers to be made ſome days before the Vizier began his March towards the Enemy. This appointment of publick Devotions occaſioned matter of argument and diſpute between the Mufti, and a Shegh or Preacher, one that was always near the Grand Signiors Perſon, and therefore on Confidence of his familiar Acceſs to the Preſence of the Sultan, and on Preſumption of his Sanctity and Privilegd of his Office, took Liberty to oppoſe and contradict the Oracle of the *Ottoman* Law. The Problem in queſtion was, Whether Prayers appointed for ſucceſs of the *Ottoman* Arms, according to the Law of their Prophet, were to be made privately, and in every Moſch or Oratory apart, or in a general Aſſembly of the whole City. The Mufti maintained the laſt Poſition, citing in favour of his Opinion the Teſtimony of divers *Arabick* Doctors, and the cuſtoms of the preſent and paſt times. The Shegh on the contrary was for Devotions to be performed in every Moſch, declaring, That the Aſſembly of the People of a City into one Body did nothing avail or inforce the Power of Prayer; for they being true Believers, were all illuminated, and had no need of helps to make their Prayers more fervent or more acceptable. The Argument was hot on both ſides; and tho the Mufti had got another Shegh on his part, who might pretend to as much of Illumination as the other, and joyned to the Mufti's Opinion, who is the Mouth and undoubted Interpreter of the Law, might ſeem able not only to reſolve the knotticſt difficulties, but to impoſe an Aſſent on them with greater Authority; yet the Shegh having the Grand Signior on his ſide, preſently got moſt of Reaſon, and forced the Mufti to recant his former Opinion as Erroneous, and to baniſh the other Shegh his Companion, pretending that he was now convinced, and had ſooner diſcovered the truth, had not the *Impoſtor*, the falſe Preacher deceived him by his feigned Illuminations. This Victory gained the Shegh much applauſe and eſteem with the Grand Signior, ſo that he vented what Doctrine he pleaſed, and all he ſaid was taken for Divine Rules and Precepts. He was born about *Van* on the Confines of *Perſia*, ſo that he is called *Vanni Efendi*, and is of the *Armenian* Race: he preached every Friday at *Adrianople* in one Moſch or other, where the Grand Signior was for the moſt part preſent; and tho the greateſt part of his Sermons were ſtuffed up with Praiſes of the *Mahometan* Religion, and Invectives againſt Chriſtians, ſentencing all polluted and profane who aſſociate with them, and exclaiming againſt the Abomination of Wine; yet it is confidently reported, that he is no ſtrict Obſerver of the Law he profeſſes, the which his Diſciples and Familiars are ready to excuſe in him, ſaying, That it may be lawful for him to diſpenſe with ſuch matters, in regard his Illuminations and high Prerogatives of Sanctity have infranchiſed him from obſervance of the meaner and leſs ſubſtantial points of their Law.

A Diſpute between the Mufti and a Shegh.

1664.

The *Turks*, who are as much given to Predictions and Interpretations of old Prophecies, as ever the *Egyptians* were, buſied themſelves this year more than ever, to know the Event of this War. Some, who had ſtudied ancient *Arabick* Predictions, had extracted certain Aſtrological Figures, and from thence framed ſtrange Fancies, according to the humour or melancholly of the Aſtrologer; one whereof coming to the Grand Signiors ears, mentioning divers things obſcurely, and in general of the great Effuſion of Blood, but that at laſt the Advantage and Victory ſhould remain to the *Turk*, and that the Grand Signior himſelf ſhould ſhortly make a Journey; the Grand Signior troubled hereat, as much as ever *Pharaoh* was about the Interpretation of his Dream, ſent for one of the Chief Juſtices of the Law, called the Kadileſcher, and with him conferred concerning this Prediction: all things pleaſed him well, but only the latter part of making a Journey. Whither that Journey ſhould be, he could not imagine; his Arms were ſo proſperous in *Hungary*, that he conceived the Vizier had no need of his Preſence either to animate or recruit his Army; and to any other part, he knew not what could move him from his delightful and beloved City of *Adrianople*. The Kadileſcher ſuppoſing that he might put that Interpretation

Predictions amongſt the *Turks*.

1664.

tion thereon which might not be ungrateful, replied, Perhaps, O Emperour, he may mean that you ſhall again return to your ſublime and happy Port of *Conſtantinople*. The Grand Signior ſuddenly touched herewith, burſt into choler: How, ſaid he, to *Conſtantinople*! what joy, what comfort can I have there? Hath not that place been fatal to my Father? What benefit had my Uncle from thence? or any of my Race? Have not all my Princes Anceſtors been ſubject to a thouſand mutinies and Rebellions in that place? I ſhall ſooner than return thither, ſet fire to it with my own hands, and rejoyce to ſee that City with my Seraglio brought to aſhes. And that we may farther diſcover the ſtrange averſion the Sultan had to *Conſtantinople*, and his reſolution to change the Seat of his Empire, it is obſervable, that he built a ſmall Seraglio not far from *Adrianople*, in imitation of that near *Conſtantinople*, called *Odout Paſha*; the place to which he moſt frequently reſorted after that City fell under his diſlike and hatred. The Village where his Pallace was built was called *Chiomlichoi*, or the Village of Pots where earthen Veſſels were made: but the Grand Signior changed the name, and called it *Odout Paſha*, with which name before the People were well acquainted, and that it was accuſtomed to their mouths, two poor ſilly Country-men miſtaking, and calling it ſimply by the former name, were apprehended by ſome of the Boſtangees, and brought before the Grand Signior as contemners of the Imperial Command, and by his immediate Sentence were put to death.

The Grand Signiors averſion to *Conſtantinople*.

A ſmall Seraglio by that name near *Conſtantinople*.

About the end of *May* the Grand Signior had a Son born to him of one of his Women, for joy of which ſeven days of *Dunalma*, or rejoycing were appointed through all the *Ottoman* Dominions; but eſpecially at *Adrianople* the Solemnity was greateſt, all ſorts of Artiſans endeavouring to outvy each other in their Shows and Paſtimes to entertain the City. At the Gate of the Seraglio was erected a magnificent Pavilion for the Grand Signior, before whom were ſhown rare artificial Fire-works invented by the moſt ingenious Maſters thereof amongſt the *Jews*; one of which firing a Rocket, which not aſcending with uſual ſtrength, unhappily fell on the Veſt of the Grand Signiors Favourite, ſtanding at the door of the Tent; at which the young Man being ſurprized, ſent to find out him who fired it, which happening to be a poor *Jew*, was condemned immediately by the Grand Signiors Sentence to receive eighty Blows on the Soals of his Feet; but as report went, this young Favorite not appeaſed with this ſlender Puniſhment, obtain'd the Sultans command to put him to Death.

A Son born to the Grand Signior.

But to return to the *Turkiſh* Camp. The Vizier was aſtoniſhed to underſtand that *Kaniſia* was beſieged, and wondred much at the raſhneſs of *Serini*, in attempting a Work ſo difficult without probability of ſucceſs; howſoever being adviſed, that the Gariſon was ill provided of Victuals and Ammunition, he gave order for its ſupply. In order to which eighty Carts laden with Proviſions convoyed by a conſiderable number of Turks, were conducted by way of *Sigeth*; but being interrupted in their paſſage by *Serini*'s Soldiers, were routed, put to flight, and their Proviſions taken. In the mean time the Beſieged made many vigorous Sallies, and ſome not without loſs to the Chriſtians; and to defend themſelves the better, uncovered the tops of their Houſes, and made their Lodgings under ground, ſecure from Granadoes, or ſhot of the Enemies Batteries. On the other ſide the Ammunition and Artillery from the Emperour came not ſo timely as was expected; nor were the Bomboes and Granadoes ſo artificially made,

The Siege of *Kaniſia*.

1664.

but that many of them ſpent themſelves in vain: the Succours likewiſe of men fell very ſhort of the numbers promiſed; and Souldiery being drawn from their Winter Quarters before the colds were paſt, or the paſture grown, began to murmur; but nothing diſcontented them ſo much as want of Pay, the juſt complaint of Souldiers, which diſcouraged them more than the difficulty of their adventure: againſt all which *Serini* provided as much as he was able out of his own Purſe, continuing the Siege more out of reputation than probable hopes of ſucceſs; for his Army was at leaſt diminiſhed two thouſand in its number, of which four hundred Hungars, and two hundred Germans were loſt in the firſt Aſſaults made upon the Suburbs, and the reſt periſhed by ſickneſs, and the vigorous and frequent Sallies of the Enemy. Howſoever *Serini* ſeemed not to doubt of the ſucceſs, if he could but be for ſome time ſecured from the advance of the Vizier, who now began to draw his groſs and numerous Army out of their Winter Quarters into the open field; and therefore with the other Officers before *Kaniſia*, ſignified their advice to the Emperour and General Council of War, That it was neceſſary that the Imperial Army ſhould be as early in the Field as the Ottoman; and for the more methodical government of Affairs, that the Army ſhould be divided into three Bodies, one to recruit the Forces before the Town, a ſecond to march to *Oſek*, and hinder the Enemies paſſage over the *Dravus*, and a third to take the Field, and apply aſſiſtance where it was judged moſt uſeful. This counſel being well accepted by the Emperour, Orders were immediately iſſued forth to General *Montecuculi* to begin his March, with deſign to obſtruct the Turks paſſage over the *Dravus*; for that the ſucceſs againſt *Kaniſia* was of that high importance, as might juſtly require the imployment of all the Chriſtian Forces in its concernment. Wherefore one Poſt was diſpatched after the other to *Montecuculi* to ſollicite his ſpeedy March, and to give a ſtop to the Viziers Progreſs. But he anſwered, That he attended General *Sporch*, whom he every day expected to joyn with him; but this Anſwer proving by the effect to be nothing more than a preſent excuſe, gave occaſion of ſuſpicion, and produced that diſcontent in the minds of the moſt zealous, as ſpread a rumour through all *Germany* much to the diſreputation of *Montecuculi*. Time thus being protracted, and no Forces appearing to recruit the Leagure, at length advice came to the Generals, when they were juſt going to dinner, that the Vizier with a moſt numerous Army was within * three Leagues of the Town. For the Bridge of *Oſek* was againſt the common opinion again rebuilt, planked, and compleated with new Timbers in the ſpace of forty days, many hands making light work; which when firſt founded, was the work of ſix years: which Expedition was the more remarkable, in regard that this Bridge was not formed out of the Ruines of the old, nor founded on the ſame ground, but new framed out of the Woods with as much comlineſs and order as befits a Bridge of that nature and length, paſſing over a wild Marſh or Fen. The news of the Viziers ſo near approach was ſtrange to *Serini*, who by the calculation made of his March, did not yet expect him for ſeveral days; but the Vizier apprehending the ſtraitneſs in which *Kaniſia* might be, leaving the groſs of his Army, made more expidite Journeys with a Body of twenty thouſand Horſe, which not being unknown to *Serini*, his daring ſpirit was once reſolved to give him Battel, in which opinion was alſo Count *Strozzi*;

* Fifteen Engliſh Miles.

1664. The Siege of *Kanſia* raiſed.

but *Olach* diſſenting, and refuſing to ingage his Forces, the Siege was raiſed, and all the Forces with good order retreated to *Serinſwar*, where they arrived the day following, leaving to the Enemy a great quantity of Powder, Match, Shovels, 20 Carts of Meal, and Two Iron Guns broken.

The *Turks* purſue the Chriſtian Army.

No Pilgrim ever followed his way with more devotion to the ſacred Shrine, than the Vizier was willingly led in purſuit of his Enemy to the Walls of *Serinſwar*, being the place to which his intentions inclined, as the beginning and conſummation of the War. Over againſt this envied Fort there is a little Hill ſtrong by Nature, incompaſſed with a narrow Ditch, yet not ſo narrow, as that a Horſe can leap over it, nor yet ſo ſhallow as to be forded. This Hill *Serini* propoſed to the reſt of his Collegues or Coadjutors, *viz. Olach* and *Spaar*, as a place commodious to incamp their Army, becauſe lying open to the River, could eaſily be relieved, and would ſerve as a Redoubt or Out-work to the Fort, in which upon all extremities they might find Sanctuary and refuge: But the apprehenſion of the Viziers Numbers, and his near approach had made that impreſſion of fear in their minds, that no ſafety ſeemed to remain, unleſs they could ſee the River *Mura* between them and their Enemy. Nor was *Serini* more ſucceſsful in his perſwaſions to aſſault the Enemy, whilſt they were wearied with their March, and buſied in extending their Tents, the other Generals being of opinion, that it was too great a hazard for them alone to venture their Forces in ſo unequal a Combat, but they ought rather to expect *Montecuculi*, by the addition of whoſe Forces the lot of War would be leſs hazardous, if not wholly certain. In this manner great Enterpriſes have been diſappointed, which have wanted only reſolution to make them ſucceſsful, Fortune being commonly favourable, if not a Servant, to bold and daring Spirits; the diſunion alſo of Generals hath been the overthrow of the wiſeſt Counſels, and Wars have been obſerved never to have thrived where the Heads of Armies have been of diſſenting humors or different intereſts.

The *Turks* intrench before *Serinſwar*.

This timidity on the Chriſtian part raiſed in that manner the ſpirits of the *Turks*, that without ſtop or oppoſition paſſing the River *Muer*, they arrived at *Serinſwar*, where they immediately fell to their Mattock and Spade, breaking ground for their Trenches, which by continued labour they ſo diligently attended, that in Seventeen days they arrived at the very Ditch of the Fort: Only whilſt the *Turks* were tranſporting their Numbers over the River, the generous ſpirit of *Strozzi* not enduring to ſee their paſſage ſo eaſie and open, valiantly oppoſed himſelf and his ſmall Force againſt the greater power of the Enemy, and ſo reſolutely performed the Action, that he killed Five hundred upon the place, till at length being unfortunately ſhot by a Musket-bullet in the Forehead, he glorioufly, together with one *Chiſfareas*, a renowned *Croatian* Captain, ended his days in defence of his Countrey and the Chriſtian Cauſe.

Count *Strozzi* ſlain.

In this interim General *Montecuculi* arrived with his Army, and was received by Count *Serini* with all evidences and demonſtrations of reſpect and hearty welcome, and between both paſſed an appearance at leaſt of friendly correſpondence. But as to the preſent Engagement, *Montecuculi* was of opinion, That the opportunity was over-ſlipt, which ſhould at firſt have been performed, rather by way of ſurprize than open Battel, before the *Ottoman* Army had arrived to its full numbers, conſiſting now of an hundred thouſand fighting men. To which reaſons *Serini* replied, That the Chriſtian Cauſe, and the States and Confines of the Empire were not to be maintained by men that carry their thumbs at their girdles, or by Armies made reſty with eaſe, and wanton with luxury. That thoſe Armies were raiſed not to conſume and exhauſt the Revenues of their Princes, and Exchequers of their States, without making ſatisfactory amends by a valiant defence of that Intereſt which they owned. That the Enemy had not been before that time attempted, was no fault or neglect of his, who under the very Walls of *Kanſia* reſolved to give them Battel; but that the other Generals ſuppoſed it more prudence and caution to protract the Engagement till his Arrival, who being now happily conjoyned with them, nothing ought to deter them from a glorious Attempt on the *Turks*, who not conſiſting of above Thirty thouſand men, ill diſciplined, and worſe armed, were not able to withſtand the proweſs of their Veterane Army, which far exceeded them in number, diſcipline, and courage. *Theſe or ſuch like* expreſſions *Serini* uſed; and to prove what he averred, he diſpatched a confident Perſon of his own, who ſpake naturally the *Turkiſh* Language, with a Letter to the *German* Reſident, then entertained under cuſtody in the *Turkiſh* Camp, to know of him the true ſtate and number of the *Turks*, which Meſſenger ſoon after returned with this ſhort account.

1664. *Serini's* Reaſons to fight with the *Turks*.

The *German* Reſidents Letter to Count *Serini*.

Niſi memortuum velis, amplius non reſcribas, hic vix ſunt triginta millia, nec illa ſatis electa, quid vos a pugna deterret? Tormenta Arcis nimis in altum exploduntur. Which in *Engliſh is* thus. *Unleſs you deſire my death, write not back to me again, here are ſcarce Thirty thouſand men, and thoſe ill provided, what then ſhould deter you from an Engagement? The Cannon in the Caſtle are too high mounted, or ſhoot over.* *Serini* gave this Letter to *Montecuculi*, who replied, That ſo ſoon as General *Sporch* came up with his Forces, he would immediately draw up the Army into Batalia; *Sporch* being arrived, he then reſolved to expect Marqueſs *Baden*, and ſo deferred the Battel from time to time, until the *Turks* advantaging themſelves theſe delays, had worked themſelves under ground to the very Walls of the Caſtle. At length *Montecuculi* entring into *Serini's* Fort (it is not known upon what reaſons of jealouſie, or diſcontent) cleared *Serini's* Forces of the Gariſon, and diſpoſſeſſed the Governour; which when *Serini* perceived, full of anger and diſpleaſure, he quitted the Camp, and retired himſelf to his Reſidence at *Chiacaturno*, with intent to make his juſt Appeal and Complaint to the Emperor.

Montecuculi contrary to the opinion of *Serini* declines the Battel with the *Turks*.

Serini retires from the War.

The *Turks* availing themſelves of theſe delays and diſcontents, proceeded forward in their work, ſo that having Mined to the very Walls, on the 9*th* of *June*, they blew up one of the half Moons, at which the Defendants were ſo terrified, that with amazement they left open one of their Sally Ports, at which the *Turks* entring, put the whole Gariſon into diſorder, conſiſting of 1900 fighting men; ſo that now no ſafety remaining, but in flight, they forſook their Fort, and crouding over the Bridge in confuſed heaps, broke it down with the over-preſſure of its burden; by fall of which, many periſhed in the Waters, and about Three hundred and fifty which remained, were cut off by the Sword; this was the fate of *Serini's* Fort, built with Art, and loſt by Cowardice and ill Conduct, which the Year before, only with Twenty *Germans*, and One hundred and fifty *Hungarians*, withſtood a moſt impetuous and fierce ſtorm of the Enemy, but

Serinſwar taken.

now

1664. now was leſs tenable than a Palancha, tho Gariſoned with 1900 Men, of whom in this laſt Aſſault one alone had Courage to fire his Muſket, but none adventured to draw a Sword; unleſs certain Voluntiers, and *French* Officers, whoſe Courage only renowned their own Deaths, and ſerved to upbraid the Cowardice of their Companions. In the Fort were only found five ſmall Field Pieces, one whole Cannon, a great Mortar Piece, and two ſmall ones belonging to Count *Serini*; there were alſo one Mortar Piece, and two ſmall Field Pieces, like to thoſe of *Serini*, belonging to the Emperor; tho other Guns of weight or value, were carried out of the Fort, as being judged not long tenable, and decreed to be abandoned to the Enemy. *Serinſwar* being thus taken was immediately demoliſhed by the Vizier, and razed to the Ground; either becauſe he would ſeem to maintain his Word or Vow he had made; or becauſe he would not multiply Gariſons, when the preſent Occaſions required rather the active Force of a moving Army.

Reflections on the diſgrace of *Serini*.

But before we proceed farther, it ſeems pertinent to our purpoſe, to declare the Reaſons and Grounds of the preceding neglects and diſcountenance paſſed upon *Serini* by the Grandees of the Imperial Army, which not being vindicated by the Emperor, ſeem to have been caſt upon him by his expreſs Order, or at leaſt to have been willing for ſome private reſpect to have the Perſon of *Serini* abaſed, and his Actions obſcured. It is therefore to be noted (what before hath been ſaid) That the firſt pretence the *Turks* made for this War, was this Fort of *Serinſwar*, raiſed againſt the Capitulations and Articles of the laſt Peace; for which, tho the Violence againſt *Varadin* may be pleaded as equal, if not exceeding the preſent Breach, to which this was only ſubſequent, and ſeemed to be but a juſt Recompence or Effect thereof; yet becauſe it was that ſtone of Scandal and Offence, which drew after it that deadly War, in which the Emperor unwillingly engaged againſt the *Ottoman* Power, and cauſed him freely to intimate unto *Serini*, his deſire rather to ſee that Fort demoliſhed, than the Peace interrupted; to which *Serini* yielding no Ear, drew upon himſelf the deſerved diſpleaſure of his moſt gracious Prince, who permitted the act of his Obſtinacy and Diſobedience, to become a juſt Snare to his own Folly. But perhaps, that Diſpleaſure which was Juſtice in the Emperor, might be Envy, and Emulation in his Miniſters, who beholding with jealous Eyes his Actions and Succeſſes the Winter before, which enraged his Enemies, and exalted his Name to that Glory in all the Courts of Chriſtian Princes, that the Pope honoured him with Medals of Gold; the King of *Spain*, with the Order of the Golden Fleece; the *French* King as a Demonſtration of his Eſteem, with a Token of ten thouſand Crowns; and Cardinal *Francis Barberini*, with a Penſion of eight hundred Crowns a Month; and all other *European* Princes, at leaſt made the moſt part Applications to him by Congratulatory Letters, admiring his Virtues, and applauding his Succeſſes; permitting their Gazets and Diurnals, Weekly to divulge and publiſh his Praiſes. From whence may rationally be collected, the true occaſion of that Envy, which by cold aſſiſtances, and ſlow ſuccors, obſtructed as well the taking of *Kaniſia*, as the valiant defence of *Serinſwar*, which was decryed, not only as a Fort erected without due and mature Conſideration, but without art, or regular Proportions, which might render it tenable; accuſing at the ſame time as well the Raſhneſs and Temerity of *Serini*'s Counſels, as his want of Judgment and Experience in Military Affairs. 1664.

But to leave now the ſad ſubject of the Chriſtian misfortunes, occaſioned by their own quarrels and diſſentions, which the Grand Enemy of Gods Church always endeavoured to ſow for advancement of his own Kingdom: Let us caſt our Eyes on the other parts of unhappy *Hungary*. The Siege of *Kaniſia* being raiſed, and *Serinſwar* taken and demoliſhed, ſucceſs had ſwelled and puffed up the minds of the *Turks* to a height that nothing ſeemed difficult or impoſſible to their deſires. On the other ſide, controverſies and delays gave that advantage to the Enemy, that nothing could be expected, but loſſes, ſlaughter, and in the end, a total ruin. But God who pitied the miſeries of poor *Chriſtendom*, caſt his Eyes of mercy on the Frontiers of the upper *Hungary*, granting ſome more happy ſucceſſes to the Chriſtian Arms, conducted by the Valour and Fortune of Count *Soiſe*, a *French* Gentleman, who having the Command of an Army diſtinct from that of *Montecuculi*, began his firſt attempt and enterprize upon *Nitra*, where ſeveral Perſons of Quality, and Officers of the *Turkiſh* Army, were aſſembled to conſider of the Affairs of War. *Soiſe* having taken his convenient meaſures, and made his due approaches, began to batter the Walls, a great part of which in a ſhort time he ſhook ſo ſhroadly, that he opened a very wide Breach, and continually plying Granadoes into the Town, ſo affrighted the beſieged, that immediately they offered a Parly, which *Soiſe* accepted, (and the rather, upon advice, that *Varadin*, *Solnoc*, *Temiſwar*, and the places adjacent, were collecting Forces to raiſe the Siege, and relieve the Town) entered into Treaty, and concluding upon Conditions, the Town ſurrendered, and the *Turks* marched out with the Colours folded, and Muskets under their Arms, leading their Horſes, had Convoy as far as *Chomar*.

Nitra taken by the Chriſtians.

Soiſe having obtained this ſucceſs, entered into Conſultation about recovery of *Newhauſel*, but having not Forces judged ſufficient to attempt the difficulty of that place, he turned his endeavours and deſigns upon *Lewa* or *Leventz*; but in the way thither, he was caſually engaged with a Body of fourteen thouſand *Turks* and *Tartars*, who were marching to the relief *Nitra*, and fell in unawares upon his Rereguard; whereupon *Soiſe* commanded the Regiments of his Major General *Guarnieri*, and of the Collonels *Caprara* and *Zeitſch*, and the Horſe and Dragoons of *Brandenburgh*, then marching in the Van, to face about, and Charge the Enemy, which they performed with that Courage and Vigour, that they routed and purſued them as far as the River *Giava*. At which place *Soiſe* Encamped with his Army, and in an advantagious Situation made a line of Circumvallation about his Camp, ſtrengthening it with ſome Pieces of Cannon. The *Turks* having recovered a convenient Retreat upon the River, remained oppoſite to the Chriſtians, and having there reinforced themſelves with additional Recruits, returned again to give them Battel, and in three places with extremity of Fury and Deſpair, aſſaulted the Chriſtian Camp: Fortune for a long time remained doubtful on both ſides, till at length the admirable Reſolution of the Chriſtians overcame, leaving a thouſand *Turks* extended on the place; many were drowned and the reſt fled, leaving a rich Booty for reward to the Conquerors.

The *Turks* aſſault *Soiſe*.

The Chriſtans in this manner being ſucceſsful, reſolved not to check the current of their Fortune, but without delay, proceeded to *Lewa*, which

Lewa taken.

1664. which having been for ſome time battered with great Guns, ſurrendred it ſelf to the mercy of the Conqueror; in which was found a conſiderable quantity of Meal, and twenty great pieces of Artillery.

In the mean time, the difference between the King of *France* and the Pope (on occaſion of the inſult offered at *Rome* by the *Corſi*, to the Embaſſadors Houſe and Perſon) being this Year compoſed; thoſe Forces of the *French* being in all about 3000. Horſe, ſent firſt into *Italy* to avenge this Affront, under the Command of the Count *Coligni*, were ordered to paſs into *Hungary*, by way of *Venice*, to the Aſſiſtance of the Emperor; to which, ſeveral Gentlemen, Voluntiers of the ſame Nation, joining themſelves, formed a Body of 4000. Horſe well appointed, Valiant and deſirous of Action. The Pope alſo, whoſe words expreſſed and breathed out nothing but holy Zeal againſt the common Enemy, promiſed a ſupply of 10000. Foot, and 3000. Horſe, which were to paſs by way of *Trieſte* into *Croatia*, according to the Promiſe and Aſſurance of the Nuntio at *Vienna*: for acknowledgment of which religious and conſiderable Succour, Count *Leiſle* was diſpatched from the Imperial Court, in a private Character, to paſs thoſe Offices of grateful Acceptance, as were due to ſo high a Merit and Senſe of the Chriſtian Cauſe. But ſcarce was *Leiſle* arrived at *Venice*, before he underſtood (to his great Admiration) that the holy Army was by Order of the Pope disbanded, for which no other Cauſe was aſſigned, than only, that at *Rome* it was ſeriouſly debated, and in the end, it was concluded, that the Expence was too great to be charged on the Eccleſiaſtical State; and that the Soldiery alſo were themſelves unwilling to be ſo far ſeparated from their own Country; all which at *Vienna* were underſtood to be frivolous Pretences, and the cauſes thereof attributed to the ſiniſter Offices of a Perſon ill affected to the Emperors Intereſt, by which the Pope and *Don Mario* his General, falling from their Reſolutions and Promiſes, Count *Leiſle* was revoked from his Employment, and the Imperial Intereſt, and hopes diſappointed of ſo conſiderable a Succour.

The Pope recals his Forces from aſſiſtance of the Emperor.

Howſoever, that the Paſtoral care might not ſeem to be altogether dormant and careleſs of the Univerſal Flock, the Pope having disbanded his Army, could not do leſs than to ſupply the defect thereof with Money; for raiſing of which, he charged the Eccleſiaſtical State through all *Italy* (the Dominions of *Venice* only excepted, whoſe Wars already with the *Turks* exempted them from farther Taxes) with an Impoſition of 6 *per Cent.* of their yearly Revenue, under the notion of Tenths or Tithes, which in all amounted to the ſum of 700. thouſand Dollars, which by Bills of Exchange, was remitted by way of *Venice* to the Imperial Court. In the mean time, the French Troops were arrived in *Hungary*, under the Command of the Count *Coligni*, which joining themſelves with the General *Montecuculi*, followed the motion of the Viziers Army. The *Turks* deſigned to paſs the *Danube*, for recovery of *Lewa* or *Leventz*, and in their way to deſtroy and lay deſolate the Country of Count *Badian*, and in virtue and ſtrength of that and former Succeſſes, to paſs forward to the Subjection of *Poſſonium* and *Vienna*. But God who diſpoſes the Affairs of this World, and gives Laws and Bounds to the Licentiouſneſs and unlimited Pride and Avarice of Mankind, took off the Wheels of the *Turkiſh* Chariots, and cauſed them to move ſlowly and warily, having an Eye always

The Pope ſupplies the Emperor with Money, but not with men.

barckwards to the Forces of *Montecuculi*, who attended them along the Banks of the River *Muer*, or *Mura*. 1664.

But whilſt theſe two great Armies marched in view of each other, the *Walachian* and *Moldavian* Forces joining with a conſiderable number of *Turks* and *Tartars*, under the Command of *Chuſaein* Paſha, reſolved to Aſſault, and again to recover *Leventz*, which tho ſcarce ſetled, being ſo lately taken by the Chriſtians, yet valiantly repulſed two fierce Aſſaults of the Enemy, with that Courage and Bravery, that 2000. were Slain under the very Walls. By which time, it being the 7th of *July*, Count *Soiſe* paſſed the *Nitra* with his Horſe and Foot, and thence haſtning his March with all Expedition, he firſt Encamped at the Foot of a Hill called St. *Benet*, from whence he diſcovered the Enemies Body from the Top of a Mountain, and thence approaching nearer, threw up ſome Earth and Works by the Banks of the River *Gran*; the next day having found a fordable place of the Water, *Soiſe in leſs* than two hours paſſed the groſs of his Army; which the Enemy obſerving, left their Siege, abandoned their Trenches, and diſplaid their Army in open Field, which conſiſting of 25. or 30. thouſand fighting Men, appeared much more numerous than the Chriſtians. For to theſe Forces, under the Conduct of *Huſaein* Paſha of *Buda*, were joined the Paſha of *Anatolia* and *Cidizade*, the Paſha of *Temeſwar*, four Boluchees of Spahees, and a good Force of *Tartars*, together with the Militia of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, under their reſpective Princes, which compoſed an Army, as was computed, of above 25000. Men. Upon approach of *Huſaein* Paſha, the Chriſtians gave way, and retreated, intending to receive their Enemies in a larger Field, and afford an occaſion to them of greater Confidence in Execution of the Deſign they came to Act. The *Turks* ſuppoſing the Chriſtians to be fled for fear, with more boldneſs marched forward. And believing this Retreat to proceed rather of Fear than Policy, continued to contemn the Puſillanimity of the Chriſtians; and leſt it ſhould argue too much regard and eſteem of their Force, vouchſafed not to ſend Scouts abroad, either to view their Camp, or to prevent ſurpriſal; but ſome of their Officers wiſely conſidering, that a Soldier ought never to deſpiſe his Enemy, they were perſwaded to ſend a conſiderable Body of Horſe, to view and diſcover the Enemies Force, who in the way, meeting with a party of the Chriſtians, after a ſmall Skirmiſh put them to Flight, and taking ſome Priſoners, brought them before the General; the Priſoners upon Examination confeſſed, that Count *Suſa* was fully reſolved the next Morning to give them Battel, and declared the number and courage of his Army to be ſuch, as altered the Opinion *Huſaein* had conceived of the Cowardice and Weakneſs of the Chriſtians power; ſo that that whole Night the *Turks* paſt with watchful and vigilant Guards, their Arms ready, and the whole Camp in a poſture of Defence.

Count *Soiſe* marches to raiſe the Siege of *Leventz*.

The *Turks* before *Leva*.

The next Morning being the 9th of *July*, the day breaking diſcovered the Chriſtian Army at ſo near a diſtance, as that their ſeveral Motions might be diſcerned; and putting themſelves in Array for the Battel, made two Wings of Horſe; each Wing conſiſting of 3000. Horſe the moſt armed Cap-a-pe, and well provided; the Foot marched in the Body of the Army, well appointed and fitted with all ſorts of Ammunition and Arms, and ſo raiſed with chearful Courages, as rendered them in appearance to the *Turks*, a Warlike and formidable Army. The *Turks* likewiſe

The Chriſtian Army put themſelves into Battalia.

1664. wiſe drew themſelves into Battalia, deſirous to try the fortune of the day; the right Wing was Commanded by the Prince of *Valachia*, and the left by the Prince of *Moldavia*. The Body of the Army was compoſed of *Turks* and *Tartars*, almoſt all Horſe, except 2 or 3000. Janizaries, ſent as an Auxiliary Force from *Newhauſel* and *Strigonium*. Theſe two Armies thus ranged in a Poſture of Defiance, ſtood in view each of other, until *Huſaein* Commanded his Men to paſs the Marſh or Fen, which was between them and the Chriſtians: but ſeveral would have perſwaded him the contrary, leſt the ſucceſs of the day not proving to Expectation, the Marſh ſhould be a diſadvantage to their Flight, and an occaſion of greater Slaughter in the purſuit; to which *Huſaein* Couragiouſly anſwered, That Men who would Conquer were to look forward, and not behind them; thoſe that would ſave their Lives by flight, were fit to periſh in it; and that for his part, he was reſolved to cut off all hopes of ſafety from his Army, but what conſiſted in their Swords and Victory over their Enemies. The *Turks* having thus paſſed the Marſh, made a halt and faced the Chriſtians until Noon; who moved not a foot from their ground, that ſo they might obtain the advantage of the Sun; which in the Morning being in their Faces, would upon declining be an offence unto the *Turks*. In the mean time, no queſtion but both Generals made their Orations to their Soldiers, encouraging them to Fight in Defence of their Faith and Religion; of their Countries Glory and Safety; ſuggeſted with thoſe Arguments and Rhetorick, as was agreeable to the Principles and Condition of both Parties; and which we may well ſuppoſe according to the Licence of Hiſtorians, to have been in theſe words, or to this effect.

The Speech of Count *Suſa* to his Army.

WHen I ſee, and conſider before us (Fellow Soldiers) thoſe Enemies who are the object of our Fury and Rage, I conceive words more neceſſary to moderate the heat of your Anger, ſo as to Fight with Diſcretion, rather than to raiſe your Spirits to that height of Warlike Courage, in which conſiſts the ſafety and glory of this days Fortune. For theſe are they, who lately in cool Blood againſt the Laws of Arms and Nations, unhumanely butchered our Countrymen and Kindred, and made no difference between Captives of War, and Malefactors; but like Thieves and Murderers, ſentenced brave Men to Death, who had no other crime, than that they unhappily fought in defence of their Country. Theſe are they, who in the very times of Peace, conſume your Borders, and rob your Markets; and whoſe Capitulations of Peace, make yet all acts of hoſtility lawful: Theſe are the grand Enemies and Deſpiſers of the Croſs of Chriſt; againſt whom whoſoever dies, is both a Conqueror and a Martyr. This Army before your Eyes, conſiſts in part of Moldavian, *and* Valachian *Chriſtians, forced to this War by compulſion, not of choice; the reſt are either* Turks *educated in the ſoftneſs of* Aſia, *or* Tartars *who never made advantage by Battel, but by flight; theſe are they with whom you have this day to contend before the Walls of* Lewa, *where many of your Wives, and Children, and Friends, are immured, and are Spectators of your Virtue and Courage: Let us therefore valiantly addreſs our ſelves to this Battel, on the ſucceſs of which the fortune of* Hungary *and* Germany *depends.* 1664.

The Speech of *Huſaein* Paſha to his Soldiers.

WHilſt our General the Grand Vizier is ſo ſucceſsful in his Arms abroad, having ſubdued the ſtrong Fortreſſes of Oywar *and* Serinſwar, *and ſtruck a Terror and Amazement to all the Enemies of our formidable Emperor; let not us be unactive, or want our ſhare in the renown and fame of Triumph and Victory. I ſhall not need to put you in mind of the glorious Exploits of your Anceſtors, whoſe Valour and Virtue, which formed this vaſt Empire round about us, you ought now to imitate, and give the World new proofs, how emulous you are to exceed the Courage and Bravery of former times. The other Diviſions of the* Ottoman *Power have contended hitherto with their Enemies on unequal terms, and droven them forth from their ſhelters of Trenches and Bulwarks; but here you have an open Field to fight, nothing between you and the naked Breaſts of your Enemies; we ſtand in equal numbers and terms with them; nothing can win the day but only Valour; and nothing loſe it but meer Cowardice. Theſe are the ſhattered Companies we have expelled laſt Year from* Oywar, *and the Companions of thoſe, whoſe Bodies and Heads we have heaped before* Strigonium: *ſhould we ſubmit to be ſubdued by theſe whom our* Oſmanlees *have ſo often Conquered; we ſhould not only ſtain our ſelves with the higheſt infamy and ſhame, but give a turn to the Univerſal Fortune of the* Ottoman *Arms.*

By this time it was Noon, and the Sun turning it ſelf from the Chriſtian to the *Turkiſh* Army, a warning Piece was fired from the Chriſtian Camp, at which ſign their whole Army began to advance, and with chearfulneſs to approach the *Turks*, who ſtood ready to receive them. At the firſt onſet the Chriſtians poured a plentiful Volly of ſhot on the *Turks* and *Tartars*, which compoſed the main Body; at which immediately they put themſelves to Flight, leaving the two Wings to an unequal Battel, who reſiſted not long before they followed the Example of their Companions, leaving their Baggage and Cannon, with the Honour of the day, unto the Chriſtians; who in the purſuit ſlew the *Turks* without Compaſſion or Reſiſtance; filling the Fields with dead Bodies, and the Rivers with Blood, until Night, which is the ſhelter of the diſtreſſed, gave a ſtop to their farther Slaughter: ſuch as eſcaped betook themſelves to *Strigonium*, where they were refuſed either paſſage over the Water or Proviſions, or any other Refuge or Entertainment after their wearieſome Flight; for *Strigonium* it ſelf was judged now in Danger, and the next attempt after the foregoing Victory; and therefore there

Huſaein Paſha routed and fled.

Refuge denied them at *Strigonium*.

1664. there was no Reaſon or Policy to unfurniſh themſelves of neceſſary proviſions to ſupply or relieve a diſcouraged and cowed Army. Whereupon the *Moldavians*, and *Valachians*, finding themſelves half famiſhed, forced their Princes to return home, being glad of the occaſion to acquit themſelves of the *Turkiſh* Wars, in which they were uſed more like Slaves than Soldiers. The Princes though ſenſible of the danger this unlicenſed departure, and deſertion of the Wars might bring upon their perſons, were yet neceſſitated to yield to the violence and mutiny of their Soldiery: In their march homewards they encountred no difficulties or oppoſition, unleſs at the *Tibiſcus*, where a ſmall number of *Turks* would have denied them paſſage, but were ſoon diſperſed by the Sword of the reſolved Soldiery, who having conducted their Princes to their uſual Courts, made an end betimes of this years Campagna. *Huſaein* Paſha in the mean time, being denied entrance at *Strigonium*, fled to *Newhauſel*, where his preſence was moſt acceptable for reinforcement of that Gariſon, which now was in ſome danger of being recovered by the Chriſtians. Of the *Turks* were killed in this Fight 6000, of the Chriſtians 150; none of Quality, excepting one *Kovari*, a worthy and ſtout *Hungarian* Captain; 4000 Carts were taken, laden with all ſorts of Proviſion and Ammunition for War; about 100 Colours, and a great number of Tents, and Arms of all ſorts; twelve pieces of Cannon, about 1000 Horſe, and 140 Camels, ſtraying in the Fields, without care of Keepres, or Riders, with great Droves of Cattel of all ſorts, and other good booty and ſpoil, which remained as a reward to the Conqueror: The number of Priſoners was not great, by reaſon that the Souldiery, in heat of the purſuit, and in revenge of the *Turks* Cruelty towards the Gariſon of *Komar* the leſs, whom lately in a barbarous Cruelty they had put to the Sword, were wholly inclined to ſlaughter and deſtruction, only about 700 *Moldavians*, and *Valachians*, were ſpared until they came in ſight of *Strigonium*, where they erected ſeveral Gibbets, and hanged them thereupon, with their Muskets about their Necks, requiting (as they ſuppoſed) part of the Viziers Cruelty, and executing part of God's Juſtice upon thoſe who profeſs the Name of Chriſt, and yet fight under the Banner of *Mahomet*.

The *Moldavians* and *Valachians* return home.

Soiſe animated with the foregoing ſucceſs, deſigned to attempt *Barcan*, a Palancha oppoſite on the other ſide of the *Danube* to *Strigonium*, and to that end embarked Ten thouſand five hundred of his men on Four Gallies, and Forty Galliots, carrying the Teutonick Colours, in regard that religious Order had amply contributed towards the building of thoſe Veſſels, when they were on the Stocks in the Arſenal of *Vienna*. The Soldiers were ſo fleſhed with the former Victory, that nothing ſeemed difficult or hazardous; ſo that that Count *Marſet*, without Orders of the General, raſhly in a Bravado fell in upon the Town, without any advantage of Earth, or other ſhelter, but with open Breaſts expoſed himſelf and Soldiers to all dangers; but the attempt being too difficult, he was, in fine, ſhot through both the Cheeks, and forced to retire with loſs and diſreputation: This attempt was ſeconded by the Duke of *Holſatia*, and his Infantry, who bringing ſome ſmall pieces of Cannon to the very Paliſadoes, began to batter the houſes, during which about a Hundred and fifty Janiſaries made a vigorous Sally, but were repulſed with a ſufficient loſs, ſo that the Chriſtians making good their ground, brought up and planted four Cannons, and two Mortar Pieces, and firing at the ſame time ſome Granadoes, ſo plyed their work, that the Inhabitants looking on their condition as deſperate, gave fire themſelves to their Wooden Buildings, paſſed the Bridge, and recovered *Strigonium*. The Town thus abandoned, the Chriſtians had no difficulty to get poſſeſſion, but entring quietly in, ſeized what was remaining of value, and adding to the flames, by other fires, in a few hours reduced all to Aſhes; which being done, *Soiſe* marched back to *Komorra*, to refreſh his men, and take Counſel what ought to be the next deſign and enterprize to be taken in hand. And here for a while was a pauſe, or full point of the actions of *Soiſe*, who not wanting Adverſaries in the Imperial Court, emulous of his happineſs and fortune, inſtilled ſuch ſuſpicions and ſcruples into the mind of the Emperor and Council, as cauſed *Soiſe* to give up his Commiſſion, that he might ſeek a life private, and free from the evil Tongues of the envious, until afterwards his Virtues diſperſing thoſe malignant Clouds, he was reſtored to the good Opinion of his *Cæſarean* Majeſty, and honoured with the Charge and Command of the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Komorra*, where I my ſelf had once the honour to make him a Viſit, and was courteouſly received by him. This ill ſucceſs of the Paſha of *Buda* arrived the Viziers ears, whilſt he was attempting to paſs the River *Rab*, in which were many difficulties, in regard the Banks were defended by the Chriſtian Palancha's, which in every adventure cut off conſiderable numbers of men. At which loſs of men, and time, and the ill ſucceſs near *Lewa*, the Vizier being greatly moved, made another attempt on the *27th* of *July*; advancing with the Groſs of his Army as far as *Kemend*, where the River runs narrow and ſhallow, but by the valour of the *Hungarians*, *Germans*, and *French* conducted by General *Montecuculi*, an *Italian* Born, were repulſed with ſome Slaughter.

Soiſe aſſaults *Barcan*.

1684. *Barcan* burnt.

On the firſt of *Auguſt*, the *Turks* made another conſiderable attempt, having planted Guns on the Banks of the River, which ſhot into the Chriſtian Camp, and paſſed over in one place Six thouſand Janiſaries and *Albanians*, and near a Village called *Chiesfalo*, where the Water was narrow and ſhallow, very conſiderable numbers of Horſe crouded over. At which formidable ſight, the Chriſtians collecting their Forces together, retreated to a more ſpacious place, where might be open Field ſufficient for both Armies to draw up and join Battel. About half the Army having now paſſed the Water, the other part, in which was the Vizier, remained ſtill on the other ſide, intending the next Morning to follow and advance to the Body, which was gone before; but it happened, by God's Providence, that that very Night there fell ſuch a Deluge of Rain, as immediately made the River to ſwell above its Banks, and become altogether unpaſſable without a Bridge or Floats; ſo that the *Turkiſh* Army being now divided by the Waters, were uncapable of yielding any ſudden aſſiſtance each to the other. Howſoever, the Vizier judging that that part of his Army which had already paſſed, was an equal Match for the Chriſtians, entertained not the leaſt diffidence of good ſucceſs, at leaſt ſuppoſed they might be able to decline a Battel, until by abatement of the Waters (which could not be long at that Seaſon of the Year) he were enabled to paſs, and join his main Body with them; and therefore full of hope and confidence, having at firſt diſ-

The *Turks* with part of their Army paſs the *Rab*.

The *Rab* ſwells with immoderate Rains.

comfited

1664. comfited the forlorn hope of the Chriſtians, which conſiſted of a thouſand men, diſpatched immediately Meſſengers to acquaint the Grand Signior of his ſucceſs and paſſage, which News he knew would be the more grateful, becauſe the Grand Signior by daily Letters and Commands urged him to proceed in his March, and not to ſuffer the impediment of a narrow Ditch to be an interruption to the whole *Ottoman* Force, which in former times was not reſtrained by the depth or breadth of the Ocean. The Grand Signior having received this Intelligence, as if the intire Victory and Triumph over the World conſiſted in the paſſage over the *Rab*, was tranſported with ſuch an extraordinary joy and aſſurance of Victory, that to anticipate the good News a ſolemn Feſtival was ordained for the ſpace of ſeven days, and ſeven nights, called by the *Turks*, *Dunalma*; in which time the whole nights were made light with Lamps and Candles, and made cheaful with great Guns, Vollies of Muskets, Sound of Drums and Trumpets, revellings and what other Solemnities might teſtifie joy and triumph. But ſcarce three Nights of this vain Dream had paſſed, before the Grand Signior awaked by intelligence, contrary to his aſſured expectation, of the Defeat and Deſtruction of a conſiderable part of the Viziers Army, ſhamefully commanded the Lights to be extinguiſhed, and the remaining four Nights deſigned for Joy, to be converted to Melancholly and Darkneſs: And though the raſhneſs and vain fancy of the Governours was the ſole cauſe of this precipitate mirth, yet as great men love always to charge their errours and follies on the ſhoulders of others, ſo the Sultan accuſed the Chimacham, through falſe Information, to have been the Author of this ſhameful Decree; and in that fury, calling the Executioner, had certainly taken off his head, had not his young Minion or Favourite, now called *Kul Ogli* (promoted to the Perferment of *Aſan*, before mentioned) with much earneſtneſs and Prayers interceded for his Life.

The Turks vain joy.

Signifies the Son of a *Kul*, or Slave.

And indeed this Joy and Triumph was ſo much more ridiculous and ſhameful, by how much more fatal and deſtructive was the enſuing Event. For the *Turks* being now got over the River, had not, at firſt, time enough given them to caſt up Earth, but were forced by the Chriſtians to an Engagement; for the Chriſtian Army was drawn into Batalia to receive them. The right Wing conſiſted of the *Auſtrian* Forces, commanded by *Montecuculi* himſelf; the Left was formed of the Confederates of the *Rhine*, commanded by Count *Olac*, to which was adjoined Forty Troops of the *French* Cavalry, conducted by Monſieur *Coligni*, and the main Body was commanded by the Marſhal General Marquis *Bada*, which compoſed a very formidably Body, and aſſailed the *Turks* with extraordinary Valour; the Fight was very furious, and began about Nine a Clock in the morning on the third of *Auguſt*, and continued till Four in the Afternoon with variable fortune; during which time the Waters being abated, the Spahees paſſed over in ſeveral places, and charged the left Wing of the Chriſtians, and in other places they made attempts, only to divert the Army, whilſt the Janiſaries threw up Earth to ſecure a paſſage for the reſt; which when the Chriſtians eſpied, they at firſt reſolved to ſound a Retreat, but afterwards perceiving that the Trench was but newly begun, *Montecuculi* drawing up the Body of the Army into a half Moon, attacked the Janiſaries on all ſides with that fury, ordering the Bodies of Horſe to contend with the Spahees; that the *Turks* now faintly fighting began to give ground to their Enemies, at which inſtant turn of Fortune, an outcry was heard, That *Serini* on the other ſide had ſet on the Viziers Camp; which ſo animated the Chriſtians, and terrified the *Turks*, that the latter began to give back, and put themſelves to ſhameful flight, leaving dead upon the Place Eight thouſand of their Companions, and the Glory of the Day to the Chriſtians. The *Turks*, who always fly diſorderly, not knowing the Art of a handſome Retreat, crouded in heaps to paſs the River, the Horſe trampling over the Foot, and the Foot throwing themſelves headlong into the Water, without conſideration of the depth, or choice of Places fordable; thoſe ſinking catching hold on others who could ſwim, ſunk down, and periſhed together; others were carried away by the rapidneſs of the Stream, and both Men and Horſe were carried down the River, and ſwallowed up in deeper places: The Water was died with Blood, and the whole face of the River was covered with Men, Horſe, Garments, all ſwimming promiſcuouſly together; no difference was here between the valiant and the Cowardly, the Fooliſh and the Wiſe, Counſel and Chance, all being involved in the ſame violence of Calamity, *Non vox, mutui hortatus juvabant adverſante unda, nihil ſtrenuus ab ignavo, ſapiens a prudenti, conſilia a caſu differre, cuncta pari violentia involvebantur*; ſo that the Waters devoured a far greater number than the Sword, whilſt the Vizier ſtanding on the other ſide of the River, was able to afford no kind of help or relief, but as one void of Counſel and Reaſon, knew not how, nor where to apply a remedy. This defeat though in Chriſtendom not greatly boaſted, by reaſon that the deſtruction of the *Turks*, which was moſt conſiderable by the Water, was partly concealed to them, yet the *Turks* acknowledg that Ruine and Slaughter to have been of a far greater number than what the Chriſtian Diaries relate, confeſſing that ſince the time that the *Ottoman* Empire arriv'd to this greatneſs, no Stories make mention of any Slaughter or Diſgrace it hath ſuffered to be equal unto the calamity and diſhonour of this. On the *Turks* ſide were ſlain that day, *Iſhmael* the late Paſha of *Buda*, and Kimacham of *Conſtantinople*, by a ſhot from the Enemy paſſing the Water; the Spaheelar Agaſee, or General of the Spahees; the Janiſar Aga, the younger Son of the Tartar *Han*, and ſeveral othes Paſhaws; *Alibegh*, General of *Boſna*, Thirty Capugibaſhees, Five and thirty Pages of the Vizier's, and Three hundred of his Guard, Five thouſand Janiſaries, Three thouſand Spahees, Fifteen hundred Boſnacks, Eight hundred *Albanians*, Six hundred *Croats* and *Hungarians* of the *Turks* Subjects, Two hundred and fifty *Valachians* and *Moldavians*, Six hundred *Tartars*, of *Anatolia* fifteen hundred, and about Four thouſand other *Aſiaticks*, from the fartheſt parts of the *Turks* Dominions, Eaſtward; ſo that in all we may account Seventeen thouſand ſlain on the *Turks* ſide; beſides which were taken Sixteen pieces of Cannon, a Hundred and twenty ſix Colours, with the Standard of the Viziers Guard, Five thouſand Cemiters, moſt of which were emboſſed with Silver, and ſome beſet with Jewels, with many Horſes, of which ſix were ſent as a Preſent to the Vizier. Of the Chriſtians were ſlain near Three thouſand Men; thoſe of note were, The Count *Naſſau*, Count *Charles* of *Bracondorf*, Captain of the Guards to Count *Montecuculi*, Count *Fuchier* General

1664.

The defeat given the *Turkiſh* Army by the River *Rab*.

Tac. lib. 1.

The ſlain on the *Turks* ſide.

1664. General of the Artillery of the Empire, Collonel *Pleiter*, with his Lieutenant Collonel and Serjeant Major, and with many other Gentlemen of the *French* Nation, who deſerve for ever to be chronicled for their Virtue and Valour. For herein the *French* Nation ought not to loſe their juſt praiſe, having made proofs of their Valour, as well in this, as in other Battels; it being reported, That Monſieur *Coligni* their General, killed Thirty *Turks* with his own hand.

The News of this Victory being poſted to *Vienna*, it is wonderful to conſider with what Applauſes, with what Honours, with what *Encomiums* the Fame of *Montecuculi* was celebrated; for beſides the Triumphs, with Fires, ſounding of Bells, Banquets, and other demonſtrations of ſolemn Joy; the Glory of *Montecuculi* was the Theme of every Ballad ſung in the corners of ſtreets; which Honours of the Commonalty were ſeconded by greater and more ſubſtantial of the Imperial Court, who conferred upon him the Title of Lieutenant General of the whole Army, a Dignity ſo eminent as is inferiour to none, except the Emperor, in order of the Militia; and was not without ſome ſcruple granted to the Archduke *Leopold* by his Brother *Ferdinand* the Third; and withheld from *Piccolomini* Duke of *Amalfi*, until he had highly merited it, and made his way to it through bloody fields, where Providence firſt crowned him with Laurels of Succeſs and Victory.

And here is juſt occaſion for us to doubt, why *Montecuculi* ſhould be thus admired and loaded with Honours, whilſt the ſervices of *Serini* and *Soiſe* were ſo far from being taken notice of, that they ſeemed to effect the diſgrace and ruine of theſe Worthies, rather than to produce the favour of their Prince, and the applauſe of their Country, the natural Rewards of Valour and Virtue. And indeed I cannot but confeſs, I my ſelf have wondred, when in the Court of *Vienna*, I have heard the Actions and Zeal of *Serini* ſo ſlightly ſpoken of, or contemned, when a Stranger took the liberty but to deſcant on his actions, and to vent any thing which but favoured of his commendations. The reaſon of which, I adventure to aſſign unto two cauſes. The firſt is, that Antipathy or natural averſion the *Germans* have to the *Hungarians* and *Croatians*, theſe endeavouring to maintain the Priviledges of a People, who have a free liberty of the Election of their Prince; whilſt the others deſirous to take occaſion to weaken and impoveriſh them, would neceſſitate them to yield their Kingdom to the Emperor by an hereditary Right. The ſecond is, the fury of *Serini* and *Seiſe*, whoſe zeal without conſideration of irritating the *Turk*, or fear of moving the paſſion of the Lyon beyond the terms of an eaſie pacification, tranſported them to commit all damage and ruine, which are the juſt concomitants of War; which rage ſeemed over violent to the Court at *Vienna*, and not to ſuit with the preſent Policy of the War, which was deſigned to be carried on rather in a defenſive than in an offenſive poſture; imagining perhaps, that the good nature of the *Turk* might be complemented into Peace, and that gentleneſs and generoſity might have the ſame effect upon them, as it had upon *Saul*, when *David* had his life at his mercy, and yet ſpared him: according to which counſels of the Court, *Montecuculi* ſquaring every particular of his motion, and thereunto adding ſucceſs, mounted on the wings of Fame, and had his Glory celebrated without diminutions; but the hot and zealous temper of *Serini*, which Souldier-like underſtood nothing but down-right blows, knew not how to uſe that moderation and caution, which the Imperial Court judged an ingredient ſo requiſite to the prudent management of the preſent War, that he was eſteemed uncapable of command, who had not diſcretion enough to practice it: And this was the true reaſon that *Serini* was diſcountenanced, and that his Command was taken from him, and that his Appeal to the Court was without redreſs: Howſoever in regard that the Fame he had won carried him high in the eſteem of all Chriſtendom, he was entertained with hopes and fair promiſes; and even after the very Battel of *Rab*, nothing was more commonly diſcourſed than the giving *Nicholas Serini* a command independent of any other General: But in the end it proved nothing but vain Propoſals to humour the fancy of *Serini* himſelf, and to ſatisfie the World, which admired a Perſon ſo qualified and deſerving as he, ſhould be made a ſubject of ſo much diſgrace and neglect.

With this News the *Turks* remained greatly aſhamed and dejected, having but two days before demonſtrated exceſſes of joy, congratulated the happy News one to the other, and after their manner ſent Preſents abroad, derided the Chriſtians upon the News, exprobriated them with a Thouſand injuries, and applauded their own Virtue, Valour, and the righteouſneſs of their Cauſe and Religion: But on a ſudden Intelligence coming contrary to their expectations, ſuch a dampneſs fell upon their ſpirits, that for ſome days there was a deep ſilence of all News at *Conſtantinople*; they that the Day before ſought for Chriſtians to communicate to them the Miracles of their Victory, now avoided their Company, aſhamed of their too forward joy, and the liberty they had taken to contemn and deride the low condition of the Chriſtian Camp. And now the ill News not being able longer to be concealed, Prayers and Humiliation were appointed publickly to be made at all the great Moſchs of *Conſtantinople* and *Adrianople*, where all Emaums with their young Scholars were commanded to reſort, and ſing certain Prayers appointed for ſuch occaſions.

Reaſons why the Services of *Montecuculi* were accepted better than thoſe of *Serini*.

The minds of the Soldiery after this defeat were very much diſcompoſed, tending more to ſedition than obedience. Every one took licence to ſpeak loudly and openly his opinion, that the War was commenced upon unjuſt and unlawful grounds. That the total Eclipſe of the Moon, which portends always misfortunes to the *Turks*, ſhould have cauſed more caution in the Commanders in ingaging the Armies this year, until the malignancy of that Influence had been overpaſſed. All generally accuſed the firſt Vizier as the Author and ill Manager of the War, *Iniquiſſima bellorum conditio eſt, proſpera omnes ſibi vendicant, adverſa uni imputantur*, and calling to mind the ſolemn Oath with which Sultan *Soliman* confirmed his Capitulations with the Emperor, particularly vowing never to paſs the *Rab*, or place where the *Turks* received their defeat, without a ſolid and reaſonable ground of War, concluded that this Invaſion was a violation of the Vow, and an injury to the ſacred Memory of that fortunate Sultan; and therefore that all Enterpriſes and Attempts of this War would be fatal and deſtructive to the Muſſulmen or Believers, and the end diſhonourable to the Empire.

Sedition in the *Turkiſh* Camp.

Tac. in Vita Agricolæ.

This opinion was rooted with much ſuperſtition and ſtrength of fancy in the minds of the Vulgar: And the rumors in the Camp that the Vizier upon a falſe Alarm of the approach of the Enemy towards his Quarters, had commanded the Army to retreat,

1664.

1664. retreat, administred fury and courage to the Christians, and fear and amazement to his own; from which errour and timidity was occasioned that slaughter which ensued; on which discourses and reports dangerous discontents daily increasing in the hearts of the souldiery, it is thought they would have vented their passion and revenge on their General, had he not at a publick Assembly of all the Heads and Commanders of the Army cleared himself freely, by charging the miscarriage of all upon the Grand Signior, having acted nothing but with Authority of the Imperial Command; promising with as much speed as honour and safety would permit, by agreement and composition of Peace, to bring the War to a conclusion. And this contrivance and art was that (as is supposed) which for the present secured his life; for the Soldiery were greatly terrified and possessed with a dread of the Christians, and amazement upon every Alarm. For the old and experienced Commanders and Veterane Souldiers were either destroyed by the secret Proscriptions of the Vizier *Kuperlee*, or slain in the Engagements of this Year; and the *Asian* Spahees and other Soldiers having Wives and Children, and Possessions to look after, were grown poor, and desired nothing more than in peace and quietness to return to their homes: So that nothing could come more grateful to this Camp, no largesses or donatives could pacifie the minds of the Soldiery more than the promises and expectations of a Peace.

The Grand Signiors hunting at *Tamboli*.

The Sultan during these disturbances and misfortunes was preparing for a hunting Journey to an obscure Village called *Tamboli*, about three or four days travel from *Adrianople*, designing to drive all those vast Woods along the Black Sea for Game, where he had a small ruinous Seraglio. The Queen Mother, the Chimacam, with all the Court, were to accompany him. The Equipage and Pomp he went in, perswaded many, that the design of that Journey was grounded on other causes of Policy, than what were generally penetrated: Some conceived, that the Vizier contrived his Journey thither, to divert him from opportunities of receiving intelligence from Spahees, and others of the true state of the Camp, and management of Affairs: Others judged it might be to avoid in that obscure place the mutinous seditions of the Soldiery. On what consideration soever it might be, the Grand Signior having spent some time abroad, returned again to *Adrianople* with all his Retinue, without doing any thing more important than killing great numbers of wild Beasts, and ennobling those Wildernesses and Woods about *Tamboli* with the fame of his renowned Hunting. *Kehlelee* Pasha being slain (as we have said) before *Serinswar*, who was Husband to the Viziers Sister, the Vizier bestowed the Widow on *Husein* Pasha of *Silistria*. And much about the same time the Grand Signior considering that his own Sister, by the death of her old Husband *Ishmael* Pasha, slain in the last Battel, led a single life, conferred her in Marriage upon the old *Mahomet* Pasha, whom before we have related to have been *Kahya* to the Vizier, late Pasha of *Darbiquier*, and now of *Aleppo*, who as an Honour charged with a weight of troubles and other inconveniences, seemed thankfully to receive her; and though he was a man of Ninety years of age, and had long since forgot the solaces of the bridal Bed, yet according to the custom of Marriage with a Sultana, he was ingaged to divorce his former Wife, with whom he had past the Summer and Winter of his age, and as a constant Husband, was still uxorious in his love. So that in the midst of Wars, where some found Graves, others found Marriage-beds, and reason of State found a Vacation to conjoyn *Mars* and *Venus* without interruption of ruder Enterprises. 1664

The Great Vizier after his defeat marched to *Stultweissenburg*, or *Alba Regalis*, to recruit and refresh his Army, and expect the Recruit of the Pasha of *Aleppo*, who was said to bring with him about Eight thousand Soldiers.

Vizier sends for the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*.

From *Sultweissenburg* the *Turks*, with the gross of their Army, returned to *Strigonium*, and here the Vizier not unmindful of the shameful flight, and rebellious return of the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia* to their own Countries without his order or permission, sent one Messenger after the other in great haste and fury, after the *Turkish* manner, to recal those Princes to the War; and that laying aside all excuses whatsoever, they should immediatly, with what Forces they could collect, repair again to the Camp. The Princes weary of the War, and fearful of the Viziers evil intentions to take away their lives, endeavoured to excuse their flight, alledging, that their People would not obey, or follow them to the Wars in any considerable numbers, and that now it being the end of the Summer, new Levies would be of great expence, and of little benefit, and disenable them from paying their yearly Tribute; of which (notwithstanding their consumption of Treasure in the last Expedition) they were like to find no ease or relaxation, though a burden too great for their harassed and impoverished Country to support. But these excuses were no arguments to resolved *Turks*; so that Commands came doubled and trebled one after the other full of threats and menaces, to march forward with what Forces they could collect, the Messengers assuring them, That there was no design prepared against them by the Vizier, but what was friendly and of good intention. At length the Princes not able to remain longer without a censure of Rebellion to the Port, with heavy Hearts and light Purses set forwards with about fifteen hundred men apiece, sending before such sums of Money and Presents, as they hoped might mollifie and prepare their access to the Vizier, whilst they themselves marched slowly, to afford longer time to the Operation of this Physick. The Prince of *Valachia* had intrusted about Forty thousand Zaichins to an Officer of his called his Vestiario, or Master of his Wardrobe, whom he had sent before him, therewith to make his access easie and safe to the Vizier: Of whose faith that he might assure himself the better, he made him swear before the Holy Altar, and take the Communion thereupon, that he would be faithful and active in this Negotiation. The Vestiario thus departing, added to his religious Vows, common promises and protestations; but no sooner was he a few Miles distant from his Master, before he erred in his Vows, and altered his road from the Vizier, to the way leading to *Constantinople*, declaring as he went, That his Prince was become Rebel, and was fled, and that he, not to be Partner in his perfidiousness, was hasting to *Constantinople*, there to give evidence of his faith and submission to the *Turks*. This unexpected [illegible] ing to the Prince, caused him to despair of all security and reconciliation with the Vizier, and force him by flight to make good the words of his treacherous servant; so that taking with him his Wife and remainder of his Wealth, passed through *Transylvania* with much difficulty, and at length arrived within the Emperors Territories, resol-

The Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia* recalled to the Wars.

Fides Græca, or the honesty of a Greek.

1684. ving to exchange an inconſtant and dangerous Principality for a more ſecure and private courſe of life. But this impious *Greek* did not reſt quiet with his ill acquired Eſtate without receiving diſturbance from the Boiars or Nobles of the Country; and *Stridia Bei* the new-made Prince, juſtly accuſing him for having robbed the Publick Treaſury, extorted from him the Sum of 150000 Dollars towards his Inveſtment in the Principality, and eaſe of the Country, which was now wracked for payment of old debts, and the growing charges of the new Prince. And thus much of the Princes of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*.

At *Strigonium* great were the Conſultations, what courſe was to be taken: The Chriſtians were now Maſters of the Field, and the *Turks* diſcouraged, and now the Summer was ſo far ſpent, that it was too late to think of recovering their reputation that year with the hazard of a Battel. So that at length it was reſolved to unite the ſhattered Forces of *Chuſaein* Paſha, lately defeated by Count *Suſa*, to the Army of the Vizier, and attend to ſecure *Ojwar* or *Newhauſel* with Proviſions, Ammunition, and Reinforcement of that Gariſon, whereby this War might conclude with ſome Trophies of advance, and inlargement of the *Ottoman* Borders, which in all their Wars is the deſign and Maxime of the *Turks*. So that marching thither, they gathered and collected all the Proviſions poſſible, and having ſupplied the Gariſon, they returned again to *Strigonium* with all expedition, retaining ſtill impreſſions of terror from the late ill ſucceſs. And that they might march with leſs impediment, they ſent their Artillery and heavy Baggage down the *Danube*: Such was the fear of the *Turkiſh* Army at preſent, that it is ſuppoſed, had the Chriſtians eagerly purſued their Victory, they had not only defeated the whole *Turkiſh* Force with little oppoſition, but alſo without any impediment marched to the very Walls of *Buda*.

But what infatuation ſoever blinded the Chriſtian Counſels, little or no advantage was taken, as if the deſign of the Emperor had only been to repel the Enemy from his Borders, or that he feared to irritate the *Turks* with a too inveterate and pertinacious proſecution of his Victories. Inſtead of which, the Vizier making ſome Overtures of Peace, and evidencing the realty of his intentions by his Preſents of a Veſt of Sables, and a Horſe richly furniſhed, with which he flattered and careſſed the *German* Reſident, the Articles were accepted and embraced at *Vienna* with much greedineſs, and the Peace almoſt wholly concluded and clapped up in a moment, to the aſtoniſhment of the whole World. But as matters of this nature cannot ſucceed without juſt and due conſiderations, ſo on both ſides certain cauſes concurred which inclined and diſpoſed things to an accommodation. For on the *Turks* part there wanted not ſuch in the *Ottoman* Court, who emulous of the Grand Viziers fortune and charge, endeavoured to remove him from the favour of his Prince, by accuſing him in many particulars of negligence, and imprudence in the conduct of his Affairs. To anſwer which, his return with the Olive-branch of Peace in his mouth, and yet the Laurels of Conqueſt on his head, having added ſo conſiderable a Fortreſs as *Newhauſel* to the Dominions of the Empire, and demoliſhment of *Serinſwar*, the Original cauſe of the War, were a ſufficient conviction of the evil accuſations of his Adverſaries, and an argument irreſiſtible, when inforced by the Authority of his own Preſence. On the Emperors ſide, the demand of the City of *Erfurt* by the Elector of *Mentz*, ſituated on his Confines, at a time of ſo much exigency as this, and ſeconded by hopes of aſſiſtance from *France*, and the Hans Towns on the *Rhyne*, whereby it was probable great turbulences might reſult, inclined the Emperor with much reaſon to Propoſals of Peace; inſtructions for which, being conveyed to the Reſident then in the *Turkiſh* Camp, from the *Cæſarean* Court, after a ſhort Treaty the Articles were agreed and concluded, as followeth. 1664.

The reaſons which inclined both Parties to Peace.

Firſt, *That* Tranſilvania *remain with its ancient Limits and Priviledges under the Command of Prince* Michael Apafi.

Secondly, *That the Emperor of* Germany *have liberty to fortifie both* Gutta *and* Nitra.

Thirdly, *That the* Turks *ſhall not alter or innovate any thing on the Confines of* Hungary, *or any other part bordering on the Emperor.*

Fourthly, *That* Apafi *pay Six hundred thouſand Dollars to the* Ottoman *Port for expences of the War.*

Fifthly, *That all acts of Hoſtility between the Emperor, and the Grand Signior, and their Subjects, for ever ceaſe.*

Sixthly, *That the two Provinces of* Zatmar *and* Zaboli, *granted to* Ragotzki *by his Imperial Majeſty during life, return again to the Emperor, to which neither the Prince of* Tranſilvania, *much leſs the* Ottoman *Port, ſhall ever pretend.*

Seventhly, *That the ſtrong Caſtle of* Zechelhyd, *which revolted from the Emperor, be demoliſhed, in regard neither Party will relinquiſh his Right thereunto.*

Eighthly, *That* Varadin *and* Newhauſel *remain to the* Turk, *having conquered them by force of their own Arms.*

Ninthly, *That for confirmation of this Peace, Ambaſſadors be interchangeably ſent with Preſents of equal value.*

On theſe Terms (of which none ſeems diſadvantageous to the Chriſtian Intereſt, unleſs the fourth Article, the diſhonour of which ſeems to be covered with the name of *Apaſi*, though the ſcore was paid by the Emperor) the Peace was eſtabliſhed, and the Vizier, as a beginning thereof, gave liberty to many Chriſtian Captives, ſome whereof were of Quality, and Proclamation was made through all the Confines for a Ceſſation of Arms. Howſoever, ſome petty matters remained undecided, which were deferred until the Arrival of an extraordinary Ambaſſadour, who was to exchange with the *Turks* another Ambaſſadour in the Month of *May* following; and in the mean time ſuſpenſion of Arms, and all other Hoſtilities was confirmed. At which News all ſorts of People amongſt the *Turks* were greatly rejoyced, and the Publication thereof the more welcome, by how much the more unexpected. Whereby we may obſerve the alteration of that ancient Martial diſpoſition, which was natural to this Empire, which whilſt it was exerciſed in War, grew hardy, active and inured to warlike exerciſe, but now through idleneſs and want of War (except the *Venetian*, which affords the Soldiery no conſiderable employment) their minds became reſty, wearied with one year and a halfs labour, and dejected with the unproſperous ſucceſs of one Summer.

The *Hungarians* oppoſe the Peace.

But what Conſiderations ſoever the Emperor might have to conclude this Peace, the *Hungarians* were highly diſſatisfied with it, becauſe it was founded on their proper loſs; and that *Newhauſel* was given for a price of the common quiet, which none but themſelves paid and

1664. and yet all *Germany* enjoyed the benefit. That that Town was an appendage to the Kingdom of *Hungary*, and to which the Emperour having only the claim (as they pretended) of an Elective Prince, could not diſmember any part without conſent of the States thereof; and this poſition they maintained with that heat and fury, that they declared themſelves diſobliged from obſervation of the Articles, reſolving to vindicate their own right in deſpight of all oppoſition whatſoever; and that ſince the Emperour had undertaken their Protection, he was bound to aſſert their freedom, and defend their Cities, even with the expence of his own Treaſury, and at the hazard of his own hereditary Poſſeſſions. But to theſe exorbitant Demands, the Emperours Council replyed with theſe following reaſons and moderation; That they themſelves were the firſt Beginners and Promoters of this War; That His Majeſty at their inſtance and requeſt condeſcended to protect them as Subjects, not only with draining of his own Exchequer, and Blood of his Patrimonial Dominions, but with the charge of hired and mercenary Strangers. In the mean time what aſſiſtance had the Hungarians brought to this War, or to their own defence? What Contributions did they ever make? What Forces did they ever unite in the Field by a general aſſent of their whole Kingdom? Notwithſtanding his Majeſty was ready to continue the War, could they themſelves propoſe either a ſafe way for the maintenance of it, or that the preſent Conjuncture did not offer honourable Conditions of a happy Compoſure. Moreover, That the King of *Spain*, his Uncle, and Father in Law, being aged and decrepit, leaving no other Heir than an infirm and ſickly Child, to ſupport the charge and weight of all his Kingdoms, it was requiſite that at ſuch a time as this, he ſhould be free from all incumbrances, either to aſſiſt the Infant in Adminiſtration of the Government, or to aſſert his own Rights (if ſo it ſhould pleaſe God) in the Succeſſion. And that now, ſince a Treaty was on foot for Election of a Succeſſor to the Kingdom of *Poland*, it was neceſſary for his Imperial Majeſty to bear his part in that Tranſaction; but above all, it was conſiderable, That the common Enemy being Rich and Powerful, God had ſeemed to put his Victory into their Hands to no other end than to improve it unto a Peace, which being at this time neglected, the beſt that could enſue would be the miſeries of War, which turning on the inconſtant Wheel of Fortune with variety of ſucceſſes, is always attended with Slaughter, Captivity, Fire, Sword, and a thouſand other Calamities. Theſe, and ſuch like reaſons, moderated and mollified the exaſperate ſpirits of the Hungarians, ſo that they ſeemed to aquieſce and be ſatisfied, and making a Vertue of Neceſſity, had patience where there was no other remedy.

The Emperors Reaſons for a Peace.

The ſudden News of this unexpected Peace did in like manner affect the French King, and the States of the Empire, judging it unreaſonable for them to be intereſſed in the War, and yet unconcerned in the Concluſion of the Peace. Howſoever, things being well repreſented, and as well received and underſtood; his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty accepted of the Reaſons as juſt and ſatisfactory. In the mean time the French had a free liberty to make choice of their Winter Quarters, which they fixed upon in *Bohemia*; but their King being unwilling to burden the Country with his Souldiers for a longer time than they were ſerviceable to them, he ordered them to march, and quarter in *Alſatia*; but before their departure the Emperour honoured Monſieur *de Coligni* with his Picture incircled with Diamonds, and the other Officers with Gold Chains and Medals; ordering the Troops not to march above ten miles a day, and every Third to be a Day of repoſe, and to be entertained all the way at free Quarter, ſo as to return into *France* jocund and healthy, as they departed thence. But before they would bid adieu to thoſe Countries, the General and Officers paid their Viſit to Count *Nicholas Serini*, preſenting him with a Horſe, Furniture, and Piſtols, as a ſmall Tribute to that Great Captain, whoſe Fame was celebrated through the whole World; ingenuouſly confeſſing, That the rumour of his name ſtruck more amazement and terrour in the Enemy, than the Armies that actually faced them, and was more inſtrumental in obtaining the Victory on the Banks of *Rab*, than their weapons or courage which fought againſt them. But not long after this worthy Heroe *Serini* hunting one day ſeparated from the reſt of his Attendants in the Thickets of a Wood, behold, on a ſudden was ſurprized by the ruſhing forth of a wild Boar, which raging, and made furious by ſome Wounds he had received, firſt ſtruck him in the Knee, with which falling to the ground, the fierce Beaſt not giving him leiſure to recover himſelf, ganched him again in the head with his broad Tuſk, which proved ſo mortal, that in a ſhort time he expired in the Arms of one of his Pages. This was the end of this valiant Captain, who unconquered in many and redoubled Conflicts of his Enemies, was made the prey of an ignoble Beaſt. Such are the ſecret and occult Providences of Heaven, which men interpret or reflect on as they are governed by prejudice or intereſt. And ſo did the *Turks* attribute the Fall of this their Grand Adverſary to the righteouſneſs of their Religion, and juſtneſs of their Cauſe; as if he had been a Perſon unworthy to dye by the hand of a man, was condemned to be executed by that Beaſt, which is moſt abominated and deteſted by the *Turkiſh* Rites. He was a Perſon as mortal an Enemy to the *Turks*, as ever *Hannibal* was to the *Romans*; in Dangers moſt couragious, in War valiant, and patient of labour; in Peace courteous, and moderate in his pleaſures; his Diet was natural, rather than artificial; in Banquets, or Drinking Meetings, after the faſhion of that Country, was ſparing in Wine, and rather abſtemious than intemperate; Muſick and Dances were the Entertainment of the ſofter and effeminate part of his Court, rather than his own Paſtimes, whoſe Recreations were chiefly in the Woods, and in ſuch Huntings as had ſomething in them of ſimilitude with Martial Exerciſes; his Judgment was profound and deep, and yet his familiar Diſcourſe facetious; his Converſation obliging, his humour affable, and yet ſevere and majeſtick; he ſpake much, and yet well; his diſpoſition was liberal and generous, eſpecially to his Soldiers, whom he never reſtrained or defrauded of their Booty and Prey, but contented every one with a juſt and exact Diviſion. In ſhort, he was one of thoſe zealous Champions of the Chriſtian Cauſe, who in the Chronicles of paſt Ages ought to be placed and numbred amongſt the worthieſt Heroes.

Serini's Death.

The Character of Sirini.

The French Army march homeward.

The Winter now approaching, and a concluſion in all appearance made of the War, the Vizier returned to *Belgrade*, deſigning to remain there until the *German* Ambaſſadour had entered the *Turkiſh* borders, and in the mean time ſent for his Mother thither, pretending that in an un-

The Vizier ſends for his Mother to Belgrade.

1664 uncertain and changeable eſtate the Maternal Bleſſing is of higheſt Conſolation, it being eſteemed pious amongſt the Turks for a man to dye at the Feet of his Mother. This Mother of his was eſteemed a cunning or wiſe Woman, by whoſe Charms and Incantations his Father and he were ſuppoſed long to have conſerved the Office of Vizier; and as my own Ears can witneſs, the common Souldiers Diſcourſe, That his Mothers Art conſiſted much in Philtrums and Charms, reconciling affection and friendſhip, and had a power over the Grand Signiors Inclinations and Underſtanding, rendring all things and actions the Vizier had performed in this War full of merit and admiration. This I ſay was the Diſcourſe of ſome common Soldiers.

The Blazing Star. In the Month of *December*, that Blazing-ſtar which appeared formidably to moſt parts of the known World, was alſo ſeen within the Turkiſh Empire, not without a general terrour of all, as prognoſticating diſaſters of Sword, Peſtilence, and Famine; and ſet the Turkiſh Aſtrologers at work to find out the myſtery it portended: from whoſe Art moſt commonly was divined the death of ſome great Perſon in the Empire, which ſome would have to be the Grand Signior, others the Viſier; others both, as they deſired alteration and change of Government.

The Sultans hatred to *Conſtantinople* increaſes. The Grand Signior continued all this time at *Adrianople*, taken up with an extraordinary delight and pleaſure in his Court there, with which his averſion to *Conſtantinople* ſo much increaſed, that he could not endure ſo much as the name of the place: and if accidentally in his Hunting (as is reported) he chanced to fall into the road which led thither, and remembring himſelf thereof, would immediately turn thence, as one that corrects himſelf of ſome deſperate errour, or avoids a path which tends to an evitable deſtruction. The Kadeleſcher and the other grave Judges of the Law obſerving this unreaſonable hatred of their Prince to his Imperial Seat, conſidered how prejudicial it was to him and his People to have a City of that renown, antiquity, and commodiouſneſs of living, deſpiſed and abandoned: and that perhaps the Souldiery now upon their March from the War, might be impatient of returning home, as all the Dependants on the *Divan*, and Perſonages of great Quality, deſired to injoy their Habitations and Gardens at *Conſtantinople*; from which diſcontents on all ſides it was concluded, That there might reſult dangerous Seditions and Mutinies, and therefore reſolved (and as ſome ſay alſo at the inſtigation of the Vizier) to proſtrate themſelves before the Grand Signior, and tender him their opinions and ſence in that particular, which they accordingly performing and aſſigning the Kadeleſcher, or the Chief Juſtice with all humility to be their Mouth in this Petition, their counſel was received with that indignation, that they were chaſed from the Grand Signiors preſence with fury and high diſpleaſure, and the Kadeleſcher at that moment deprived of his Office.

To theſe other extravagances the Grand Signior would have added another of a higher nature and cruelty, by cauſeleſly putting to death his Brother *Solyman*, whom all the time of his Reign, together with another Brother, he had kept Priſoner in the Seraglio: for now having a Son of his own, he conceived it more ſecure to remove all competition that might be for the Government, according to the example and cuſtom of the Ottoman Princes; but ſuffering ſome remorſe of conſcience in the thoughts of imbruing his hands in the blood of his guiltleſs Brother, conceived it more juſtifiable to perform the Fact by proceſs of Law, and to that end ſent to the Mufti for his Fetfa or Sentence, *viz.* That in ſuch a caſe, where there is a ſufficient proviſion for continuance of the true Lineage of the Ottoman Family, whether it may be lawful, according to their Law and ancient Preſidents, to take off ſome as ſuperfluous Suckers, that draw not only nouriſhment from the root, but endanger alſo the life of the Tree. But the Mufti was not ſo cruel or unjuſt as to paſs this Sentence, but rather ſupplicated the Grand Signior to defer this reſolution; for having but one Son, and that a Child, which was ſubject to the common chances of mortality, the *Ottoman* Family was not ſo ſufficiently provided of Heirs, that he could paſs his Sentence for taking away one, who was ſo neceſſary a reſerve and member of it; with which reply the Grand Signior ſuffered himſelf to be overcome, having ſome touches of Conſcience, and perhaps, not being naturally cruel, ſome ſence of compaſſion towards his innocent Brother.

The Sultan ſeeks to deſtroy his Brother.

1665 But returning now to the Great Vizier, we find him in his Winter-quarters at *Belgrade*, where having taken an affection to the elder Son of the Tartar *Chan*, or elſe having conceived ſome hatred or diſpleaſure againſt the Father, frankly proffered to depoſe the Father, and confer the Government upon him who was the Son. But it ſeems this young *Tartar*, though barbarous, had yet ſo much of filial obedience and reverence inſtamped on him by nature, that he modeſtly refuſed the proffer, and immediatly diſpatched a Meſſenger with ſecret Advices to his Father. The Tartar *Chan* received this Intelligence with great indignation, and purpoſing to play that game in reallity with the Vizier, which he had paſſed on him only by way of overture, wrote a Letter to the Paſha of *Buda*, a man of great abilities and courage, advertiſing him, that hearing a true and worthy character of his proweſs and wiſdom, he could not but deſire to be his friend; and that he might make demonſtrations of his being ſuch, he proffered all the intereſt he had at the Ottoman Court to promote him to the ſupreme Office of firſt Vizier. What Fate ſoever accompanied this matter, either from the Confidents of the Tartars, or of the Paſha, the ſubſtance of the Meſſage came to the knowledge of the Vizier, who obtaining a private Commiſſion immediately from the Grand Signior therein, ſent for the Paſha, and without farther proceſs, or evidence of proof, or accuſation, ſtruck off his Head.

The Vizier offers to depoſe the Tartar *Chan*.

Anno Chriſti 1665. *Hegeira* 1076.

THE Peace thus happily concluded with *Germany*, was a ſubject of ſingular contentment to the People, and not leſs readily embraced by the Grandees, who haſtened ſo much the conſummation thereof, that in the beginning of *January* one *Mahomet Beigh*, of the Order of the Mutafaracaes (who are thoſe that attend the Services of the *Divan*, and are of a Degree ſomewhat above the Chaouſes) a man of conſiderable Richeſs, was deſigned Ambaſſadour for *Vienna*, and qualified with the Title of the Paſha of *Romelia*. In the Month following, being *February*, this Ambaſſadour having received his Preſents and Inſtructions, departed, with Orders to remain on the Frontiers, until the Emperours Ambaſſadour met him at the place of Exchange; where according to cuſtom at the ſame time

The Turkiſh Ambaſſadour departs.

1665. time that one enters into the Dominions of the Emperor, the other paſſes into thoſe of the Grand Signior. The Preſents that one Emperor ſends to the other are according to the ancient Canon, and are to be of equal value, and are commonly eſtimated to be an Hundred thouſand Dollars. Thoſe ſent by the Grand Signior to the Emperor, were:

Three Horſes with their Furniture adorned with precious Stones.

Twelve other led Horſes of great price.

A Royal Tent with all the Apartments, valued at Eighty thouſand Dollars.

A Royal Feather ſet with Jewels.

Ambergreeſe of a conſiderable value.

Bezor-ſtones.

Twenty Cods of Musk.

Seventy Coſtans or Veſts of Three ſorts.

Six *Perſian* Carpets.

Forty very fine Turbants, with other *Perſian* Commodities of divers ſorts of Linnen.

The Spring being now well forward, the time of action, and the Summer at hand, the *Turks* remained with great expectation of the *German* Ambaſſadour; and with greater impatience, in regard that their Ambaſſadour had for ſome time continued upon the Frontiers. It was now *May*, and yet no news from *Germany*; ſo that many began to doubt the reality of the Peace, others reflected on the diſhonour of the Grand Signior, in having his Ambaſſadour ſo long on the Frontiers, as if the Peace had been precarious, and deſired by the *Turks*: Some conſidered the preſent ill conſequences, in caſe the War ſhould break out again; for that licenſe was given to the greateſt part of the Army to return home, and all ſuch as came as far as from *Babylon*, *Damaſcus*, and *Egypt*, to the Frontiers in *Hungary* were departed; and to recal theſe again, and other Zaims and Timariots from remote parts, required a conſiderable time, of which their diſtreſs would not admit, ſhould the Chriſtians prove deceitful in their Treaty. Beſides which, reports were ſpread abroad, that the *French* had intercepted the Ambaſſadour in his paſſage about *Komorra*, and had given an interruption to the Peace. Others reported, that the Ambaſſadour was dead in his Journey, and that the *Hungarians* were again in Arms, as wholly diſſatisfied with the Peace. Theſe rumours flying about, all People blamed the facility of the Great Vizier in being too credulous and confident of the Faith and Morality of the Chriſtians; and the Enemies of the Vizier more boldly adventured to accuſe his ill management of Affairs, which did not a little tickle the ambition of *Muſtapha* Paſha, then Captain Paſha, and Chimacam of *Adrianople*, ſuppoſing that all the diſgraces and ill ſucceſſes of the Vizier prepared a way for his aſcent unto that Office. And to become more popular, being a man naturally of an affable and plauſible carriage, inſinuated himſelf into the favour and good opinion of the Great men and principal Favourites of the Seraglio, over-acting his part in ſome meaſure by condeſcenſions unbeſeeming the degree and dignity of a Chimacam, being obſerved one day to kiſs the Veſt of the Kuzlir-Aga, too apparent a piece of adulation and meanneſs in ſo great a Subject, who in thoſe parts repreſents the Perſon of his Maſter. Theſe paſſages were not altogether unknown to the Vizier; and though at a diſtance he could not perfectly view, and diſcover particularly the comportment of this Chimacam, yet, being by converſation well acquainted with his ſubtle diſpoſition, gueſſed at his thoughts, and the reſt of his actions, and to deal with him in the ſame terms, wrote a Letter to the Grand Signior, bewailing the ill ſucceſs of the War againſt *Venice*, and the ill eſtate and condition of the Fleet; to repair which, and to give courage to their men, and reſtore the Diſcipline in Marine Affairs, the preſence of the Captain-Paſha was neceſſary in the Fleet, who had now for Two years enjoyed the benefit and the title without perſonal attendance on that important Charge. The Grand Signior having received this Letter, concurred in the ſame opinion with his Vizier, and gave Orders to the Chimacam to prepare himſelf to ſerve that Summer at Sea; for that now it was neceſſary he ſhould be in Perſon there, and leſs requiſite his preſence in the City, where his Office would ſpeedily be made void by return of the Vizier. The Chimacam immediately in obedience to his great Maſters command, put himſelf in a poſture for his Voyage, and in the firſt place ſent away his Women to *Conſtantinople*, and appointed the Fleet not to depart until his farther order: Yet in the mean time ſo ſecretly and under-hand made uſe of the friendſhip of the Court-Favourites, repreſenting as from themſelves, how uſeful the ſervice and attendance of the Chimacam was as yet in the City, by reaſon that the delays of the *German* Ambaſſadour made the Viziers return uncertain, and that this Office would ill be ſupplied by any another; they obtained licenſe for his continuance in Office, and diſappointed the intentions and deſigns of the Vizier.

About the end of *May*, after long expectation arrived the *German* Ambaſſadour at *Buda*, to the great joy of the *Turkiſh* Camp. Then was there my ſelf, and obſerved the general ſatisfaction at this news: ſo that now the Ambaſſadour being entred the Frontiers, and his arrival ſecured, on the Twenty ninth of *May*, the Vizier began his March from *Belgrade* with the whole Army, and I kept company with them for thirteen days. On the laſt of *June* the Vizier arrived within ſix hours Journey of *Adrianople*, intending in Two or Three days to prepare for his ſolemn Entrance. But it is reported, That the Viziers Mother had by her Art ſo affected the heart of the Grand Signior towards her Son, that he could not longer want his preſence, and therefore in the way diſpatched frequent Meſſages to him to haſten him as faſt as his convenience would permit. And better to aſſure him of his grace and favour, ſent his young Favourite, a handſom Youth of about Twenty years of age, to meet him with a Preſent of five Horſes richly adorned and furniſhed, and to feaſt him plentifully on the way: And being come within a few hours Journey, the Grand Signior could not contain his deſire of ſeeing him, until the day of his Entry; but ordered him immediately to come to him, being impatient of a private Conference. The Vizier accordingly obeying, and being come to the Royal Preſence, the Grand Signior kiſſed him on the ſhoulder, and honoured him with a * Topooſe of Gold ſtudded with precious Stones, with a Sword, a Dagger, and a Horſe richly furniſhed, with which Regal Munificence he returned triumphing to his Tents, being now fully aſſured of the real grace and conſtant favour of his Maſter. The ſecond of *July* the Vizier made his Entrance with ſolemn Pomp and Glory through part of the City, paſſing again into the Field to remain under Tents with the whole Camp, being ſo ordered by the Grand Signior, in regard the City was neither capable to contain ſo great a number without diſpoſſeſſing the greateſt part of the Inhabitants of their Houſes, nor in this hot ſeaſon of the Year was it ſo wholeſom and cool as the open

1665.

Rumours of the People on occaſion of ſtay of the *German* Ambaſſadour.

Muſtapha Paſha's affectation and popularity.

* It is in the faſhion of a Mace, which the *Turks* wear at their Saddles.

1665. open air of the Country. Beſides, matters would be in a far greater readineſs for a departure towards *Conſtantinople*, to which place the Vizier had perſwaded the Grand Signior to make a Viſit after Audience given to the *German* Ambaſſadour, whom the People now expected with wonderful impatience.

Not many days after arrived Count *Leſly* the Ambaſſadour Extraordinary from his *Cæſarean* Majeſty to the Grand Signior, who made a ſolemn Entrance into the City, paſſing firſt through the *Turkiſh* Camp, where the Grand Signior remained, and thence to the Houſe furniſhed and appointed for him at the expence of the Sultan. The Cavalcade was as followeth: In the Front of all were the Ten Chaouſes which had attended the Ambaſſadour through the whole Journey, theſe were followed by an Hundred fifty five other Chaouſes with Muzevege, with ſome Captains over the Janiſaries. The Ambaſſadour had of his own Retinue about a Hundred and fifty Perſons on Horſe-back, well mounted, and cloathed after the *Hungarian* faſhion; his proper Guard conſiſted of Four and twenty Perſons armed with Partiſans; before him went his Trumpets, and Kettle Drums, but not ſounding, with Two Banners of ſpread Eagles flying, one of them richly embroidered, carried by a Count of the Empire. The Ambaſſadour himſelf was cloathed with a Cloth of Silver Veſt, lined with Sables, on his Cap he wore a Feather after the *Turkiſh* faſhion, adorned with Jewels, which they call (*Sargouch*) and is only uſed by the Grand Signior, and his principal Vizier; before him went Eight led Horſes richly furniſhed; immediately after him followed the Pages and Servants of the Spaheelar Agaſee, and of the Aga which conducted him from the Frontiers. Next came his Litter covered with Violet coloured Velvet, and carried by Mules; then his three Coaches with ſix Horſes a piece, one of which being richly gilded, and made chearful with Glaſs Windows after the new mode, the Grand Signior became much pleaſed with it, and at his requeſt it was preſented to him: after theſe followed four or five other Coaches of Four Horſes, in which were Churchmen and unfirm perſons; and laſt of all came the *German* Wagons, and other Carts with thoſe of the Countrey with Baggage.

The *German* Ambaſſadors Entrance.

This Ambaſſadour was not long arrived before he was admitted to Audience with the Prime Vizier, who beſtowed on him a Veſt of Sables, with a Horſe and Furniture of conſiderable value; and a Hundred of his Retinue were veſted with Coftans, which amongſt the *Turks* are teſtimonies of favour and acceptance. About Four days after, the Ambaſſadour had Audience with the Grand Signior himſelf, at which were only Forty Coftans given out, which coming from ſo Grand a Perſonage, were in value multiplied much above the number given by the Vizier.

Audience given to the *German* Ambaſſador.

The Preſents brought by the Amdaſſadour were as followeth:

A Looking Glaſs of about a man's height, in a ſilver Frame, ſtanding on a pedeſtal of Silver, turning round on every ſide.

Two great Baſons of Silver, ſupported with three Pillars at three Corners, a man's Body and a half high, adorned with ſeveral Figures; at one Pillar was faſtned a gilded Baſon, over which was a Fountain Cock for the Water to run through.

Two great gilded Baſons full of holes at the Bottom to make a Paſſage for the Water.

Twelve Silver Candleſticks, every one about Two Ells high.

Six Silver Flower-Pots.

Twelve gilded Ewers for ſweet Waters.

Twelve Silver Diſhes with Covers made after the form of *Turkiſh* Turbants, all gilded within ſide. 1665.

Twelve gilded Diſhes for Confects, ſet upon Pedeſtals of Silver.

One round Table of Silver upon a Pedeſtal of about half an Ell, after the manner of the *Turkiſh* Tables, with many Devices.

Four Guns with Silver Stocks, and one Cutlaſh of Silver.

Two great Writing Desks of Jaſpar-Stone, with Proſpectives within.

Two other of Ebony Wood, and Tortoiſe ſhell, in-laid with Gold and Silver.

One great Ice Veſſel, and one great Drinking Pot of Silver.

Four Pieces of *Spaniſh* Tapeſtry wrought with Silver.

Fourteen Clocks with *Turkiſh* and *Chriſtian* Figures.

A Grota with a Clock in it, and a Caſe of Virginals which ſound with the motion of Water that runs through it.

A Cupboard an Ell high adorned with Boſſes of Silver, in which was a Salt-box, Candleſticks, and other appurtenances thereunto.

A large Cheſt with Figures of Silver gilded.

A high Writing Desk of Silver gilded, with many Boxes and Drawers, which for the Art and Invention is not to be deſcribed.

Preſents to the Valede or Queen Mother.

An embroidered Cuſhinet to ſow upon, in which was a Looking-Glaſs, and a Virginal ſounding of it ſelf.

A large Looking-Glaſs in a Silver Frame.

Two Silver Candleſticks of an Ell and half high.

A Basket of Silver rarely worked and engraven.

Four great Cups.

To the Great Vizier.

Twelve Silver Platters with Covers.

Two Silver Candleſticks ¾ of an Ell high.

Twelve Silver Plates handſomly worked for Confects.

One Basket of Silver engraven.

Fourteen very large Silver Cups.

For other Miniſters to be beſtowed as occaſion was.

Thirty two Clocks of ſeveral ſorts, ſome with *Turkiſh*, and others with Chriſtian Figures.

Twenty one Watches gilded.

Seven gilded Baſons and Ewers.

The Weight of the Silver all together amounted unto Three thouſand five hundred pound weight. Theſe were the Particulars of the Preſents ſent from the Emperor to the Grand Signior, from whom he received the live value by the *Ottoman* Ambaſſadour. And though this Relation may ſeem impertinent to the Weight of Hiſtory, yet in regard on ſuch minute things many times greater matters depend, and thereby the curioſity of the Reader ſatisfied, I thought it not from our purpoſe to inſert a Liſt thereof.

This year gave the firſt Beginning to trade between the *Ottoman* Dominions, and that of *Genoua*. For in Company of the *German* Ambaſſadour, in condition of a private Perſon, came the Marqueſs *Durazzo* a Nobleman of *Genoua*, with Letters from that Republick to the Grand Signior, and Great Vizier, importing their deſire of friendſhip and commerce with the *Ottoman* Port. This deſign of opening a door to a new Trade was commenced and carried on wholly by the contrivance and power of the Family of

The *Genoeſe* make Peace with the *Turk*.

1665. of the *Durrazzo*'s, falſly founded on the courſe allay of Money, then currant in the *Turkiſh* Territories, which proved not long durable, as will appear by the Sequel. This Marqueſs being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, declared his Meſſage, which if favourably accepted, an Ambaſſadour or Reſident with Merchants ſhould be ſent to hold a Trade in the *Turkiſh* Dominions. In anſwer whereunto the Vizier replied according to the uſual complement, That the Arms of the Port are always open to thoſe who deſire to entertain a friendſhip and correſpondence with it. But becauſe in former days Ambaſſadours from *Spain* and *Genoua* having like promiſes of admiſſion, were notwithſtanding through the union of the *Engliſh*, and *French* and *Venetians*, obſtructed in their paſſage, and forced to return home, though one of them as far as *Scio* in his way, and the other as *Raguſa*; therefore this Marqueſs in remembrance hereof preſſed the Vizier farther in his promiſe, deſiring him to give him the aſſurance, that what oppoſition might be made to the contrary by other Miniſters, he would yet keep firm to that word he had given to his Republick: The Vizier conſtantly promiſed that he would; and if any other Ambaſſadours were not pleaſed with the friendſhip and Treaty of that day, they might ſeek their remedy as they pleaſed, and if they pleaſed might have liberty to depart. The Marqueſs being ſatisfied with this aſſurance, took Letters to his Republick in aſſurance thereof, and Articles were given, and Priviledges for Trade ſigned according to the Tenour of other Capitulations: And being herewith diſpatched, he returned home by Land, and the next year appeared again himſelf in the Perſon of Ambaſſadour Extraordinary to the *Ottoman* Court; where after high and conſiderable Preſents and great Expences made, chiefly ſupported by the Houſe of *Durazzo*, a Reſident was ſeated at *Conſtantinople*, and a Conſul at *Smyrna*, where we will leave them for a while, and ſome years after (God willing) take an account of the profit and loſs this progging Nation had made by this Embaſſy and Trade. But before we leave this point, it will be worth our noting, how hainouſly the *French* Ambaſſadour Monſieur *La Haye* took this entertainment of the *Genoeſe*, in regard he was ſo concerned againſt his admiſſion, that he declared to the chief Miniſters of State, how he had received Orders to oppoſe the entrance of the *Genoeſe* Nation, as highly prejudicial and obſtructive to their Trade; and in fine, to acquaint the Grand Signior, that in caſe he reſolved to entertain them, his Maſter would withdraw his Ambaſſadour and Nation; and therefore they ought to conſider, whether a new Friend and an inconſiderable Republick ought to be perferred before the known and approved acquaintance of the powerful Empire of *France*. But whatſoever the *French* Miniſters were able to act to the contrary, the *Genoeſes* kept their ſtations, in which they were the better ſecured by thoſe frequent occaſions of diſguſt his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in defence of the Chriſtian Cauſe, had given to theſe Enemies of the Chriſtian Faith.

The Genoeſe received.

The Great Vizier and the *German* Ambaſſadour being now both at the *Ottoman* Port; the Wars were concluded, and every one began to diſpoſe his affairs to a quiet and a repoſed life. But this Empire being ſtill by God's Providence in a condition of growth and augmentation, could not remain long in Peace, nor long in health without exerciſe and action. Wherefore no ſooner was *Germany* at eaſe, than the Viſier began to move the proſecution of the War in *Candia*, deſiring to obtain the glory of ſubjecting totally that Iſland, which for the ſpace of Twenty five years had been the principal ſubject of the *Ottoman* deſign and exerciſe, and acquire to himſelf the Fame in Hiſtory of being Conquerour of *Candia*, and Concluder of the *Venetian* War. Wherefore the Vizier with ſeveral other principal Perſons, aſſembled in a Garden near the City of *Adrianople*, ſent for the Signior *Ballarino* Repreſentative for the Republik of *Venice*; where being come, at the firſt word demanded of him the Surrender of the whole Iſland of *Candia*. To which he modeſtly replied, That ſo great a gift was not in his power to give, and that his office was only to be aſſiſtant to that happy hour, wherein all matters might concur towards Peace; and that his Mediation might contribute towards a concluſion of this long and tedious War. In the mean time he ſhould acquaint his Prince with the demand the Vizier was pleaſed to make. To which the *Turks* added menaces, with high and inſolent words, deſigning to bend their whole force and power againſt *Candia*, the effect of which will hereafter be a material ſubject of our Hiſtory. And thus much, to my beſt remembrance, I received from the mouth of that *Venetian* Miniſter.

1665. The *Turks* reſolve to proſecute the War in *Candia*.

In the mean time the Grand Signior, though he continued his Sports and Hunting, without regard to the violent heats of the Summer; yet he began to entertain ſomething more of warm affection towards his Women, and to be reconciled to that Sex, in contemplation of his little Son, who beginning now to play and prattle, afforded him matter of entertainment in the Apartments of his Women; ſo that he affectionately doting on his Queen, gave order for increaſe of her Revenue and Attendance, and appointed the beſt Artiſans of *Adrianople* to make her a Crown ſtudded with very precious Stones to adorn her Head, of which he was ſo impatient, that he ordered the Goldſmiths to work in the Seraglio, permitting them ſcarce time to eat or ſleep until it was finiſhed. In recompence of which affection of her Sultan, this Lady ſo correſponded, that ſhe appeared paſſionately in love, practiſing certain pretty tricks of ſwooning and of an uneaſie condition in his abſence, which ſo endeared him in all reſpects to her, that it was ſaid the Sultan kept himſelf conſtant to this Queen only, and contrary to the cuſtom of other Emperors, and permiſſion of the *Turkiſh* Laws, made uſe of the multitude of his other Women only for Slaves, or Attendants to the greater ſtate and adoration of his beloved Queen.

The G. Signior paſſionately loves his Queen.

And now the Grand Sighior, at the perſwaſion of the Vizier and others of his Council, reſolving to winter at *Conſtantinople*, certain Women of the lower rank were diſpatched before, as forerunners of the removal of the Court: And being in the Seraglio at large without obſervance and awe of their uſual Spies, two of the boldeſt Wenches finding a Cradle, wherein the Royal Infants were uſually laid, adventured to pick out the beſt Jewels, of which ſome were very good Stones, and afterwards laid it up again in a private place, where it was not eaſily found. Not many days after the Queen-Mother wanting the Cradle of ſo much value and antiquity, where many of the young Sultans had lain, ſent to the Seraglio at *Conſtantinople* to fetch it thence. But it not being found, inquiſition was made into all ſecret corners, the Wardrobes were ſearched, but nothing appear'd, to the great fear of thoſe to whoſe care it was committed, one accuſing the other to

ac-

1665. acquit himſelf. In fine, the matter was ſo traced, that ſome whiſpers there were concerning thoſe in whoſe hands the Cradle not long before was ſeen to remain. The Women having guilty conſciences were amazed in being ſo cloſely followed, and fearing the matter ſhould be perfectly diſcovered, entred into conſultation what courſe they ſhould take to ſave their lives and their honour. In fine, they both concluded, that in ſuch an extremity deſperate remedies ought to be uſed, than which none was better than to ſet fire to the Seraglio, by which means, either the thing ſought for, would be eſteemed for burnt and conſumed by the fire, or in ſo great a loſs it might be hoped that matters of ſmaller moment would not be remembred. Wherefore the bold Wenches without other conſideration gave fire with their Candle to the roof of Cedar, of which wood moſt of the Womens rooms in the Seraglio are made, which in a moment made ſuch a flame, as with the help of a little wind, was carried through all the quarters of the Womens Apartments, and thence took its way to the *Divan* Chamber, and other conſiderable parts of the Court, where many Records and Regiſters of Law were conſumed to aſhes, together with one of the leſſer Treaſuries, where much richeſs, which endured not the teſt of fire, periſhed: And the whole Seraglio had run an evident hazard, had not the Boſtangees and other Servants of the Court ventured far into the flames, in which many of them miſerably periſhed. The fire being quenched, and the Women afterwards (I know not how) detected to have been the Authors thereof, were ſent to *Adrianople*, and being there accuſed, were ſtrangled by the immediate order of the Grand Signior.

The Seraglio at *Conſtantinople* ſet on fire.

But the deſtruction of that conſiderable part of the Seraglio was no impediment to the Grand Signiors return to *Conſtantinople*, being rebuilt with that ſpeed and induſtry, equal or excelling the magnificence of the former, that the day prefixed for the Journey thither was not prolonged by reaſon thereof. Howſoever the Grand Signiors averſion to the place made the wheels of his Chariots move ſlow, and the quickneſs of his Attendants grew ſlack and cold, obſerving ſo much diſpleaſure in their Emperor to the place deſigned. For though he was preſſed by the Vizier to begin his Journey, and could not handſomly refuſe to comply with the time appointed; yet to defer this reſolution as long as was poſſible; he contriv'd a long way of Meander towards *Conſtantinople*, forming his Journey in Company with the Great Vizier by way of the *Dardanelli* upon the *Helleſpont*, on pretence of viewing the Fortifications of the new Forts raiſed at the entrance of that Streight, and ſending ſome Proviſions from thence for Relief of *Candia*; wherefore the Captain-Paſha was commanded to Sea with three Gallies, and at *Gallipoli* to attend the Grand Signiors arrival, being to tranſport him thence to the Caſtles, and back again. And the deſign being now reſolved, and hot to proſecute the VVar in *Candia*; for tranſporting thither a numerous Army, it was concluded, That the Captain-Paſha ſhould propoſe to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour the Grand Signiors deſire of Fifteen Sail of Ships, with conſent of our King, for this Service, the *Turks* paying what reaſonable Rates ſhould be demanded. But the Earl of *Winchelſea* then Lord Ambaſſadour, modeſtly replied, That though His Majeſty of *England* did always entertain a good affection and a zealous diſpoſition towards the Affairs of the Grand Signior; yet at preſent the VVar with *Holland*, and ill underſtanding with *France*, made his occaſions for his own Shipping more urgent than uſual, and the time moſt unſeaſonable to preſs his Majeſty in this particular: by which reply and ſeveral other excuſes of the Ambaſſadour, the Captain-Paſha perceiving an averſneſs to the Propoſition, and that Chriſtians unwillingly arm *Turks* againſt the Croſs, gave an account of this diſcourſe to the Grand Signior and Vizier, who immediately gave order for the building of ſixty Gallies againſt the next Spring, which with what they had before would make up above an Hundred Sail. The Rendezvous of this Fleet, together with Saykes and other *Turkiſh* Veſſels, from thence to tranſport the Vizier and his Army for *Candia*, was appointed to be made at *Malvoiſia* of the ſucceſs of which we ſhall have occaſion (God willing) to diſcourſe in the following Year, which gave a beginning (as we may ſay) to the total loſs of that Country, and to that famous Siege, which in Hiſtory will bear the Fame of one of the moſt memorable in the World. And as a preparation thereunto, and as a ſupply of the preſent urgent neceſſities, three Ships, *viz.* one *Engliſh*, another *French*, and a third *Dutch* were laden with Corn, and thirty Sail of Beys Gallies, with all ſorts of Arms and Ammunition, with a Recruit of a thouſand Janiſaries, were diſpeeded from *Conſtantinople* for Reinforcement and Succour of that Iſland.

The *Turks* prepare for a War on *Candia*.

And now at length the Grand Signior after his long circuit arrived at *Conſtantinople*, where he made his ſolemn Entry the Third of *October*, but not with that Joy and Pomp, which uſually attended other Sultans in their return from the Wars and labours to their Imperial City; but all things ſeemed like the Sultans humour, ſullen and diſpleaſed; for he ſeldom lodged in his Seraglio, or ſlept there, but at a ſmall Palace called *Daout-Paſha*, where he for the moſt part made his abode; only ſometimes in the day he paſſed a few hours at his Seraglio, but reſted not there in the Night: The reaſons hereof ſome attributed to the remembrance of thoſe dangers and troubles which he had ſeen in that Court, and which made ſo deep an impreſſion on his fancy, that he could never enter within thoſe Gates without ſome ſenſe of terrour for the late diſorders.

The G. Signior arrives at *Conſtantinople*.

The *German* War being thus concluded, the Sultan returned to *Conſtantinople*, and Affairs diſpoſing themſelves to ſpend their fury againſt *Candia*, all things growing black and tempeſtuous towards that Coaſt, the *Venetians* prudently provided to oppoſe the ſtorm. And as an able General, and wiſe and experienced Captains, are the ſupports of an Army; and that the ſucceſs of War depends much on Martial Diſcipline, and on the vigilance and wiſdom of the Commanders, the Senate gave order to their Ambaſſadour at *Turen*, called *Catarin Belegno*, to offer unto Marqueſs *Ghiron Franceſco Villa*, a Native of that Country, the honourable charge of General of the Foot, with a ſtipend of 12000 Crowns of yearly Pay; the ſaid Marqueſs obliging himſelf to bring with him Four Captains, and two Lieutenant-Generals, for entertainment of whom the Republick allowed Five thouſand Ducats, beſides Seventy Ducats a Month pay to an Engineer. To this Marqueſs *Villa* a power was given to command in chief over all, without ſubjection to any other than to the Captain-General, and to the Proveditor General in *Dalmatia*, when he waged War in that Provence: And in ſhort, his actions were not to be queſtioned or examined by any other than the Senate it ſelf, to whom he was immediately ſubjected, and a Gally was

Marqueſs *Villa* received into ſervice of the *Venetians*.

to

1665. to be allotted purpoſely to tranſport him and his Family to *Candia*. Upon theſe conditions agreed at *Turen*, Marqueſs *Villa* took his Journey to *Venice* about the beginning of *April*, being accompanied with his Kinſman *Franceſco Villa*, his Nephew *Benedetto* Count of *Lagnaſco*, Count *Lodovico Saluzza*, and Count *Bernardino Barretta*, which Four ſerved in quality of Captains, together with *Gio. Franceſco Puſſerla*, and *Aleſſandro Negri*, who were Lieutenant-Generals, and *Gio. Girolamo Quadruplano* Engineer. With theſe Companions and ſeveral other Voluntiers, Gentlemen of Quality, the Marqueſs *Villa* was received with much honour by the Nobility and People of *Venice*; and being introduced into the Colledge, with a ſingular grace and fluency of Language he began to ſpeak in this manner.

The Speech of Marquis *Villa* to the Senate.

IF thanks, moſt Serene Prince, and moſt Excellent Sirs, ought to be equivalent to the benefits we receive, I muſt of neceſſity (not to appear ungrateful) refuſe thoſe favours, which this moſt Serene Republick is pleaſed to confer upon me; or reſolve to appear ungrateful, becauſe I am unable to make a compenſation. But I ſatisfie my ſelf in this, That as the mind which receives favours, and returns thanks is the ſame; ſo that mind which makes acknowledgment with a due ſenſe of them, doth in ſome meaſure equal the benefit, though it prove defective in expreſſions to declare it. I do therefore confeſs and acknowledge, that the Election you have been pleaſed to make of me amongſt ſo many conſpicuous Perſons, unto a Charge graced by moſt renowned Predeceſſours, and in it ſelf moſt honourable, is a moſt ſingular favour, and an effect of your immenſe Bounty to me; which though it be limited with ſome ſubordination, yet it may ſerve for the ultimate Goal to a glorious Courſe of Military labours. I muſt alſo further acknowledge, That as it is the property of this moſt Serene Republick to receive momentary Services, and to render them Eternal by Records in Hiſtory; ſo they have been pleaſed to adjoyn unto my mean deſerts a remembrance of the humble devotion which my Anceſtors profeſſed towards them: I mean Alfonſo Villa *my great Grand-father, who in that moſt glorious Fleet at* Lepanto, *whoſe Sails were the wings of Victory, evidenced his Chriſtian Zeal againſt that People, which iſſuing from the bowels of Sea-monſters, continue to vent their ancient rage againſt your moſt Serene Highneſs. Nor with leſs promptneſs of mind, had my Grandfather* Francesco Villa, *and my Father* Guido Villa, *conſecrated their Powers to your Command: but that the unparallel'd Equity of this moſt Serene Republick gave permiſſion, that one of them ſhould take the charge of General of the Artillery of the Holy Church under the Pope his Supream Lord, preferring a natural duty before a voluntary ſervice; and that the other being entertained in ſervice of the moſt Invincible* Charles Emanuel *in* Piedmont, *you were pleaſed to judge, That the ſervice done to a Prince your Confederate, and Son of this Republick, was a ſervice and duty rendred to your ſelves: ſo that this Election made of me by this moſt Serene Republick, and approved by the ſingular goodneſs of that* Charles Emanuel, *who now reigns, evidences the Deſtiny of my Family, and obliges me to ſatisfie that hereditary debt by performances, which my Anceſtors entertained only in their wiſhes. Hence it is, that to this my Election ſome celeſtial influence hath concurred, by which I am clearly aſſured, that your more than humane Power is deſirous to imitate the Divine, which oftentimes makes uſe of weak means to operate miraculous effects, that to you only the ſucceſs may be acknowledged, and to you only the thanks be returned: That if the Providence of your Serenity, and of this moſt Serene Republick will be pleaſed (as I am aſſured you will) to imitate the Divine Providence, which co-operates with means, the number and quality of your Troops and plenty of your Proviſions, which are the Nerves of War, are thoſe means which correſpond with the ends you deſign: And therefore I dare preſage, that I ſhall not only ſee the threatning horns of the changeable* Ottoman *Planet precipitated into the Sea by the* Venetian *horn of ſtrength; but thoſe glorious Conqueſts renewed, which rendered your Name more bright and reſplendent than the Sun it ſelf in his Oriental parts. With theſe auſpicious Preſages, I feel already in my breaſt an impatient heat to ſacrifice my life in ſo worthy a Cauſe, fancying that I ſerve the Univerſe, whilſt I am engaged in the ſervice of the greateſt of Republicks, which communicates delicious Fruit to all People, gathered from thoſe triumphant Palms, which were planted and watered with her own ſweat and labours; and reſembles her own generous Lion, which continually ſtands on the Guard in oppoſition to the common Enemy, that all other People may reſt quiet, and repoſe ſecure. And thus much, Moſt Serene Prince, and Moſt Excellent Sirs, ſhall ſuffice to have been ſpoken by a Soldier, not acquainted with Eloquence, to whom Courage is more requiſite than Words, and to fight well with the hand, is more laudable than to utter florid Speeches with the Tongue.*

According to the preceding counſel and deſire of Marquiſs *Villa*, the Senate ſent by divers Convoys great plenty of Proviſion and Ammunition to *Candia*, and fitted their Fleet with all things neceſſary; and ſtrengthened their Forts both with Horſe and Foot drawn out of their Gariſons on the *Terra Firma*, being aſſiſted with Men and Money from other Princes and States. The Pope gave them liberty to levy Four thou-

1665. ſand men out of his Countries, the Emperour alſo furniſhed them with a conſiderable Force, to which were made Additions from other parts of *Germany*.

In this manner the prudent Care of the Venetians provided for their own ſafety: But at *Conſtantinople* things were more quiet, for it being Winter, the Turks made Entertainments for the German Ambaſſadour, who was firſt feaſted by the Chimacham, and twice afterwards, with much Magnificence, by the Great Vizier at his own Garden, ſeated on the *Boſphorus*, all difficulties being before overcome, and agreed, unleſs the deliverance of the poor Captives from the Priſon and the Oar, who continued in the torment of expectation between hope and fear, either of liberty or perpetual ſlavery. Which Treaty though it properly belonged to the Vizier, to whom the abſolute power is derived, yet in formality it was reſerved for matter of the laſt Audience with the Grand Signior, who being deſirous to attend his Hunting and Paſtime abroad, was in pain, until he had complyed with his Office towards this Ambaſſadour, whoſe departure though not ſome time after deſigned, yet being often called upon to receive his Diſpatch from the Grand Signior, was admitted on the 31th of *October* to his Audience with the ſame formality and feaſting as is common to all other Ambaſſadours in the Divan, or place of Judicature, and received three and forty Coſtans beſtowed on himſelf and his retinue, and thence being conducted to the Chamber of Audience, with ſome of the principal Noblemen of his Company, they preſented themſelves on their Knees, with their Faces on the Ground, according to the Cuſtom of the Eaſtern Courts; with which occaſion the Heer *Reningen*, who had for ſixteen or ſeventeen years been Reſident for the Emperor, a perſon grown infirm with Age and the Gout, and his Knees not ſo active and pliable as the younger ſort, coming alſo to take his turn in this proſtrate manner of Worſhip, was ſo rudely handled by the Kapugibaſhees, who aſſiſted on each Arm at the Ceremony, that he not being able to bow his head ſo eaſily as others, was thruſt down by them with ſo little conſideration or reſpect, that his Brows and Forehead were broken on the Flour; which miſchance ſo diſordered him, as put him beſides that Speech which he had premediated in Turkiſh to addreſs to the Grand Signior; and though he curbed what was poſſible his paſſion, whilſt he remained in the Royal Preſence, yet in vain afterwards he vented his Choler with words againſt thoſe unmannerly Officers without other remedy or ſatisfaction. The Demands of the Ambaſſadour were in writing read before the Grand Signior, according to the cuſtom of the Court, and principally concerned the freedom of the Slaves, ſome of which were then in the Gallies, and Banniard, and others of the moſt principal in the ſeven Towers. Other Demands there were in relation to the State of *Tranſylvania*, that for the future it might be free from Incurſions, in which particular the Turks had already violated the Peace; and that a more orderly Government of Affairs might be obſerved on the Frontiers, than uſually had paſſed, as agreed by the laſt Capitulations. To which the Grand Signior gave no Anſwer, referring all to the Vizier, only told the Ambaſſadour in ſhort, That he ſhould counſel his Maſter to beware of invading the Ottoman Dominions, or acting any thing in prejudice of the Peace.

The German Ambaſſadors laſt Audience with the Grand Signior

The Articles of Peace made between the Two Emperors were for the moſt part a confirmation of the ancient Agreement, only it was provided as a new Addition, That the Armies ſhould depart from the Confines of *Tranſilvania*. Secondly, That the Caſtles and Forts gariſoned with *German* Soldiers in that Countrey ſhould be reſigned into the hands of the Prince. And Thirdly, There were other particulars added in reference to *Newhauſel*, and the Countries adjacent lately conquered, and the Limits of both Emperors, as before declared.

1665.

But whilſt theſe things were in agitation, and Ambaſſadours interchangeably at either Court, the *Turks* of *Varadin* and *Jancua* made frequent incurſions into *Tranſilvania*, deſtroying the Villages, and carrying away great numbers of Captives; and ſo lately, as about the beginning of *Auguſt* laſt, thoſe of *Varadin* conveyed themſelves privately under the Caſtle *Cſeh*, and robbed the Horſes belonging to that Gariſon, killed ſome, and carried others into ſlavery; at which time alſo Two thouſand *Turks* beſieged the Caſtle *Valko*, which they took, and razed to the ground; which Complaints of their Countries Aggrievances the *Tranſilvanians* intimated to the *German* Ambaſſadour, as matters already acted contrary to the late Articles of Peace, requeſting farther to interpoſe for a moderation and abatement of their Tribute, which *Kuperlee* had, contrary to Oath and reaſon, unjuſtly augmented. But the Ambaſſadour ſeemed ſo coldly to interpoſe in this behalf, as taught the *Turks* to deny his Requeſts, acquieſcing with this Anſwer, That it was no breach of Peace then to make incurſions on the Frontiers, as alſo without Cannon to rob, and ſpoil, and skirmiſh, not exceeding Five thouſand men in number. For it appeared that the Ambſſadour was moſt deſirous to ſecure the main points of the Peace, which concerned moſt the Intereſt of the Empire, and not hazard it for ſuch like Concernments of *Tranſilvania*; for though it ſeemed ſtrange to the World to ſee a Peace haſtily clapt up with diſadvantageous Terms on the Emperors ſide, whilſt he was victorious and fortunate in ſeveral Enterprizes; yet they that penetrated farther into the State and Condition of the Empire, report, That there was a neceſſity of making a moderate uſe of theſe ſucceſſes by a fair accommodation, rather than to tempt Providence by a too eager and continued proſecution of the War. For it was obſerved that the Deſigns of making the Duke of *Anguien*, Son to the Prince of *Conde*, King of *Poland*, proceeded forward; and that there was a Combination of a dangerous League amongſt the Princes of the *Rhine*. The Diviſions between the *Germans* and the *Hungarians* encreaſed; the latter of which are known to be an obſtinate ſort of People. The Army alſo of the *French* was feared in the Bowels of the Empire, under the Command of Monſieur *la Feuvillade*, who under pretence of applying themſelves to the aſſiſtance of Chriſtendom, were ſuſpected to come with intentions to advance the intereſt of their King, and force the next Diet to elect him King of the *Romans*; in order whereunto, and in conſideration of farther aſſiſtance, they demanded ſeveral Towns in *Hungary* to be delivered into their hands, and made extravagant Propoſitions for Winter Quarters; all which conſidered, made the *German* Ambaſſadour more tender how he entred into Diſputes with the *Turk*, which might prejudice the eſſential points of the Peace, or occaſion a new War more deſtructive to *Germany* through the dan-

The Reaſons why the *German* Ambaſſadour interpoſed not in behalf of *Tranſylvania*.

1665.

1665. The *German* Ambaſſador's Audience with the Vizier.

dangers before intimated, than by the Arms and Hoſtility of the common Enemy. Theſe Conſiderations made the Ambaſſador leſs zealous in the matter of *Tranſilvania*, and in all others which were not really conducing to his Maſters immediate ſervice; ſo that having no other difficulty remaining, than the liberty of the Captives, on the day of his laſt Audience with the Vizier, being the 8*th* of *November*, he urged with more earneſtneſs their Releaſe, which was in part granted; thoſe of the Gallies were delivered from their Chains and Oars; but ſuch as were of greater Quality in the ſeven Towers were detained, until the Emperor had on his part releaſed the *Turks* of Quality in like manner; and though it was agreed in the Article, That Captives ſhould on both ſides be releaſed, yet the Vizier interpreted it to be in reſpect to Number and Quality, of which I remember to have heard often Complaints, and eſpecially of thoſe poor Gentlemen, then under Irons and reſtraint, who though afterwards received their freedom, yet for the preſent endured more torment in their minds, than if they had never been put in expectation to enjoy their hopes. At the end of the Audience the Ambaſſadour propoſed ſomething in behalf of the Religious of *Jeruſalem*, That certain places of Devotion might be reſtored them, which were injuriouſly taken from them by the *Greeks*; and alſo that Licenſe might be granted for re-edification of ſome Churches, and Monaſteries deſtroyed in *Galata* by the late Fire: To the firſt of which, the Vizier anſwered, That the *Franks* with the *Greeks* of *Jeruſalem* ſhould have a fair and equal Tryal at Law about the poſſeſſion of thoſe places in difference, and Juſtice and Right ſhould be done unto the injured; but the latter Propoſition he poſitively denied, for being a matter contrary to their Law and Religion, was not diſpenſable by his Power, nor ought he to expect a Complement from him, or Gratuity of that nature, which was inconſiſtent with the honour and conſcience of the Donor; but that in any thing elſe he was ready to yield to his Deſires, whereby he might underſtand the value he put upon his Perſon; uſing this Expreſſion, That he was more ſatisfied that the Emperor had deſigned ſo illuſtrious and worthy a perſon to this Embaſſy, than if he had ſent him a Hundred thouſand Dollars more of Preſent, and at the Concluſion of the Audience, veſted both the Ambaſſadour and Reſident with Sables, which ended with all imaginable ſatisfaction, and mutual contentment.

An Ambaſſadour arrives from *France*.

On the 21*th* of the Month of *November* arrived at *Conſtantinople* Monſieur *De Ventelay*, Ambaſſadour from the *French* King to the Grand Signior, who was Son to the Sieur *De la Haye*, the former Ambaſſadour, a Perſon much talked of before he arrived; a generous and an accompliſhed Gentleman, and one well practiſed in the Affairs of that Countrey. To underſtand which ſtory the better we muſt look back to the former Year, at the beginning of which during the *German* War, and that the Vizier remained in his Winter-quarters at *Belgrade*, a Courier with Letters from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to the Firſt Vizier arrived, who concealed not the occaſion of his coming, nor the contents of his Letters with that ſecrecy, but that thoſe who were imployed in the Tranſlation of the Papers into *Turkiſh*, made it publickly known to be no other than a recital of the many provocations his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had received from the Pirates of *Itarbary*, containing a Liſt of the Ships, Men, and Goods they had from time to time ſeized and made Prize: in vindication of which indignities to his Honour, and in protection of his People, he could not do leſs than make a War upon thoſe Pirates (for as yet the advice was not come, that the *French* had deſerted *Gigeri*) in which for the foregoing reaſons the Grand Signior ought not to judge himſelf concerned. And for the Succour given the Emperor, it was not afforded as King of *France*, but as one of the Princes of the Empire, in which capacity, by virtue of his Tenure, he was obliged to contribute ſuch Forces on the like emergencies and diſtreſſes of the Empire. And if the foregoing reaſons were available with the Sultan to induce him (as in reaſon he ought) to believe he continued in perfect friendſhip with him, without breach of Articles, he was then ready to ſend his Ambaſſadour to reſide at the Port, provided it might be Monſieur *De Ventelay*, Son to Monſieur *De la Haye* late Ambaſſadour there, who was the Perſon that had ſome time ſince received indignities from the Vizier *Kuperlee*, that ſo his Majeſty might receive ſatisfaction, by having the very Perſon of Monſieur *De Ventelay* honoured by extraordinary demonſtrations of reſpect, in reparation of the former affronts. This Meſſenger having tranſlated his Papers, obtained licenſe to ride Poſt to the Vizier, and in the froſts and extremities of the weather in *January* ſet forward on his Journey; but in his paſſage through *Adrianople*, viſiting the Chimacam, and deſiring his licenſe in like manner to ride Poſt to the Vizier on publick affairs, received ſuch a leſſon of ſcorn and diſdain, vented with the extremity of choler againſt the *French* Nation in publick Divan, with terms undecent to be repeated: And that in farther reſentment, if he were Firſt Vizier, he would refuſe to accept any friendſhip or alliance with them; but ſince he was inferiour to the Great Vizier, he would diſpeed him to the Camp, and grant him a Command for his Poſt. But it ſeems this Courier being arrived at *Belgrade*, was received with better terms, and more courteſie by the Vizier, who had learned by experience of the late Chriſtian Wars, and proof of the Valour of the *French* Nation, that the Propoſitions of that King were not lightly to be contemned. And therefore conſented that Monſieur *De Ventelay* might freely come (uſing their common expreſſion) that the Arms of the Port are always open to receive the addreſſes of Friends, Allies, and Confederates. With this Meſſage and Letters the Courier was diſpatched by way of *Raguſi* with ſafe conduct, and what elſe was requiſite for his ſecurer paſſage. No doubt but his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was the more urgent, that the Perſon of Monſieur *De Ventelay* (who was the ſubject on whom formerly the *Turks* had exerciſed ſuch injurious violence) ſhould be accepted for Ambaſſadour, and reſolved, unleſs they received him, he would ſend no other, that ſo his Honour which ſuffered before in this Perſon, might be repaired again by the reſpect and reverence they were to ſhew to him as Ambaſſadour; as if in repentance of their former unkindneſs, they ſhould now ſtrive to make amends by extraordinary demonſtrations of honour to this Repreſentative. For it was judged in *France*, and there concluded, That there was no other means to repair the Kings Honour than by the Embaſſy of Monſieur *De Ventelay*; to which that a greater reputation might be added, he was tranſported in one of the Kings Ships called the *Cæſar*, accompanied with a Fire-ſhip, and a ſmall Patach for a Victualler, and for

1665

Reflexions of the Turks on the Embaſſy of Monſieur *De Ventelay*.

1665. his better Equipage was attended by four or five Marqueſſes and Perſons of Quality. Being arrived at the farther part of the City called the Seven Towers, the Ships came to an Anchor, from whence the Ambaſſadour ſent to adviſe the Vizier of his arrival, deſiring, as one mark of the extraordinary honour promiſed him, that a return might be made to the Salute of his Ship from the Seraglio, by the Cannon which lay under the Wall, a Ceremony before never demanded, or practiſed with reſpect to any Chriſtian or Turkiſh Veſſel; and that his landing might be honoured with a more than uſual reception by the attendance of Officers, or at leaſt equalled to the Formalities of the late Engliſh Ambaſſadour. But the Vizier it ſeems judged, that the reception of the Engliſh, ſtrained on a particular occaſion, was not to be brought into example, and that a Salute from the Seraglio was ſo beſides the ordinary cuſtom, that he eſteemed the demand to be extravagant, and that ſuch a Preſident would be diſhonourable to his Maſter. And therefore reſolving not to exceed the particulars of former cuſtoms, offered at his landing to have him accompanied to his Houſe with ten Chaouſes, only the Ambaſſadour not accepting hereof, in a diſcontented manner entred with his Ship the day following, and giving the uſual Salutes to the Seraglio, landed at *Topenau*, a place near to his own Dwelling, from whence with no other attendance than his own Company, privately walked up, and with no farther ceremony, took poſſeſſion of the place of Reſidence of former Ambaſſadours from *France*.

Notwithſtanding this ſlight treatment, the Ambaſſadour was not ſo much mortified, but he conceived hopes, that the Turks would at length in contemplation of his Maſters greatneſs, gratifie him with ſome ſignal demonſtrations of extraordinary honour, by conceſſions of unuſual Priviledges, and greater facility in his Negotiations: and therefore was induced, though as yet he had not had a perſonal Audience of the Vizier, to deſire a revocation of the Agreement made with the Genoeſe, (the Marqueſs *Durazzo*, of whom we have ſpoken before, being juſt upon his departure) proteſting againſt it with all earneſtneſs, as a matter ſo prejudicial to the French Traffick and Commerce in thoſe Dominions, that if admiſſion were given to the Genoeſe, they muſt expect to loſe friendſhip and commerce with *France*. But notwithſtanding this heat and other proteſtations againſt it, the Vizier who inherited his Fathers ſpirit, little regarded the diſcontent of the French, but calmly anſwered, That the Grand Signior was Maſter of himſelf and Country, and might make Peace or War at his own pleaſure without licence or permiſſion of the French king; and that ſuch as were envious, or diſcontented at the Peace, had free liberty to depart and take their remedy as they eſteemed moſt beneficial.

A ſtrange accident befallen the French Captain of the Man of War.

In this manner matters paſſed between the time of this Ambaſſadours Arrival and his Audience. In which interim the curioſity of Monſieur *Abermont*, Captain of the French Man of War, had like to have proved fatal to him; for whilſt he viewed from the Gallery of his Ship the pleaſant ſituation of the Seraglio, and the Proſpect of the *Boſphorus*, behold at a diſtance appeared certain Gallies gently gliding down the ſtream, dreſſed up with Flags and Streamers, which all Ships and Saykes ſaluted with their Guns as they paſſed. This Captain being informed that the Grand Signior was there in perſon, and returned from his Hunting, which he had made in certain Woods not far from the City, ſaluted him alſo as he paſſed with twenty five Guns; but being not able to diſcover his perſon, preſently fitted his Boat and followed him, hoping to receive that ſatisfaction at his landing; for conceiving, that acceſs to the Ottoman and Eaſtern Princes is as facile and grateful, as it is to thoſe of Chriſtendom, with all confidence endeavoured to accoſt the Perſon of the Grand Signior as near as was poſſible. The Grand Signior turning his eyes, and ſeeing a man habited (as he conceived) in a barbarous and extravagant dreſs, apprehended the Majeſty of his Perſon violated by ſo near and bold an approach of the curious Stranger; and thereupon, without farther inquiry, being moved with ſcorn and indignation, called for the Executioner, who is ever ready at his hand; but ſome perſons then preſent, eſpecially the Boſtangibaſhee, being of more moderation, beſeeched the Grand Signior to have a little patience, and to enquire of the Giaur or Infidel (as they call'd him) the cauſe of this his boldneſs: with which the Grand Signior ſuppreſſing a little his paſſion, and having patience until one was ſent to expoſtulate with the Captain, who all this while, though he perceived ſome diſturbance, was yet ignorant that the matter ſo dangerouſly concerned himſelf; and not being able to underſtand the Meſſenger, nor to be underſtood by him, rendred the buſineſs more confuſed, and leſs underſtood: which the Meſſenger obſerving, and knowing the danger of this worthy and innocent Gentleman, being perhaps of a compaſſionate nature, and prudent, framed this excuſe to the Grand Signior, That he did not well underſtand the Infidels language, but what he conjectured was, That he being Captain of that Veſſel, which had newly ſaluted his Majeſty as he paſſed with twenty five Guns, was now come in confidence of his Royal bounty and clemency to receive a Coſtan, as a ſign of his Majeſties favour, and reward of his own reſpect. The Grand Signior having by this time his choler ſomewhat abated, was better pacified with theſe gentle words; the Boſtangibaſhee alſo interceding at the ſame time in his behalf, that he was a ſtranger, and ignorant of the cuſtoms of their Court, and that if he deſerved puniſhment, he might be remitted to the examination of the Vizier, who might chaſtiſe him, as he found it reaſonable. The Grand Signior contented herewith, the rude Boſtangees ſeized the Captain and hurried him to the Viſier, who all this time was ignorant of his errour or his danger, more than that he perceived by accent of their words, and by their geſtures, that ſomething was amiſs, and debated in reference unto him. The Drugger-men, or Interpreters of the French Nation being ſent for, and the Viſier and the Captain both underſtanding the matter, the crime appeared only to be an abſurdity committed through ignorance: yet to pleaſe the Grand Signior, and to make an appearance, as if ſomething were done in chaſtiſement of this bold curioſity, the Viſier ordered, that the Captain ſhould be conducted by two Chaouſes to the Ambaſſadour, there to be put in Chains and in Priſon, until ſatisfaction was made for his fault. The Captain being thus brought before the Ambaſſadour, this honeſt Gentleman was puniſhed in the ſame manner as we do thoſe in Chriſtendom, who crowd to ſee their Prince.

The Ambaſſadour had his firſt Audience with the Vizier on the 7th of *December*, which being inſignificant to any other buſineſs more than to the delivery of his Maſters Letter, and other mat-

ters

1665. ters of Form and Ceremony, we ſhall need to inſiſt the leſs upon it.

The French Embaſſadours ſecond Audience.

His ſecond Audience before that of the Grand Signior, was in the beginning of *January*, at which time the Ambaſſadour began to declare what he had in Commiſſion from his King, which principally related towards a ſatisfaction for thoſe Affronts formerly offered him in the perſon of his Father, and himſelf inculcating into the Viſier a true apprehenſion of the greatneſs of his Maſter, his force by Land, his powerful Fleet which ſhould that following year be ſet forth in the Mediterranean Seas, with other arguments which might challenge due *reſpect* and honour to ſo great a Prince. Theſe Propoſals and Diſcourſes, though the Vizer ſeemed not to entertain with that benign and flexible ear as was expected or thought *ſatisfactory*, and thereupon ſeveral diſguſts did afterwards ſucceed; howſoever in the end all matters cleared up again, and his Excellency was permitted to return to his own Houſe with all imaginable ſatisfaction, as he was pleaſed to intimate to the Ambaſſadour for his Majeſty of great *Britain*. Soon after followed his Audience with the Grand Signior according to the uſual Ceremonies, ſo that all things run ſmoothly with the French for ſeveral years after. And here by the way it is obſervable, That an Engliſh Ambaſſadour once arguing hotly with the Vizier on ſome points of the Capitulations, in which judging himſelf wronged, threw the Capitulations to the Vizier, telling him, that he might keep the Writing and Paper, ſince he reſolved not to obey the Letter. The Vizier hereupon calmly took the Capitulations, and laid them behind his Cuſhion, which the Ambaſſadour in a more conſiderate temper could not again recover under an expence of fifteen hundred Pieces of Eight.

The Grand Signiors Huntings.

During the time of theſe Negotiations the Grand Signior wholly imployed his time and thoughts in Hunting, ranging all the Woods for ſeveral days journies round *Conſtantinople*, in which Exerciſe twenty or thirty thouſand men were imployed, collected from the Cities and Villages round about, all which were paid at the publick expence and charge of Houſe-keepers both Turks and Chriſtians; which in one hunt might amount to thirty or forty thouſand Dollars. With this burden the people being often oppreſſed, and many periſhing in the Woods with cold and hunger, began to murmur at the exceſs of Tyranny, curſing their Princes madneſs and folly, maintained with the life and ruine of his Subjects. But notwithſtanding all theſe whiſpered curſes and ſecret menaces the Grand Signior followed his delights with ſuch frequency, and with that heat and eagerneſs, that the people perceiving no end of their miſery, began to ſpeak loudly and plainly, and by ſome principal Perſons gave the Viſier to underſtand, That the people would not longer endure the extravagant Vagaries of their Prince at ſo dear a rate, of which he that was his chief Councellour ought to inform and adviſe him. The Vizier, who was before ſenſible of the exceſs of his Maſters humour in this particular, and that immoderation, even in lawful and innocent exerciſes, may become a Vice, and when acted with oppreſſion of the Subject as dangerous as other terms which ſound more of Tyranny and Violence, reſolved with courage and humility to repreſent to his Maſter the danger of ſuch expenſive Huntings, eſpecially when over frequent; and therefore aſſured thoſe who made their Complaints, That for the future all matters ſhould be redreſſed, and the Grand Signior ſhould not be ſo prodigal in his Huntings on the Purſe of his Subjects. And ſo ſenſible was the Vizier of the diſorders which might ariſe from hence, if ſome remedy were not ſpeedily applied, that he immediately departed *Conſtantinople* to find out the Grand Signior, who was lodged in ſome retired cool place, environed with Woods and Mountains; leaving *Solyman* Paſha for Chimacham, or Deputy, in his place, in whoſe former Government many terrible Fires had happened in *Conſtantinople*.

1665.

The *Nogay* Tartar deſires Lands of the Grand Signior.

About this time Advice came to *Conſtantinople* of certain Addreſſes the *Nogay* Tartar had made to the Paſha of *Siliſtria* to obtain a Country to live in between the Rivers of *Boriſthenese* and the *Danube*; for that their own Country being full, they were forced to abandon and empty it of forty or fifty thouſand Families, who lived in Waggons, and had about a hundred thouſand head of Cattel, all which with their ſubſtance, they proffered for Subjects to the Grand Signior, if he pleaſed to afford them protection, and Land for Paſture and habitation. The Paſha approving hereof, gave them aſſurance of ſecurity under the ſhadow of his Maſters favours, ſending information thereof to the Port, who willingly embraced theſe new-come Gueſts, and entered into conſultation what Country and limits ſhould be aſſigned them. In the mean time the *Krim* Tartar jealous of this people, and not knowing what inconvenience ſuch Neighbourhood might produce, fell upon them and cut off a great number of them, forcing the reſt to return into their own Country which though ill taken at firſt by the Turks, was yet afterwards excuſed by the Tartar, and diſſembled by the Port.

Though all things appeared quiet at *Conſtantinople* after the Peace concluded with the Emperour, and that the German Ambaſſadour was returned back to his Maſter; yet the Turks proſecuted their deſigns againſt *Venice*, and made great preparations in the Provinces of *Albania*, *Boſſena*, and *Licca*, which confine on the Venetian Territories; and though in reality thoſe Forces were not intended againſt thoſe parts, but in order to a more warm proſecution of the War in *Candia*, whether the Vizier intended to tranſport himſelf in Perſon; yet the Venetian State not fully penetrating the Deſign, took the Alarm chiefly in *Dalmatia*, and reinforced their Garriſons of *Cataro* and other Fortreſſes. And that matters there might be well provided, and all things acted with due circumſpection; Marquiſs *Villa* was ordered to viſit thoſe Garriſons in his Voyage to *Candia*; ſo that departing from *Venice* attended with two Gallies, he arrived in a few days at *Zara*, and thence proceeding to *Spalato*, where the Proveditor General, *Catarin Cornaro*, made at that time his reſidence; they both joined together to ſurvey the moſt important places of that Province. They began with the City of *Spalato*, which rather ſeems a place intended by Nature for a Palace of delights, than a Garriſon of Arms; being the Seat which *Dioclesian* (who was born at *Salona*, ſix miles diſtance from thence) choſe for his Garden of retirement, after he had renounced the Empire, and is now turned into a ruder ſhape of War, ſince the invaſion of the Turk made it neceſſary to be fortified for ſecurity of it ſelf, and the parts circumjacent. *Spalato* is now very ſtrong, being ſecured by divers *Redoubts*; the chief of which is ſituated on a little riſing, called *Grippe*, diſtant about a Muſket-ſhot from the Town, is ſtrengthened with four Royal Baſtions, and with good Artillery; there is alſo a new Line of Fortification drawn round the Town, which renders it the ſtrongeſt, and moſt conſiderable of all *Dalmatia*:

Marqueſs *Villa* ſurveys the Forts in *Dalmatia*.

Spalato.

But

1665. But to make this place the more impregnable, theſe Generals laid the foundation for another Bulwark; and as an evidence of their Union, they caſt a Medal with a ſtamp on one ſide of *Colnaro*, and on the other of Marquis *Villa*, and ſo rendring thanks to God, the Service ended with firing all the Guns of the Town.

Curzola. Afterwards both the Generals Embarking, paſſed that Night to *Curzola*, anciently called *Corſina Negra*, which is one of the greateſt and beſt of the Iſles of this Gulf; Thence paſſing by *Raguſi*, where the Deputies of that Government, in recognition of that Soveraignty which the *Venetians* have over the *Adriatick* Seas, preſented the uſual refreſhments to the General of the Province; and in a particular manner treated Marquis *Villa* with a Preſent in name of their Republick. That Night they arrived at the Entrance *Cataro & Peraſto.* of the Channel of *Cataro*, and taking *Peraſto* in their way (which is a ſtrong Fortification about ſix miles diſtant from *Cataro*) they were received there with firing all the Guns of the Town, which were doubly multiplied by an Eccho returned from the ſound of the neighbouring Mountains. Thence they proceeded to viſit *Budua*, a place well fortified, as alſo Fort St. *George* in the Iſland *Lieſina*, which is the uſual Rendezvous of *Brigantines*, and armed Barques; at length they went to *Almiſſa*, where they made a general Muſter of all the Forces of the Province; in all which places having viewed and amended the defects in Fortification, and given order for ſupplying them with Ammunition and Proviſions neceſſary; they returned back to ſee the famous Fortreſs of *Cliſſa*, the Situation of which ſeems to *Cliſſa.* have been planted when Nature deſired to ſport, and be wanton; for it iſſues, as it were, out of the Boſom of two Mountains, which are at an equal diſtance from the Town, and then drawing themſelves at each end into the faſhion of a Bow, ſeem to form a Triumphal Arch. The paſſage through theſe Mountains is ſo narrow and crooked, that it appears like a Labyrinth; and being ſupplied with plenty of Fountains and Ciſterns both within and without the Fortreſs, the Suburbs demoliſhed, and no incumbrances to cloy and weaken its ſtrength, is certainly more obliged to Nature for its defence than to Art. *Sebenico.* From hence they proceeded to view *Sebenico*, which is another ſtrong Fortreſs, ſituated on a riſing Hill, and overviews a ſpacious Port, the entrance to which is ſecured by the Fort St. *Nicholas*; and the City it ſelf, beſides its own Walls, is guarded by a Cittadel, and by the new works of St. *John*, ſituated on two Hills: From hence the Generals returning to *Zara*, the Capital City of the Province, which being encompaſſed by the Sea, annexed to the Land only by a Bridg, which is alſo defended by a Fort, is rendered the ſtrongeſt and moſt impregnable of all the Fortreſſes. And here having made a general Muſter of all the Forces, and viſited the Country of *Novigrade*, and *Poſſidaria*, the habitations of the *Morlach* Militia, the Marquis returned again to *Venice*, being called thither by the Senate; for the Year being now well ſpent, and the Winter approaching too near to admit of any conſiderable action; the time grew ſeaſonable for Counſels, in which manner the Affairs of Wars might beſt and moſt advantageouſly be directed for the ſucceeding year. Yet in regard Advices were come from *Candia*, That the *Turks* were much afflicted with the Peſtilence, and ſcarcity of all Proviſions; it was judged requiſite to proſecute the War the more eagerly againſt them, before the Great Vizier arrived there with ſuch an Army as commonly attends his Perſon; it being adviſed from Count *Leſlie*, the Emperors Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, that the whole force of the *Ottoman* Armes was to refund it ſelf ſpeedily on that Iſland. This Intelligence haſtned the departure of Marquis *Villa* from *Venice*, with ſuch Force as was then in a readineſs, being directed with neceſſary Inſtructions of what he ought to act in *Candia*. In his Voyage thither he touched at *Corfu*, *Cefalonia*, and *Zant*, and afterwards happily arrived on the ſixth of *December* at the Iſle of *Paros* or *Pareſi* in the *Archipelago*, where he met with the Captain-General, and other Chief Commanders of the Fleet, together with *Vuertmiller* the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance; and here the Marquis reforming ſeveral Companies, which were much diminiſhed in their numbers, a general Muſter was made of all the Forces, which being ranged in form of Battel, they were accounted to amount unto eighteen hundred Horſe, and eight thouſand two hundred ninety five Foot. This Army had ſome want of Fire-Arms, and other Neceſſaries, of which the Senate being adviſed, they promiſed to ſupply all by a Convoy, then preparing; and congratulating in their Letters to Marquis *Villa* the good News of his happy Arrival at *Paros*, raiſed and prompted him to Atchievements worthy his Courage and Grandeur; for being a Perſon now elevated on the Bulwarks of *Candia*, he ſeemed to ſtand on that Theater, where he had all *Europe* for his Spectators.

1665.

The Troubles which the Engliſh *Trade found this Year in* Turky.

THE Currant of our Negotiations ran ſmoothly this year without any conſiderable interruption in all parts of *Turky*, unleſs at *Aleppo*, where the Emim, or Cuſtomer, according to his uſual practice, began a new pretence, not only againſt former Preſidents, but alſo againſt the very Letter of Capitulations, demanding 2 ½ *per Cent.* Cuſtom at *Scanderoon*, and 3 at *Aleppo*; a matter againſt which our Articles of Peace and Commerce have made many and ſundry Proviſions: Notwithſtanding the Cuſtomer (like others of his Predeceſſors, who have ever at *Aleppo* made Diſputes about their Cuſtoms, without being reſtrained by the moſt ſtrict Imperial Commands, and plaineſt Deciſions of the Law) reſolved to make good his pretence by a ſequeſtration on the whole Cargo of two general Ships, then under his Cuſtody in the Cuſtom-houſe. The Conſul hereupon had recourſe to the Juſtice of the Kadi, and there produced the Capitulations, the Hatteſheriff, or Royal Signature, under the hand of Sultan *Ibrahim*, wherein the particulars of Cuſtom were regulated, a Command from the preſent Vizier, and his Father, and other Commands from *Adrianople* and *Conſtantinople*, all of the ſame tenour. The Emim on the other ſide, had no other Argument than his Baratz or Patent from the Tefterdar or Lord Treaſurer, which was ſo prevalent, and of that force with the Kadi, joined with the fear and favour he bore towards the Emim; that it was judged by him to ſtand in ballance with all the other Imperial Signatures; and therefore left the buſineſs (which was as much as the Cuſtomer deſired) undecided, making a Declaration, that the reaſons on both ſides were ſo forcible, and the arguments ſo equal, that he concluded it more proper, that a matter of ſo great importance ſhould be reſerved for the determination of more powerful

1665. powerful and eminent Officers. The matter ſtanding thus doubtfully, the Emim conceiving it too great a pawn to detain ſo great a quantity of Cloth for a difference only in the Cuſtom, delivered to every man his conſignation, reſerving only fifty Bales to make himſelf good on the judgment and commands he expected ſhortly in his favour. The difference being now referred up to the Court, the Lord Ambaſſador received the juſt complaints of the Conſul and Merchants; for redreſs of which abuſes, his Excellency diſpatched my ſelf, then his Secretary and Druggerman, to the Vizier at *Belgrade*, attending the advice of the *German* Ambaſſadors entrance into the Frontiers. The Vizier having heard the difference, was ready to have paſſed ſentence in our favour, had not the Teſterdar, the only Advocate for the Cuſtomer, from whom the Original of our Evils was derived, put an unhappy obſtacle in the courſe of our Negotiations, pretending that there were ancient Teſters or accompts amongſt his Books, which mentioned two and a half *per Cent.* at *Scanderoon*, and three at *Aleppo*; and though it was urged to the contrary, that we never had to do with the Regiſters of the Treaſurers, nor had managed any Apalto, or Farm of the Grand Signior; but our Capitulations are our Law and Rule, and our Commands Regiſtred in the Reis Efendi's, or Secretaries Office, than which we never had, nor could ever acknowledg any other Canon: yet the Vizier over ruled our reaſons, and we were forced to ſubmit, until the Teſterdar took his leiſure to examine and conſult his Books.

The Vizier and his Army being then upon their return, we found no opportunity to renew our ſollicitations, until we came to *Niſſa*, where the Army had two days of repoſe, and there again as in other places before, we urged the Teſterdar ſo importunately, that at length we compelled him to acknowledg to the Vizier, that our affairs were not Regiſtred in his Office. So that now we took liberty to declare our Reaſons to the Vizier; which we drew from our Capitulations, the ancient Hatteſheriff of *Aleppo*, the Vizier and his Father's own Commands, and Copies of others of the like tenour, not omitting other Arguments and Evidences, which rendered the buſineſs not a little clear and apparent to the capacity of the Vizier: who thereupon reprehended the Teſterdar, for ſeeking by his Command to introduce an innovation contrary to our Capitulations, and promiſed us Commands in our favour; but we replied, that we had already Commands, and the Grand Signiors own Royal Signature on our ſide, and that our Ambaſſador had not ſent us ſo many days Journey to ſeek another, which perhaps would as ill be obſerved as the former; But it was the puniſhment of the Cuſtomer which the Ambaſſador expected, who againſt ſo many clear Evidences, durſt proceed to the violation of them all. Many other words were added pertinent and forcible to the preſent purpoſe. To which the Vizier anſwered, that he was now upon his Journey, where buſineſs of this nature was ill diſpatched. And therefore ordered us to proceed to *Adrianople*, where he ſhould have more leiſure to conſider what was fit to be done in order to juſtice and ſatisfaction of the Ambaſſador. Hereupon I left the Army, wherein I was much incommoded, and proceeded with all haſte to *Adrianople*, where the Great Vizier in ſome days after me arrived, and there we renewed our wonted endeavours, and ſollicitations, that we might come to an end of this buſineſs, and that juſtice might be done us: But the Vizier willing to gratifie the Teſterdar, was not forward to paſs his Sentence, but put us again off to *Conſtantinople*, where the Books ſhould be peruſed, that were laid up amongſt the Regiſters of the *Divan*: For that this matter was a concernment of the Grand Signiors, in determination of which, he ought to be tender and conſiderate. That for ſending for *Ibrahim* Aga, the Cuſtomer (which was one of the principal of our demands) to anſwer for the injuries he had done our Nation, he was already ordered to appear at Court, where he ſhould be ready to ſtand to judgment for what the Ambaſſador ſhould object againſt him: and this had been the anſwer which was contrived to be given to the Ambaſſador himſelf, in caſe he had (as once he deſigned) appeared at *Adrianople* in perſon on this occaſion.

1665.

The Vizier arriving at *Conſtantinople* ſome few Months after; the Lord Ambaſſador obtained Audience of him on the 15*th.* of *October*, preſſing ſtill for juſtice againſt the Cuſtomer of *Aleppo*: but nothing thereof could be procured, beſides a Command for reſtitution of the fifty Bales of Cloth, detained in the hands of the Emim, upon the pretence before related, and that the payment of Cuſtoms ſhould be regulated after the rate of three *per Cent.* according to the ancient uſance. For putting this Command in execution, an Aga was ordered to be diſparched, for whoſe ſervice herein the Vizier allotted a thouſand Dollars ſhould be paid him, which though an extravagant reward, yet to put an honour and authority on the buſineſs, and not to diſpleaſe the Vizier, it was granted to him, and ſo he was diſpatched the 25*th.* for *Aleppo*. But the troubles of our Merchants at *Aleppo* ended not here: For the Teſterdar greatly enraged to ſee his deſigns againſt us to have no better iſſue, thought to trouble us by a new invention of prohibiting the Scale of *Scanderoon* to all *Engliſh*, and other Chriſtian Veſſels, and that the Factories ſhould be transferred again over to *Tripoli* in *Soria*; a place formerly frequented by our Merchants, but by reaſon of the danger and inconvenience of that Port, the Trade was tranſported to the Scale of *Scanderoon*. This alteration the Teſterdar pretended to have been granted to the Merchants at their earneſt Petition, and promiſe to the Grand Signior, of payment of 13000 Dollars Yearly, for diſcharge and maintenance of thoſe Guards which were requiſite in that place for ſafety of the Coaſt, and defence of the Caravans which paſs with Merchants goods to *Aleppo*; but time and corruption of the Miniſters had deprived the Grand Signior of the benefit of that duty. And this he urged with the greater inſtance and eagerneſs, knowing that the Scale of *Scanderoon* being prohibited, the Hatteſheriff whereon conſiſted the privileds of the Merchants, and their ſole ſecurity muſt conſequently fall, and they forced to a new agreement. On this occaſion our Lord Ambaſſador had Audience with the Vizier, and inſiſted on that point of our Capitulations, which gives us liberty to Trade in any part of the Grand Signiors Dominions; and therefore to conſent to be reſtrained, or confined to any particular place, was to aſſent to a breach of the Capitulations, which was out of his power, and only to be diſpenſed with by his Maſter the King of *England*, and the Grand Signior, by whom they were eſtabliſhed; and to connive or aſſent to the breach of one particular clauſe, was to hazard the loſs and breach

1666. breach of the whole: for that our Capitulations (to uſe the *Turks* ſaying) are like a ſtring of Beads, of which, when one link is broken, the others drop off. To which the Vizier replied, that the Scale of *Scanderoon* was open, and clear as before for the *Engliſh* Trade; but becauſe the Teſterdar, and Cuſtomer, pretended that the Grand Signior was put to great expences for maintenance of a Watch and Guard at that Port, which was only in reſpect to the ſecurity of the Merchants Goods; Orders ſhould be given for taking away thoſe Officers, as unneceſſary and inſignificant to the publick Service; no Guards having ever been in that place, the Embaſſador judged his buſineſs to be granted, and ſo thanked the Vizier and departed. But not many days after the Teſterdar procured a Command for ſhutting the Scale of *Scanderoon*, and tranſporting the Factory to *Tripoli*: which Command was rather intended to affright our Nation into ſome compoſition, than really to be put in execution, as appeared by the ſequel; for the Teſterdar better conſidered than to bring ſo great an *Odium* upon himſelf from the whole Country and City of *Aleppo*, and to enforce the Embaſſador to have recourſe to the Grand Signiors own perſon, for redreſs of an abuſe of ſo high a nature, in derogation of his Imperial Capitulations. However it is obſervable in the tranſaction of all this buſineſs, that it is difficult to bring a corrupt *Turkiſh* Miniſter to Juſtice or puniſhment, meerly for breach of our Capitulations, or in reſpect to any difference or abuſe offered to Chriſtians, unleſs the complaint be accompanied with Preſents or Money, which are moſt prevalent Arguments in the *Turkiſh* Court; and in this caſe I really believe, that had three or four thouſand Dollars been offered as a reward for bringing the Cuſtomer to capital puniſhment, the complaint had found acceptance, and honourable ſucceſs: for default of which, the Cauſe was ſtarved, and naked, and carried no fire or heat in thoſe aggravations with which it was repreſented. It is likewiſe obſervable, that buſineſs in the *Turkiſh* Court doth not always find that diſpatch, or expedition, as is generally believed in *Chriſtendom*, unleſs it come accompanied with the intereſt of the Miniſters themſelves, and then it is tranſacted in a moment, which otherwiſe languiſhes with delays, and will never want excuſes to defer it.

Anno 1666. *Hegeira* 1077.

WE ſhall begin this Year with the ſtrange rumour and diſturbance of the *Jews* concerning *Sabatai Sevi*, their pretended Meſſiah, which for being moſt principally acted in *Turkey*, may properly belong to the Hiſtory of this time and place; which therefore for delight of the Readers, I ſhall here inſert: for though it may have been elſewhere publiſhed, yet being an iſſue of my Pen, I may lawfully now own it, and annex it to this Hiſtory, in reſpect of that near coherence it may have therewith; and that many other particulars have been added thereunto, which ſucceeded until the Death of this *Sabatai*.

According to the Predictions of ſeveral Chriſtian Writers, eſpecially of ſuch who comment upon the *Apocalypſe* or *Revelations*, this year of 1666. was to prove a year of Wonders, of ſtrange Revolutions in the World, and particularly, of bleſſing to the *Jews*, either in reſpect of their Converſion to the Chriſtian Faith, or of their Reſtoration to their Temporal Kingdom. This opinion was ſo dilated and fixt in the Countries of the Reformed Religion, and in the heads of Fanatical Enthuſiaſts, who dreamed of Fifth Monarchies, the down-fall of the Pope and Anti-chriſt, and the greatneſs of the *Jews*, inſomuch, that this ſubtil people judged this Year the time to ſtir, and to fit their Motion according to the ſeaſon of the Modern Prophecies. Whereupon ſtrange reports flew from place to place, of the March of multitudes of People from unknown parts into the remote deſerts of *Arabia*, ſuppoſed to be the Ten Tribes and a half, loſt for ſo many Ages. That a Ship was arrived in the Northern parts of *Scotland*, with her Sails and Cordage of Silk, navigated by Marriners who ſpoke nothing but *Hebrew*, and with this Motto on their Sails, *The Twelve Tribes of Iſrael*. Theſe reports agreeing thus near to former Predictions, put the wild ſort of the World into an expectation of ſtrange accidents this Year ſhould produce in reference to the *Jewiſh* Monarchy.

1666.

In this manner Millions of people were poſſeſſed when *Sabatai Sevi* firſt appeared at *Smyrna*, and publiſhed himſelf to the *Jews* for their Meſſiah, relating the greatneſs of their approaching Kingdom, the ſtrong hand whereby God was about to deliver them from Bondage, and gather them from all the parts of the World. It was ſtrange to ſee how this fancy took, and how faſt the report of *Sabatai*, and his Doctrine flew through all parts where *Jews* inhabited, and ſo deeply poſſeſſed them with a belief of their new Kingdom and Riches; and many of them with promotion to Offices of Government, renown and greatneſs; that in all places from *Conſtantinople* to *Buda* (which it was my fortune that Year to travel) I perceived a ſtrange tranſport in the *Jews*, none of them attending to any buſineſs, unleſs to wind up former Negotiations, and to prepare themſelves and Families for a Journey to *Jeruſalem*; all their Diſcourſes, their Dreams, and diſpoſal of their affairs, tended to no other deſign but a re-eſtabliſhment in the Land of Promiſe, to Greatneſs and Glory, Wiſdom and Doctrine of the Meſſiah, whoſe Original, Birth and Education is firſt to be recounted.

Sabatai Sevi was Son of *Mordecai Sevi*, an Inhabitant and Natural of *Smyrna*, who gained his Livelihood by being Broker to an *Engliſh* Merchant in that place; a perſon who before his Death was very decrepit in his Body, and full of the Gout and other infirmities: But his Son *Sabatai Sevi* addicting himſelf to ſtudy and learning, became a notable Proficient in the *Hebrew* and *Arabick* Languages; and eſpecially in Divinity and Metaphyſicks, he was ſo cunning a Sophiſter, that he vented a new Doctrine in their Law, and drew to the profeſſion of it ſo many Diſciples, as raiſed one day a tumult in the Synagogue; for which afterwards he was by cenſure of the Kockhams (who are the Expounders of the Law) baniſhed out of the City.

During the time of his Exile he travelled to *Theſſalonica*, now called *Salonica*, where he married a very handſom Woman; but either not having that part of Oeconomy as to govern a Wife, or being impotent as to Women, as was pretended, or that ſhe found not favour in his eyes, ſhe was divorced from him. Again, he took a ſecond Wife more beautiful than the former; but the ſame cauſes of diſcontent raiſing a difference between them, he obtained another Divorce from this Wife alſo. And being now free from the incumbrances of a Family, his wandring head moved

1666. moved him to travel through the *Morea*, thence to *Tripoli* in *Syria*, *Gaza* and *Jeruſalem*, and by the way picked up a *Ligorneſe* Lady, whom he made his third Wife, the Daughter of ſome *Polonian* or *German*, her Original and Country not being very well known. And being now at *Jeruſalem*, he began to reform their Law, and to aboliſh the Faſt of *Tamuz*, (which they keep in the month of *June*) and meeting there with a certain *Jew* called *Nathan*, a proper Inſtrument to promote his deſign, he communicated to him his condition, his courſe of life, and intentions to declare himſelf the Meſſiah of the World, ſo long expected and deſired by the *Jews*. This deſign took wonderfully with *Nathan*; and becauſe it was thought neceſſary, according to Scripture and ancient Prophecies, that *Elias* was to precede the Meſſiah, as St. *John Baptiſt* was the Fore-runner of Chriſt, *Nathan* thought no man ſo proper to act the part of the Prophet as himſelf; and ſo no ſooner had *Sabatai* declared himſelf the Meſſiah, but *Nathan* diſcovers himſelf to be his Prophet, forbidding all the Faſts of the *Jews* in *Jeruſalem*, and declaring that the Bridegroom being come, nothing but joy and triumph ought to dwell in their habitations; writing to all the Aſſemblies of the *Jews* to perſwade them to the ſame belief. And now the Schiſm being begun, and many *Jews* really believing what they ſo much deſired, *Nathan* took the courage and boldneſs to propheſie, That one year from the 27*th* of * *Kiſlau*, which is the Month of *July*, the Meſſiah was to appear before the Grand Signior, and to take from him his Crown, and lead him in chains like a Captive: *Sabatai* alſo at *Gaza* preached Repentance to the *Jews*, and Obedience to himſelf and Doctrine, for that the Coming of the Meſſiah was at hand. Which novelties ſo affected the *Jews*, Inhabitants of thoſe parts, that they gave up themſelves wholly to their Prayers, Alms, and Devotions; and to confirm this belief the more, it happened that at the ſame time that news hereof with all particulars were diſpatched from *Gaza*, to acquaint the Brethren in foreign parts; the rumour of the Meſſiah had flown ſo ſwift, and gained ſuch reception, that Intelligence came from all Countries, where the *Jews* ſojourn, by Letters to *Gaza* and *Jeruſalem*, congratulating the happineſs of their deliverance, and expiration of their time of ſervitude by the appearance of the Meſſiah. To which they adjoyned other Prophecies relating to that Dominion the Meſſiah was to have over all the World, that for nine Months after he was to diſappear; during which time the *Jews* were to ſuffer, and ſeveral of them to undergo Martyrdom; but then returning again mounted on a Cœleſtial Lion, with his bridle made of Serpents with ſeven heads, accompanied with his Brethren the *Jews*, who inhabited on the other ſide of the River *Sabation*, he ſhould be acknowledged for the ſole Monarch of the Univerſe, and then the Holy Temple ſhould deſcend from Heaven already built, framed, and beautified, wherein they ſhould offer Sacrifices for ever. And here I leave the Reader to conſider, how ſtrangely this deceived People was amuſed, when theſe confident and vain reports and dreams of Power and Kingdoms had wholly tranſported them from the ordinary courſe of their trade and intereſt.

This noiſe and rumour of the Meſſiah having begun to fill all places, *Sabatai Sevi* reſolved to travel towards *Smyrna*, the Country of his Nativity, and thence to *Conſtantinople*, the capital City, where the principal work of preaching was to be performed: *Nathan* thought it not fit to be long after him, and therefore travels by way of *Damaſcus*, where reſolving to continue ſome time for better propagation of this new Doctrine, in the mean while writes this Letter to *Sabatai Sevi*, as followeth. 1666.

22. *Keſvan of this Year.*

TO the King our King, Lord of our Lords, who gathers the diſperſed of Iſrael, *who redeems our Captivity, the Man elevated to the height of all ſublimity, the Meſſiah of the God of* Jacob, *the true Meſſiah, the Cœleſtial Lion,* Sabatai Sevi, *whoſe Honour be exalted, and his Dominion raiſed in a ſhort time, and for ever,* Amen. *After having kiſſed your hands, and ſwept the duſt from your feet, as my duty is to the King of Kings, whoſe Majeſty be exalted, and his Empire enlarged; Theſe are to make known to the Supreme Excellency of that place, which is adorned with the beauty of your Sanctity, that the Word of the King and of his Law hath inlightned our faces, that day hath been a ſolemn day unto* Iſrael, *and a day of light unto our Rulers, for immediately we applied our ſelves to perform your Command, as our duty is. And though we have heard of many ſtrange things, yet we are couragious, and our heart is as the heart of a Lion, nor ought we to inquire a reaſon of your doings, for your works are marvellous and paſt finding out, and we are confirmed in our fidelity without all exception, reſigning up our very Souls for the Holineſs of your Name. And now we are come as far as* Damaſcus, *intending ſhortly to proceed in our Journey to* Scanderoon, *according as you have commanded us, that ſo we may aſcend and ſee the face of God in light, as the light of the face of the King of life: and we ſervants of your ſervants ſhall cleanſe the duſt from your feet, beſeeching the Majeſty of your Excellency and Glory, to vouchſafe from your habitation to have a care of us, and help us with the force of your right hand of ſtrength, and ſhorten our way which is before us. And we have our eyes towards Jah, Jah, who will make haſte to help us and ſave us, that the children of iniquity ſhall not hurt us, and towards whom our hearts pant, and are conſumed within us, who ſhall give us talons of Iron to be worthy to ſtand under the ſhadow of your Aſs. Theſe are the words of the ſervant of your ſervants, who proſtrates himſelf to be trod on by the ſoals of your feet.*

Nathan Benjamin.

And that he might publiſh this Doctrine of the Meſſiah and himſelf more plainly, he wrote from *Damaſcus* this following Letter to the Jews at *Aleppo*, and parts thereabouts.

TO the Reſidue or remnant of the Iſraelites, Peace without end. Theſe my words are to give you notice, how that I am arrived in peace at Damaſcus, *and behold I go to meet the face of our Lord, whoſe Majeſty be exalted;*

1666. *alted; for he is the Soveraign of the King of Kings, whose Empire be enlarged.* * *According as he hath commanded us and the Twelve Tribes to elect unto him twelve men, so have we done: and we now go to* Scanderone *by his Command to shew our faces together with part of the principal of those particular friends to whom he hath given license to assemble in that said place.*

* *Sabatai* wrote a Letter to elect one man out of every Tribe.

And now I come to make known unto you, That tho you have heard strange things of our Lord, yet let not your hearts faint or fear, but rather fortifie your selves in your faith, because all his actions are miraculous and secret, which humane understanding cannot comprehend; and who can penetrate into the depth of them? In a short time all things shall be manifested clearly unto you in their purity, and you shall know and consider, and be instructed by the Inventor himself, and blessed is he who can expect and arrive to the Salvation of the true Messiah; who will speedily publish his Authority and Empire over us now and for ever.

Nathan.

And now all the Cities of *Turkie*, where the Jews inhabited, were full of the expectation of the Messiah, no Trade or course of gain was followed; every one imagined, that daily Provisions, Riches, Honours, and Government were to descend upon him by some unknown and miraculous manner. An Example of which is most observable in the Jews at *Thessalonica*, who now full of assurance, that the restauration of their Kingdom, and the accomplishment of the times for the Coming of the Messiah was at hand, judged themselves obliged to double their Devotions, and purifie their Consciences from all sins and enormities; which might be observed by the scrutiny of him who was now come to penetrate into the very thoughts and imaginations of Mankind. For which work, certain Kochams were appointed to direct the people in the regulation of their Prayers, Devotions, and Fastings: but so forward was every one now in his acts of Penance, that they stayed not for the sentence of the Kocham, or Prescriptions or Rules, but applied themselves immediately to Fastings, and some in that manner beyond the abilities of Nature; that having for the space of seven days taken no sustenance, were famished: others buried themselves in their Gardens, covering their naked bodies with earth, their heads only excepted, remained in those beds of dirt, until their bodies were stiffned with the cold and moisture: others would endure to have melted wax dropt upon their shoulders: others to roul themselvs in snow, and throw their bodies in the coldest season of the winter into the Sea, or frozen waters. But the most common manner of Mortification was first to prick their backs and sides with thorns, and then to give themselves thirty nine lashes. All business was laid aside, none worked or opened shop, unless to clear his Ware-hose of Merchandise at any price: who had superfluity in Housh old-stuff sold it for what he could, but yet not to Jews, who were interdicted from all bargains or sales under pain of Excommunication, pecuniary mulcts, or corporal punishment; for their comportment as to business and imployment was esteemed the test or touch-stone of their faith. It being the general Tenent, That in the days that the Messiah appeared, the Jews should become Masters of the Estates and Inheritance of Infidels; until when, they ought to content themselves with matters only necessary to maintain and support life. But because that every one was not Master of that Provision and Fortune as to live without daily labour; therefore to quiet the clamours of the poor, and prevent the enormous lives of some, who upon these occasions would become vagabonds, and desert their Cities, the order was taken to make collections, which were so liberally bestowed, that in *Thessalonica* only four hundred poor were supported by the meer charity of the richer. And as they endeavoured to purge their consciences of sin, and to apply themselves to good works, that the Messiah might find the City prepared for his reception; so lest he should accuse them of any omission in their Law, and particularly in their neglect of that ancient Precept of Increase and multiply, they married children together of ten years of age, and some under, without respect to riches or poverty, condition or quality; but being promiscuously joyned to the number of six or seven hundred couple, upon better and cooler thoughts, after the deceit of the false Messiah was discovered, or the expectation of his Coming grew cold, were divorced, or by consent separated from each other. 1669.

In the heat of all this talk, and rumour came *Sabatai Sevi* to *Smyrna*, the City of his Nativity, infinitely desired there by the common Jews, but by the Kochams or Doctors of their Law, who gave little or no credence to what he pretended, was ill received, not knowing what mischief or ruine this Doctrine and Prophecy of a new Kingdom might produce. Yet *Sabatai* bringing with him Testimonials of his Sanctity, holy Life, Wisdom, and gift of Prophecy so deeply fixed himself in the heart of the generality, both as being holy and wise, that thereupon he took courage and boldness to enter into dispute with the Grand Kocham (who is the head or chief Expositor of their Law, and Superintendent of their civil Government) between whom the arguments grew so high, and language so hot, that the Jews who favoured the Doctrine of *Sabatai*, and feared the Authority of the Kotham, doubtful what might be the issue of the contest, appeared in great numbers before the Kaddee of *Smyrna*, in justification of their new Prophet, before so much as any accusation came against him; the Kaddee according to the custom of the Turks swallowed money on both sides, and afterwards remitted them to the determination of their own Justice: In this manner *Sabtai* gained ground daily; and the Grand Kocham with his Party, losing both the affection and obedience of his People, was displaced from his Office, and another constituted more affectionate and agreeable to the new Prophet, whose Power daily increased by those confident reports of his Enemies being struck with phrensie and madness, until being restored to their former temper and wits by him, became his Friends, Admirers, and Disciples. No invitation was now made in *Smyrna* by the Jews, nor Marriage, or Circumcision held, where *Sabatai* was not present, accompanied to the solemnities with multitudes of his Followers, and the streets covered with Carpets or fine Cloth for him to tread on; but the humility of this Pharisee appeared such, that he would stoop and turn them aside, and so pass. And having thus fixed himself in the opinion and admiration

1666. tion of the people, he began to take on himſelf the Title of Meſſiah, and the Son of God, and to make this following Declaration to all the Nations of the *Jews*, which being wrote Originally in *Hebrew*, was tranſlated for me faithfully into *Italian* in this manner.

L'Unico Figliolo e Primogenito di Dio Sabatai Sevi, il Meſſiah e Salvatore d'Iſrael, atutti li Figlioli d'Iſrael eletti di Dio, Pace. Eſſendo che ſette fatti degni di veder quel gran giorno della deliberatione e ſalvatione di Iſrael, e conſummatione delle Parole di Dio promeſſe per li ſuoi Profeti, e Padri noſtri, per il ſuo diletto Figlio di Iſrael. Ogni voſtra amaritudine ſi converta in allegrezza, e li voſtri digiugni ſi faccino feſte, per che non piangerete, O miei Figlioli di Iſrael, havendoſi dato iddio la conſolatione innarabile feſtegiateri con Timpani, Organi, e Muſiche, ringratiando quello chi ha adempito il promeſſa dalli ſecoli, facendo ogni giorno quelle coſe che ſolete fare nelle Calende, e quel giorno dedicato all' afflittione e meſtitia, convertite lo in giorno giocondo pro la mia comparſa. E non ſpaventateri niente; per che havegete Dominio ſopra le Genti, non ſolamente di quelle che ſi vedono in Terra ma quella che ſono in fondi del Mare. Il tutto pro voſtra conſolatione e allegrezza.

Which tranſlated into *Engliſh* runs thus.

"THE only and firſt-born Son of God "*Sabatai Sevi*, the Meſſiah and Sa- "viour of *Iſrael*, to all the Sons of *Iſrael*, "Peace. Since that you are made worthy "to ſee that great day of Deliverance and "Salvation unto *Iſrael*, and accompliſhment "of the Word of God promiſed by his Pro- "phets and our Forefathers, and by his be- "loved Son of *Iſrael*, let your bitter for- "rows be turned into Joy, and your faſt "into Feſtivals, for you ſhall weep no more, "O my Sons of *Iſrael*; for God having gi- "ven you this unſpeakable comfort, re- "joyce with Drums, Organs, and Muſick, "giving thanks to him for performing his "promiſes from all Ages, doing that eve- "ry day which is uſual for you to do up- "on the Calends, and that day dedicated "to affliction and ſorrow, convert you un- "to a day of mirth for my appearance. And "fear you nothing, for you ſhall have Do- "minion over the Nations, and not only "over thoſe who are on Earth, but over thoſe "creatures alſo which are in the depth of "the Sea. All which is for your conſolation "and rejoycing.

Sabatai Sevi.

Notwithſtanding the Diſciples of *Sabatai Sevi*, were not ſo numerous, but many oppoſed his Doctrine, publickly avouching, that he was an Impoſtor, and deceiver of the people, amongſt which was one *Samuel Pennia*, a man of good Eſtate and reputation in *Smyrna*; who arguing in the Synagogue, that the preſent ſigns of the Coming of the Meſſiah were not apparent, either according to Scripture, or the Doctrine of Rabbins, raiſed ſuch a Sedition and Tumult amongſt the *Jews*, as not only prevailed againſt his arguments, but had alſo againſt his life, had he not timely conveyed himſelf out of the Synagogue, and ſo eſcaped the hands of the Multitude, who now could more eaſily endure Blaſphemy againſt the Law of *Moſes*, and Prophanation of the Sanctuary, than contradiction or miſbelief of the Doctrine of *Sabatai*. But howſoever it fell out, *Pennia* in a ſhort time became a Convert, and Preacher up of *Sabatai* for the Son of God, and Deliverer of the *Jews*; and not only he, but his whole Family, his Daughters Propheſie, and fall into ſtrange eccſtaſies: and not only this houſe, but above four hundred men and women Propheſie of the growing Kingdom of *Sabatai*, and young Infants who could ſcarce yet ſtammer out a ſyllable to their Mothers, repeat and pronounce clearly the Name of *Sabatai* the Meſſiah and Son of God. For thus far had God permitted the Devil to delude this people, that their very children were for a time poſſeſſed, and voices heard to ſound from their ſtomacks and entrails: thoſe of riper years fell firſt into a Trance, foamed at the mouth, and recounted the future proſperity and deliverance of the *Iſraelites*, their Viſions of the Lion of *Judah*, and the Triumphs of *Sabatai*. All which were certainly true, being effects of Diabolical deluſions, as the *Jews* themſelves ſince have confeſſed to me.

With theſe concomitant accidents and ſucceſſes *Sabatai Sevi* growing more preſumptuous, that he might correſpond with the Prophecies of Greatneſs and Dominion of the Meſſiah, proceeded to Election of thoſe Princes which were to govern the Iſraelites in their March towards the Holy Land, and to diſpenſe Judgment and Juſtice after their Reſtauration.

In this manner things ran to a ſtrange height of madneſs amongſt the *Jews* at *Smyrna*, when appeared ſuch Pageantry of Greatneſs, that no Comedy could equal the mock-ſhows they repreſented. And though none durſt openly confeſs any ſcruple or doubt of this common received Belief, yet for confirmation of the *Jews* in their Faith, and aſtoniſhment of the Gentiles, it was judged no leſs than neceſſary, that *Sabatai* ſhould ſhew ſome Miracles, whereby to evince all the World that he was the Meſſiah. And as the preſent occaſion ſeemed to require an evidence and conviction infallible of this truth, ſo it was daily expected by the Vulgar with an impatience ſuitable to humors diſpoſed to Novelty, who out of every action and motion of their Prophet, began to fancy ſomething extraordinary and ſupernatural. *Sabatai* was now horribly puzzled for a Miracle, though the imagination of the people was ſo vitiated, that any legerdemain or ſlight of hand would have paſſed more eaſily with them for a Wonder, than *Moſes* ſtriking the Rock for water, or dividing the Red-Sea. And an occaſion happening, that *Sabatai* was in behalf of his Subjects to appear before the Kaddee or Judg of the City, to demand eaſe and relief of ſome oppreſſions which aggrieved them; it was thought neceſſary a Miracle ſhould be worked now or never, when *Sabatai* appearing with a formal and Phariſaical gravity which he had ſtarched on, ſome on a ſudden avouched to ſee a Pillar of Fire between him and the Kaddee, which report preſently was heard through the whole room, filled with *Jews* that accompanied *Sabatai*. Some of whom, who ſtrongly fancied it, vowed

1666. and ſwore they ſaw it; others in the outwrad Yard, or that could not come near to hear or ſee for the crowd, as ſpeedily took the Alarm, and the rumor ran, and belief received by the Women and Children at home in a moment. So that *Sabatai Sevi* returned to his houſe triumphant, fixed in the hearts of his People, who now needed no farther Miracles to confirm them in their Faith. And thus was *Sabatai* exalted, when no man was thought worthy of communication, who did not believe him for the Meſſiah: others were called Kophrim, Infidels, or Hereticks, ſubjected to the Cenſure of Excommunication, with whom it was not lawful ſo much as to eat. Every man produced his Treaſure, his Gold, and Jewels, offering them at the feet of *Sabatai*; ſo that he could have commanded all the Wealth of *Smyrna*; but he was too ſubtle to accept their money, leſt he ſhould render his deſign ſuſpected by any acts of covetouſneſs.

Sabatai Sevi having thus fully fixed himſelf in *Smyrna*, and filled other places with the rumours of him, declared that he was called by God to viſit *Conſtantinople*, where the greateſt part of his work was to be accompliſhed; in order whereunto he privately ſhipped himſelf with ſome few Attendants on a Turkiſh Saike in the month of *January* 1665, left the crowd of his Diſciples, and ſuch who would preſs to follow him, ſhould endanger him in the eyes of the Turks, who already began to be ſcandalized at the Reports and Prophecies concerning his Perſon. But though *Sabatai* took few into the Veſſel with him, yet multitudes of Jews travelled over land to meet him again at *Conſtantinople*, on whom all their Eyes and expectations were intent. The Wind proving Northerly, as commonly it is in the *Helleſpont* and *Propontis*, *Sabatai* was thirty nine days in his Voyage, and yet the Veſſel not arrived: So little power had this Meſſiah over the Sea and Winds. In which time the News forerunning to *Conſtantinople* that the Jews Meſſiah was near, all that people prepared to receive him with the ſame joy and impatience as was expreſſed in other parts where he arrived. The Great Vizier then alſo at *Conſtantinople*, (being not yet departed on his expedition for *Candia*) having heard ſome rumours of this Man, and the diſorder and madneſs he had raiſed amongſt the Jews, ſent two Boats, whilſt the Saik was detained by contrary Winds, with Commands to bring him up Priſoner to the Port, where accordingly *Sabatai* being come, was committed to the moſt loathſome and darkeſt Dungeon in the Town, there to remain in farther expectation of the Vizier's Sentence. The Jews were not at all diſcouraged at this ill Treatment of their Prophet, but rather confirmed in their belief of him, as being an accompliſhment of the Prophecy of thoſe things which ought to precede his Glory and Dominion; which Conſideration induced the Chieſeſt Perſons amongſt the Jews to make their Viſits and Addreſſes to him with the ſame Ceremony and Reſpect in the Dungeon, as they would have done, had he then ſate exalted on the ſublime Throne of *Judah*. Several of them, with one *Anacago* by name, a Man of great eſteem amongſt the Jews, attended a whole day before him, with their Eyes caſt down, their Bodies bending forward, and hands croſs'd before them; (which are poſtures of humility and ſervice in the Eaſtern Parts) the undecency of the place, and preſent ſubjection, not having in the leaſt abated their high thoughts and reverence towards his perſon.

For the *Jews* in *Conſtantinople* were become as mad and diſtracted, as they were in other places, all Trade and Traffick forbidden, and thoſe who owed Money, in no manner careful how to ſatisfie it; amongſt which wild Crew, ſome were indebted to our Merchants at *Galata*, who not knowing the way to receive their Money, partly for their intereſt, and partly for curioſity, thought fit to viſit this *Sabatai*, complaining, That ſuch particular *Jews*, upon his Coming, took upon them the boldneſs to defraud them of their right, and deſired he would be pleaſed to ſignifie to thoſe his Subjects, his pleaſure to have ſatisfaction given. 1666.

Whereupon *Sabatai*, with much affectation, took Pen and Paper, and wrote to this effect.

To you of the Nation of the Jews, *who expect the appearance of the Meſſiah, and the Salvation of* Iſrael, *Peace without end. Whereas we are informed, That you —— are indebted to ſeveral of the* Engliſh *Nation, It ſeemeth right to us to enorder you to make ſatisfaction to theſe your juſt Debts: which if you refuſe to do, and not obey us herein; know you that then you are not to enter with us into our Joys and Dominions.*

In this manner *Sabatai Sevi* remained a Priſoner at *Conſtantinople* for the ſpace of two Months; at the end of which the Vizier having deſigned his expedition for *Candia*, and conſidering the rumour and diſturbance the Preſence of *Sabatai* had made already at *Conſtantinople*, thought it not ſecure to ſuffer him to remain in the Imperial City, whilſt both the Grand Signior and himſelf were abſent; and therefore changed his Priſon to the *Dardanelli*, otherwiſe called the Caſtle of *Abydos*, being on the *Europe* ſide of the *Helleſpont*, oppoſite to *Seſtos*, places famous in *Greek* Poetry. This removal of *Sabatai* from a worſe Priſon, to one of a better Air, confirmed the *Jews* with greater confidence of his being the Meſſiah, ſuppoſing that had it been in the power of the Vizier, or other Officers of the *Turks*, to have deſtroyed his Perſon, they would never have permitted him to live unto that time, in regard their Maximes enforce them to quit all jealouſies and ſuſpicions of ruine to their State by the death of the Party feared; which much rather they ought to execute on *Sabatai*, who had not only declared himſelf the King of *Iſrael*, but alſo by Prophecies publiſhed fatal things to the Grand Signior and his Kingdoms.

With this Conſideration, and others preceding, the *Jews* flocked in great numbers to the Caſtle, where he was impriſoned, not only from the Neighbouring parts, but alſo from *Poland*, *Germany*, *Ligorn*, *Venice*, *Amſterdam*, and other places, where the *Jews* reſide; on all whom, as a reward of the expence and labours of their Pilgrimage, *Sabatai* beſtowed plenty of his Benedictions, promiſing encreaſe of their Store, and enlargement of poſſeſſions in the Holy Land. So great was the confluence of the *Jews* to this place, that the *Turks* thought it requiſite to make their advantage thereof, and ſo not only raiſed the price of their Proviſions, Lodgings, and other neceſſaries, but alſo denied to admit any to the preſence of *Sabatai*, unleſs for Money, ſetting the price ſometimes at Five, ſometimes at ten Dollars, or more or leſs, according as they gueſſed at the abilities and zeal of the Perſon; by which gain and advantage to the *Turks*, no Complaints or Advices were carried to *Adrianople*, either of the Concourſe or Arguments

amongſt

1666. amongſt the *Jews* in that place, but rather all Civilities and Liberties indulged unto them, which ſerved as a farther Argument to enſnare this poor People in the belief of their Meſſiah.

During this time of Confinement *Sabatai* had leiſure to compoſe and inſtitute a New Method of Worſhip for the *Jews*, and principally the manner of the Celebration of the Day of his Nativity, which he preſcribed in this manner.

BRethren, and my People, Men of my Religion, inhabiting the City of Smyrna *the Renowned, where live Men, and Women, and Families; much Peace be unto You from the Lord of Peace, and from Me his beloved Son King* Solomon. *I command you, That the Ninth of the Month of* Ab (which according to our account anſwered that Year to the Month of *June*) *next to come, you make a Day of Invitation, and of great Joy, celebrating it with choice Meats, and pleaſing Drinks, with many Candles and Lamps, with Muſick and Songs; becauſe it is the day of the Birth of* Sabatai Sevi *the High King, above all the Kings of the Earth. And as to matters of labour, and other things of like nature, do as becomes you upon a day of Feſtival, adorned with your fineſt Garments: As to your Prayers, let the ſame Order be uſed as upon Feſtivals. To converſe with Chriſtians on that day is unlawful, though your Diſcourſe be of matters indifferent; all labour is forbidden, but to ſound Inſtruments is lawful.*

This ſhall be the method of your Prayers on this day of Feſtival. After you have ſaid, Bleſſed be thou, O Holy God; then proceed, and ſay: Thou haſt choſen us before all People, and haſt loved us, and haſt been delighted with us, and haſt humbled us more than all other Nations, and haſt ſanctified us with thy Precepts, and haſt brought us near to thy Service, and the Service of our King. Thy Holy, Great, and Terrible Name thou haſt publiſhed amongſt us; And haſt given us, O Lord God, according to thy love, times of Joy, of Feſtivals, and times of Mirth, and this Day of Conſolation, for a ſolemn Convocation of Holineſs, for the Birth of our King the Meſſiah Sabatai Sevi, *thy Servant, and firſt-born Son in love, through whom we commemorate our coming out of* Egypt. *And then you ſhall read for your Leſſon the firſt, ſecond, and third Chapters of* Deuteronomy *to the Seventeenth Verſe; appointing for the reading thereof Five men, in a perfect and uncorrupted Bible; adding thereunto the Bleſſings of the Morning, as are preſcribed for Days of Feſtivals. And for the Leſſon out of the Prophets, uſually read in the Synogogue every Sabbath, you ſhall repeat the Thirty firſt Chapter of* Jeremiah *to your Prayer called the Muſſaf (uſed in the Synagogue every Sabbath and ſolemn Feſtival.) Inſtead of the Sacrifice of Addition at the returning of the Bible to its place, you ſhall read with an audible Voice, and clear Sound, and with holy Harmony, the Ninty fifth Pſalm. And at the firſt Praiſes in the Morning, after you have ſung Pſalm Ninty one, and juſt before you ſing Pſalm Ninety eight, you ſhall repeat Pſalm One hundred thirty two; but in the laſt Verſe where it is ſaid,* As for his enemies I ſhall clothe them with ſhame, but upon himſelf ſhall his Crown flouriſh; *in the place of* [*upon himſelf*] *you ſhall read, Upon the Moſt High; after which ſhall follow the One hundred twenty ſixth Pſalm, and then the One hundred and thirteenth, to the One hundred and Nineteenth.*

At the Conſecration of the Wine upon the Vigil, or Even, you ſhall make mention of the Feaſt of Conſolation, which is the Day of the Birth of our King the Meſſiah Sabatai Sevi, *thy Servant, and firſt-born Son; giving the Bleſſing as followeth. Bleſſed be thou, our God, King of the World, who haſt made us to live, and haſt maintained us, and haſt kept us alive unto this time. Upon the Eve of this Day you ſhall alſo read the Eighty one Pſalm, as alſo the One hundred thirty two, and One hundred twenty ſixth Pſalms, which are appointed for the Morning Praiſes. And this Day ſhall be unto you for a remembrance of a ſolemn Day unto eternal Ages, and a perpetual Teſtimony between me, and the Sons of* Iſrael.

Audite audiendo, & manducate bonum.

Beſides which Order and Method of Liturgy for Solemnization of his Birth, he preſcribed other Rules for Divine Service, and particularly publiſhed the ſame Indulgence and priviledge to every one who ſhould pray at the Tomb of his Mother, as if he had taken on him a Pilgrimage to pray and ſacrifice at *Jeruſalem*. The Devotion of the *Jews* towards this pretended Meſſiah, encreaſed ſtill more and more; ſo that not only the chief of the City went to attend and proffer their ſervice towards him in the time of his Impriſonment, but likewiſe decked their Synagogue with *S. S.* in Letters of Gold, making for him on the Wall a Crown, in the Circle of which was wrote the Ninety one Pſalm at length, in a fair and legible Character; attributing the ſame Titles to *Sabatai*, and expounding the Scriptures in the ſame manner in favour of his appearance, as we do of our Saviour.

Howſoever ſome of the *Jews* remained in their Wits all this time, amongſt which was a certain Cocham at *Smyrna*, one zealous of his Law, and of the good and ſafety of his Nation; and obſerving in what a wild manner the whole People of the *Jews* was tranſported with the grondleſs belief of a Meſſiah, leaving not only their Trades, and courſe of Living, but publiſhing Prophecies of a ſpeedy Kingdom, of reſcue from the tyranny of the *Turk*, and leading the Grand Signior himſelf captive in Chains; matters ſo dangerous, and obnoxious to the State wherein they lived, as might juſtly convict them of Treaſon and Rebellion, and leave them to the mercy of that Juſtice, which on the leaſt jealouſie and ſuſpicion of matters of this nature, uſes to extirpate Families, and ſubvert the Manſion houſes of their own People, much rather of the *Jews*, on whom the *Turks* would gladly take this occaſion to deſpoil them of their Eſtates, and con-

1666.

1666. condemn the whole Nation to perpetual Slavery. And indeed it would have been a greater wonder than ever *Sabatai* ſhewed, that the *Turks* took not advantage from all theſe extravagancies to drain the *Jews* of a conſiderable Sum of Money, and ſet their whole Race in *Turky* at a Ranſome, had not theſe paſſages yielded them matter of paſtime, and been the ſubject of the *Turks* laughter and ſcorn, ſuppoſing it a diſparagement to the greatneſs of the *Ottoman* Empire, to be concerned for the rumours and combuſtions of this deſpiſed People. With theſe Conſiderations this Cocham, that he might clear himſelf of the blood and guilt of his Countrymen, and unconcerned in the common deſtruction, went before the Kaddee, and there proteſted againſt the preſent Doctrine, declaring, That he had no hand in ſetting up of *Sabatai*, but was an enemy both to him and his whole Sect. This freedom of the Cocham ſo enraged and ſcandalized the *Jews*, that they judged no Condemnation or Puniſhment too ſevere againſt ſuch an Offender, and Blaſphemer of their Law, and Holineſs of the Meſſiah, and therefore with Money and preſents to the Kaddee, accuſing him as diſobedient in a Capital nature to their Government, obtained ſentence againſt him to ſhave his Beard, and commit him to the Gallies.

There wanted nothing now to the appearance of the Meſſiah, and the Solemnity of his Coming, but the preſence of *Elias*, which the *Jews* began to expect hourly, and with that attention and earneſtneſs, that a Dream or Phantaſm to every weak Head was judged to be *Elias*, it being taught and averred, that he was ſeen in divers Forms and Shapes, not to be certainly diſcovered or known before the Coming of the Meſſiah. For this Superſtition is ſo far fixed amongſt them, that generally in their Families they ſpread a Table for *Elias* the Prophet, to which they make an invitation of poor People, leaving the chief place for the Lord *Elias*, whom they believe to be inviſibly preſent at the Entertainment, and there to eat and drink without diminution either of the Diſhes or the Cup. One Perſon amongſt the *Jews* commanded his Wife, after a Supper of this kind, to leave the Cup filled with Wine, and the Meat ſtanding all Night for *Elias* to feaſt and rejoyce alone, and in the Morning ariſing early, affirmed, That *Elias* took this Banquet ſo kindly, that in token of gratitude and acceptance, he had repleniſhed the Cup with Oyl inſtead of Wine. It is a cuſtom amongſt the *Jews* on the Evening of the Sabbath to repeat certain praiſes of God, (*Haudola*) which ſignifies a diſtinction or ſeparation of the Sabbath from the prophane days (as they call them;) which praiſes or bleſſing they obſerve to perform in this manner. One takes a Cup filled with Wine, and drops it through the whole Houſe in the name of *Elias*, ſaying, Elias *the Prophet*, Elias *the Prophet, come quickly to us with the Meſſiah the Son of* David. And this, they affirm, is ſo acceptable to *Elias*, that he never fails to preſerve that Family ſo devoted to him, and augment it with the Bleſſings of encreaſe. Many other things the *Jews* avouch of *Elias*, ſo ridiculous, as are not neceſſary to be declared, amongſt which this one is not from our purpoſe, That at the Circumciſion there is always a Chair ſet for *Elias*. And *Sabatai Sevi* being once invited at *Smyrna* to the Circumciſion of the firſt-born Son of one *Abraham Gutiere*, a Kinſman of *Sabatai*, and all things ready for the Ceremony; *Sabatai Sevi* exhorted the Parents of the Child to expect a while until his farther order. After a good half hour *Sabatai* ordered them to proceed, and cut the Prepucee of the Child, which was inſtantly performed with all joy and ſatisfaction to the Parents: and being afterwards demanded, wherefore he retarded the performance of that Function; his anſwer was, That *Elias* had not as yet taken his Seat, whom as ſoon as he ſaw placed, he ordered them to proceed: and that now ſhortly *Elias* would diſcover himſelf openly, and proclaim the news of their general Redemption. This being the common opinion of the *Jews*, and that *Sabatai Sevi* was the Meſſiah, being become an Article of Faith, it was not hard to perſwade them that *Elias* was come already, that they met him in their diſhes, in the dark, in their Bed-chambers, or any where elſe inviſible, in the ſame manner as our common People believe of Hobgoblins and Faries. For ſo it was, when one *Solomon Cremona*, an Inhabitant of *Smyrna*, making a great Feaſt, to which the principal *Jews* of that City were invited, after they had eaten and drank freely, one ſtarted from his ſeat, and avouched that he ſaw *Elias* upon the VVall, and with that bows to him, and complements him with all reverence and humility: ſome others having in like manner their fancies already prepoſſeſſed, and their eyes with the fume of VVine ill prepared to diſtinguiſh ſhadows, immediately agreed upon the object, and then there was not one in the Company who would ſay, he did not ſee him; at which ſurpriſe every one was ſtruck with reverence and awe, and the moſt eloquent amongſt them having their tongues looſed with Joy and VVine, directed Orations, Encomiums, and acts of thankfulneſs to him, courting and complementing *Elias*, as diſtracted Lovers do the ſuppoſed preſence of their Miſtreſſes.

1666.

Another *Jew* at *Conſtantinople* reported, That he met *Elias* in the ſtreets, habited like a *Turk*, with whom he had a long communication, and that he injoin'd the obſervation of many neglected Ceremonies, and particularly the Zezit, *Lev.* 15.38. *Speak unto the Children of* Iſrael *and bid them, that they make fringes in the borders of their garments throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of the border a Ribband of Blue.* Alſo the Peotz, *Levit.* 19.27. *Ye ſhall not round the corners of your Head, nor mar the corner of your Beard.* This apparition of *Elias* being publiſhed, and as ſoon believed, every one began to obey the Viſion, by fringing their garments; and for their heads, though always ſhaved according to the *Turkiſh* and Eaſtern faſhion, and that the ſuffering hair to grow, to men not accuſtomed, was heavy and incommodious for their health and heads; yet to begin again to renew, as far as was poſſible, the ancient Ceremonies, every one nouriſhed a Lock of hair on each ſide, which was viſible beneath their Caps; which ſoon after began to become a ſign of diſtinction between the believers and the Koparims, a name of diſhonour, ſignifying as much as Unbelievers or Heretick, given to thoſe who confeſſed not *Sabatai* to be the Meſſiah. VVhich particulars, if not obſerved, it was declared as a menace of *Elias*, That the People of the *Jews* who came from the River *Sabation*, as is ſpecified in the 2. *Eſdras Cap.* 13. ſhall take vengeance of thoſe who are guilty of theſe omiſſions.

But to return again to *Sabatai Sevi* himſelf, we find him ſtill remaining a Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Abydus* upon the *Helleſpont*, admired and adored by his Brethren with more honour than before, and viſited by Pilgrims from all parts; where the Fame of the Coming of the Meſſiah had arrived: Amongſt which one from *Poland* named *Nehemiah*

666. *hemiah Cohen* was of ſpecial note and renown, learned in the *Hebrew*, *Syriack*, and *Chaldee*, and verſed in the Doctrine and Kabala of the Rabbins, as well as *Sabatai* himſelf: One (of whom it was ſaid) had not this *Sevi* anticipated the deſign, eſteemed himſelf as able a Fellow for to act a Meſſiah as the other. Howſoever it being now too late to publiſh any ſuch pretence, *Sabatai* having already prepoſſeſſed the office, and with that the hearts and belief of the *Jews*, *Nehemiah* was contented with ſome ſmall appendage or relation to a Meſſiah; and therefore to lay his deſign the better, deſired a private Conference with *Sabatai*. Theſe two great Rabbins being together, a hot Diſpute aroſe between them. For *Cohen* alledged, That according to Scripture and Expoſition of the Learned thereupon, there were to be two Meſſiahs, one called *Ben Ephraim*, and the other *Ben David*: The firſt was to be a Preacher of the Law, poor and deſpiſed, and a Servant to the ſecond, and his Forerunner; the other was to be great and rich, to reſtore the *Jews* to *Jeruſalem*, to ſit upon the Throne of *David*, and to perform and act all thoſe Triumphs and Conqueſts, which were expected from *Sabatai*. *Nehemiah* was contented to be *Ben Ephraim*, the afflicted and poor Meſſiah, and *Sabatai* was well enough contented he ſhould be ſo; but that *Nehemiah* accuſed him for being too forward in publiſhing himſelf the latter Meſſiah, before *Ben Ephraim* had firſt been known to the World. *Sabatai* took this reprehenſion ſo ill, either out of pride and thoughts of his own Infallibility, or that he ſuſpected *Nehemiah* being once admitted for *Ben Ephraim*, would quickly, being a ſubtle and learned Perſon, perſwade the World that he was *Ben David*, would by no means underſtand or admit of this Doctrine, or of *Ben Ephraim* for a neceſſary Officer: And thereupon the Diſpute grew ſo hot, and the Controverſie ſo irreconcileable, as was taken notice of by the *Jews*, and controverted amongſt them as every one fancied; but *Sabatai* being of greater Authority, his Sentence prevailed, and *Nehemiah* was rejected as Schiſmatical, and an Enemy to the Meſſiah, which afterwards proved the ruine and downfal of this Impoſture. For *Nehemiah* being thus baffled, and being a Perſon of Authority, and a haughty Spirit, meditated nothing but revenge; to execute which to the full, he took a Journey to *Adrianople*, and there informed the chief Miniſters of State and Officers of the Court, who (by reaſon of the gain the *Turks* made of their Priſoner at the Caſtle on the *Helleſpont*) heard nothing of all this concourſe of People, and Prophecies of the Revolt of the *Jews* from their obedience to the Grand Signior. And taking likewiſe to his Counſel ſome certain diſcontented and unbelieving Cochams, who being zealous for their Nation, and jealous of the ill conſequences of this long continued and increaſing madneſs, took liberty to inform the Chimacam (who was Deputy of the Great Vizier then at *Candia*) that the *Jew*, Priſoner at the Caſtle, called *Sabatai Sevi* was a lewd perſon, and one who endeavoured to debauch the minds of the *Jews*, & divert them from their honeſt courſe of livelihood, & obedience to the Grand Signior, and that therefore it was neceſſary to clear the World of ſo factious and dangerous a Spirit. The Chimacam being thus inform'd, could do no leſs than acquaint the Gr. Signior with all the particulars of this mans condition, courſe of life, and Doctrine; which were no ſooner underſtood, but a Chaouſe or Meſſenger was immediately diſpatched to bring up *Sabatai Sevi* to *Adrianople*. The Chaouſe executed his Commiſſion after the *Turkiſh* faſhion in haſte, bringing *Sabatai* in a few days to *Adrianople*, without farther excuſe or ceremony, not affording him an hours ſpace to take a ſolemn farewel of his Followers and Adorers, who now were come to the vertical point of all their hopes and expectations. 1666.

The Grand Signior having by this time received divers informations of the madneſs of the *Jews*, and the pretences of *Sabatai*, grew big with deſire and expectation to ſee him; ſo that he no ſooner arrived at *Adrianople*, but the ſame hour he was brought before the Grand Signior. *Sabatai* appeared much dejected, and failing of that courage which he ſhewed in the Synagogue. And being demanded ſeveral queſtions in Turkiſh by the Grand Signior, he would not truſt ſo far to the vertue of his Meſſiahſhip, as to deliver himſelf in the *Turkiſh* Language, but deſired a Doctor of Phyſick (who had from a *Jew* turned *Turk*) to be his Interpreter, which was granted to him, but not without reflection of the ſtanders-by, that had he been the Meſſiah and Son of God, as he formerly pretended, his Tongue would have been looſed into Eloquence and perfection of Languages. But the Grand Signior would not be put off without a Miracle, and it muſt be one of his own chuſing; which was, that *Sabatai* ſhould be ſtripped naked, and ſet as a mark to his dextrous Archers; if the arrows paſſed not his body, but that his fleſh and skin was proof, like Armour, then he would believe him to be the Meſſiah, and the Perſon whom God had deſigned to thoſe Dominions and Greatneſs he pretended. But now *Sabatai* not having Faith enough to ſtand to ſo ſharp a tryal, renounced all his Title to Kingdoms and Governments, alledging that he was an ordinary Cocham and Jew, as others were, and had nothing of priviledge and virtue above the reſt. The Grand Signior notwithſtanding, not wholly ſatisfied with this plain confeſſion, declared, That having given publick ſcandal to the Profeſſors of the *Mahometan* Religion, and done diſhonour to his Soveraign Authority, by pretending to withdraw from him ſo conſiderable a portion as the Land of *Paleſtine*, his Treaſon and Crime could not be expiated without becoming a *Mahometan* Convert: Which if he refuſed to do, the Stake was ready at the Gate of the Seraglio to impale him. *Sabatai* being now reduced to his laſt game and extremity, not being in the leaſt doubtful what to do, for to dye for what he was aſſured was falſe was againſt Nature, and the death of a mad man: Replied with much chearfulneſs, that he was contented to turn *Turk*, and that it was not of force, but of choice, having been a long time deſirous of ſo glorious a profeſſion, he eſteemed himſelf much honoured, that he had an opportunity to own it firſt in the preſence of the Grand Signior. And here was the *Non plus ultra* of all the bluſter and noiſe of this vain Impoſtour. And now the Reader may pauſe a while, and contemplate the ſtrange point of conſternation, ſhame, and ſilence, to which the *Jews* were reduced, when they underſtood how ſpeedily their hopes were vaniſhed, and how poorly and ignominiouſly all their fancies and promiſes of a new Kingdom, their Pageantry and Offices for Devotion were paſt like a tale, or a midnights dream. And all this was concluded, and the *Jews* ſunk on a ſudden and fallen flat in their hopes, without ſo much as a line of comfort or excuſe from *Sabatai*, more than in general to all the Brethren, that now they ſhould apply themſelves to their callings and ſervices of

1666. of God, as formerly; for that matters relating to him were finiſhed and the ſentence paſt.

The News of *Sabatai* turning Turk, and of the Meſſiah to a Mahometan, quickly filled all parts of *Turky*; the *Jews* were ſtrangely ſurpriſed at it, and aſhamed of their eaſineſs of belief, of the arguments with which they had perſwaded others, and of the Proſelytes they had made in their own Families. Abroad they became the common deriſion of the Towns where they inhabited, the Boys houted after them, coining a new word at *Smyrna* (*Pouſtai*) which every one ſeeing a Jew, with a finger pointed out, would pronounce with ſcorn and contempt; ſo that this deceived People for a long time after remained with confuſion, ſilence, and dejection of ſpirit. And yet moſt of them affirm, That *Sabatai* is not turned Turk, but his ſhadow only remains on Earth, and walks with a white head, and in the habit of a *Mahometan*; but that his Body and Soul are taken into Heaven, there to reſide until the time appointed for accompliſhment of theſe Wonders: And this Opinion began ſo commonly to take place, as if this People reſolved never to be undeceived, uſing the Forms and Rules for Devotion preſcribed them by their *Mahometan* Meſſiah. Inſomuch that the Cochams of *Conſtantinople* fearing the danger of this Error might creep up and equal the former, condemned the belief of *Sabatai* being Meſſiah as damnable, and injoyned them to return to the ancient Method and Service of God, upon pain of Excommunication. The Stile and Tenour of their Letter was as followeth.

TO you who have the power of Prieſthood, and are the knowing, learned, and magnanimous Governours and Princes reſiding in the City of Smyrna, *may the Almighty protect you*, Amen, *for ſo is his will.*

Theſe our Letters which we ſend in the midſt of your Habitations, are upon occaſion of certain Rumours and Tumults come to our ears from that City of your Holineſſes. For there is a ſort of men amongſt you who fortifie themſelves in their Error, and ſay, Let ſuch an one our King live, and bleſs him in their publick Synagogues every Sabbath day; and alſo adjoyn Pſalms and Hymns invented by that man for certain days, with Rules and Methods for Prayer, which ought not to be done, and yet they ſtill remain obſtinate therein. And now behold it is known unto you, how many ſwelling waters have paſſed over our Souls for his ſake; for had it not been for the mercies of God which are without end, and the merit of our Forefathers which hath aſſiſted us, the foot of Iſrael *had been raſed out by their enemies.* The *Jews* ſcruple to ſay the head of *Iſrael.* *And yet ſtill you continue obſtinate in things which do not help, but rather do miſchief, which God avert. Turn you therefore, for this is not the true way, but reſtore the Crown to the ancient cuſtom and uſe of your Forefathers, and the Law, and from thence do not move.*

We command you, That with your Authority, under pain of Excommunication and other Penalties, all thoſe Ordinances and Prayers, as well thoſe delivered by the mouth of that man, as thoſe which he injoyned by the mouth of others, be all aboliſhed and made void, and to be found no more, and that they never enter more into your hearts; but judge according to the ancient Commandment of your Forefathers, repeating the ſame Leſſons and Prayers every Sabbath as hath been accuſtomary; as alſo the Collects for Kings, Potentates, and Anointed, &c. and bleſs the King Sultan Mahomet; *for in his dayes hath great Salvation been wrought for* Iſrael, *and become not Rebels to his Kingdom, which God forbid. For after all this which is paſt, the leaſt motion will be a cauſe of jealouſy, and you will bring ruine upon your own perſons, and upon all which is near and dear to you; wherefore abſtain from this man, and let not ſo much as his name proceed out of your mouths. For know, if you will not obey us herein, which will be known who, and what thoſe men are who refuſe to conform unto us, we are reſolved to proſecute them, as our duty is. He that doth hear and obey us, may the bleſſing of God reſt upon him. Theſe are the words of thoſe, who ſeek your peace and good, having in* Conſtantinople, *on* Sunday *the 5th of the month* Sevat, *under-wrote their names.*

Joam Tob, *Son of* Hanania Ben Jacar.
Iſaac Alnacagua.
Joſeph Kazabi.
Menaſſe Barudo.
Kaleb *Son of* Samuel.
Eliezer Caſti.
Eliezer Gherſon.
Joſeph Accohen.
Eliezer Aluff.

During the time of all theſe tranſactions and paſſages at *Conſtantinople*, *Smyrna*, *Abydos* upon the *Helleſpont*, and *Adrianople*; the *Jews* leaving their mercantile courſe and advices what prices Commodities bore, and matters of Traffick, ſtuffed their Letters for *Italy* and other parts with nothing but wonders and miracles wrought by their Meſſiah. As that, when the Grand Signior ſent to take him, he cauſed all the meſſengers immediately to die; upon which, other Janizaries being again ſent, they all fell dead with a word only from his mouth; and being deſired to revive them again, he immediately recalled them to life, but of them only ſuch, who were true Turks, and not thoſe who had denied that Faith in which they were born, and had profeſſed. After this they added, that he went voluntarily to Priſon, and though the Gates were barred, and ſhut with ſtrong Locks of Iron, yet that *Sabatai* was ſeen to walk through the ſtreets with a numerous attendance; and when they laid ſhackles on his Neck and Feet, they not only fell from him, but were converted into Gold, with which he gratified his true and faithful Believers and diſciples. Some Miracles alſo were reported of *Nathan*, that only at the reading of the name of any particular Man or Woman, he could immediately recount the ſtory of his or her Life, their ſins or defaults, and accordingly impoſe juſt correction and penance for them. Theſe ſtrong reports coming thus confidently into *Italy*; and all parts, the *Jews* of *Caſal di Monferrato* reſolv'd to ſend

1666. ſend Three perſons in behalf of their Society, in the nature of extraordinary Legates, to *Smyrna*, to make enquiry after the truth of all theſe rumours, who accordingly arriving in *Smyrna*, full of expectation and hopes, intending to preſent themſelves with great humility and ſubmiſſion before their Meſſiah, and his Prophet *Nathan*, were entertained with the ſad news, that *Sabatai* was turned Turk; by which information, the Character of their Embaſſy in a manner ceaſing, every one of them laying aſide the formality of his Function, endeavoured to lodge himſelf beſt to his own convenience. But that they might return to their Brethren at home with the certain particulars of the ſucceſs of theſe affairs, they made a viſit to the Brother of *Sabatai*, who ſtill continued to perſwade them, that *Sabatai* was notwithſtanding the true Meſſiah; that it was not he who had taken upon him the habit and form of a Turk, but his Angel or Spirit, his Body being aſcended into Heaven, until God ſhall again ſee the ſeaſon and time to reſtore it; adding farther, that an effect hereof they ſhould ſee by the Prophet *Nathan* verifyed; now every day expected, who having wrought Miracles in many places, would alſo for their conſolation, reveal hidden ſecrets unto them, with which they ſhould not only remain ſatisfied but aſtoniſhed: with this only hope of *Nathan*, theſe Legates were a little comforted, reſolving to attend his arrival, in regard they had a Letter to conſign into his hands, and according to their inſtructions, were to demand of him the grounds he had for his Prophecies, and what aſſurance he had that he was divinely inſpired, and how thoſe things were revealed unto him, which he had committed to Paper, and diſperſed to all parts of the World.

1665. At length *Nathan* arrived near *Smyrna*, on *Friday* the 3d of *March*, towards the Evening, and on *Sunday* theſe Legats made their viſit to him, but *Nathan* upon the news of what ſucceſs his Meſſiah met with, began to grow ſullen and reſerved, ſo that the Legats could ſcarce procure admittance to him; all that they could do, was to inform him, that they had a Letter to him from the Brotherhood of *Italy*, and Commiſſion to confer with him concerning the ground and foundation of his Prophecies: But *Nathan* refuſed to take the Letter, ordering *Kaim Abolafio*, a Cocham of the City of *Smyrna*, to receive it; ſo that the Legats returned little contented, but yet with hopes at *Nathans* arrival at *Smyrna*, to receive better ſatisfaction.

But whilſt *Nathan* intended to enter into *Smyrna*, the Cochams of *Conſtantinople*, being before adviſed of his reſolution to take a Journey into their parts, not knowing by which way he might come, ſent their Letters and orders to *Smyrna*, *Pruſſia*, and every way round, to hinder his paſſage, and interrupt his Journey, fearing that things beginning now to compoſe, the Turks appeaſed for the former diſorders, and the minds of the *Jews* in ſome manner ſetled, might be moved, and combuſtions burſt out afreſh by the appearance of this new Impoſtor, and therefore diſpatched this Letter as followeth.

TO you who are the Shepherds of Iſrael, *and Rulers, who reſide for the Great God of the whole World in the City of* Smyrna, *which is a Mother in* Iſrael, *to her Princes, her Prieſts, her Judges, and eſpecially to the perfect wiſe men, and of greateſt experience; may the Lord God cauſe you to live before him, and delight in the multitude of Peace,* Amen. *So be the will of the Lord.*

Theſe our Letters are diſpatched unto you, to let you underſtand, that in the place of your Holineſs, we have heard, that the learned man which was in Gaza, *called* Nathan Benjamin, *hath publiſhed vain Doctrines, and made the World tremble at his words and inventions. At this time we have received advice, that this man ſome days ſince departed from* Gaza, *and took his Journey by the way of* Scanderone, *intending there to Embark for* Smyrna. *and thence to go to* Conſtantinople, *or* Adrianople. *And though it ſeems a ſtrange thing unto us, that any man ſhould have a deſire to throw himſelf into a place of flames and fire, and into the ſparks of Hell: Notwithſtanding, we ought to fear and ſuſpect it,* for the feet of man always guide him to the worſt. *Wherefore, we underwritten, do advertiſe you, that this Man coming within the Compaſs of your Juriſdiction, you give a ſtop to his Journey, and not ſuffer him to proceed farther, but preſently to return back. For we would have you know, That at his Coming he will begin again to move thoſe tumults, which have been cauſed through Dreams of a new Kingdom,* And that miracles are not wrought every day. *God forbid, that by his Coming, the People of God ſhould be deſtroyed in all places where they are, of which he will be the firſt, whoſe blood be upon his own head; for in this Conjuncture every little errour or fault is made Capital; you may remember the danger of the firſt Combuſtion, and it is very probable, that he will be an occaſion of greater, which the Tongue is not able to expreſs with words. And therefore, by virtue of ours, and your own Authority, you are to hinder him from proceeding farther in his journey, upon pain of all thoſe Excommunications, which our Law can impoſe, and to force him to return back again, both he and his Company. But if he ſhall in any manuer oppoſe you, and rebel againſt your word, your Endeavours and Law are ſufficient to hinder him, for it will be well for him, and for all* Iſrael.

Arab. Prov.

Arab. Prov.

For the love of God, let theſe words enter into your ears, ſince they are not vain things, for the lives of all the Jews, *and his alſo conſiſt therein. And the Lord God behold from Heaven, and have pity upon his People* Iſrael. Amen. *So be his holy will written by thoſe who ſeek your Peace.*

Joam Tob *Son of* Chanania Jacar.
Moiſe Benveniſte,
Iſaac Alnacagua,
Joſeph Kizbi,
Samuel Acazſina,
Kaleb *Son of* Cocham,
Samuel *deceaſed*,
Moiſe Barudo,
Elihezer Aluf.
Jehouſual Raphael Benveniſte.

1666. By theſe means *Nathan* being diſappointed of his wandring progreſs, and partly aſhamed of the Events contrary to his Prophecies, was reſolved, without entring *Smyrna*, to depart thence; howſoever he obtained leave to viſit the Sepulchre of his Mother, and there to receive pardon of his ſins (according to the inſtitution of *Sabatai* before mentioned;) but firſt waſhed himſelf in the Sea, in manner of purification, and ſaid his *Tevila*, or Prayers, at the Fountain, called by us the Fountain of *Santa Veneranda*, which is near the Cœmetery of the *Jews*, and then departed for *Xio* with two Companions, a Servant and three *Turks* to conduct him, without admitting the Legates to audience, or anſwering the Letter which was ſent him from all the Communities of the *Jews* in *Italy*. And thus the Embaſſie of theſe Legates was concluded, and they returned from the place to whence they came, and the *Jews* again to their Wits, following their Trade and Profeſſion of Brokage, as formerly, with more quiet and advantage than the means of regaining their poſſeſſions in the Land of Promiſe. And thus ended this mad phrenſie amongſt the *Jews*, which might have coſt them dear, had not *Sabatai* renounced his Meſſiahſhip at the Feet of *Mahomet*. Theſe matters were tranſacted in the Years 1665 and 1666; ſince which *Sabatai* hath paſſed his time devoutly in the *Ottomon* Court, educated at the Feet of the learned *Gamaliel* of the *Turkiſh* Law, (*viz*) *Vanni* Effendi, Preacher to the Seraglio, or as we may ſo term him, Chaplain to the Sultan, one ſo literate as to be eſteemed the Grand Oracle of their Religion; ſo preciſe, and conceited of his own Sanctity as a Phariſee, and ſo ſuperſtitious, that nothing ſeemed more to unhallow his Worſhip than the touch or approach of a Chriſtian. To this Maſter, *Sabatai* was a moſt docil Scholar, and profited, as we may imagine, beyond meaſure in the *Turkiſh* Doctrine; ſo that in exchange of ſuch impreſſions *Vanni* thought it no diſparagement, from ſo great a Rabbin as his new Diſciple, to learn ſomething of the *Jewiſh* Rites, and rectifie thoſe crude Notions he had conceived of the *Moſaical* Law. In this manner *Sabatai* paſſed his days in the *Turkiſh* Court, as ſome time *Moſes* did in that of the *Egyptians*; and perhaps in imitation of him, caſt his eyes often on the Afflictions of his Brethren, of whom, during his life, he continued to profeſs himſelf a Deliverer, but with that care and caution of giving ſcandal to the *Turks*, that he declared, Unleſs their Nation became like him, that is, renounce the Shadows, and imperfect Elements of the *Moſaical* Law, which will be compleated by adherence to the *Mahometan*, and ſuch other Additions as his inſpired Wiſdom ſhould ſuggeſt, he ſhould never be able to prevail with God for them, or conduct them to the Holy Land of their Forefathers. Hereupon many *Jews* flocked in, ſome as far as from *Babylon*, *Jeruſalem*, and other remote places, and caſting their Caps on the ground, in preſence of the Grand Signior, voluntarily profeſſed themſelves *Mahometans*. *Sabatai* himſelf by theſe Proſelytes gaining ground in the eſteem of the *Turks*, had privileg granted him to viſit familiarly his Brethren, which he employed in Circumciſing their Children the Eighth day, according to the Precept of *Moſes*, preaching his new Doctrines, by which he hath confirmed many in their Faith of his being the Meſſiah, and ſtartled all with expectation of what theſe ſtrange ways of Enthuſiaſm may produce; but none durſt publickly own him, leſt they ſhould diſpleaſe the *Turks*, and the *Jews*, and incur the danger of Excommunication from one, and the Gallows from the other.

The courſe of life which *Sabatai* led after he turned Mahometan.

However in *January* 167⅓ appeared another bold Impoſtor amongſt the *Jews* in *Smyrna* from the *Morea*, as it was ſaid, or not known from whence, who in deſpight of *Sabatai*, and his own Governours, pretended to be Meſſiah; but with ſo inconſiderable and petty a Deluder as this, the *Jews* thought to make quick work; but being aſhamed at firſt to bring another Meſſiah on the Stage, by help of money they accuſed him of Adultery, and procured a Sentence from the Kadi, condemning him to the Gallies; in order unto which, and in proof of his good behaviour he remain'd ſome time in Priſon, in which Interim he found means, to clear himſelf of that Crime by open evidence to the contrary, and had for the preſent eſcaped out of the power of the Synagogue, had not their Authority & money prevailed more than the Friends or Diſciples of this Impoſtor; whom we will leave in priſon, and *Sabatai* in the houſe of *Pharaoh*; where he continued until the Year 1676, and then died. And ſo we return to more important matters of the *Turkiſh* Affairs.

1666.

Since that we have ſo long inſiſted on the phrenſie of the *Jews*, let us return to matters of greater conſequence, and more general concernment; & look back to Count *Leſlie* the Emperors Ambaſſador, who having departed from *Conſtantinople* the 11th of *Decemb.* of the laſt Year, we find on the 10th of *March* of this year on the Frontiers ready to make exchange with the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſador. The night before, Count *Leſlie* was lodged at a Village called *Elmas*, where the Inhabitants, as in the moſt parts of upper *Hungary*, are Calviniſts in Religion; and though they live between two Swords, do yet in time of War, by paying a Tribute to both Parties, and providing Forage for both, remain more ſecure than in the Villages ſubjected to either; which are often burnt, or in ſome other manner miſerably deſtroyed. The next day the Emperors Ambaſſador, conducted by the Paſha of *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, with about three hundred Horſe, arrived at the place for many years obſerved for exchange of Ambaſſadors, which is about an hour and halfs Journey, or five miles (as we may ſo ſay) diſtant from this Village, where in open Fields upon the Brink of the *Danube*, are ſet three Poſts; the two Ambaſſadors meeting at that in the middle, after ſome Complements, take their leaves each of other, and ſo exchange. The *German* Ambaſſador that day arrived near his Poſt about ſeven a Clock in the morning, but the *Turkiſh*, not being as yet come from *Komara*, he could not proceed farther. After ſome expectation here, advice came, That the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſador was reſolved not to depart from *Komara* until he was ſatisfied for the allowance of eighteen days, at a hundred Dollars for every day, which he had ſpent at his entrance into *Chriſtendom*, between the frontiers and the City of *Vienna*. But to this was replied, That it had never been the cuſtom to allow the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſador mony for his daily proviſions, until he entred the Emperors Court; and in the mean time the expences and charge of his journey were to be defrayed by the Imperial Officers, who had performed the ſame in a moſt ample and plentiful manner: But the *Turk* was reſolved not to be ſo ſatisfied, and therefore declared he would not depart without full payment; hoping the more eaſily to prevail, in regard the *German* Ambaſſador was already in the Field, expoſed to the cold and ſharp weather, without proviſions either for himſelf, Attendance, or Horſes, whilſt the *Turk* remained warm in his Boat, accommodated with his Stove, and wrapt in his Furs, ſo that he hoped there might be a neceſſity of granting what he reſerved for the rear-guard of his pretenſions. The matter ſeemed unreaſonable to the *German* Ambaſſador, as alſo to the *Turks* that attended him, who being in the open and cold Air, judg'd it in an unſeemly time to capitulate. But in fine, the *German*

The manner of exchange of the Emperors and *Turks* Ambaſſadour.

gave

1666. gave him this Anſwer, That an Ambaſſador ought to be contented with that hoſpitality and entertainment which was accuſtomary, as he himſelf had done; for that ſince his departure from *Buda*, which was then ſeven days, he had not receiv'd one Aſper of allowance, reſting ſatisfied with the Paſha's word, that from *Buda* homewards it was not accuſtomary to receive a farther treatment; ſo that if he inſiſted on the firſt, he was to be allowed the latter, ſince both Ambaſſadours are to be uſed with terms of equality; and therefore to find an expedient to give him ſatisfaction, he was contented to reſign his ſeven days allowance from the Grand Signior; and if any thing farther was really owing he would engage his parole of honour for the payment. And farther he added, That none but a corrupt Miniſter would make his private Intereſt to ſtand in Competition with a publick Deſign, and make the pretence of a few Dollars an interruption and impediment to the progreſs of the great Affairs of the Two Empires; profeſſing that he would have quitted all his right, rather than the leaſt concernment of his Maſter ſhould have received a prejudice, on confidence of whoſe gracious favour he depended for reparation of whatſoever he ſuffered for his ſervice. He thanked God that he had happily managed his Embaſſy to the ſatisfaction of the Grand Signior, and the approbation of his Maſter, and was now ready to perform the laſt office and ceremony, in which if he did fail, or was impeded, the fault was not his, being ready to return to *Buda*, ſo the other in like manner did to *Vienna*, there to remain until this difference was decided by their Maſters. The Turkiſh Ambaſſadour's Kahya or Steward who was preſent, and heard all this diſcourſe, ſeeming not pleaſed to hear of a return to *Vienna*, immediately replied, That he conceived his Maſter would not remove from *Komara*; to which it was anſwered That a man who ſo little underſtood the office of an Ambaſſadour, as it appeared his Maſter did, was to be treated with ſome other kind of ſtile than was agreeable to the reſpect due to a publick Miniſter, and ſhould therefore be forced to it in caſe he ſhould refuſe. The Turkiſh Ambaſſadour having his ſtomach ſomething taken down with the threats of returning to *Vienna*, that afternoon looſed from *Komara*, and between three and four a clock arrived at the place of Exchange; but the wind blowing hard, had put ſome of his Boats aſhore, which were moſt laden; and feweſt men to govern them, which afforded him occaſion of farther delay, pretending that his Goods might be arreſted at *Komara*, and until he was ſatisfied to the contrary, he was reſolved not to make the Exchange. The German Ambaſſadour was more moved with choler at this humor than at the former; and the Turks that attended, growing more hungry and more cold, beſtowed on him a million of curſes. The Sun now declining towards its ſetting, Count *Leſlie* ſent word to the Turk, That he was reſolved not longer to abuſe his own patience, but immediately to proceed forward, giving order to his Coach to drive on, proteſting, That if any miſchief was derived from this irregular proceeding, the fault was not his, nor would he anſwer for any of thoſe fatal conſequences which might enſue; to which alſo being added ſome perſwaſions of the Paſha of *Quing*; *Eccleſiæ*, the Turk at length came out from his Boat and went to his Poſt. The Turks were drawn up on their own Quarter to the number of about three hundred, and the Hungarian Huſſars or Horſe-men on the other to about two hundred; the two Ambaſſadours making a ſtand at their reſpective Poles, proceeded with equal paces to meet in the middle, where ſome few Complements having paſſed between them, and Salutes interchangeably ſent to the chief Miniſters of each Empire, the German Ambaſſadour entred his Coach, and the Turk his Boat, and ſo both returned to their reſpective Courts. Such as was the ſordid and intereſſed humour of the Turkiſh Ambaſſadour in this tranſaction, ſo no leſs diſhonourable was his way of living at *Vienna*, where he ſojourned with that miſerable famine and penury in his houſe, as diſcontented all his family, cauſing ſome to leave him and return home; others with better motives (as it is hoped) to the number of thirty became Chriſtians, and imbraced the Faith; at the ſame rate he was generous in his Preſents: for to the Maſter of the Houſe where he lodged he gave two five-Senars or eighteen Pence Engliſh, and to the Commiſſary who conducted him to the Frontiers, he preſented a Bag of Rice, which was not accepted but returned with the like complement, as that with which it was tendered. 1666.

The Turks meditate a new War.

But no ſooner was this Peace concluded, and the Ceremonies thereof thus happily finiſhed, but the Turks, attentive to another War, which is the life of their Empire, and their only ſecurity againſt inteſtine Diſcords, made all the Preparations and Proviſions this Year, that were poſſible, for the total ſubjection of *Candia*, of which this Vizier was highly ambitious, deſigning thereby to gain unto himſelf that renown of which his Predeceſſours had been in purſuit for the ſpace of twenty five years; ſo that all Ammunition, Victual, and whatſoever was neceſſary, was in great quantities ſupplied from all the circumjacent parts of the Empire.

The City of *Candia* was ſome time before governed by the Proveditor *Priuli*; but afterwards the Venetians, apprehenſive of the ſucceeding War, conferred the Charge on Marques *Villa*, a worthy and experienced Souldier, with Title of General of the Venetian Infantry, as we have before intimated; and having left him and his Forces in the month of *December* laſt, on the Iſland of *Paros*; where having, as is ſaid, muſtered his Forces, he imbarked them on ſixteen Gallies, five Galleaſſes, and thirty five Men of War; with which ſailing in company from *Anti-Paros*, the whole Fleet on the 12*th* of *February* made their Rendezvous at *Argentiera*; during which time the Turks landed eighteen hundred Janiſaries at *Canea*, being tranſported thither on thirty five Gallies, which having incountred with the Cavalier *Hoquincourt* in the channel of *Scio*, received ſome damage and loſs of men in their way, though this Cavalier himſelf was wounded in the Engagement, and forty of his men ſlain. The Venetian Fleet departing from *Argentiera* on the 23*th* of *February*, came in ſight of *Candia*, when a very great ſtorm ariſing with Thunder and Lightning, put the whole fleet in danger of ſhipwrack; but by Gods Providence, though toſſed with contrary winds, they arrived on the 26*th* in ſafety in the Port of *Suda*, being directed thither in a dark night, by thoſe Lights which the Fortreſs had put abroad, though the Turks on the other ſide had put out falſe Fires to deceive them. The Army being landed at this place, and a Muſter made of the Forces, Pay was given to the Souldiery; with which being become the more couragious, they marched towards *Canea*, with hopes to perform ſome memorable Enterpriſe at that place. The Lieutenant-General *Vuerſmiller* led the Van, conſiſting of ſix-hundred Foot, and an hundred and eighty Horſe, and

An Engagement near *Canea*.

1666. and advancing beyond thoſe bounds which Marqueſs *Villa* had preſcribed him, was incountred by a more numerous Force from the Garriſon, by which being at firſt put into ſome diſorder, had been intirely defeated, had not the Marqueſs opportunely arrived to his Succour: howſoever the Venetians loſt in this Skirmiſh three hundred Souldiers, forty Horſe, and twelve Officers, amongſt which the Murqueſs *Ceva* was ſlain upon the place, and Captain *Scot* a Scoth-man taken Priſoner, whom the Engliſh Factory redeemed at *Smyrna*; of the Turks ſeven hundred were computed to have been killed, with the Aga of the Janiſaries, a ſtout and a well experienced Souldier. And as this beginning was not very auſpicious to the Chriſtians, ſo neither did the Heavens ſeem much to favour them; for an unuſual rain with few fair days continued almoſt for the ſpace of three months, which filled all Rivers, Marſhes, and Ditches with ſo ſtrange an inundation, that the Army beginning to want Forage for the Horſes, and all other Proviſions for their Men; and the Garriſon of *Canea* being reinforced from *Retimo*, *Chiramo*, *Armiro*, and other places, diſcouraged the Commanders in that manner, that they thought it more convenient to retire and incamp in the pleaſant and fruitful Vallies of *Spina Longa*, until better weather, and other Recruits of their Army ſhould open a way either to make another Attempt on *Canea*, or new *Candia*. But Fortune did not favour theſe deſigns; for the Captain-general *Andrea Cornaro* arriving with his Fleet, part at *Candia*, and part at *Standia*, (which is an Iſland or Rock about two Leagues diſtant from this City) a new reſolution was taken to remain on the defenſive part, and to attend wholly to the guard of the City: for as in the natural body, when it is aſſaulted by acute and hot humors, the ſpirits retire to the heart to comfort and ſecure that from the violence of the diſtemper; ſo the Venetians perceiving that their Enemies daily grew more numerous, reſolved to contract their Force into one Body for defence of that City, which was the heart or the moſt principal inſtrument of life in that Iſland: Wherefore Recruits both of Men, Ammunition, and Proviſions were daily ſent thither; and the Captain of the Gulf arriving at *Suda* with eleven Gallies and one Galleaſs, carrying fifteen hundred Soldiers, with three hundred Pioniers, joyned his Forces to the Body of the Fleet; and all imbarking in divers Squadrons, made haſte to land their men in the City of *Candia* with all poſſible expedition.

Marqueſs *Villa* lands at the City of *Candia*.

The Marqueſs *Villa* landed here the firſt of *March*, being conducted from the Mole by the Proveditor to the Palace, which was provided for him; where having been complemented, and having received and returned the uſual Viſits, he in the firſt place took care to quarter the Horſe, and the new Forces lately arrived with due convenience; next he viſited the Garriſon and every Fort in particular, where he amended what was amiſs, and added what was defective. The Captain-General by this time arriving with the remainder of the Militia, a general Muſter was made in the Trenches of the Fort *Panigra*; of which the Turks having advice, fell unexpectedly upon them with a ſtrong Body; the Chriſtians being ſurpriſed hereat; and *Verſama* a valiant Collonel being ſlain, they began ſhamefully to run, nor could either the Bravery of the Marqueſs or his Authority ſtop their flight; howſoever the Musket-ſhot and great great Guns from the Walls were ſo plentifully beſtowed on the Turks, that few of thoſe who were over-forward in the purſuit, returned to their Companions.

1666. On the 12*th* of *April* a Fleet of Gallies arrived with new Recruits, with which the Chriſtians being reinforced, Marqueſs *Villa* reſolved to take the Field; ſo that marching out of the City by night with ſeven thouſand Foot and ſix hundred and fifty Horſe, he incamped between that and the Valley of the River *Giffiro*, drawing his Trenches juſt oppoſite to the the Enemies Camp; in the mean Time two Squadrons of Ships were ſent abroad, one towards the *Creciere*, and the other towards the Coaſt of *Canea*, to intercept and hinder ſuch Succours as might be ſent to the Enemies Camp. Nor were the Turks leſs vigilant or valiant on their ſide; for a Party of about two thouſand men ſallying from their Trenches, and marching ſecretly under the covert of a Mountain, unexpectedly aſſailed the Out-guards of about fifty Foot belonging to the Regiment of *Friſchein*, commanded by Captain *Rades*; which after a ſtout reſiſtance retreated into another Body of fifty Muſquetiers, and twenty five Arquibuſiers of the Regiment *Arborio*; who alſo being aſſiſted by other detachments, recovered their firſt Poſt; but being afterwards overpowred by great numbers of Turks, were forced to quit the place, which Marqueſs *Villa* obſerving, ordered fifty Horſe under Lieutenant-Collonel *Mattiazzi*, and ſeventy Foot under *Blane* Sergeant Major of the Regiment *Arborio* to their aſſiſtance, by whom the Poſt was again recovered with great ſlaughter of the Enemy: but this advantage was of little other benefit than to inflame the ſpirits of the Turks, who rallying again their Force with freſh courage and extraordinary valour came to handy-blows with the Venetians, forcing them to another Retreat with the death of Lieutenant *Ceruſa* a Savoyard, and ſome common Souldiers; but the Turks injoyed not long this advantage; for the Muſquetiers from the line with ſome ſmall Guns, and the Groſs Artillery from the Walls did much execution on them; and at the ſame time being charged by a Party of Horſe under Command of Collonel *Rades*, the Venetians with glory and incouragement recovered their Poſt, driving the Turks in diſorder and confuſion to their Trenches. This ſucceſs of the Chriſtians ſerved to heat the ſpirits of the Turks, and animate them to another Engagement: for having by private ways of hidden Vallies conducted their Men, about four hours before night made another Aſſault upon the *Venetians*, I will not ſay ſurpriſed them; becauſe remaining always in apprehenſion of the Enemy, they kept themſelves ſo watchfully on their Guard that in a moment they were ready to receive them; and that ſo warmly, not firing until they came within the length of two Pikes, that in a moment the Field was covered with the bodies of Horſe and Men; the Turks ſtartled hereat, not knowing whether it were better to ſtand to it, or fly, until incouraged by their Leaders, they kept their ground for a time: but being galled by the continual Vollies of ſhot, and charged by a Body of Horſe led by Count *Sforza Biſſaro* and Captain *Caſick*; they were ſo ſhaken, that they turned their backs, and began to run until falling in with the groſs Body of their Party, they made head again; and mixing both Horſe and Foot with the *Venetians*, they forced them to retreat to the ſide of their Trenches; and ſo cloſely plyed them, that the freſh Troops of the Turks on the right and left wing had cut them off, had not the Count *Corradini*, by order of Count *Sforza* with a Regiment of Curaſſiers, and likewiſe Colonel *Stoppa* with his Lieutenant-Colonel *Tadeo Motta*, with a good

The Venetians in camp.

The Turks aſſault them.

The Turks make another aſſault.

1666. good number of Archibuſiers, aſſiſted by a Squadron of the Regiment of Count *Baſſaro*, ſallied from the Line, and being ſuccoured on all ſides, forced the *Turks* at length to ſound a Retreat. The night coming on, diſſwaded any purſuit of the Enemy, left unknown ways and darkneſs ſhould betray their men into ambuſhes or other ſnares. The *Turks* loſt a thouſand men, with divers Commanders of Quality and Note: Of the *Venetians* were killed Lieutenant *Ceruſa*, *Gio. Teſſari*, Captain to *La Motte*, eleven Horſe, and ſome few Foot: *Motte*, *Corradini*, *Soupe*, Count *Corbelli*, and ſome others were wounded.

About this time advice being come to the Captain-General, That the *Turks* were diſpeeding fifty Gallies laden with Men and Ammunition, he reſolved to incounter them at Sea with four Galleaſſes, and twenty Gallies, reinforcing his Fleet with twelve hundred men, which he took from the Camp; which being thereby conſiderably diminiſhed, as alſo by the late Engagements: yet Marqueſs *Villa* kept his ground; but contracted the compaſs of his Trenches, and raiſed a Fort in ſight of the Enemy, who had not the courage to give him the leaſt interruption; but rather after this example, fortified their own Trenches, ſhutting all Avenues or paſſages to Renegadoes, whom they ſuſpected might fly, and give advice to the Chriſtians: howſoever ſome of them eſcaped to the *Venetian* Camp, declaring that the Cannon from the Town did much incommode the *Turks* in their Trenches; upon which Intelligence Marqueſs *Villa* ordered forty eight ſhot to be made at that place, where they were moſt offended, which put the *Turks* into great conſternation: after which no conſiderable Engagements happened, beſides ſome few Skirmiſhes and Rencounters of no memorable note, in which one *Antiquario* a Quarter-maſter, Count *Pio Ferretti*, and others ſignalized themſelves by particular Acts of Valour, as alſo Captain *Vimes* who killed *Mehmet Bey*, a *Turk* of great eſteem, with his own hand.

But now the *Turks* receiving daily Recruits, as of eight hundred Janizaries, and ſix hundred Spahees, landed at *Gira-petra*, and ſeventeen hundred more disbarked at *Chiſſamo*; and advices daily coming of great numbers of Galeots and Brigantines providing in the Gulf of *Lepanto*, and of eighteen Ships of *Barbary*, all ready to tranſport Soldiers to *Candia*, moved the Captain-General to perſwade the removal of the Camp for better ſecurity of the moſt important places: the which Marqueſs *Villa* performed accordingly in the night preceding the firſt of *June*, with much order and care; for firſt he cauſed the Artillery to be withdrawn, with the Mortar-pieces, Ammunition, and Proviſions of War, and placed in the Fort of *Mocenigo*; then he cauſed half the Army to work in filling the Trenches, whilſt the other half remained in form of Battel, and two hours before day blew up the Fort; which having done, they marched in three Bodies to the City, to the great joy and ſatisfaction of the *Turks*, who on that occaſion made a day of Feſtival.

The *Venetian* Camp raiſed.

Theſe particulars of Action having paſſed under the Conduct of Marqueſs *Villa* without any ſignal Victory or advantage over the *Turk*, adminiſtred ſubject to ſuch who in the parts of Chriſtendom were emulous of his glory, and envious of his eminent charge, to give liberty to their tongues to diſparage the management of his Affairs, as not agreeable to that high expectation of ſucceſs which the World conceived thereof, when he firſt entred on this imployment: But here it is obſervable at what rate men who lye ſoft and warm in their beds at home, unconcerned in the dangers, labours, and hazards of thoſe who live and act abroad, can make their reflexions, and paſs their cenſures on active and ingaged men, not conſidering the ſtate of affairs, the uncertainty of Succours in ſo long and diſtant a tract of Sea, as paſſes between *Venice* and *Candia*, ſubjected to Winds, and a thouſand Caſualties; nor yet the numerous Troops of the Enemy, nor the Puiſſance of that Empire, which for its Power, Richeſs, and the Valour of its Soldiery, may be eſteemed the moſt Potent and conſiderable of all the Monarchies and known Kingdoms of the Univerſe. But what conjectures ſoever envious men might make of the Conduct of Marqueſs *Villa*, yet the Senate of *Venice* applauded his labours, and owned his ſervices, as being ſuch, which having merited the admiration and eſteem of all the World, did in a particular manner challenge their thankfulneſs and acknowledgments. About this time the Gallies of *Malta* arrived at *Candia*, where ſome diſpute ariſing touching the place of precedence in the Fleet, which the *Venetians* denied to them: they departed thence with ſome diſſatisfaction, and returned to the Weſtward to tranſport the young Empreſs out of *Spain* into *Italy*.

1666.

And now intelligence coming to *Candia* by divers Letters, that the Great Vizier was departed from *Adrianople* with a numerous Army, and was already arrived at *Thebes*, where a general Rendezvous was appointed of the whole Army, with reſolution to be tranſported from *Malvoiſin* to that Iſland; the *Venetian* Generals and Commanders in chief concluded it neceſſary, if poſſible, to hinder their paſſage, and rather to fight them at Sea, which was their more propitious Element, than to attend their Landing, where they would be forced to diſpute with unequal numbers, and on diſadvantageous terms. Accordingly the Captain-General reinforced his Fleet with two thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe under the Command of Count *Licinio Martinoni*, appointing the Rendezvous to be at *Argentiera*, to which place alſo Marqueſs *Villa* repaired, touching by the way at *Milo* for refreſhment of his Horſe, it being an Iſland abounding with Herbage; the Captain-General being for ſome days detained at *Standia* by contrary Winds, a Conſultation was held for the more advantageous management of the War; after which the whole Fleet making Sail, was on *Auguſt* the ninth ſcattered by a furious ſtorm, and not being able to recover *Santoxini*, they by good fortune fetched *Stampalia*, an Iſland abounding with generous Wines, excellent Fruit, Partridges, and other Proviſions; at length after various fortunes arriving at *Andra*, which is a great and populous Iſland, another Council of War was held, where it was again concluded, That all care was to be taken to intercept the Succours which the Enemy daily ſent to *Candia*; to which end the Cavalier *Grimani*, Captain of the Galleons, was ordered to cruiſe about the Coaſt; and hearing that twelve *Turkiſh* Ships were lading Proviſions in the Gulf

The Great Vizier arrives at *Thebes*.

of

1666. Twelve *Turkiſh* Veſſels taken.

of *Milo*, he repaired thither, and had the good fortune to take them with all their lading; but the other Squadrons miſſed of the like ſucceſs; for notwithſtanding the care and vigilance which was uſed, all matters ſeemed to ſucceed proſperous for the *Turks*, and adverſe to the Chriſtians; the deſigns of the firſt having an iſſue agreeable to their intentions, whilſt thoſe of the latter were always diſappointed either by Nature or by Fortune, or rather by that ſecret hand of Providence, which had allotted that Iſland for a Prize to the *Ottoman* Arms.

By this time the *Turkiſh* Army being at their Rendezvous at *Thebes*, the Great Vizier prepared to imbark; and conſidering the difficulty of the paſſage, thought it prudent firſt to make new Propoſitions to Signior *Ballarino* before he entred on this hazardous attempt, ſuppoſing perhaps, that the rumour of this March might have affrighted the *Venetians* to a Surrender of that Kingdom, that they might ſpare the blood and charge of that War which afterwards enſued: wherefore *Ballarino* being called from his Houſe at *Conſtantinople*, began his Journey towards *Thebes* on the twentyfifth of *Auguſt*, accompanied by a Capugibaſhee, and three Janizaries: and in twenty three days arriving at *Theſſalonica*, now called *Salonica*, he fell ſick of a violent Feaver, cauſed by that agitation of body in his Travels to which he was unaccuſtomed, and for want of that ſleep which he uſed to take after his ſlender dinner, paſſing the reſt of the day and night in continual watchings: at firſt he felt only ſome little alterations, which he hoping might paſs over, reſolved to proceed on his Journey notwithſtanding the perſwaſions to the contrary of Signior *Patavino* his Secretary, with whom I was well acquainted, and ever eſteemed for an honeſt and a worthy Perſon: but he continued reſolute to proceed, fearing leſt his delays by the way ſhould loſe him the opportunity of that moment of Treaty, which was impoſſible afterward to be retrieved; for in his Journey he would often reaſon in this manner: If I ſhould ſtop here, what cenſure would the World paſs on me? I may poſſibly excuſe my ſelf; but in the mean time the Vizier may ingage too far in his deſign, and fruſtrate all thoſe methods and foundations which I have laid towards a Peace: and then if I live, I ſhall be over-burdened with the reproaches of the World, for having abandoned the grand incumbance in its ultimate neceſſity, which is charged upon me, which will be a more ſenſible affliction than the agony of death. My ſickneſs will be eſteemed by many to be rather diſſembled than real. The dead man lives in the memory of his faithfulneſs and conſtancy, and the living man dies in the indelible characters of his cowardiſe and misfortune. Theſe were his own words.

And thus travelling forward his Feaver daily increaſed to that exceſs, that on the ſixth day he was forced to ſtop at a City called *Iſdino*, where having inſtructed Signior *Patavino* in what manner he ought to manage affairs, and recommending his ſervices and children to the favour and protection of the Senate, he paſſed to the other World, being honoured by a ſolemn Funeral at the publick Expence, and Interred in the Church of St. *Mark*, his Son *Domenico Ballarino* ſucceeding into the Office and Inheritance of his Father. The Senate underſtanding by advices from Signior *Padavino*, That the Vizier deſired another Envoy, 1666. qualified with the Character of a publick Miniſter to reſide with him in *Candia*, diſpatched the Secretary *Girolamo Giavarina*, a Perſon of good abilities, to that place. And at the ſame time the Captain-General *Andrea Cornaro* preſſing the Senate for licenſe to return to his own Country; his requeſt was granted, and *Franceſco Moroſini* was appointed to ſucceed him in that important Charge, and was accompanied at a time of ſo great emergency with powerful Convoys, and with Recruits of Men, Proviſions, and Ammunition fitting to carry on ſo preſſing a War.

The Vizier paſſes over into *Candia*.

On the Month of *October* the Great Vizier in perſon imbarking himſelf and Army at *Malvoiſia* with many Paſha's, and men expert and active in the War, paſſed over to the Iſle of *Candia*, reſolving by ſtrength and dint of Sword to force that ſtrong City to obedience, the main Bulwark of Chriſtendom, ſituated at the Entrance of the *Archipelago*; of the ſucceſs of which famous Siege we ſhall have occaſion to diſcourſe more at large and more particularly hereafter; in order unto which the Great Vizier on the laſt day of this Year, went in Perſon to take a view of this City, and having ſurveyed all ſides of it, apprehended that the Siege would be long and tedious; and therefore returned again to *Canea* to take thoſe meaſures which were requiſite for an Enterpriſe of that weight and conſideration.

In the mean time the Princes of Chriſtendom being for the moſt part either in that diſcord amongſt themſelves, of which the *Turks* have always made their advantage; or elſe living in parts remote, did not conſider *Candia* as a Bulwark to their Dominions, and therefore rendred little other aſſiſtance to the *Venetians* than good words, and vain wiſhes for their ſucceſs and Victory. The Popes Forces only under Command of *Muzeo Mattei* which were in *Dalmatia*, were tranſported to *Candia*, and five hundred Foot belonging to the Grand Duke of *Toſcany*, came into their places for defence of that Country. The moſt Chriſtian King in return to the Embaſſy of *Venice* performed by the Cavalier *Alviſe Sagredo*, remitted to that Republick an hundred thouſand Crowns, and Cardinal *Barberini* at his expence ſupplied four thouſand Meaſures of Corn. But the preſent Conjuncture did not ſeem to ſmile on the *Venetians*, for all the Gallies belonging to *Spain* and *Italy*, as well as thoſe of *Malta*, were employed in the Tranſportation of the new Empreſs *Margerita* of *Auſtria*. The Pope was infirm, and diſtracted with his own Domeſtick Affairs. The Emperor was a young Bridegroom, and beſides the Diverſion which a Wife gave him from Cares, he apprehended that he might ſpeedily receive ſome diſturbance from the Princes of the *Rhine*, and from *Sweden* in the Dukedom of *Bremen*. The King of *Spain* was a Child of five years old, labouring at the ſame time under a War with *Portugal*, and threatned by the more powerful Arms of *France*, on the pretence of *Flanders*. Beſides all which, the *Turks* were as well in quietneſs amongſt themſelves, as they were at peace with all other Princes; ſo that we may expect that the force and power of the *Ottoman* Empire ſhould now be turned, like a Torrent, to overwhelm this ſpot of Land, which ſeemed to be ſo ſituated, as well to reſiſt the Waves of the Seas, as the Inundation of this mighty and Martial People.

Anno

1667.

Anno 1667. *Hegeira* 1078.

AT the Beginning of this year the Winter and Cold which chilled and benumbed the Earth, encreaſed the heat, and gave vigour and action to the Tartars, who made ſuch an unexpected incurſion into *Poland*, that they carried with them near a hundred thouſand captived Souls, as they were numbred before *Jaſh*, in their return home. The Polanders, awakened hereat, but ill adviſed, reſolved on a Treaty where there was more juſt cauſe for an open War, and in order thereunto diſpeeded an Ambaſſadour to the Sultan, to expoſtulate the reaſon of this breach of Peace, and require juſtice and ſatisfaction on thoſe his Subjects, who had, contrary to the Articles of Peace, committed ſuch actions, and outrages of open hoſtility; or at leaſt, that the Turk would not take upon him to abet the cauſe of the Tartars, whilſt the Polanders took juſt revenge for their late injuries. The Ambaſſadour with this Meſſage put himſelf in a readineſs, and with a retinue of about two hundred and fifty Perſons, begun his Journey towards the end of *April*, and on the ſecond of *May* croſſed the River *Nieſtro*, which divides *Poland* from *Moldavia*, where he was received by two of the Boiars, or Moldavian Noblemen, and thence conducted to *Jaſh*; where the Prince of that Country reſided. The Ambaſſadour expected the Viſit of the Prince, according to Cuſtom and Articles of Peace; but the Prince being either forbidden by the Port, or rather out of an ignorant ſtiffneſs and pride, omitted to paſs the Civilities of that Office, but yet ſupplied the Ambaſſadour with Plenty of Wine and Proviſions; which the Polanders enjoying freely, diſpenſed perhaps more eaſily with other neglects and omiſſions which concerned Formalities and Ceremonies.

The ninth of *June* the Ambaſſadour arrived at *Adrianople*, and thence was called to *Demitochum*, a City about a days Journey diſtant, where the Grand Signior, for the ſake of his hunting and divertiſement, remained under Tents, as the moſt convenient Lodging in that Seaſon of the Year; the 25*th* the Ambaſſadour had his firſt Audience with the Chimacam, at which thirty five of his Retinue were veſted with Coftans, nothing paſſing but the uſual Ceremonies and Complements. The 28*th* he had Audience of the Grand Signior; but firſt made tender of his Preſents as followeth.

By the number of Coftans is to be eſteemed the honour the Turks bear to one Prince above the other.

A Cryſtal Cup in a Caſe of Gold, adorned with Rubies and Diamonds.
2 Baskets rarely woven with a very fine Ruſh.
A Clock.
A Cabinet of Ebony ſupported with four Eagles made of Silver, in which alſo was a Clock with a perſpective Looking-Glaſs.
2 Silver Cups of conſiderable bigneſs.
2 Silver Flaggons.
A Gun which diſcharged twenty times.
2 Spotted Dogs.
4 Maſtiffs.
100 Ells of Holland.

The Poliſh Ambaſſadours Audience.

Theſe Preſents preceding, made way for the Ambaſſadours Audience, at which he declared, That the Commiſſion from his Maſter the King of *Poland*, was to make Complaints unto his Majeſty of the grand Incurſions the Tartars had made into *Poland* without any reaſon or cauſe of War; and that therefore his Maſter did expect from him, as from a juſt and vertuous Prince, a permiſſion for revenge, and ſatisfaction of his injuries, to enter *Tartary*, without aſſuming it as any ground of Breach or Infringement of that Peace which he held with him; or elſe that he would by his authority enjoyn the Tartars to reſtore their Captives, and their ſpoils, and render them a reaſonable ſatisfaction. The Grand Signior returned no reply hereunto, but referred that to be done by his Chimacam, ſilence being eſteemed ſome part of his Majeſty and State, which he ſeldom breaks but with few and haughty words.

1667.

This Ambaſſadour was a man of a bold and daring Spirit, a fit Orator for ſuch an Embaſſy, had not his immoderate Covetouſneſs, the Vice and Folly commonly incident to Old Age, much eclipſed many of thoſe Vertues of which he was Maſter. He was alſo a Man of a violent temper, feavered to a madneſs in the height of his Choler, which ſtrangely betrayed him to many undecencies in his Language and Comportment. For at his Audience with the Chimacam, when he came to receive the Grand Signior's Anſwer, his words were vented with that heat, and ſo like to menaces, that the Turks taking exception thereat, returned his courſe Speeches with the like Dialect, at which the Ambaſſadour ſwelled with that indignation and anger, as became not the Moderation and Gravity of his Office; adding in Concluſion, That he was an Aged Man, full of Years and Corporal Infirmities; that nothing could arrive more happy to him than a Death in which he ſhould triumph to ſuffer for the benefit and glory of his Country. This exceſs and intemperance of Language moved the Turks to ſet a Guard upon him, and confine him to his own Houſe in the nature of a Priſoner; which violation of his Sacred Office, ſo worked upon his Spirits, that he often vented ſome part of his fury in words and blows on the Officers of his Guard; for which rude behaviour having received ſome reproofs from the Chimacam, his paſſion not knowing which way to eaſe it ſelf, feavered him into a deſperate ſickneſs, of which in a few days, phrenſical and diſtracted, he departed this life.

The Death of the Poliſh Ambaſſadour.

The Secretary of the Embaſſy, being the next in Office, took upon him the Function and Charge of the Ambaſſadour, and having now nothing to act, but to receive the Anſwer to the Meſſage of his Maſter, for which a Day being appointed, he was preſented with a Horſe and Furniture by the Chimacam, of whom having Audience, he received no other ſatisfaction to the Complaints againſt the Tartars than theſe following, which were related to me by the Secretary of the Embaſſy, who did me the honour to make me a Viſit, when I was on my recovery from a dangerous Sickneſs, at *Conſtantinople*.

Firſt, That no compenſation or pretence be ever hereafter demanded for the late incurſions made by the Tartars into *Poland*.

Secondly, That the Polanders make not War upon the Coſſacks, who had lately renounced their ſubjection, and were fled for protection to the Ottoman Power.

Thirdly, That the Poles immediately make War upon the Muſcovite.

Fourthly, That the Turk Merchants have free Trade into *Poland*, and that the Turkiſh Merchants receive ſatisfaction for what injuries and loſſes they lately ſuffered.

With

1667. With theſe Propoſitions and Conditions of Peace, the Secretary was diſpatched, which did not ſo well pleaſe the Poles as to return thanks for them, or a Meſſenger with Advice of their Acceptance or Ratification; and though they could not but be ſenſible of the ſcorn and yoke the Turks would impoſe upon them, yet having ſtill remaining amongſt them certain Reliques of their former diſſentions and diverſity about election of a Succeſſour to their King, and there being a certain Spirit of Luxury, Pride, and Sedition which was crept in amongſt the Nobility, they conſidered not the advantage of the preſent time, but willingly preferred a preſent eaſe, and enjoyment of their Feaſts and Banquets, before the hazards and uncertainties of benefit, which they might receive by the doubtful lot and fortune of War; and though never any Seaſon appeared more opportune and advantageous to the Pole than this, when the flower of the Turkiſh Youth and Force was employed in *Candia*, and all places, in part, diſmantled of their uſual ſtrength and complement of Souldiers to defend their Frontiers; yet they ſeemed reſolved to paſs by the former Incurſions, and Spoils, and Robberies made on their People, ſo the Turk would but ſtop here, and permit them, without farther provocation, to enjoy their quiet, and debauched way of living: Only ſome of the Borderers on the Turks, who had deeply ſuffered by the late Incurſions, moved with the loſs of their Eſtates, and the Captivity of their neareſt Relations, joyned with a conſiderable number of the Muſcovites, entered *Tartary* in the months of *October* and *November*, and burned about three hundred Villages, carrying away Captives, and other prey, from under the very Walls of *Coffa*.

The Revolt of the Paſha of *Balſora*.

At this time alſo the Paſha of *Balſora* began new rumours and an unſeaſonable Rebellion, who being reported to have an Army of Horſe and Foot conſiſting of forty thouſand men, gave no ſmall diſturbance and apprehenſion to the Turks; who with their difficulties of War in *Candia*, and the jealouſies of a ſtorm from *Poland*, remained with ſome doubts and heſitancy about the way of their proceedings. At length Orders were diſpatched to the Paſhaws of *Erzirum*, *Aleppo*, *Damaſcus*, and *Darbequier*, to unite againſt the Rebel, to diveſt him of his Government, and to ſend his forfeited head to his Maſter. Theſe Paſhaws accordingly joining their Forces, defeated the Rebel; and as all Conſpiracies of open Rebellion diſtant from the Court, have had but ill ſucceſs in theſe Countries againſt the true Prince, ſo this Paſha was routed, and being forſaken by his Servants, fled with a few Horſe to the Protection of the King of *Perſia*. The principal Cauſe which moved the Paſha of *Balſora* (as I was informed from the mouth of the Paſha of *Damaſcus*) to this Rebellion, was the Confidence he had in his own ſtrength, and the fidelity of his people, to whom of ancient right, that Government was of hereditary Succeſſion, deſcended to him by his Anceſtors for many Generations: by which means he challenged ſuch abſolute intereſt in his Principality, that for many Years he refuſed to acknowledge the Grand Signior by any other tokens of homage, than in the bare name of his Protector, and in making Publick Prayers for his Proſperity and Victories. But at length the Grand Signior coming to impoſe farther on him, ſtirred his hot deſires into Rebellion, and to an open defiance,

About the beginning of this Year the Captain-General *Cornaro*, with the Proveditor of the Armata *Franceſco Barbaro*, returned to *Venice*, bringing with them one *Ramadam* a Sangiack of *Egypt*, and other Slaves taken by the Captains *Grimani* and *Molini*. The manner was this: *Ramadam*, with three and twenty Ships, laden with Men and Ammunion, endeavoured to enter into *Canea*, but being charged by the Venetians, and overcome, ſet fire to their Ship, and leaping into the Schiff to ſave their Lives, were taken by the Boat of *Molino*; and though fourteen Gallies came out of *Canea* to their aſſiſtance, yet they could not hinder the taking of five of their Ships, beſides ſeveral others which were put aſhore and ſtrand by four Malteſe Corſairs, who entered into the Fight, being called at a diſtance by the ſound of the Cannon. About that time alſo a Turkiſh Gally was ſurrendred by the Induſtry and Ingenuity of the Slaves, who having ſecretly boared ſome holes in the bottom of the Gally, and plugged them up afterwards, ſo as that they might let in the Water, or ſtop it when they pleaſed; it happened that the Gally being near the Rock, which is called *Polycandro*, they ſecretly drew out the plug, whereby ſo great a Flood of Water on a ſudden came in, that the Gally being ready to ſink, the Turks affrighted forſook the Gally to ſave themſelves on the Rock, leaving the Slaves in the Gally to ſhift as well as they could. The Slaves being thus freed of their Maſters the Turks, plugged up the holes again, and clearing the Gally of Water, rowed away, and delivered themſelves into the hands of the Venetians; upon which advice, the Captain General diſpatched the Captain of the Gulf *Lorenzo Cornaro* with two Gallies to that Rock, where they became maſters of all the Turks except two, who threw themſelves into the Sea, preferring Death before Slavery.

1667.

In the mean time the Duke of *Savoy* recalled Marqueſs *Villa*, who was his Subject, from *Candia*; the reaſons for which was attributed to an appearance of Breach with *Geneva*, the Switzers and the Valtelines, who were his Subjects, or rather to the ill Offices of thoſe who envied his preferment, being deſirous to have him recalled from a place of ſo much honour and reputation. In obedience to this revocation Marqueſs *Villa* taking his leave of General *Cornaro*, returned from *Candia* as far as *Zant*; where meeting the new Captain General *Franceſco Morafidi*, and being by him aſſured, That the Pope, and Senate of *Venice* repreſenting the difficulty of Affairs in *Candia*, and the preſent urgency and neceſſity for his preſence there, had obtained Licenſe from the Duke of *Savoy* for his continuance in that employment; upon which aſſurance, Marqueſs *Villa* took a reſolution to return again to *Candia*, being accompanied with a ſtrong Squadran of Veſſels carrying conſiderable quantities both of Amunition and Proviſions.

The

1667.

The Hiſtory of the famous Siege of Candia.

On the 27th of *April* the Forces from *Egypt* under the Command of *Meſſir Bey* appeared in the field, and on the 5th of *May* N. S. the General of the Janiſaries incamped on the right ſide of New *Candia*, that he might better view and ſurvey the ground near the *Lazaretto*.

At the beginning of the New Moon of this Year's *May*, being the 12/22th day of the month, publick Prayers being firſt made through the moſt principal places of the Empire for the ſucceſs of the Ottoman Arms, and ſo ſolemnly continued every *Monday* and *Thurſday* for the ſpace of a year; the Great Vizier firſt appeared before the renowned Fortreſs of *Candia*, and began the memorable Siege of that City, which for the ſpace of twenty five years preceding had been the ſubject to which the ſpecial care and expence of *Venice*, and the Art of the moſt ſubtle Engineers of the World, as far as humanely was poſſible, did concur to render it the moſt impregnable Fortreſs of the Univerſe.

The Town was fortified with ſeven great Baſtions, *viz.* the *Sabionera*, *Vetturi*, *Jeſus*, *Martinengo*, *Betlem*, *Panigra*, and St. *Andrea*; theſe were all incompaſſed with a large and deep Ditch, of which were the Revelin of St. *Spirito*, the Revelin of *Panigra* flanked to the right with the Half-moon of *Mocenigo*: next hereunto was the Revelin of *Betlem* bordering on the Work of St. *Maries*, which to the left had the Revelin of St. *Nicholas*, and this adjoyned to the Fortification of *de Palma*, next whereunto was the Revelin of *Priuli*, with the Redoubt of *Crepa-cuore*; and over all was the Royal Fort of St. *Demetrio*, which commanded the Work of *Molino* and *Sabionera* unto the very Sea.

Marqueſs *Villa* at his laſt return was chiefly intent to ſtrengthen the Fortifications, and repair the Out-works, eſpecially that of St. *Andrea* which was almoſt ruined, and the old ſubterranean Traverſes were ſo full of water, and the old Galleries ſo high, that the Enemy could eaſily paſs under them, all which he repaired and amended in a ſhort time. In confidence of gaining this ſtrong Fortreſs, the Turks demoliſhed New *Candia*, ſituate about two miles from the Old, which the Vizier now pointed out to them as a better Seat, and incouraged them to win and inhabit it; ſo that 14/24th of *May* the Turks incamped over againſt St. *Maries* along the Valley of *Gioffiro* with the ſound of their Drums and Trumpets, and firing great Guns and Vollies of Muskets. Their Forces at firſt conſiſted of about forty thouſand fighting Men, and eight thouſand Pioniers, but ſoon afterwards increaſed to ſeventy thouſand, and ſo for the moſt part were maintained during the Siege.

The firſt Traverſes began from the ſide of St. *Maries*, and were carried to the Sea, the Great Vizier took his Quarters over againſt *Panigra*, the Janiſar-Aga againſt *Martinengo*, and other Paſha's between that and *Betlem*. On the other ſide the Paſha of *Romelia* incamped againſt the *Lazaretto*, and *Catirgi-Oglé* Paſha of *Canea* againſt *Sabionera*, *Achmet* Paſha Vizier of the Camp, and *Zagargibaſhee* Major General of the Janiſaries, who had the reputation of old ſouldiers and good Engineers, were ordered to inlarge and lengthen the Traverſes on the ſide of the Half-Moon of *Mocenigo*. Quarters being thus aſſigned, they raiſed three * Batteries, the firſt againſt the Baſtion of *Martinengo*, and the right ſide of the Work St. *Maries*; a ſecond againſt *Panigra*; and ſoon after a third againſt the Half-moon and Bulwark of *Betlem*, from whence they continually thundered with their great Cannons, ſhooting Bullets of ſixty, ninety to an hundred and twenty pound weight.

The diſpoſition of the Turks Camp.

The Batteries raiſed by the Turks.

Nor were the Beſieged within leſs induſtrious or wiſe in the diſpoſition of their Affairs; for Marqueſs *Villa* took his Quarters at the entrance of the Bulwark *Jeſus*, Proveditor *Barbaro* at *Panigra*, the Proveditor General of the Kingdom at *Martinengo*, the Duke of *Candia*, *Franceſco Battaglia*, in the Fort of *Sabionera*, and other Officers between the Curtains of St. *Andrea*, *Betlem*, and *Sabionera*.

Things thus diſpoſed on both ſides, many and various were the valiant Aſſaults and Sallies, the Traverſes extraordinary, the Rencounters bloody, the reſiſtance vigorous, not known or recorded in any Siege before; which though they can never be fully expreſſed, or particularly denoted, yet I ſhould do injury to the aſhes of thoſe Heroick Chriſtians who ſo freely entred the Liſt, and on this Theatre of the World ſacrificed their lives in defence of Chriſtendom, ſhould I not ſignalize ſome of them of divers Nations for their Proweſs and Valour. And here pardon me, good Reader, if I come ſhort or fail in this relation, where many of unparalleled Valour and Vertue dyed obſcurely and unknown, and the numbers of others ſo great, that to ſpecifie them all, were to ſwell this Work to a larger Volume than the Book of Martyrs. Here was that Martial field into which remote Nations and unconcerned deſcended, carried thither by zeal to the Chriſtian cauſe, or by certain Principles of Valour and Magnanimity; ſo that though the War bore no other denomination than of the Venetian and the Turk, yet ſo great was the confluence of both parts of the World to this little Iſle, as if it had been choſen by unanimous conſent for a Stage to try the Title to the Univerſal Empire. The Town being thus beleagured on all ſides, but where * *Neptune* the Spouſe of *Venice* kept it open, the Chriſtians endeavoured firſt to diſturb the Traverſes of the Turks by a Mine of Powder which they blew up; but through the neglect or little experience of the Engineer, it being the firſt which they had fired, reverted, and did more hurt to themſelves than to the Enemy; the errour of which being obſerved, another Fornello was fired, which taking its due place and meaſures, ſo affrighted the Turks, as yet not acquainted with this manner and invention of War, that they began at the firſt onſet to be diſcouraged, conſidering that if the ground was unſecure and unſtable at that diſtance what abyſſes and chaſmes muſt there be prepared to make them graves under the Walls or entrance to the City. To ſecond and juſtifie this Gunpowder Plot the Chriſtians made two Sallies, one by the Savoyards under Command of Colonel *Profito Torſe*, who iſſued forth from the Revelin of *Betlem*, and made great ſlaughter of

The firſt Mine blown up.

1667/8

1667. the Turks with Granadoes on the ſide of *Panigra*; another was performed by Colonel *Arborio* and Colonel *Marini*, accompanied with Count *Bruraſco* Captain of the Guards to Marqueſs *Villa* who aſſaulted two Redouts of the Turks, and forced them to flight, and afterwards with ſome loſs retreated victoriouſly to their Works. In like manner Colonel *Frigeri* Commander of St. *Demetrio*, made a Sally on *Catirgi-Oglé* near the *Lazaretto*, and with ſome loſs returned triumphant.

Two Sallies made by the Chriſtians.

About this time arrived at *Standi* the Captain-General *Franceſco Moroſini*, who after ſome Conſultation diſarming his Fleet of about a thouſand men, entred with that Succour into the Town, and yet fitted out a convenient Squadron of Gallies and Galleaſſes to rove in the *Archipelago* to hinder the Enemies Succours and Recruits, which were deſigned for *Candia*. In this interim the Turks repaired the old Battery againſt the *Lazaretto*, and laboured continually in their Galleries and ſubterranean Works; ſo that by that time that the Chriſtians had ſprang five Fornelli upon them towards the point of the Half-moon of *Movenigo*, the Turks had advanced ſo well towards the Borders of *Panigra*, that they ſprang two Mines; but theſe being but the firſt proofs or eſſays of this kind of invention, reverted on themſelves with the loſs of two hundred of their men, and again fired a third with little ſucceſs: which the Chriſtians anſwered to better purpoſe, blowing up ſixty or ſeventy Turks. Wherefore the Turks made a farther tryal of two Mines by the Half-moon, rather to their own loſs, than to the damage of their Enemy.

The Captain-General diſarms his Gallies.

Five Mines the Chriſtians ſprang.

In all the month of *July* paſſed not a day without ſome conſiderable action, ſometimes to good, ſometimes with bad ſucceſs to both Parties; every day Mines were ſprank on both ſides, deſtroying the Lines, and overthrowing the Galleries; but the main force and heat of the War as it were concentring it ſelf towards the Quarters of *Panigra*, in defence thereof the Engineer *Caſtellan* as freely as couragiouſly proffered the uſe of his Art, and the hazard of his Perſon. In which whilſt he imployed himſelf, and endeavoured to cleanſe the Galleries of their rubbiſh, which the Enemies Mines had thrown down, the Turks threw ſuch quantities of Bomboes and Stink-pots into thoſe Caverns, as made the ſtench thereof ſo ſuffocating and noiſom, that two Officers were choaked or ſmothered that went to view the place, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Cavalli* and the Engineer *Caſtellan* himſelf were brought away half dead, poyſoned with Sulphur and peſtiferous ſmoke; to purifie which Grota, nothing could render the air more wholeſom, in expulſion of the preceding vapour, than the ſmoke of Juniper and burnt Aqua vitæ, which being made uſe of with good ſucceſs, the Chriſtians fired two Mines, which opened ſo dreadful an abyſs, as ſerved for the grave of great numbers of Infidels.

Attempts of the Turks on the ſide of Panigra.

Arrival of Gallies from the Pope and Malta.

During this time daily rencounters arrived the Auxiliary Gallies from the Pope and *Malta*, commanded by Prior *Bichi* and *Bali del Bene*, as alſo the Gallies of *Naples* and *Sicily* commanded by *Gianettino Doria* and the Duke of *Ferrandina*, of whom the Captain-General would have borrowed ſome Forces to have ſerved at Land, but their Commiſſions it ſeems or their courages were too ſtrait to afford any ſuch Supplies, being deſigned to cruiſe in the *Archipelago*; only the generous Chevalier *d'Harcourt* with ten other Camerades that were imbarked on the Gallies of *Malta* agreed to enter the Garriſon, having come with no other deſign from *France*, than to offer themſelves in defence of the Chriſtian cauſe, and in a time of Peace, when their Prince had no need of their aſſiſtance and ſervice, to give the World true evidences and proofs of the value and greatneſs of their ſouls. In all Enterpriſes this Perſon, worthily deſcended of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, was a Companion to Marqueſs *Villa*, and one day venturing on a deſign to diſturb the Enemies approaches, was ſhot in the face with a Musket-bullet; of which wound recovering ſome time after, he with his Companions returned to *France* having like Cavaliers Paſſant acted the parts of true Chivalry. But neither did the Prior *Bichi* Commander of the Popes Gallies, nor *Doria* Admiral of thoſe of *Naples*, act agreeable to the bravery of thoſe French Gentlemen; for they not only denied, as we have ſaid, to land a ſmall number of their men, but as if they came only to make them a viſit, ſent this ſhort Letter of Advice dated the 24*th* of *Auguſt*, in theſe words. *The Auxiliary Gallies are obliged to depart this night and to return to* Suda, *where they are to remain until the expiration of that time which is appointed for them in theſe Seas.* Prior *Bichi* likewiſe ſent word to Marqueſs *Villa*, That he judged it fit to depart, by reaſon that no action preſented for them to undertake: to which the Marqueſs replied, That he who ſeeks may find, and that ſuch opportunities never offer to thoſe who endeavour to avoid them. *Doria* alſo, to colour his excuſes, ſaid, That his Orders were not to land men, unleſs the Town were in the extremity of danger of being taken; to which *Villa* replyed, That he could not well be aſſured in what condition the Town was, ſince he never vouchſafed to ſet his foot aſhore, or conceived a curioſity of ſeeing the greateſt and the moſt famous Siege that ever was in the World. In ſhort, theſe Holy and Catholick Squadrons departed without contributing any aſſiſtance to the Chriſtians, incurring thereby the ſevere cenſure of the Commanders in chief, with the anger and diſdain of of the Souldiery.

Chevalier d'Harcourt.

The Venetians have always thought it Policy to maintain an Agent in the Ottoman Quarters, perhaps with deſign to afford them Intelligence, or to be ready to apply Terms of Peace in times of moſt urgent neceſſities. According to which Rule Signior *Giavarina* was ſent to *Candia* upon the Venetian Armata, now governed at Sea by one *Paſqualino*, with Inſtructions to treat with the Vizier, and perhaps to grant him any thing beſides *Candia*, though without this nothing could come either welcome or ſatisfactory to the Turks. Howſoever to introduce him into the Camp, a white Flag was diſplayed on the ſide of the *Lazaretto*; which when the Turks perceived, they flocked in great numbers to know the myſtery of this Signal of Pacification. And though nothing appeared, beſides a Letter directed to the Great Vizier, yet they hoped it might portend ſomething of Treaty, which in the end would produce a Peace, and a concluſion of their labours, before the Winter ſurpriſed them in their

An Agent arrives at Candia to treat with the Vizier.

1667. their colder Lodgings. The Vizier having read the Letter, had his thoughts raiſed as high as was poſſible in hopes of a Surrender; and therefore moſt freely ordered, That Signior *Giavarina* ſhould the Sunday following come to the Valley of *Gioſſiro* with what Attendance and Followers he judged fit, proffering at the ſame time a ceſſation of Arms and all acts of Hoſtility: but the Chriſtians who were not reduced to that extremity as to crave Peace, or a reſpite from action, kindly reſuſed his gentle proffer, which ſo inraged the Vizier, that in a fury he gave fire to a Mine on the left ſide of *Panigra*, which was ſeconded with that furious aſſault, that *Panigra* had been put into great danger, had not the courage of the Defendants been ſupereminent, and repulſed the Enemy with ſo great a ſlaughter, that the earth round about was covered with dead bodies: which action was ſeconded by a briſk Sally performed by ſome Knights of *Malta*, as *la Maiſon Neufve*, *de Langeron*, *de Clement*, *de Monroſier*, *de Charboniere*, and *de Blanbuiſſon*, though againſt the advice and counſel of Marqueſs *Villa*, of which the two firſt were ſlain, and the reſt returned with honour and ſucceſs.

The Turks aſſault Panigra.

At the end of this month of *July* the Garriſon received a Supply of ſix hundred Foot under Command of *Ottavio Abia*, a noble Venetian, who likewiſe made his entry more acceptable by twenty thouſand Ducats which he brought with him. At the time of his arrival the Chriſtians fired a Mine with good ſucceſs, but the Enemy had prepared another in revenge, which took ſuch effect on the right Angle of *Panigra*, as broke the Counterſcarp ten paces, and filled the Ditch with Earth, on advantage of which the Turks came to an Aſſault, but through the courage of *Luca Grandis* Serjeant Major, and other gallant Officers, a ſtop was given to the Enemies fury, and they beaten off with conſiderable loſs.

And now for the preſent all Sallies ceaſed, whilſt both ſides carried on their deſigns under ground, thwarthing and croſſing the Mines, each of other; in which ſubterranean Travels and Paſſages, the Miners often met, and had frequent and bloody Encounters, thoſe that were ſtrongeſt robbed the Powder and Utenſils of the weaker, ſo that the Scene of War ſeemed to be transferred *ad inferos*, and to be carried on with more fury and violence in the Grave, or the other world, than it was in the open Air of the Cydonian Fields. The Turks becoming now as expert as the Chriſtians in their ſecret and hidden Traverſes, had penetrated ſo far, that on the 8*th* of *Auguſt* they fired a moſt dreadful Mine on the ſide of the half Moon, which made ſo great a Breach in that work, that eight men could march a breaſt; which ſo animated the Enemy with the advantage, that immediately in great numbers they mounted the breach to give an Aſſault; but ſupplies being timely afforded in aſſiſtance of the Guard, the Enemy was precipitated headlong, and overwhelmed with ſuch ſhowers of Musket ſhot, that the Retreat into their works was not only diſorderly, but the number of thoſe who ſurvived ſo few and diminiſhed, as gave proof how hazardous it was to attempt other more difficult and better fortified Baſtions.

The Turks fire a dreadful Mine.

Nor was the ſucceſs of the Turks leſs on the ſide of *Panigra*, where having made a Breach, they endeavoured to make good their ground under ſhelter of Sacks of earth, which the Chriſtians drew away from them with long iron hooks, which was ſuch a piece of ſport to the beſieged to ſee their Enemies diſmantled of their ſhelter, and lye open to their ſhot, that a young Page of Marqueſs *Villa*, called *du Clos*, venturing in this action beyond his years, was ſhot with a Musket Bullet in the head, and ſo haſtned to the other World covered with glory and renown. 1667.

There was ſcarce now a day which paſſed, that was not ſignalized with the ſpringing of ſeveral Mines both on one ſide and the other; moſt of thoſe made by the Chriſtians were ſeconded with Sallies, and thoſe of the Turks with Aſſaults and Stormings of one Fort or other. On the 10*th* of *September* Signior *da Riva*, a noble Venetian, arrived with a Recruit of five hundred Souldiers, and a great number of Pioneers, and the ſame day was celebrated, after the uſual manner, by ſpringing of Mines; one of which threw a Turk on the Fort of *Panigra*, and ruined the Galleries of the Enemy; the next day likewiſe ſeveral Fornelli were fired by the Enginier *Lubatiers* from the parts of the half Moon, and of *Panigra*, which filled up the Line, and ſpoiled the Redoubts of the Turks.

On the 15*th* the Chriſtians vigorouſly ſallied out with ſeventy Foot, under the Command of Colonel *Fechia*, and two other Captains from the Revelin of *Panigra*, who after a valiant skirmiſh, orderly retreated under the rampart of the Revelin; to which place the Turks eagerly purſuing them, were entertained with a Mine, and toſſed into the Air; which being done, the Venetians returned again, and were in the ſame manner encountred by the Turks, whereby a very hot fight began; during which time the Captain General, who ſtood on the Baſtion of *Betlem* to obſerve the motions of the Enemy, ſaluted them with a plentiful ſhower of Musket ſhot. In ſhort, after the Venetians had for the ſpace of an hour reſiſted the Force of the Enemy with much ſlaughter, they retired with good order into the Ditch of the City.

On the 18*th* Captain *Fedeli*, with a hundred Souldiers, made another Sally, but being wounded, he retreated with ſome loſs; which was retured again on the Enemy by a Mine which the Enginier *Quadruplani* ſprang with happy ſucceſs on the Quarter of *Panigra*; and on the ſame day the Captain of the Galleaſſes, called *Gioſeppe Moroſini*, arriving with five hundred men, and two hundred thouſand Ducats together with good quantities of Ammunition and Victuals, gave encouragement and relief to the City; with whom alſo came the Cavalier *Gonges* and his Brother, in quality of Adventurers for Honour and Religion. There was not one day in all this Month, but divers Fornelli and Mines were fired on one ſide and the other; and though the Chriſtians exerciſed as much military Art, Induſtry, and Valour, as men were capable to perform, yet the Turks ſtill gained ground, and daily advanced their works upon the Chriſtians; wherefore the Captain General ordered that a Mine and three Fornelli ſhould be fired; by which a ſmall Fort of the Turks,

1667. near the Counterscarp, was overthrown, with divers other works lately raised.

The Turks had such good success with their last Mines, that a Week after they fired another, which was calculated so well that it ruined the Gallery of Communication between *Panigra* and its Out-works, and threw the Counterscarp into the Ditch of the Town; For the necessary repair of which Breach, and clearing of the Ditch, the Governors gave immediate Order, and appointed a strong Guard for defence and protection of those that laboured; and to make better dispatch, a most ingenious Engine was contrived to remove and rid the Ditch of Earth, which whilst it worked with admirable success, the Turks, by help of a Mine, blew it into the Air, and shattered it into a thousand pieces. Howsoever, the Christians desisted not from their intended work, but still laboured with Baskets, Sacks, and Wheelbarrows to carry away the Earth; which that they might do quietly and undisturbed, the Savoyards and Sclavonians made a furious and desperate Sally, which continued for the space of two hours; and though in that time the Enemy had opportunity to collect their greater Force into a Body, yet the Christians were not put to flight, but retreated orderly, and in a fighting posture, though with the loss of several Officers, of which were Captain *Re*, and others. To revenge these mines of the Turks, the Christians fired two others as dreadful as the others; the first near St. *Spirito*, which being under the Enemies Traverses, performed its desired Effect; the second was on the side of the half Moon, which swallowed up two of their Redoubts; And on the third of *October* they fired four other mines on the sides of *Panigra* and *Betlem*, one of which consisted of six and thirty Barrels of Powder, and another of fourteen, ordering at the same time a furious Sally from divers places; as namely, Captain *Gambin* sallied from the Revelin of St. *Spirito*, Serjeant Major *Arasi* from under the Bulwark of *Panigra*. Colonel *George Marin* was ordered to assault the Redoubts which were opposed to the Breach, Colonel *Vechia* to attaque the Redoubts between *Panigra* and the half Moon, Colonel *Cremasco* and *Marini* to assault the redoubts between the half Moon and *Betlem*. Count *Brusasco* defended the work of St. *Maria*, Colonel *Inberti* defended the Revelin of St. *Nicholas*, and Serjeant *Motta* with thirty able Souldiers advanced to the farthest Lines of the Enemy, killing and putting to flight all before them. Colonel *Frigeri* Captain of the Fort St. *Dimetry*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Vimes* possessed several Redoubts; and in the conclusion all retreated in excellent order with success and triumph, to yield the Turks evident arguments of their fortitude and courage; and that the Town was still so well provided, as not only to be in a Condition of defending it self, but offending the Enemy.

The Turks spring another Mine.

Two Mines of the Christians.

Four Mines and a Sally of the Christians.

Yet the Turks were still labouring to countermine the *Fornelli* of the Enemy, and to revenge the former Plots; to which end they had penetrated to the most inward works of *Panigra*; but the Pioniers, employed by the Engineer *Quadriplani*, discovering their Gallery, entred boldly in, and drove away the Turks, from whom they took thirty two Barrels of Powder, and by that means for the present preserved that work, and the Lives of many Souldiers. 1667.

The 17*th* of *October* the Christians sprang two Mines, one of thirty, and another of five and thirty Barrels of Powder, which did the desired execution upon the Turks; which some brave spirits seconded by a bold Sally, amongst which none was more eminent than a Greek Priest, who moved with zeal to his Country, entered far into the Enemies Trenches, where having killed a Person of Quality hand to hand, he was returning with the Trophy of his head; but being in the way intercepted by three at once, he was unequally matched, and slain, and died with the highest honour imaginable under the Walls of his Native City.

Two Mines of the Christians.

Soon after the Cavalier *Verneda*, another Engineer, fired a Mine of forty Barrels of powder, which made the very City and Works tremble, like an Earthquake; for whereas this Mine should have taken its effect on the Enemies Redoubts, Providence ordered that it should take its passage through an old Gallery with so much violence and Smoak that it suffocated the Miners, Carpenters, and Masons, to the number of sixty men.

One Mine of the Christians.

Towards the end of this Summer the Turks at *Constantinople* and *Adrianople* grew big with the expectation of the happy News and Arrival of that messenger that should declare the taking of *Candia*, and the end of the Venetian War; to entertain which joy with the more readiness, they had prepared Lights, and Lamps, and artificial Fire-works to solemnize their **Dunalma*, and made publick prayers and procession of the youth of the City twice a week; but finding their hopes frustrated, and their joys from Month to Month deferred, their expectations became tyred and wearied, and growing almost ashamed of their disappointment, began to throw the blame of the miscarriage of their Affairs on the ill Conduct of the Vizier, and the sluggishness of their Souldiery. The Grand Signior also more impatient than the rest, dispatched away a Messenger with Letters to the Vizier, reproaching his cowardise and sloth; that being provided with a most puissant Army, and with all other appointments of War, should suffer the Ottoman Forces to be baffled and entertained in taking a single Fort for longer time, than formerly it had been in subduing whole Provinces and Kingdoms; and moreover charged the Messenger to bring him a faithful and true Relation of the state of all Affairs, and what was the real cause and difficulty that so long obstructed the progress of his Arms; but yet sent the Vizier for his encouragement a Sword, and a Vest of Sables, as tokens of his favour. The Great Vizier moved with this message, resolved to give some certain proofs of his industry and valour, and either to take the place, or else at least to convince his Master, by the knowledge and testimony of his Inquisitor, that the Work was of more hazard and longer time than was apprehended in the Seraglio. Whereupon preparations were made, and the time of assault was appointed chiefly on the side of *Panigra*, so that pressing valiantly forward, they planted six of their Colours on the ruines of that work; so that now, full of hope and courage, they adventured to descend into the Ditch, but being prevented by three

* *which is their Triumph for Victory.*

The G. Signior sends a Messenger to bring him certain information of the State of his Camp in Candia.

Mines,

1667. Mines, which contained seventy Barrels of powder, they were mounted in the air with so much noise and violence, that many Bodies were tossed on the Rampire of the Town, many of their greatest Redoubts overthrown, and Graves made for multitudes of the Assailants. This Assault as it began with great fury, so it continued for many hours; in which action Signior *Pisani*, Proveditor General of the Kingdom, was killed by a Granado. Howsoever, the Enemy was repulsed by the valour of the Christians, insomuch that the Turks growing faint were pressed forward by the Vizier, who, to encourage his Souldiers, promised an extraordinary reward of honour and mony to him who should but first touch the Walls with his hands. The hopes of riches and honour so pricked forward all conditions of the Souldiery, that the Commonalty desperately threw themselves at all, and endangered so far the raking of *Panigra*, that they had certainly possessed themselves of it, had not the Venetians had recourse to their last refuge of Mines, and blown the whole Work into the Air, by which perished three Pashaws, and great numbers of common Souldiers. And this for the present astonished the Turks, and gave a stop to the farther proceedings of this Assault. This proof gave an evident Conviction to the Grand Signior's Inquisitor of the strength of the place, and difficulty of the Work; and having been an Eye-witness of all, returned with dismal Stories of a cruel War, reporting perhaps, and it was related in the parts of Christendom, That this was a place where blood was spilt day and night, where Gallant Men had forgot to sleep, living in perpetual labours, enured to intolerable sufferings and hourly dangers, there being none secure either in the Church, in the house, or in the street; for Granadoes rained, Cannons thundred, Arrows flew, with stones like a Tempest; so that there was none in that place, but who quartered on the Brink of the Grave.

It now grew towards Winter, and yet the Vizier thought of no other Quarters than his Trenches, judging that if he should quit his station, the labours and progress of the former Summer would be lost, and the Work to be again begun in the Spring. Wherefore resolving to keep his Works, provided all conveyances to carry away the Water, and sheds to cast off the Rain, and warmer Tents for the Soldiery, which yet could not so artificially be contrived, but that the Camp was full of mire and dirt, tedious and troublesome to Man and Beast, and the Quarters of the Souldiery, so damp between their Banks of Earth, as caused Catarrhs, Fluxes, Feavers, and other Camp Diseases with much mortality.

The Winter causes all Action to cease.

It was now the dead of Winter, and yet Martial Exploits were as frequent as they had been in Summer; and though the great rains and flouds of water extinguished the fires, and made, as it were, a cessation of Arms, and of all acts of hostility; yet this interval of calmness and tranquillity the Christians made use of to repair the Palisade of St. *Andrea*, and the Lines of Communication within the Ditch. And because the main Bulwark was also shaken, and in some danger, all the Chiorma or Slaves of the Gallies were commanded a shore to labour in the reparation, and to make an inward retrenchment, which in short time, with admirable diligence, was perfected, and on all sides compleated. 1667.

The Turks in the mean time carried their Traverses forward as much as they could, for they were now entered into the very Ditch of the Town; and because there was no possibility to work in the Mines, by reason that the Galleries were filled with water, they attended wholly to employ their great Guns, and fire Granadoes, so that they raised a new Battery near the Work of *Mocenigo*, which began to batter the lower parts of St. *Andrea*, and raised another Battery on the ruines of the Revelin of *Panigra*, which being lower ground could not much prejudice the main Bulwark.

The Sultan satisfied with the Relation given by his Messenger concerning the progress his Vizier had made upon the Town, and of the hopes there was in time to gain it, encouraged him with a Letter of Praise, accompanied with a Sword, and Vest of Sables, the magnificent Signal of the Sultans favour. And now besides the Force of Fire-Arms, the Turks made use of Arrows, shot into the Town, carrying papers written in Italian and French, perswading the Souldiers to fly to their Camp, where they should receive civil treatment, and a secure refuge; which gave that encouragement to those wearied with the labours of the Siege and hard usage, that many of them made Tryal of the Turks entertainment, and escaping out of the Works, fled to the Enemies Camp, where they were cloathed, received Conduct Mony, and were permitted Licence to embark themselves for what place they pleased.

General Barbaro and Uvertmiller departed from the Army.

About this time the Proveditor General *Barbaro* and the Lieutenant General of the Artillery *Uvertmiller* having obtained dicence from the Senate, returned to *Venice*; the first was displeased; that Marquess *Villa* should take the precedence of him; and the other, because his opinion of making a general Sally of all the Garrison on the Enemy was not followed, but rejected by the Council of War, as a design pernicious and over-hazardous; for that the fighting with an Enemy more numerous than themselves, fortified in their Redoubts and Works, and hidden under ground in inextricable Labyrinths, was an Enterprise so rash, that no man wishing well to the Garrison, and of sound judgment ought to advise.

The Turks having in this Campagne fixed themselves well in a formal Siege, and gained ground, and many advantages on the Christians, of which the destruction of the Work of *Panigra* was none of the least: the Vizier supposed it a seasonable time to enter into a Treaty by the hand of the Secretary *Giavarina* who was there entertained for that purpose but he falling sick of the Camp-distemper dyed in a short time, whose death was soon after followed by that of Signior *Padavino*, who finished his days at *Canea*; the Plate, Money, and Houshold-stuff of both were carefully inventored, and by the justice of the Vizier duly accounted for, and administred to the Venetians. The Instruments of Treaty being thus taken away, the Captain-Pasha was dispatched to *Constantinople*, carrying with him four thousand wounded and sick men, and a Letter to the Grand Signior and Divan, signifying his resolutions to win the place, or dye under

The deaths of Secretary Giavarina and Padavino.

1667. under the Walls of it; and to that end desired them to send him such Recruits of men and supply of Provisions as were requisite. He complained of the cowardise of those to whom they had incharged the Convoys; that he wanted both Powder and Bullet, for default of which they could neither ply their great Guns, nor go forward in their Mines; that bread was so dear, that no price could be set to it; that his Souldiers by slaughter and sickness did daily diminish, so that his Army was reduced to twenty three thousand Foot, seven hundred Horse, and two thousand Pioniers; and in fine concluded with urgent instances to have Recruits of all dispeeded to him, without which it was impossible to gain the Town, or save himself. Hereupon Recruits came from all parts, both of Men, Ammunition, and Provisions, especially from the Frontiers or adjacent places, which by such vast evacuations were almost dispeopled, more particularly in *Albania* and *Castelnuovo* extraordinary Preparations were making both of Men, Horse, and Camels; and a report was spread, that the Grand Signior intended to pass over in Person to *Candia*; but this was soon disproved by his residence at *Larissa*, where he remained to render assistance more easily, and receive advices more speedily than could be performed at *Adrianople*.

Great quantities of Corn were also sent from divers places, particularly from *Smyrna*, where English, French, and Dutch Ships were taken up for that service, to the prejudice of the Trade, and damage of the concerned: some of which Vessels were taken in their passage to *Candia*, whilst others arrived in safety through the negligence, as was supposed, of the Commanders at Sea. And indeed the Turks plyed their business with that industry and diligence, that notwithstanding the Force which the Venetians had at Sea, their Recruits for the most part arrived safe, and Corn began to be so plentiful, that the Vizier gave a prohibition against having more imported; and in short, nothing wanted for prosecution of the War, which was carried on in the Winter, as far as the season or the weather would permit; so that scarce a day passed without something of action, either of storming or blowing up of Forts, overthrowing Galleries, filling Trenches, the particulars of all which are so numerous, that to recount them would fill a Volume, and are more proper to be related in a Journal than a History, in which minute matters ought to be passed by, and nothing but acts of greatest moment be recorded.

Howsoever great Actions at this season ceased for a while on one side and the other, only continual discharges of great shot and Bombocs were practised. And the Turks endeavouring with artifice to cover their designs, dispatched a Letter to the Senate of *Venice* by way of *Suda*, and thence in a Galley to *Candia*, touching certain Motives of Peace, supposing that Propositions and Offers of Accommodation would loosen the minds of the Officers, and render them less intent and diligen in their Affairs; on receipt of which Letter, though Marquess *Villa* replied, That he had as much power from the Senate to conclude a Peace, as the Vizier himself had from his Master, yet the Vizier would not treat with him, but sent a Letter which was consigned by an Aga at the Bulwark of *Palma* under the caution of a white Flag, desiring that it should be forwarded to *Venice*. About this time arrived to the great comfort of the Besieged the new Proveditor *Barnardo Nani* with five hundred Souldiers, and *Matteo Matheus* Sergeant General with some Recruits from the Pope, bringing with him three hundred Medals of Silver to bestow on such as deserved them, with Jubilees and Indulgences without number, and thus ended the Action of this Year. 1668.

Anno Christi 1668. *Hegeiræ* 1079.

THE Spring approaching, toward the end of *January* the Turks full of hopes to compleat their Conquest, vigorously in all maritime Ports of the Empire made provisions of Corn and other Victuals to be sent to the Camp, when occasion should require, and opened a door for Janisaries according to the Turkish phrase, the Formality of which is in this manner: The Cheif Officer appointed for that purpose asks severally such as come to be listed, Of what Chamber they desire to be; to which they making reply, That they will be of the fifth, sixth, or seventh, or the like, the Officer gives them a blow under the ear with the palm of his hand, and bids them repair to their Chamber, with which they nimbly pass away. But herein the due form and order of Janisaries was corrupted; for in former days Janisaries were educated in that condition from children, and from thence named *Yenisheri* or *Tyrones*, or the young Souldiery; but now on this necessity of raising Forces, ancient men, Fathers of Families with long beards were admitted, to the disparagement of that Order, and corruption of the exactness of that Discipline. Considerable Supplies also were sent of Beldargees or Pioniers; so that this year from several parts, according to the best computation, the Forces of *Candia* were recruited with a Supply of seventy thousand men, for transportation of which and of their Provisions, all Christian Ships were imbarged at *Smyrna* and *Constantinople*, several of which in their voyage to *Candia*, were intercepted by the Maltese Corsaires, and particularly a French Ship called the Arms of *France*, on which were between four and five hundred Turks, was taken, and in bording of her about an hundred Turks were killed upon the Deck: some other small Vessels (one of which was a Ligorneſe under English Colours) were taken. the French Barks which had in this manner lost their Corn, unadvisedly returned to *Smyrna*, supposing the excuse of having done their endeavours, and of being over-powered by a stronger Force was sufficient: But the Turks who judge of nothing well, but by the success, having gotten them into their hands, made them not only return their Freight, but satisfie theloss of the Cargason.

Formality in making Janisaries in these days.

In the Month of *March* the Vizier having intelligence of six or seven Venetian Gallies to be at *Fodile*, not far from *Standia*, under the Command of the Proveditor of the Armata *Lorenco Cornaro*, gave order to *Regep* Pasha of *Romelia*, who was Captain of the Souldiery, and *Durach* Begh, who commanded a Squadron of twelve Gallies, to weigh Anchor in the

A Fight at Sea.

1668. the night, and there ſurpriſe them: *Durach* Begh, though ſore againſt his will, doubting the truth of the report, yet readily obeyed and fitted his Gallies for the Enterpriſe. The Captain-General having intelligence of the deſign, prepared four Gallies in Port, and imbarked that night with a French Regiment and ſome Italians to the number of ſix hundred, beſides two Companies of the Guards, and one of the Proveditor *Nani*, under the Command of Colonel *Audré Facile* and *Montalto*, accompanied alſo with the Proveditor Extraordinary *Daniel Juſtiniani*, Commiſſary of the Treaſury of the Militia, with ſeveral other Captains and Officers; and arriving at *Sandia*, found the Proveditor General *Cornaro* newly entred there from cruſing the Seas with ſixteen Gallies, to whom having communicated the deſign, they immediately looſed from the Port, and arrived at *Fodilé* before midnight. The Turks having from the place of their Anchorage diſcovered two Sail, hoped there might be no more, and therefore came forth to fight them; but ingaging farther, met ſuch a number as evidenced the danger, and the little hope there was in other than in their Courage and Arms. The night being dark, the Venetians not to miſtake each other, carried ſuch great Lights on their Maſt-heads, as not only diſtinguiſhed them from the Enemy, but alſo directed them to give battle to the Turks, which they proſecuted ſo home, that they took and ſunk five of the Turkiſh Gallies, of which the Admiral commanded by *Durach* Bey was one; the reſt, though much ſhattered, and for the preſent unſerviceable, did yet by the help of their Oars, and the darkneſs of the night, find a way to eſcape: nor was this Victory gained by the Venetians in a Fight of ſeven hours without the loſs of two hundred Souldiers killed, and about five hundred wounded, beſides ſome Perſons of Quality and Command, *viz.* the Cavalier *Araſi Juſtiniani*, the Commiſſary *Franceſco Cornaro*, *Foſcarini*, &c. the wounded were *Georgio Greco*, *Lorenco Bembo*, and *Marco Balbi*. The Turks loſt many of their beſt Sea-men and Souldiers, beſides Slaves and others, counting on every Galley one with another three hundred perſons; amongſt the Priſoners which amounted to four hundred and ten, the Beys of *Cyprus* and *Navarine* with *Muſtapha* of *Anatolia*, and the Chiaus of the Paſha of *Aleppo* were taken, together with eleven hundred Chriſtian Slaves who were all freed, on condition that they ſhould ſerve the Summer following in the Venetian Armata. Of the Turks were ſlain *Durach* Bey, the Bey of *Coron*, and *Haſtaw* formerly Bey of *Coron*. The Great Vizier from the Camp could all the time behold the flaſhes of the ſmall and great ſhot, and by help of the Venetian Lights perceive the ſucceſs of his own Fleet, not anſwerable to his expectation. What loſs the Turks ſuſtained with Slaves and Souldiers is incertain, only an hundred Chriſtian Slaves were releaſed, and four hundred Turks captivated, and amongſt the ſlain was *Durach* Bey himſelf, a ſtout Sea-man, and a known Pirate, who from a ſmall Brigantine had raiſed himſelf to be Begh of the *Morea*, and to command four or five Gallies of his own. In like manner, and not long after, a Squadron of Venetian Ships were forced by ſtorm in the night to anchor under Cape *Spada*, where accidentally ſix Turkiſh Gallies were riding. The Sky being very dark and cloſe, the firſt Ship ran foul of a Galley, and ſo ſhattered and cruſhed her ſides, that being ready to ſink, the Turks forſook her, and run aboard the Ship to ſave a life which was to be afterwards miſerable and ſlaviſh. The others affrighted at the arrival of theſe unexpected gueſts, ſlipt their Cables to ſeek harbour in a tempeſtuous Sea; but the weather being too boiſterous for Gallies, one of them was caſt away, and about an hundred and ſeventy men loſt: the news hereof being brought to *Venice* by Colonel *Vecchia* with the Enſigns and Spoils taken from the Enemy, the Senate beſtowed the honour of Knighthood on the Captain-General, comforting the families of the ſlain and wounded with ſignal marks of Honour and Glory. 1668.

The Captain-Paſha put this year to Sea more early than was uſual, deſigning to make as many Voyages to *Candia* as was poſſible, with Succours both of Men and Ammunition; his deſign and work was wholly to avoid the Venetians, and to ſteal aſhore his Recruits; to which end he made ſuch expedition in every Voyage, that ſcarce could the Chriſtians have advice of his arrival in any part of the Iſle of *Candia*, before he was well forwarded in his return: yet his haſte was not ſo great, but one time having fifty three Gallies in his Company, he adventured to look into the Port of *Nio*, where he met four Corſaires or Free-booters under Malteſe Colours, commanded by two Brothers *Themericort*, and by the Knights *Verva* and *Brenton*: two of the Ships were on the Careen waſhing and tallowing their Veſſels, whilſt the other two, *viz.* the *Themericort* Brothers were on the Guard, being at anchor in the narroweſt entrance to the Harbour. The Turks ſuppoſed at firſt, that ſo formidable an appearance of their Fleet would affright the Chriſtians to a Surrender, rather than to contend on thoſe unequal terms. But it ſeems the Corſaires were more reſolute than was imagined; for no ſooner did the Turks approach, than the Chriſtians diſcharged their Cannon and Vollies of ſmall ſhot ſo plentifully, as cauſed the Gallies to diſpute at a farther diſtance, where ſhooting as it were at rovers with their long Caſhee Pieces (not adventuring to come to a nearer Fight) for the ſpace of eight hours made (as reported) about eight thouſand ſhot, with little or no execution; ſo that the Captain-Paſha made his ſign of Retreat, and forſook the Engagement, as being too dangerous and difficult an Enterpriſe. But better ſucceſs had the Turks the next month at Sea againſt Captain *Georgio*, an old and ſubtle Pirate, who for many years had vexed and pillaged, not only the Turks, but Chriſtians on all Iſles of the *Archipelago*: great fortune he had in taking Turkiſh Saiks and Veſſels, and ſome of them conſiderably rich, and when that prey failed him, or was ſcarce, he purſued his game on the ſhore, from whence he often carried men, women, and children into ſlavery, and oft-times had the fortune of conſiderable Booty. The Iſlands which lay open and ungarded were his common Rendezvous, where the men attended his ſervice, and the women his luſt. In this manner the Pirate paſſed for ſeveral years, have obtained unto himſelf a fame and terror with the Turks, and

The ſucceſs of the Turks at Sea.

1668. and riches at home: the place which he commonly choſe to waſh and tallow his Veſſels, was amongſt certain ſmall Iſles in the Bay of *Edremit*, anciently *Adrimetum*, oppoſite unto *Mytilene*, from whence he had as from a Thicket or Wood a view of ſuch Veſſels as paſſed the great Road towards *Conſtantinople*: theſe frequent ſucceſſes rendred him ſo confident and ſecure, that he ſtill continued his ſtation, notwithſtanding the Turkiſh Naval Forces, which in the Summer ſeaſon made their Rendezvous at *Scio*. But at length the Captain-Paſha with the whole Turkiſh Armata being at *Scio*, and with him three Ships of *Tripoli*, advice came that Captain *Georgio* had not forſaken his little Iſles, but was there careening his ſmall Fleet which conſiſted of two Ships and a Brigantine: hereupon the Tripoleſes were commanded out to encounter the Enemy, whom the next day they found ſo ſecure and negligent, that he diſcovered not his Foes before they were ready to attaque him. The Captain Paſha alſo fearing that the Tripoleſes were not of ſufficient Force to encounter ſo valiant and experienced a Commander, both to make the Enterprize the more eaſie and certain, and to gain the reputation of that buſineſs to himſelf, went out in perſon with all his Gallies. The Tripoleſes had began to fire on Captain *Georgio* before the Paſha came in to their aſſiſtance, but it falling calm, and the Ships not able to joyn in a nearer fight, gave way for the Gallies, which being above fifty in number, overpowered the Chriſtians on all ſides; howſoever, the two Ships defended themſelves againſt all this Force, until the Captain himſelf being killed, his own Ship ſurrendred, but ſo ſhattered, that ſhe was ſcarce able to ſwim above water. This Ship being overcome, the Turks boarded the other, commanded by Captain *de Leſcaſes*, who ſeeing no remedy to avoid being taken, he leaped into his Boat, and blew up his Ship; howſoever could not eſcape his deſtiny, for having his Arm broke, he became a prey and a ſlave to his Enemy.

Captain Georgio taken by the Turks.

The News of this Victory was celebrated with ſo much the more joy, by how much this perſon was feared and hated, and was not only a ſubject of rejoycing to the Turks, but alſo to the Chriſtians, whoſe Parents and Relations this Corſaire had pillaged and enſlaved; ſo that the Inhabitants of the *Archipelago* for the moſt part were pleaſed with the revenge, and promiſed more ſecurity and quietneſs to their open Coaſts. With no leſs triumph was this News poſted to the Grand Signior, who rewarded the Meſſenger with two thouſand Dollars gratuity, and cauſed demonſtrations of joy to be made through the whole Court; ſo dreadful was grown the Name of ſo inconſiderable a perſon, in reſpect of the greatneſs of the Ottoman Empire.

But the ſucceſs of this advantage did not heighten the courage of the Captain Paſha to that pitch, as to make him more bold with the Venetian Armata; for in the month of *July* having great Recruits of Men and Proviſions to land, and hearing that the Venetians lay before *Canea*, having fortified a Rock, called St. *Todoro*, at the mouth of that Port, he reſolved for *Retimo*; but purſuits, or intelligence of the Enemies being in the way, or his own fears ſtill prevented him, until at length he was forced to *Gira-Petra*, a ſmall and obſcure place, far diſtant from the City of *Candia*, and the way thither by land rocky, and almoſt unpaſſable for Beaſts of Burden; howſoever, the Men and Ammunition were there landed with that haſte and expedition, that in leſs than thirty hours time the Captain Paſha was again upon his return for *Scio*, leaving the Souldiery, and the Ammunition he had diſbarked to find a paſſage through the Rocks and Mountains: At which the Vizier was ſo diſpleaſed, that he ſent the Captain Paſha this Meſſage, That the next time he ſhould forbear to bring farther ſupplies, until he could find a more commodious Port wherein to land them.

1668.

In this manner the Marine Affairs paſſed this year at Sea, the Turkiſh Fleet having, beſides other ſuccours, tranſported *Ibrahim* Paſha of *Damaſcus* with eight hundred Spahees unto *Candia*, whom we mentioned formerly to have been Paſha of Grand *Cairo*, and married to the Grand Signior's Siſter; and being one with whom I had a former acquaintance, and who was a great friend to the Engliſh Nation, I made him a viſit as he paſſed through *Smyrna*.

Whilſt theſe matters were tranſacting at Sea, on the *7th* of *January* arrived the new Proveditor General *Bernardo Nani*, and Sergeant General *Muteo Matei* with five hundred Foot, ſent by the Pope, who gave Licence for deſtruction of ſome Monaſteries, whoſe Orders were judged leſs neceſſary in the Venetian State, that their Revenue might be applied to the ſervice of this War; after Arrival of which ſuccours, a general Muſter was made of the whole Garriſon, and the number thereof reckoned to amount unto eight thouſand fighting Men; though ſoon afterwards continual action and exploits of War decimated the number, and many of the brave Commanders being taken off, every tenth man periſhed, and rendred the place in a condition which required continual ſupplies.

For many and various were the attempts and actions performed on both ſides under the Walls of *Candia*; and firſt the Turks began to make appear a Battery which they had raiſed on the ſide of the *Lazaretto*, which ſo offended the Port, that there was no harbour or acceſs for Veſſels. On the contrary to which, by the Fort of St. *Andrea* another Battery was raiſed, which offended *Tramata* very much, which was another ſmall harbour, capable only to receive Boats or Barks; the paſſage to which was ſo annoyed now by the Enemies Cannon, that no Veſſel could go in or out, unleſs in the Night, and that too with ſome difficulty and danger.

The Turks reſolve to make their paſſage by St Andrea.

The Turks gaining advantage on the ſide of St. *Andrea*, applied their whole ſtrength and diligence to that part; and one dark Night paſſing undiſcovered along the Seas, they ſilently fixed a Cord to the Paliſade of St. *Andrea*, and with an Engine ſtrained it ſo violently, that they tore away ſeveral of the main Stakes of the Work without being perceived by the Centinels, who paid for that neglect with the price of their lives; upon which ſucceſs they continued to advance their lines on that ſide, which Marqueſs *Villa* perceiving, reſolved to hinder by ſome valiant ſallies. And firſt two hundred brave men ſelected out of ſeveral Regiments,

1668. giments, conducted by Sergeant Major *Motta*, issued out from *Panigra*, and taking their way along the Sea, bravely mixed with the Turks, and put them to flight; and though the Alarm thereof brought a Concourse of Turks from all parts of the Camp, yet the Christians stood so stoutly to it, that they struck a terror to their Enemies, and once forced them to a Retreat within their Trenches; and at length, after they had overthrown certain Redoubts and Traverses, they gave back with good order, returning with Victory and Glory; which bravery the Captain General acknowledged to all, and encouraged in the common Souldiery with a Present of fifty Zechins. This success gave the besieged opportunity to finish their Platforms which they had raised on the side of the Ditch adjoining to the Bulwark of St. *Andrea*, on which they planted two pieces of Cannon which carried fifty pound Bullet a piece; which much disturbed the Enemies Traverses: Howsoever, the Turks with indefatigable pains, and invincible patience battered the little Tower of *Priuli*, the Curtain, and Revelin of St. *Andrea*, and employed all their power and attention to fill the Ditch with Faggots, Earth and other Rubbish.

A Sally made by the Christians.

On the 29*th* of *February*, after the Christians had first made a Breach on the Enemies Redoubt, which confronted the Revelin of St. *Andrea*, and sprang five Mines one after the other, a second Sally was made by a considerable Body of the besieged, consisting of two hundred French and Savoyards, three hundred Italians, two hundred Germans, and a hundred and twenty horsemen, who issued forth with that Gallantry, that driving the Turks under Covert, advanced far within their Works, with which Demonstration of honour the Captain-General being satisfied, they made the smoke which was a Signal for their Retreat; so that returning victorious without much loss, that day was remarkable, and numbred amongst the other days which were esteemed successful and fortunate in that Siege.

Another Sally.

Howsoever, the Turks with admirable patience and assiduity crept forward by their Traverses, and help of their great shot on the Bastion of St. *Andrea*, which whilst *Augustine Rostayne*, Adjutant of Marquess *Villa*, considered, he was taken off by a Cannon Bullet; and yet the Turks could not advance so fast, but that the Engineer *Maupassan* gave some retardment to their progress by firing a Mine, which overthrew two of their Redoubts, and afforded them new work to repair them and the adjoining Traverses.

This was the present state of the miserable *Candia*, when the Duke of *Savoy* recalled his Subject Marquess *Villa* from his honourable employment; and a Ship, called *Alexander* the Great, by appointment of the Venetian Senate arrived at *Standia* to transport him and his Family to *Venice*; so that on the $\frac{22}{12}$ of *April*, accompanied to *Tramata* by all the principal Officers of the Garrison, he embarked in order to his Voyage, whose place was about two Months after supplied by the Marquess St. *Andrea Montbrun*, a Nobleman of *France*, with whom the Venetian Ambassadour at *Paris*, by order of that Republick, had prevailed to take upon him the defence and protection of that deplorable City, reduced now almost to its ultimate Crisis.

Marquess Villa returns into Italy.

I cannot adventure to assign the reasons that might induce the Duke of *Savoy* to recal the worthy Governour from this glorious action. Some say, that those who were emulous of his glory procured his revocation; Others, that the Marquess himself desired it; and that finding the Forces of the Town to decline, and the Turks to encroach and penetrate daily into the innermost parts of strength, he was desirous, after so long a Siege, to return with untainted glory; or perhaps weary of a Siege so tedious and perilous, he might desire to retire, having performed sufficient already in his own person, and enough to make all Christendom his Debtors and Admirers. So that I cannot but reproach those tongues and pens, which in report and writings attribute the cause of Marquess *Villa's* retirement to certain just occasions of discontent given him by the Captain General *Francesco Morosini*, who, envious of his Fame and actions, and unwilling to have a consharer with him in his honours, did usually thwart his Counsels and Proposals; and more particularly contemned a Redoubt which Marquess *Villa* had built, and of which he had a singular esteem. Yet that *Morosini* might evidence the unsufficiency thereof, 'tis reported that he wrote a Letter to the Vizier, to assault that Redoubt; for if he did, he promised to afford him opportunity to take it, by withdrawing all Forces from thence; which Letter it is said, was betrayed to Marquess *Villa*, and brought to his hands, which he with great prudence and moderation dissembled until the hour of his departure, and then produced it to the astonishment and shame of *Morosini*: To this particular I give the less belief, because I find it wrote in a Journal of this Seige by a person who was a great Favourer of the French, and willing to share the intire glory to that Nation, and the miscarriages to the Italian. Whatsoever might be the motive to Marquess *Villa* to perswade his return, is uncertain; howsoever, it is reported, that being arrived at *Zant* in his way to *Venice*; and there meeting a strong Convoy bound for *Candia*, with recruits of Men, and plenty of provisions, he conceived new thoughts of the greatness of the Republick; and beholding also with what vigour and vigilance they attended to the conservation of that place, he began to testifie some remorse and dissatisfaction for having abandoned a Charge which rendred his Fame great through the World; and the continuation of which labours being crowned with that success which his courage and conduct merited, might have brought a Blessing to all Christendom, and perpetuated his honour and glory to all posterity. The Marquess being arrived at *Venice* was received with the usual Ceremonies and Honours from the Publick, and being introduced, after private Audiences, into the Colledge, he spake in this manner.

Causes of Marquess Villa's departure.

IF the thanks which I render to your Serenity, and to your Excellencies could equal the greatness of those favours which I have received from you, it would have been but an ordinary glory to you not to have infinitely surpassed the bounds of my acknowledgments, as you have infinitely outdone the ut-

Marquess Villa's Speech.

1668. *moſt of my Deſerts; Nor could this Auguſt Senate have been exalted to the moſt elevated point of Sovéragin Power, had I been able to render Services worthy of that generoſity which compoſed it. For as the affection of the Creatures towards God, makes excuſes for their wants and infirmities, ſo having a zealous deſire to contribute to the glories of this moſt Serene Republick, not only my endeavours, my labours, and my bloud, but alſo my life, and my whole being; I beſeech you to accept thereof as an attonement for the weakneſs of my abilities. This, my Lords, is that deſire which I have ever demonſtrated in all the wearyſome performances of my Charge under the generous Conduct of the Captain-General of your Armes, whoſe Valour I have endeavoured to ſecond and imitate. This is that Deſire which would have entertained me in the ſervice of this moſt Serene Republick to the ultimate period of my life, if the Command of my Prince, concurring with the Aſſent of your Serenity, had not enjoyned my return. I confeſs, that I ſhould feel in my ſelf an inward Conſolation, could I aſſiſt at the triumph of* Candia, *which I hope in a ſhort time to ſee victorious over all her Enemies; until when, my Lords, the honour which you have been pleaſed to do me hitherto, cannot but be reliſhed by me as a Comfort of my life. And what greater Glory can I imagine to my ſelf, than to have ſerved a Republick, which may be called the moſt perfect work of the hand of God, which being founded like the Firmament upon the Waters, communicates happy Tranquillity through all the World? I am able now to boaſt, That I have ſeen a City which of it ſelf alone is able to reſiſt the Puiſſance of all* Aſia, *and that I have proved and tryed the valorous oppoſition which it made againſt a formidable Enemy. I can (I ſay) glory that I have awakened in the hearts of your Souldiery, their ancient Valour, and that I have ſprinkled your Lawrels with my own Bloud; and it is but juſt that I ſhould diſtil it to the laſt drop for the ſervice of this moſt Serene Republick, which after ſo many Ages reſigns it ſelf up a Satrifice for all Chriſtendom. It is by your Armes (my Lords) and by your immoveable Conſtancy, that the City of* Candia, *which in former Days was eſteemed the weakeſt of all the Fortreſſes of* Greece, *is become at preſent the moſt famous Theatre of War. I dare not only hope, that the concluſion thereof will be happy, ſo long as your Serenity watchfully attends to the conſervation of that place, but that alſo this Auguſt Senate will extend their Conqueſts into the moſt remote parts of all the Eaſt. This would be, moſt Serene Prince, and moſt Excellent Lords, the conſummation of all my deſires, and alſo that I might finiſh my days in the Service of this moſt Serene Republick, towards which I ſhall for ever conſerve a moſt paſſionate zeal and an immortal acknowledgment.* 1668.

The Senate, that they might teſtifie the eſteem they entertained of the perſon of Marqueſs *Villa*, preſented him with a Baſon of Gold valued at ſix thouſand Ducats, together with a Patent recounting at large the many famous Exploits which he had performed in their Service, which they expreſſed with a ſtile ſo generous and obliging, as may ſerve for a Record to tranſmit the Fame of his Merits to all Poſterity.

Marqueſs *Villa* being departed from *Candia*, the Captain-General recalled all his Forces from divers parts of the *Archipelago*, which he had ſent thither with the Soldiers wounded in the laſt Battle; and being returned, they brought with them great numbers of Pioniers and Workmen to labour in the Fortifications and Mines: at the ſame time alſo the Capitan-Paſha arrived at *Canea*, bringing two thouſand Janiſaries withhim.

Marqueſs St. Andrea viſits the Works.

The Marqueſs St. *Andrea Montbrun*, a Gentleman of the French Nation, was tranſported to *Candia* by the General Proveditor *Cornaro*, where being entred into the Charge and Office of Marqueſs *Villa*, wanted nothing of the vigilance and circumſpection of his Predeceſſour: And therefore in the firſt place having viſited all the Forts, Out-works, and Retrenchments of the Town, ordered what was neceſſary for repair of the breaches, and amended what was deficient in the moſt diſtreſſed Fortifications. And though the Turks fired a Mine the 22*th* of *Auguſt* at the point of the Fort St. *Andrea*, which made a moſt dangerous breach; yet it was ſo valiantly defended, and ſo ſpeedily repaired, that the Enemy gained little or no advantage, and all by the extraordinary diligence of this Marqueſs St. *Andrea*, who paſſed whole months without uncloathing himſelf; and as his nights were without ſleep, ſo his days conſumed without repoſe, applying himſelf perſonally to all places where was moſt of danger, eſpecially at the Fort of St. *Andrea*, where he took up his conſtant Quarters.

The Turks now daily preſſing the Town more nearly than before, Skirmiſhes and Sallies were more frequent and more bloody; ſo that about this time the Proveditor General *Bernardo Nani* applying himſelf with all earneſtneſs in the performance of his Charge, was ſlain by a Musket-ſhot in his head; his death was much lamented by all, being a Gentleman who was born (as may be ſaid) in the Fleet, having had his Education there, and paſſed his youth in Wars and dangers for the ſafety and honour of his Country. *Girolamo Bataglia* was elected by the Republick to ſucceed him in the Office, whoſe death was alſo ſeconded by that of *Franceſco Bataglia*, Brother of the Duke of *Candia*, being ſhot in the breaſt with a Musket-bullet; and though he was ſent thither to adminiſter Juſtice to the People, yet his zeal and courage carrying him to Martial Acts beyond his duty, made a grave for him amongſt the other Heroes and Worthies of that place.

The Turk, approaching daily nearer with their Works, infeſted very much the paſſage of Veſſels to the Town, and ſhot ſo directly into the Port, that no Ship, Galley, or Bark could remain in any ſecurity from their Cannon; to remedy which, a ſmall Redoubt was raiſed at *Tramata*, which being well and ſtrongly fortified

ſerved

1668. ſerved for a ſmall Port, under the ſhelter of which the leſſer Veſſels found ſome protection, and was of great relief to the diſtreſſed City. About this time the Popes Gallies with thoſe of *Malta* arrived, commanded by *Fra. Vincenzo Roſpiglioſi*, the Popes Nephew, who having not brought a greater number of people than what ſerved to man their Gallies, they were not able to ſpare many for defence of the Town.

The long continuance of this Siege, and the fame thereof noiſed through the whole World, moved the heroick and gallant Spirits of our Age, to deſcend into this *Campus Martius*, this Field of War, and give proofs of their Proweſs and Valour in defence of the Chriſtian Cauſe; ſome being moved by a principle of vain-glory, proceeding from the briſkneſs of a youthful and aery Spirit, and others from the ſenſe of Devotion and fervour towards Religion: amongſt which none were more forward than ſome Gentleman of the French Nation, as namely Monſieur *La Fueillade*, *alias* Duke of *Roanez*, with the Count St. *Paul*, a young Cavalier; to forward which deſign, taking firſt the Licence and Benediction of their King, they appointed their Rendezvous at *Tolon*, where they liſted two hundred Gentleman, Cadets or younger Brothers, who went in queſt of Honour, and not of Pay, with four hundred ordinary Souldiers who expected their maintenance from the bounty of their Leaders. The chief of whom was Monſieur *La Fueillade*, and his Lieutenant the Chevalier *De Treſmes*.

Some French Gentlemen, Adventurers for honour, arrive at Candia.

Their whole Body was divided into four Bridgades.

The firſt commanded by Count St. *Paul*.
The ſecond by the Duke *De Carderouſſe*.
The third by the Count *De Villa Maur*.
And the fourth by the Duke *De Cheateau Tiery*.

When theſe Perſons of Honour and Courage arrived at *Candia*, they found the City hardly beſet, and reduced to a ſtrait and difficult condition; for the Turks were advanced ſo near to the Fort of St. *Andrea*, that the Souldiers within and without could croſs their Muskets, and reach Fobaco one to the other: howſoever this breach was ſo well repaired with a good Paliſſado fortified with ſeveral Bonnets, and a double Retrenchment on the Baſtion, it ſelf, and a third Retrenchment of ſquared ſtone withal, that the courage of the Beſieged being nothing abated by the many and furious aſſaults of the Enemy, the Town ſtill remained in a defenſible poſture, and ſtill capable with good Succours and Supplies to yield matter of imployment for ſeveral years to the Ottoman Forces. Theſe worthy Champions, as I ſaid, being arrived, moved with the ſenſe of Religion, and deſire of glory to themſelves, challenged the priviledge of mounting the Guard of St. *Andrea*; but that being already prepoſſeſſed by the Knights of *Malta* and other Officers of the place, was refuſed to them. Howſoever the Captain-General *Moroſini* was pleaſed to gratifie them with the Guard of a ſmall Chapel over that Baſtion on the right hand of the breach, a place of no leſs danger, and therefore of no leſs honour than the other; with which the Cavaliers being ſatisfied, Monſieur St. *Paul* mounted the Guard one day at ſix a clock in the morning, and continued there until the ſame hour of the day following; during which time he loſt his Major *Dupre* and Monſieur *De Marenval*, the latter of which had his brains knocked out with ſo violent a blow of a great ſhot, that ſome pieces of his ſkull dangerouſly wounded. the Sieurs *De Chamilly* and *De Lara*, who were near to him: and more maliciouſly did the Turks ply the ſtations of theſe new-come Gueſts than any others, throwing Bomboes, Granadoes, Stink-pots, and other ſorts of artificial Fire without ceſſation into their Quarters, notwithſtanding which, this young Prince and Monſieur *La-Fueillade* expoſed themſelves like common Souldiers, animating their men more with their example than their words. 1668.

And now by this time by ſo many Works and removals of Earth, by ſo many Traverſes and Mines under ground, and throwing up the caverns and bowels of the Earth into the Air, the ſoil became ſo brittle, crumbling, and as it were ſandy, and like aſhes, that it ſeemed not capable longer enduring of the Pick-ax or the Shovel, and was ſo porous, that the light of ſome Mines glimmering into the others Traverſes, eaſily diſcovered each others Mines, whereby it became equally a trade and cuſtom to ſteal Powder. Howſoever the Venetians ſo cloſely worked with thoſe Props and Arts, that they formed a conſiderable Mine, which on the firſt of *December* they ſprang with ſo much ſucceſs, that they wholly overthrew a Battery of the Turks directed againſt St. *Andrea*, and buried all their Cannon.

The Chriſtians overthrow a battery of the Turks.

But theſe French Gallants intended not from the firſt of their deſign to make this War their Trade, or the Town of *Candia* their place of habitation, but as Paſſengers or Pilgrims, whoſe ſouls are active, and hate idleneſs, to give the World ſome proofs of their Valour, and ſo away: wherefore *La Fueillade* their General preſſed *Moroſini* to give leave, that he and his Fellow-Souldiers might make a Sally, and enter into the Enemies Trenches, ſo as to yield a divertiſement to thoſe on the Walls, and perform that Action and Enterpriſe for which they had deſigned and undertaken this Voyage: of which ſome of them were ſo impatient, that they would not expect Orders for their Sally, as the Chevalier *De Treſmes*, who alone entred into the Enemies Works, and returned with his Sword all bloody; at which *La Fueillade* his Commander was ſo incenſed, that he reproved him with this ſhort reprehenſion, *I would as gladly ſee a Butcher as you.* Others by this example ſcarce refrained from the like; amongſt which Monſieur *De Ville Franche* drew a Turk by force from his Trench, and brought him to the foot of the Baſtion; but there he was forced to quit his Prize, for being ſhot in the Leg with a Piſtol-bullet, ſoon after dyed of the wound: By theſe examples the Commanders ſeeing it impoſſible to repreſs or abate the mettle of theſe vigorous Spirits, their bridle was taken off, and licence given to make their excurſion; ſo that all things being ordered and contrived for a Sally, before break of day in the morning they ſilently iſſued forth, and leaping into the Enemies Quarters, valiantly mingled with them, cutting and hewing down all before them; their Banner was a Crucifix carried in the Front by Father *Paul* a Capuchin Fryer, who little regarding thoſe who followed him, proceeded with his Enſign as unconcerned, as if he had been in Proceſſion; which ſo ani-

A Sally made by the French.

1668. mated the Souldiery, that like men conducted by miracle, they broke through the groſs Body of the Enemies Force: and ſo violent they were in their combate, and ſo intent to their buſineſs, that they neither obſerved the multitudes of the Enemy which came upon them, nor the ſignal of their Commander for a Retreat; until at length diſcovering their danger, they made ſpeed with ſome diſorder to return, having loſt an hundred and twenty Gentlemen in this rencounter, whoſe heads being cut off (as the cuſtom of the Turks is) were pitched upon the Pikes end, and ranked before the door of the Viziers Tent, amongſt which the head of the Marqueſs *Doradour* did beyond all the others draw the eyes of the Turks, who admired the clearneſs of his complexion, and fairneſs of the hair; which being breaded in treſſes for the more convenience in fighting, made death it ſelf beautiful, and was at the ſame time both his Enemies glory and their compaſſion. The French having thus evaporated their fury with this Phlebotomy, there not remaining above two hundred and thirty after this Sally of all thoſe ſix hundred brought into *Candia*, Monſieur *La Fueillade* with his reliques departed: at which time the whole ſtrength of the Town conſiſted of about ſeven thouſand ſtranger Souldiers, four thouſand Inhabitants, and two thouſand Savoyards, which was too weak a Garriſon to reſiſt ſo potent an Enemy, ſo formally and ſtrongly incamped, unleſs ſupplied with new Recruits. Wherefore the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lupenburg* mindful of their Chriſtian Brethren in this diſtreſſed Siege, contributed three Regiments towards their relief, conſiſting in all of three thouſand three hundred men. The firſt under Count *Waldeck*; the ſecond under *Molleſon*, and the third under Count *Radesfeld*. They made their Muſter firſt at *Verona*, and imbarking at *Venice* the 28*th* of *March*, on the 12*th* of *May* 1669. they arrived at *Candia*. Theſe valiant Souldiers deſiring to eaſe the long beſieged Companies, demanded the Guards of *Sabionera* and St. *Andrea*; which being by this time become hot and dangerous ſtations, were not diſputed with that heat of honour as formerly, but were eaſily yielded to the freſh and new-come Souldiery. Many now and various were the aſſaults which the Enemy made upon the Town, hoping to carry it by dint of Sword; but the Chriſtians unwearidly maintained their valour and courage, and particularly the Lunenburghers, whoſe gallantry deſerved its due praiſe and reward. Their General Count *Waldeck* whilſt he undauntedly incouraged his men, and openly expoſed himſelf on the Works, received a mortal wound, of which ſoon afterwards he dyed; but before he expired, he aſſembled together his Fellow-Souldiers, and incouraged them in the Holy cauſe they were come to maintain, giving them as a Farwel-Sermon, inſtructions, and perſwaſive arguments to a godly life, and having confeſſed his owns ſins in the preſence of them all, he reſigned his ſpirit into the hands of his Creator, leaving not only his own Forces, but the whole Town diſconſolate, for the loſs of ſo able a Commander.

The Dukes of Brunſwick *and* Lunenburg *ſent Forces to relieve* Candia.

Count Waldeck *dyes of his wounds.*

And now the time of year approaching, wherein the Town expected its ultimate Relief, and the Union of all the Princes of Chriſtendom for raiſing the Siege, which had continued for the ſpace now of about two years; the valiant Chriſtians full of hopes, daily animated each other, caſting their eyes to Sea-ward, promiſed a reward to the firſt Deſcryer of the long deſired Fleet. The Turks alſo being adviſed of the expected Succours, reſolved if poſſible to perform the buſineſs deſigned before their arrival; and thereupon made one of the greateſt aſſaults that ever was yet given to the Town, in which though the Chriſtians behaved themſelves with all valour imaginable, yet the Turks ſtill gained farther footing and advantage. And now it fared with the Town after every ſtorm, as it doth with a phyſical body after every acceſſion of a Feaver, which though it intermits for ſome time, yet it leaves the Patient always more weak and debilitated than before. Wherefore the Chriſtians increaſing in care and diligence, the Captain-General diſarmed ſeveral of his Gallies to ſupply the Town with what Force he could poſſibly contribute, and the Engineers imployed their brains for deſtruction of the Enemy, ſo that they fell again to their Mines, and ſprang one which took good effect; ſoon after they ſprang ſeven others, after which four more near the Revelin of St. *Spirito*, which blew up many Turks, ruined their Lodgings, and buried one of their Batteries: theſe alſo were followed by another Mine of an hundred and ſixty Sacks of Powder, which took its way between St. *Andrea* and the Revelin of St. *Spirito* with extraordinary execution and violence, throwing up that vaſt quantity of Earth and Timber, that it not only overwhelmed the Enemy in the neighbouring Trenches, but overthrew a Battery of three Pieces of Cannon, which the Turks had raiſed on the Revelin of St. *Andrea*: yet all this ſerved to increaſe the heat and fury of the Enemy rather than abate it; for they imagining this to be the ultimate force and the laſt blaſt of the expiring Fortreſs, plyed their aſſaults with the more fury and madneſs, preſſing forward the crowds of the Souldiery collected lately in Villages, and the Janiſaries newly created taken from the Plough to be matter and fuel for the Chriſtians Powder.

1668.

A Mine of an hundred and ſixty Sacks of Powder fired by the Chriſtians.

Winter now approaching, and the Vizier reſolving to quarter a ſecond year under the Walls of *Candia*, began to provide againſt the weather, and reſolved to lye ſtill until the Spring ſhould renew the time for action, but never intermitted his imployment of plying conſtantly his Batteries, and ſhooting Bomboes into the Town. In the mean time the Beſieged being animated by their new additional Forces, whoſe ſpirits alſo were high, and deſirous of action; the Commanders thought it not policy to ſuppreſs the heat and mettle of their courage at the beginning, but gave way to the Souldiers propoſition of a Sally, which was effected in the month of *December* with no bad ſucceſs. For the Chriſtians ſurpriſing the Turks unawares, little dreaming of any ſuch deſign, fell in amongſt them on the ſide of *Sabionera*, where they took a Battery, diſmounted and ſpiked the Cannon, with the loſs of the Duke of *Candia*, being ſhot in the breaſt with a Musket-bullet; of the Turks near three thouſand were killed, amongſt whom was *Benglee* the *Sampſongibaſhee* or Major General of the Janiſaries, and *Katirgi-Oglé* Paſha of *Canea*, whom we have already mentioned, and ſo returned with Triumph into the Town. This *Katirgi-Oglé* which ſignifies the Son of a

The Chriſtians ſally on the ſide of Sabionera.

Mulatier,

1668. Mulatier, was formerly a common Thief, who robbed on certain Mountains near *Amioch* in *Pisidia*, called *Ock-shaher*, which now have their names from him: and being a couragious man and fortunate, drew a considerable number of Miscreants from all parts to follow him in his Enterprises. His profession was not to rob Caravans or Merchants travelling in their honest imployment; but Knight-Errant like pretended to revenge the injuries and abuses of his Country by the unjust and corrupt Ministers, whom for robbing and oppressing the people, he esteemed it Justice and Vertue to deprive of their ill gotten Wealth. In which Trade he gained such Riches and Power, that at length he came to *Scutari*, from whence acquainting the Grand Signior of the abuses of his Officers, and his own course of living was upon promises of duty and submission received into Grace and Favour, and not only obtained pardon, but preferment. For the Grand Signior discovering in him a spirit of much resolution and bravery sent him unto *Candia*, and conferred on him the Pashaluck of *Canea*, in which on all occasions he comported himself with much bravery, dying at last before the Walls of *Candia*.

Katirgi-Oglé his original and life

Various were the Sallies and Conflicts the Christians made upon the Turks towards the end of this Year; one of which, after that foregoing, was made by Marquess *Villa*, who with a thousand two hundred men fell in upon the Turks Trenches, where he had so good success, that he brought back with him a hundred Turks heads, which he planted on the Walls.

The Turks also as they had made strong Assaults, and gained on the Fort of St. *Andrea* to the East, so they undauntedly pressed forwards on the Bastion of *Sabionera* to the West, with a Force of ten thousand men, having the advantage of three Batteries, each consisting of ten pieces of Ordnance. The next Night the Turks gave a general Assault with all their Forces to the Bastions of *Panigra*, *Sabionera*, and St. *Andrea*, and the great Fort St. *Demetrius*; but the Besieged were armed with all caution and vigilance against surprise, and with that Conduct and Valour, that they gave the Enemy three Gallant Repulses with much slaughter and confusion; but yet this success was diminished by the loss of the Count *de Mare*, an experienced Venetian Souldier, who after proofs of an invincible Valour, left his life in defence of the Christian Cause. But not long after the Marquess *Cornaro*, and the Baron *Spar* arriving with a Recruit of three thousand Men, as if they intended to requite the Turks last Assaults, made so resolute and so successful a Sally, that they left above two thousand Infidels dead upon the place, with a considerable number of their Officers.

The Turks storm three Bastions at once.

1668.

The State of Affairs in the Turkish Court, and other Parts of the Empire during the War in CANDIA.

BUT whilst we are in relation of the Wars abroad, we must not forget the proceedings of Affairs at home. The Grand Signior now weary of his repose and aboad in his Seraglio at *Adrianople*, and impatient of the delays in his Affairs at *Candia*, judged it as well agreeable to the present convenience of his Empire, as to his own humour, to seat himself in some place of nearer distance from *Candia*, than his present aboad; from whence by his presence and authority, his Army might with better expedition be supplied with all necessaries of War and provision. After various Arguments about the choice of the place, *Larissa* was fixed upon, a City anciently renowned for Antiquity and Plenty. And that the Court might not abound with unnecessary Attendants; the Queen Mother, and *Hasaki* Sultana, with all the Ladies of their Retinue, were sent to *Constantinople*, a policy perhaps to amuse the minds of the people, and afford them an occasion of discourse, and hopes that the Grand Signior himself might shortly follow. But before the departure of this Female Court, the disposal of the Grand Signior's Brothers was moved and questioned by the Janisaries, who having long since been jealous and doubtful of their safety, did demand, that the protection and custody of them should be committed to the Queen Mother; who willingly received the Charge, and gave security by Hoget to defend and preserve them from all private Treachery, or publick Attempts with the same tenderness and care as she should her own life, or the life of her Son. In this manner these Princes and Princesses departing, made a solemn and magnificent entrance into *Constantinople*. The chief of the Cavalcade was *Kul-ogli*, the Grand Signiors Mosayp, or Favourite, attended with a hundred and fifty Pages in Coats of Male, and Satten Vests; in one Coach was the *Valede* Sultana, or the Queen Mother, in the next was the *Hasaki* Sultana, or the Grand Signior's Queen, in the third were the Brothers, in the fourth was the young Prince, or the Grand Signior's Son, after came the Coaches of more ordinary Ladies attended with about a hundred and fifty black Eunuchs, in Vests of white Satten.

The Female Court sent to Constantinople.

The Janisaries jealous of the safety of the Sultans Brothers.

The Grand Signior also preparing for his journey to *Larissa*, pitched his Tents without the City; from whence one day viewing round the Camp from a Jardac, or Tent, elevated above the rest, he espied with a Prospective Glass a certain person taking Tobacco in his Tent, whilst a Slave rubbed his Legs: His Attendants not able or willing upon his Demands to inform him who he was, he sent an Officer to make Enquiry, who returned with Answer, that it was *Ibrihim* Aga, the Kahya or Steward to the Chimacam, and in effect Chimacam himself.

The Grand Signior displeased with Tobacco.

1668. himſelf, having a great ſhare in the mannagement of Affairs; but the ſmoke had like to have ſmothered him and all his Fortunes; for this Grand Signior, who is as great an Enemy to it as King *James* was, or Sultan *Morat*, would have made him the Sacrifice to that Incenſe, had not thoſe preſent interceded for him; who with the Chimacam's own mediation, and the coſt of fifty Purſes, or five and twenty thouſand Dollars, ranſomed his Life.

An Ambaſſador ſent from Venice.

The Sultan being arrived at *Lariſſa*, News came of the near approach of the Excellentiſſimo *Alviſe de Molino*, Ambaſſador from the Venetian Republick, with propoſitions of peace. But the Turks before they would admit the Embaſſy, or the perſon which brought it, to a nearer approach than a Days Journey from the Court, would be reſolved firſt whether he brought with him the Keys of *Candia*; To which it was replied by the Interpreter, That he was not able to give them ſatisfaction in that particular, being but a mean and ordinary ſervant, to whom the Secrets of State, and reſolutions of great men were not committed; his Office being only to render faithfully the words and ſence of his Maſters, and not to enter into the private thoughts and Cabinet of their Counſels. To which the Chimacam proudly and barbarouſly made anſwer, Go tell thy Maſter, that unleſs he brings the Keys of *Candia*, thy head ſhall pay for it. And that he preſume not in perſon to approach nearer unto this Court. So the Ambaſſadour remained at a diſtance for ſome weeks, and at length was tranſferred over to the Vizier at *Candia*; who being more ready to hearken to propoſitions, in hopes by ſome overture or other to hook in *Candia*, gave an eaſie Audience to the Ambaſſador, and controverted ſeveral Articles and Propoſitions with all freedom and patience. So that on the Venetians part, the Surrender of *Suda* was offered, and a Sum of mony in compenſation of the War. The Vizier on the other ſide would be contented with nothing leſs than the Surrender of *Candia*, and in lieu thereof to grant a Licence to rebuild *Paleo Caſtro*, an ancient Fortreſs. But the Fortreſs it ſelf of *Candia* being the prize and aim of both, nothing could be concluded without that; ſo that, the Ambaſſador in fine, declared plainly, That the City of *Candia* was maintained and defended by the Arms of Foreign Princes, without whoſe conſent it could not be reſigned; all the reſt of the Iſland ſhould be the reward of their blood and labour, only *Candia* was capable of no Conditions, but what were impoſed on it by force of Arms.

The Vizier, whoſe honour could be ſalved, and the glory of the Ottoman Empire maintained, at no other rate than the ſubjection of *Candia*, would hearken to no other terms or propoſals; ſo that the Treaty broke off, and the Ambaſſadour returned to *Canea*, there to remain until farther Overtures of an Accomodation ſhould preſent.

French Ships of War ſail to Conſtantinople.

It was now towards the depth of Winter when three men of War and a Fire-Ship, ſent by the moſt Chriſtian King, ſteered up the Helleſpont with words and boaſtings as full of Wind as their Sails; and being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, vaunting of their Force, as if ſufficient to ſubdue the Turkiſh Dominions, they uttered certain rumors, that they were come to revenge the late affront offered to their Merchants, to cauſe that mony to be repaid, which in late and frequent Avanias had been extorted from their Nation; and to renew their Capitulations with more advantageous terms. As namely, That their Cuſtoms from 5 be reduced to 3 *per Cent.* as the Engliſh, Dutch, and Genoeſes pay: That their King be treated by the Sultan with the equal Preſents and Gifts, according to the Cuſtom uſed with the Emperor; and that at all times interchangeably Ambaſſadors be ſent to reſide in each others Dominions; with other propoſitions which ſeemed as extravagant to the Turks, as they appeared to others vain, and to have no foundation but in the report of the Vulgar. 1668.

But that which was reported by the moſt judicious concerning theſe Ships, was, That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty being made to underſtand perfectly the affronts put on his Nation by the Turks; and not fully ſatisfied (as is ſuppoſed) with the reſpect they had ſhown to his Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, made it the chief Deſign of his Ships to withdraw him from thence, ſuppoſing it a leſs diminution to his honour, to have the perſon of his Agent ſubjected to affronts, than of his Ambaſſador, to which (it was imagined) he might be obnoxious, in conſideration of thoſe great ſupplies, which were in the following year deſigned for *Candia*. In what manner ſoever the Turks deemed of this appearance of Men of War to hector and brave them at their Imperial City, they did yet for the preſent cunningly diſſemble the matter, giving the *French* fair Words, and what plenty of Proviſions their occaſions did require. In what manner this Affair was tranſacted, I ſhall not adventure to relate, nor is it well or certainly known; Yet not long after came Orders for the Ambaſſador to repair to the Court at *Lariſſa*; and that until the Grand Signior's pleaſure was farther known, the Ships of War were to be detained. The Commander in chief, called Monſieur *d' Almeras*, was not a little troubled to have his Ships thus embargued, and labouring in his thoughts between the time limited in his Inſtructions by his Maſter and the reſtraint by the Turks, he once bravely reſolved to hazard his paſſage through the Caſtles; but protracting the execution thereof from day to day, even until the end of *April*; at length Licence came for their departure, and Orders to repair unto *Vola*, near *Lariſſa*, there to take an Ambaſſador, or Agent, or Envoyé from the Sultan to their King. For it ſeems, the Vizier had intimated to the Grand Signior, That it was not time to diſguſt the French King, and to bring him under the notion of a declared and publick Enemy, or at leaſt to irritate him ſo far as might provoke him to ſend greater Forces, than perhaps he deſigned the next year, for *Candia*: and that he ought to comply with the preſent conjuncture, and ſalve that up for a time, which he might afterwards open at his pleaſure. This counſel ſeeming reaſonable to the Grand Signior, and agreeable to the preſent neceſſity, he ordered (as I was credibly informed) a thouſand Dollars only to adorn his Ambaſſador; ſo pitifully do the Turks eſteem of Chriſtian Princes, and ſo highly do they value themſelves, as if a Meſſage from them would be reverenced in Chriſtendom as a favour, though brought by a Porter or a Slave. But the French Ambaſſa-

The Grand Signior ſends a Meſſenger to the French King.

dor

1668. dor conſidering this allowance too mean a proviſion for a perſon qualified to appear before his Maſter, did (as it is ſaid) out of his own Purſe and generous Soul contribute a far greater Sum, with two Veſts of Sables towards his better Equipage. In this manner the Sultan diſſembling an appearance of good correſpondence with his Chriſtian Majeſty, diſpatched away his Envoyé on the Ships of War, being a Perſon in quality of a *Mutafaraca*, one of the ſame degree with a Chaous, to expoſtulate with the King concerning ſeveral Particulars, and eſpecially his Reaſons for ſending for his Ambaſſador, without ſending another according to ancient cuſtom to ſupply his Office, wondering much at this ſudden alteration of friendſhip, without any cauſe given on the Ottoman ſide: and with theſe ſmooth and fair words the Turks imagined they might charm the Spirit of the King for a while, and miſpend his Succours from *Candia*, until at laſt it were beyond his power and wiſdom to relieve. In the mean time the Ambaſſador from the moſt Chriſtian King was detained as an Hoſtage for the other, of whoſe return we ſhall ſpeak in its due place.

1668. Towards the end of this year Sir *Daniel Harvey* Lord Ambaſſador from His Majeſty of Great *Britain* arrived at *Conſtantinople*, ſucceeding in the place of the Earl of *Wincheiſea*, who could not obtain Audience with the G. Signior until the end of the following year, by reaſon of the Sultan's unſetled abode and far diſtance; who at length coming to *Salonica*, ſummoned the Ambaſſador thither, and there conferred on him the uſual Ceremonies and Honours due to the Ambaſſador at firſt Reception.

Sir Daniel Harvey *Ambaſſador from his Majeſty.*

A Relation of the ſtate of Candia *toward the end of this year.*

Candia was now hardly aſſailed in four places, *viz.* on the ſide of *Betlem*, *Panigra*, St. *Andrea*, and *Sabionera*. Theſe places being twice ſtormed, in which the Turks loſt thirty thouſand men, ſo many Mines and Fornelli were fired, that the ground lay open like a vaſt abyſs, with ſtrange heaps of confuſed and undigeſted Earth, and hindred the Enemy from approaching to the Wall; but *Sabionera* and St. *Andrea* being eſteemed the moſt weak, becauſe they were not fortified by any conſiderable Out-works, or compaſſed with any depth of Ditch, were preſſed and forced upon by the Turk with more violence than any parts of the City. The Enemy having by their great number of Pioniers elevated the confuſed Earth, they formed ſome Batteries, fortifying them, and, ſheltering their people with Sacks of Wool, and a Labyrinth (as we may ſay) of Redoubts, they advanced foot by foot upon the Revelin of St. *Andrea*, being deſtitute of all Mines to ſtop their proceedings; and having at length blown up the Revelin, and with fire and earth having taken the Out-work, they penetrated into the Ditch (which was not deep) with four Traverſes, and came now to the very foot of the wall of the Bulwark, fortified with eighteen pieces of Cannon, ſix of which carrying fifty pound Bullet ſhot into the Ditch, eight flanked that ſide which was oppoſite to *Panigra*, and four on that part towards the Revelin of St. *Spirito*, notwithſtanding which they ſtormed the Walls in nine places. And beginning to make a breach by firing certain Mines, which opened a wideneſs of forty two paces at the point of that Bulwark; and continuing their breaches towards the Sea, breaking in their way the Front of the Fort *Priuli*, they proceeded almoſt to the Gate of St. *Andrea*, and opened forty eight paces more, in all ninety paces. Afterwards they ruined the remainder of the Wall, and that which was called the Scotch Fort to the very Sea, ſo that the Chriſtians were forced to retire from their Out-works, and contract their Precincts to the Walls of the City.

1669.

To add unto the miſery of this place, an unfortunate ſhot from the Turks Camp entred that Magazine which was near St. *Peters* Church, where the artificial Fires were made; and meeting ſeveral ſhells of Granadoes already charged, with thirty Barrels of Powder; all took fire and blew into the air, and burned all the houſes which were near thereunto. At this unlucky accident the Beſieged fearing a general aſſault, and ſeeing the Turkiſh Horſe draw into a Body near *Sabionera*, the whole Garriſon ran to the Walls; but no farther Attempt being made, towards evening they blew up a Lodge of the Enemy, with all the people that were therein.

Anno Chriſti 1669. *Hegeira* 1080.

TOwards the end of the laſt Year, and at the beginning of this the Turks began to open their eyes, and find themſelves defrauded with the groſſeſt cheat that ever was impoſed on a people who had either reaſon or humanity. For now three or four years had ran on, that the French, Dutch, Italians, and other Nations had introduced into all parts of the Turkiſh Dominions (unleſs in thoſe Eaſtward, as *Aleppo*, and farther) a ſort of ſmall Mony called by ſome *Luigini*, by others *Ottavi*, and by the Turks *Temins*, worth about five pence Engliſh; which appearing pleaſant and bright to the eye, and commodious for change, and common expences, ſo bewitched the Commonalty, that Pieces of Eight, Zaichins, and other merchantable Money were laid aſide, as neither currant or valuable. At firſt about nine years paſt they were of good and warrantable Silver, but afterwards with time by little and little grew worſe and of baſer alloy: at length the people doting more and more upon them, they came coarſer every day than other; and being ſtill currantly paſſable, every perſon that was failed, and of bad reputation entred into the Trade, who knowing no bounds of honeſty or of gain, compoſed their Mony wholly of Copper or coarſer Metals, with a fair gloſs and reſemblance of Silver, buying therewith the Commodities of the Country; and at length amaſſed up all the Gold, Silver, and whatſoever came to hand was the price of their falſe and baſtard Coin, with which they filled and abuſed all *Aſia*: nor was this Money only of one Mint, but of divers Stamps and Mottoes reproachful to the Turks, and it is pity they had not wit enough to underſtand them, as namely, *Voluit hanc Aſia mercem. De procul pretium ejus*, and ſuch like; which were ſo various, that many who had the curioſity to make a collection of them, found no leſs than an hundred and twenty ſeveral Stamps. The Commonalty ſtill enamoured with the brightneſs of their colour, and commodiouſneſs of their change, little reflected on the ill conſequence to the generality, having ſeldom more than to ſupply

The ſtory of the falſe Reaux or Temins.

their

1669. their daily wants. And the Officers of the the Customs finding a benefit extraordinary to themselves upon the vast Sums of Money imported, little cared how it fared with the publick. In the mean time the whole currant of Merchandise in the Levant was dispossessed of its ordinary and true chanel; for vast quantities or a glut of Turkish Goods filled all Christendom, the prices low and cheap, and no profit to any Merchant dealing upon the square, or upon the old and legal way of Traffick. At *Ligorne* and other parts of *Italy* complaints were made, That the Silver and Bullion of the Country were melted down to make a composition with baser Metals for *Turkie*, and exchanged for decaying and perishable Commodities. In short, no man seemed satisfied with the Trade, and yet the World, like their sins, which they disapprove, pursued it with all heat and violence imaginable. This Trade being thus over-laid, and vast heaps of adulterate Mony imported daily worse and worse, caused the Jews and other Merchants at first to except against some sorts, and admit of others. This scruple, together with the prohibition of them two years before by the English Factory at *Smyrna*, obliging themselves unto the Levant Company under a considerable penalty not to receive this mony for Cloth or other Commodities of the growth of *England*, together with the circumspection and contrivance of the English *Consul*, awakened first the blind minds of the Turks, who having long been infatuated with this beloved mony, began now to reject and abhor it like the false and farded countenance of a Courtisan: so that from eleven they fell to twelve, and so to thirteen and fourteen to the Lion-Dollars. In which conjuncture a Dutch Convoy arrived at *Smyrna*, importing vast Sums thereof; which for a Bribe to the Officers of the City, or what the Customer would ask, were permitted Licence to be landed; which overflowing in great abundance, and rather of a worse than better alloy, went declining to eighteen, and so to twenty, at which Rate for a short time they passed currant. And now at this price the Officers did what was possible to keep them up, conceiving it impossible, in a time of so much scarcity of all sorts of other Coins, that the Countries could subsist, or that Trade in buying or selling could proceed, if this mony should wholly lose its esteem and value: nor were the people so much the care of the Governours, though for many years they had known no other price or reward of their labours, as were the vast damages of the Sultan, in whose Coffers were considerable Sums, which were never known to have been placed unto the loss of the Exchequer; for it is a Proverb amongst the Turks, *That the Grand Signiors Lead cannot sink*. But that which raised most of tumult was the rigour of the Tax-gatherers, who refused to take that mony from the people for their Duties to the Grand Signior, but demanded of them Lion-Dollars, *Seuil* and *Mexico* Pieces of Eight, or the like; which they not being able to find, beat and imprisoned them in all places, where this question came into dispute: the people hereupon, though patient, and accustomed to violence and burden, could not yet support longer an oppression so unreasonable, but that Insurrection was made in all places where this came into dispute: and as injured patience turns to fury, at *Prusa* and *Angora* the torrent of the peoples rage was not appeased without the blood and lives of some of their Officers, alledging with good reason, That their Ministers and Governors having introduced or permitted this mony amongst them, and allowed it as currant in that manner, as that they had for some years known no other, nor received other for all the fruits of their labour or possessions, they ought not now to refuse to receive that which they themselves had made passable: which argument and reason was pressed in sundry places with that violence, that the Officers were forced to submit to the necessity of the times, and the fury of the multitude. And now this mony had wholly lost its reputation, and began to be refused generally at any rate whatsoever; so that though the Government thought fit to license them at thirty to the Dollar; yet the people prosecuting the abasement of it with a hate and disaffection equal to their former desires, refused generally and absolutely to accept them in payment. Wherefore the Sultan perceiving that the power of his Officers was not sufficient to render this mony longer passable at any rate, at length he commanded, that every one should bring in his mony of these sorts into the Mint where it should be melted down, and the Silver it produced should be delivered to the Proprietor. At which Summons several Great men voluntarily brought in their mony, others had it seized and condemned to the Furnace, amongst which was a French Merchant ingaged to the import of sixty thousand Dollars. As yet the News of this alteration not having reached Christendom, divers Ships arrived at *Constantinople* with vast Sums of this mony, which were all seized and forced to the Mint. In like manner other Ships arrived at *Smyrna* with the same Commodity, which my self would not suffer to be landed, and some of them having no other foundation of Stock or Freight, returned empty, to the great loss of the Employers. It was strange to see, how on a sudden all Trade ceased, no mony being left in the Country, few Bargains were made, but by Barters; and though all this ruine might wholly be attributed to the ill Government, yet the people were contented, and sate down with the loss. And thus concluded this extravagant Trade of false Mony, being supposed to have wrought more of destruction and loss at the end, than it brought of benefit at the beginning; memorable for nothing more than for expiring so quietly, though it had the chief part of the Turkish Empire to support and defend it. 1669.

During these Troubles the Grand Signior passed his time in hunting near *Larissa*, where he ruined the Country round about, and tired the people with beating and driving the Woods for Game and wild Beasts to divertise him, in which, as formerly, he continued so excessively immoderate, that without consideration of the heats, or colds, or moisture of the season, he compelled the people, but especially the Jews (of which great numbers inhabit that Country) to continual labours in the Woods and Fields; by which many died through the rigid Frosts of the Winter and Calentures of the Summer. But yet notwithstanding these Divertisements, the Grand Signior could not easily cast off the melancholy

1669. choly apprehenſions and fears he had for the ſtate of his Affairs, imagining that the long delays and ill ſucceſs at *Candia*, and defaults in Government had begotten in his Subjects a hate towards his Perſon, and a deſire of alteration. Wherefore the Spring approaching, he retired into a ſolitary but pleaſant ſhade amongſt the Mountains, where ſprang dool and cryſtalline waters, about ſixteen hours Journey from *Taniſſa*. In this ſolitude his melancholy thoughts again diſquieted him with a jealouſie and ſuſpition, leſt his Brothers now at *Conſtantinople* ſhould take their advantage, and one of them be by the Peoples conſent and aſſiſtance placed in his Imperial Seat: which imagination made that impreſſion in him, that he immediately diſpatched away a truſty and valiant Officer with all ſecrecy, without making any noiſe, to bring him their Heads, directing his Commands to his Mother, in whoſe cuſtody they were; not doubting of her help and aſſent, as being moſt nearly concerned in his intereſt, expected every hour the return of his Meſſenger with that grateful Preſent, which could only cure the torture of his jealouſie, and alleviate his cares. But no ſooner was this fatal Command arrived at the hands of the Queen, but ſhe trembled ſo much, that ſhe could ſcarce hold the Paper. At length conſidering, that (as hath been ſaid before) ſhe had given in caution to the Janiſaries for the lives of theſe Princes, and that to her care they were committed ſhe immediately diſcloſed and publiſhed the deſign of the Grand Signior to the Janiſar-Aga, craving his help and protection, proteſting that ſhe was reſolved to maintain the faith ſhe had given to thoſe Princes, whoſe life ſhe tendered equal with her own. This advice and reſolution of the Queen-Mother being brought to the Janiſaries, was heartily approved, and proteſtations given that they would never abandon her, nor the lives ſhe preſerved. The rumour hereof in an inſtant flew through the ſtreets; but with ſuch variety of reports, that nothing of certainty was known, only in general ſome great ruine was apprehended to threaten the City; whereupon a ſtrange outcry was made to ſhut up the ſhops, and every one to conſult the ſafety of the Publick. But ſome few hours after, it being more diſtinctly known, that the Grand Signior had ſent for the Heads of his Brothers; the People of *Conſtantinople*, whoſe ſole hopes of ſeeing the Royal City reſtored to its ancient Honour, was by the conſervation of theſe Princes, were in a greater combuſtion than before; for every one then betook himſelf to his Arms: ſo that in a ſhort time were aſſembled forty thouſand men at *Okmedon* well appointed, where confiding in the ſtrength of a general Cauſe, in which they were ingaged, they vented many opprobrious ſpeeches againſt the Government, calling the Chief Miniſters *Orſyſler*, which is unfortunate Fellows, a term amongſt the Turks, of the greateſt ignominy, eſpecially to a Governor, and loudly exclaimed and wiſhed for a reformation. In the mean time the Queen-Mother deſired aid from the Janiſaries, and Guards about the Apartments of the Princes, leſt the Boſtangees, who are the Creatures of the Grand Signior, ſhould aſſault their Quarters. The Conſultations alſo amongſt the Janiſaries were long and ſecret, and the Queen-Mother diſpatched ſeveral Meſſages to the Grand Signior, adviſing him to forſake the Mountains, and repair to one of his Imperial Cities, as became the Majeſty of ſo great a Sultan, being the only means to ſecure to him the eſtabliſhment of his Crown. And now the Reader will with impatience attend the concluſion and iſſue of ſo great rumours and diſturbances; but it is now, as it hath been experienced in other Commonwealths, *viribus, ut ferme talia, initiis, Encarſis fine*, matters violent in their original, ſpend themſelves at firſt, and produce nothing remarkable in their end. And ſo was the effect of theſe recelſes, and mutiny of the people at *Conſtantinople*, whoſe humour of novelty and change venting it ſelf, and in four or five days tired with expectation, at length every one began to return to his dwelling and employment. The face likewiſe of things at *Conſtantinople* ſeemed quiet and appeaſed, carrying with it, as it were, a ſtill modeſty and ſhame for the late diſorders; and nothing was heard or murmured for the ſpace of twenty or thirty days after, until the Grand Signior trembling with the fears of this confuſed Rebellion, kept more ſtrict Guards than ordinary within his Mountains, and after being better recollected, entered into Conſultation, and being adviſed of the Heads and Leaders of the late Inſurrection, proſcribed ſuch as were the prime Actors, and having diſpatched away two or three Meſſengers on this Errant, they entered ſecretly in the Night to their Lodgings, where they quietly, and without noiſe, took off the heads of four or five of them, and baniſhed as many without the leaſt noiſe, or notice taken thereof by the Vulgar. And becauſe this diſorder happened at *Conſtantinople*, for which the chief Commander ought to anſwer, the Chimacam paſſed not without a jealouſie either of negligence or conſent; wherefore the Vizier ſent for him and the Janiſar-Aga to *Candia*, as if he had occaſion of their ſervice, though not without their own fears and ſuſpicion of others, to anſwer and make ſatisfaction for the late mutiny. And thus for a while this Flame is extinguiſhed, and the fire raked up in the Embers. We muſt expect a while and obſerve when and where it will again burſt forth.

The Grand Signior deſigns to cut off his Brothers.

1669. The Spring now approaching, which ſupplies new Spirits, and warm and freſh bloud into the Veins of Man, as well as ſap in Trees, and life in other Vegetables; let us return again to the Wars, and ſurvey the Camp, and poſture of Affairs before the walls in *Candia*. The Turkiſh Army, which, like worms benummed with the Cold of Winter, had lain immured between their Banks of Earth, did not ply their Aſſaults ſo frequently as they had done in Summer, only for a Winters exerciſe, battered the inward Works of St. *Andrea*'s Fort, which as we ſaid before, they had hardly beſet. And now the time for action being again come about, they renewed their ſtorm on that ſide ſo violently, preſſing forward the leaſt eſteem of their Souldiery, that with the help of Spade and Mattock, and blowing up of ſome Mines, they penetrated forty paces within the Walls of the City. But the Chriſtians having long ſince forſeen the weakneſs of that ſide, made it part of their winters labours to draw another Wall from the Fort *Paxigra* (whoſe Revelin or Out-work was before blown up) croſſing over almoſt to the *Tramata*, which they fortified as well as could be expected, and

The Turks storm again the Fort of St. Andrea.

Tac. Lib. 6.

1669. made constant and bold resistance against the Enemy. Notwithstanding which, the Turks pressed so constantly and boldly forward, that though the Christians were strong within, and provided with all sorts of provisions both of war and sustenance, yet nothing supported their Courages and Spirits more than the expectation of promised Succours from *France* and *Italy*; it being reported, and generally believed, that they would be so numerous as might be able to give Battel in the Field unto the Turk, and force them out of their Trenches; for by no other means was it possible for this City to be relieved: for it might fare with this place, as it did formerly with *Rhodes* and *Ostend*, which, though wanting neither men nor provisions, were yet taken by palms and inches of ground, till not so much was left, as would hold men to defend them. A pregnant example (as Sr. *William Temple* well observes) how impossible it is to defend any Town that cannot be relieved by an Army strong enough to raise the Siege. Whilst the Christians were entertained with these hopes, the Turks fortified themselves without as strongly as the besieged had within, heaving like Moles with their numerous Army of Pioneers, whose lives being not valued, they were wholly intent unto Mines, blowing up all before them, in that manner that every day they gained a pace of ground within the City. So that in effect (as will be seen by the Sequel) this most impregnable Fort of the World was forced and taken by the Spade and Shovel, and by a Crew of unarmed Labourers, who understood nothing more than the Plough and Harrow. So that now this Town seemed to be reduced to its utmost Crisis, either of being taken, or for ever freed of this malignant Enemy. And indeed the Turks had so far advanced upon the Bulwark of St. *Andrea*, that now nothing remained of it, more than ruines, and undigested heaps of Earth and stone, in defence of which the chief Commanders applying themselves in person with all diligence, the Marquess St. *Andrea Montbrun* was wounded by a stone in the face, the Cavalier *de Bret* was buried in the ruines to the very Neck, and with difficulty drawn out of the Earth by Assistants about him; two other Cavaliers were wounded with Granadoes, and the Cavalier *Fuillere*, who carried the Standard of *Malta*, was shot into the Eye with a Musket. The Proveditor General *Carnaro* serving at the repair of the Breach, was so wounded in the Belly by a Granado, that his Bowels burst, of which he died in three hours; and with a piece of the same Granado the Count *Vignole*, a French Gentleman of great Valour, was likewise slain: And so hotly the Turks plyed this Breach, that from the 28*th.* of *May* to the 2*d.* of *June* they sprang five Mines, which brake all the Palisades of the Christians; the which the Turks seconded with that fury and mettle, as if they intended to win the place and make an end of their work, before the arrival of the Forces expected from Christendom. And this Post was now grown so dangerous and weak, that the Captain-General, the Marquess of *Montbrun*, and all the chief Officers took up their Quarters at this place, where his Excellency kept an open Table, and the Marquess took up his Lodgings at Night, that so the other Officers might have no excuse on account of attendances or orders to abandon these Quarters.

The Princes of Christendom all this time forgot not their besieged Brethren in *Candia*. Pope *Clement* the IX. pressed the most Christian King to make ready his succours in due time, who had already himself prepared all things, and elected the Duke of *Beaufort* his General of all the Forces by Sea, whether of French or other Nations. This Duke, like a courageous and brave Prince, thinking it little glory to command at Sea, where the Enemy was of an inferiour and unable Force to encounter him, did therefore desire Licence from his King to make tryal of his Fortune in the Field, where he might evidence his Valour in the face of the Infidels, and signalize his Fame either by Death or Victory. The King, unwilling to hazard so worthy a person of his bloud out of his due Command in the rank of an ordinary Souldier, at first denied his requests; but the Pope interceding for him, whose General he was, with holy Arguments, and devout Contemplations of Martyrdom, and glory of dying for the Christian Cause, at length obtained a concession from the King, who of himself was flexible to so pious a request, esteeming it unholy to deprive his Kinsman either of the Palm of a Martyr, or the Lawrel of a Conqueror. 1669. *Succours sent out of Christendom.*

The Summer being come, and all things provided, the Duke ascended his Ship at *Tolon* a City in *Provence*, the 6*th.* of *June*, *New-style*, with about seven thousand Land Souldiers, commanded by the Duke of *Navailles*, with the Marshals *Lebret* and *Colbert*, and several other Worthies and Heroes of undaunted Courage, and arrived before the Town of *Candia* the 19*th.* of the same Month, having casually encountred together in the Seas on the 17*th.* with fourteen Sail of Venetian Ships, laden with Horse and Ammunition to mount the Troops, and relieve the Town: which happy encounter and speedy passage, seemed a happy Omen of the future success. The appearance of this succour seemed to the Besieged as sent from Heaven, and administred unto them new hopes and courage; and the salutes passed between the Town and the Fleet with the usual Ceremonies, and all the imaginable testimonies of joy and triumph. *The French Fleet loose from Tolon.*

No sooner were they arrived than the two Generals, with other principal Officers, immediately in their Shallops took the best view and survey they could of the Enemies Camp, and the Condition of the Besieged; in which whilst they entertained themselves, they espied a small Vessel making towards them with St. *Mark's* Colours, in which was the famous Engineer Signior *Castellano*, dispatched by the Captain General *Morosini* with an exact plat of the Town, and disposition of the Turkish Camp, which being particularly viewed and considered, it was evident, That if the Turks should make some very forcible Attempt before the new Forces could be landed (as it was very probable they might) they would put all in hazard of being lost; wherefore the Captain General pressed to have some succours immediately supplied to be assistant in that case of extremity; To which the Duke of *Navailles* immediately consented, and landed himself that Night in person with sufficient Force to mount the Guard on the Breach of St. *Andrea*, whose first Retrenchment was continually battered by the Turks; and though there was a second Retrenchment in hand, yet time being required for compleating thereof, that part of the Town would be reduced *They arrive at Candia.*

1669. duced to its ultimate hazard; for ſhould the Enemy ſpring a Mine (which they feared was already formed under the preſent Work) it would lay all open and naked, without other Fortification. The Duke being aſhoar, was received by *Moroſini* with all demonſtrations of Civility and Reſpect due to a perſonage of his Quality and Employment; and with a welcome ſuitable to the preſent extremity of his Affairs: all Ceremonies and Complements were ſoon paſſed over, the urgency of matters not permitting them time to be long impertinent; ſo that falling into the Diſcourſe of the common ſafety, it was reſolved that the ſuccours ſhould be immediately landed, which was performed with that diligence and expedition, that in two days the whole Army came ſafe on ſhore, excepting only ſome few, cut ſhort by ſhot from the Enemies Camp.

The French Forces landed.

A Council of War held in Candia.

On the 23*d.* the Generals and other Officers held a Council of War, amongſt whom was alſo the Marqueſs of St. *Andrea*; and did unanimouſly conclude, that the Town was no longer tenable, or to be maintained unleſs by ſome extraordinary enterprize attempted on the Enemy, and by ſome furious Sally performed with reſolution, and ſtratagems of War, in order unto which it was reſolved, That the 27*th.* ſhould be the day of ſally both with Horſe and Foot, and that the Fleet not to loſe their part in this action, ſhould play with their great Guns on that ſide of the Turkiſh-Army which lay incamped on the Quarters of St. *Andrea*. All the Forces were landed on the 26*th.* and the whole night following was ſpent in preparations for the next days ſally: the Army being drawn up made four Batalions, the firſt called the Admirals commanded by the Sieurs *Martel*, *Vandre*; and *Gravier*; the ſecond was the Vice-Admirals commanded by the Sieurs *de la Monthe* and *Planta*; the third was the Rere-Admirals under Command of Chevalier *de Bouillon*, *Garbaret*, and the Chevalier *Dailly*; the fourth was the Batalion of the Sieur *d' Almeras* commanded under him by the Sieurs *Panetier*, *de la Rogue*, *Fontier*, *Bitault*, and the Chevalier *de Nemond*; and on the left hand of theſe aforeſaid Batalions, the Guards of the Duke of *Beaufort* were diſpoſed. The Duke of *Beaufort* unwilling to be a Spectator in this glorious Action, without bearing a part in his own perſon, after he had given order to the Fleet to accoſt the ſhore on the ſide of St. *Andrea*, as near as conſiſted with their ſecurity, and from thence with their great Guns to annoy the Enemies Camp as much as was poſſible, came that night on ſhore, reſolving to fight in the Head of the Forlorn Hope, from which hazardous adventure no intreaties or counſel of his friends could prevail to diſſwade him.

The order of the Chriſtian Army to make their Sally.

The Forlorn conſiſted of 400 men, on the head of which marched fifty men with hand Granadoes, flanked with three Troops of Horſe, Commanded by Count *Dampire*: the Regiments of Guards, with four Troops of Horſe for their Wings, flanked alſo with three Regiments of Foot, followed the Forlorn. The Reſerve conſiſted of the Regiments of *Harcourt*, *Conti*, *Lignieres*, *Roſan*, *Montpeſat*, and *Vendoſme*, flanked with four Troops of Horſe under Command of the Count *Choiſeul*, which placed themſelves on a riſing ground, to hinder all Communication between the Vizier, whoſe Camp was before St. *Andrea*, and the Janizar Aga, who lay before *Salionera*. Between the firſt and ſecond line, were placed fifty Muſketiers of the King, to be aſſiſtant on occaſion; and the other Troops of Horſe were to take the left hand along the Trench leading to the *Sabionera*: the Regiment of *Montpeyroux* was to mount the Guard on the Fort of St. *Demetrius* to ſecure the Retreat, if occaſion ſhould require. In like manner five hundred Pioniers were ordered to level the Trenches of the Enemy on the Quarter of St. *Andrea*, whilſt the Body of the Turks Army was imployed in repulſing the violence of the Sally.

1669.

Things being diſpoſed in this manner, and the morn approaching, the Forces marched out by the Gate of St. *George* with all ſilence poſſible, covering their Matches, that the fire might not alarm the Enemy; the Onſet was to begin with the dawning of the day, and the Signal was to be given by firing of the chief Mine Royal; which being large, and furniſhed with a great quantity of Powder, might (as was ſuppoſed) make way to the ſlaughter of the Turks whom the Chriſtians might find terrified and diſordered by ſuch an unexpected accident. This Mine was reſerved for the laſt extremity, but being low was full of water; ſo that the Powder was ſtowed on floars and rafts to ſupport it, but yet received ſo great a damp and moiſture, that when they came to ſpring it, the Powder took not fire, which was the firſt diſappointment of this Enterpriſe. Though ſome are of opinion, that the Mine was ſo vaſt, and contained ſuch a quantity of Powder, that the Engineers were timorous to ſpring it, leſt it ſhould reverſe on the Beſieged, as well as take effect on the Enemies Camp. But be it how it will, a quarter of an hour before day the Generals expecting no longer, the Forlorn Hope which lay within half a Muſket-ſhot of the Enemy, aſſaulted two Redoubts, took them, and put them all to the Sword: with the like courage the other Regiments entred the Line, and making themſelves Maſters of the Trenches after much blood and ſlaughter, and ſtorming a Fort on which was the Battery directed againſt St. *Demetrio*, poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and therewith of a great Magazine of Powder belonging to the Enemy, ſpiking all the Cannon that were found therein.

The Chriſtians ſally at the Gate of St. George

The Chriſtians fall upon the Turks.

The day by this time being clearly broken out, diſcovered the action; ſo that the Turks with all expedition put themſelves into a Body on the Hill near New *Candy*, from whence obſerving and contemning the ſmall number of the Chriſtians, came thundring down in great numbers to regain their Trenches. The Duke of *Navailles* perceiving his Forlorn hardly beſet, came in to their aſſiſtance with two Regiments of Foot, and two Troops of Horſe, which behaved themſelves with that gallantry, as ingaged the Turks again to quit their Trenches. But whilſt ſucceſs ſeemed thus to ſmile on the Chriſtians, the Magazine of Powder which was newly won, containing an hundred thirty four Kintals of Powder (by what accident is not known) took fire, and blew up all into the air, by which many were deſtroyed and wounded, eſpecially of the Battallion of the Guards, with many Officers. This fatal blow quite turned the Scale of Fortune. For the

1669. Souldiers heating the dreadful clap, and feeling as it were the Earth to tremble under them, ſuppoſed it to be the eruption of ſome Mine near them, with which they were ſo amazed, that they began with confuſion to diſperſe to the right and left, and put themſelves into ſhameful flight. In like manner the Forces near the Sea ſenſible of the blow, began to retreat, and abandon their deſign, which no perſwaſions of their Officers, or other incouragement could animate them to proſecute; but that the faintneſs of a ſecond Attempt, an infirmity accorded of ancient Times to, be incident to the nature of the French Nation) prevailed upon their ſpirits, beyond any poſſibility of arreſt, ſo that in a diſorderly manner they fled into the Body of the firſt Battalion, where being now united with the Reſerve, they for ſome time ſuſtained the ſhock of the Enemy; until other Bodies of the Turks from New *Candia* and St. *Andrea* overpowered them with greater multitudes, ſo that then they wholly abandoned the field, and every one as well as he could, ſought his Sanctuary and refuge within the Precincts of the Fortifications. Howſoever *Choiſeul* and *Lebret*, each of which had a Horſe killed under him, incouraging their Troops, diſputed the caſe yet longer, and ſtill with other Officers made head upon the Enemy; but at length with the Duke of *Navailles*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen, who made their way through the Enemy with their Swords, they were forced to retreat honourably into the Town. The Duke of *Beaufort* was ſaid to have laboured much in reſiſting the ſhameful flight of his men, and venturing his Perſon into danger, from whence he reſolved never to retreat, was overwhelmed with unequal numbers, and ſo fell amongſt the common heaps; but his body, though much ſought after, being not found, it was believed rather, that he periſhed by that fatal Magazine of Powder, which blowing up, affrighted and diſordered the whole Chriſtian Army.

The Chriſtian Army in confuſion.

But not only did misfortunes attend the Land-Forces, but the Fleet at Sea ſhared in the diſaſters. For ſome few days after the wind blowing hard from the Sea, cauſed the Ships to ride at a diſtance from the ſhore. The whole Fleet conſiſted of eighty Ships ſmall and great, fifty Gallies, and ſix Galleaſſes, being the whole Force of that Year from *France*, *Italy*, and *Malta*. All which being at Anchor in due order as near the ſhore as was ſafe or convenient, made many ſhot into the Turks Camp, but with little execution; during which Action, the *Santa Tereſa*, a French Ship of ſeventy Braſs Guns blew up, and her whole Company loſt, being about three hundred men, of which ſeven only were ſaved; the Admiral of *France* being near to this Ship, received five ſhot from her which paſſed through her, and by the Splinters and fall of Timbers; the Veſſel called *La Reale* had ſix Cavaliers killed, and forty Souldiers Slaves were killed and wounded. After this it was propoſed in Council, That another Sally ſhould be made of ten thouſand French; to which the Duke *De Navailles* aſſented, on condition that they might be preceded in the Van by four thouſand Venetians, who were well acquainted and verſed in the nature of this place, and knew the ſeveral Redoubts, Gallories, and Trenches of the Enemy. But the Captain General being deſirous to reſerve his own experienced Souldiers to the ultimate and laſt occaſion of emergency, refuſed to aſſent thereunto. 1669.

The loſs the Turks ſuſtained that day was uncertain, of the French were only an hundred thirty five heads brought in by tale, as I was informed from one who was preſent when they were counted, amongſt which were many principal Officers. For beſides the Duke of *Beaufort* were ſlain the Count *Roſan*, the Chevalier *de Villarceaux*, the Chevalier *de Quelas*, the Sieur *de Guerre gaud*, Marquis *de Fabert* Major of the Regiment of *Lorrain*, the Sieurs *de Montreüil* Captain of the Guards, *de Beauvais* and *Do. Garnier*, *La Paneterie Touvenin*, *Lanſon*, *Bellebrune*, *Hauteſage d'Avenne*, *Maran de S. Jean de Chauvemere*, *Goindreville* Captain of the Regiment of *Bretagne*, *Forcan*, *du Boulet* Captains of the Regiment of *Harcourt*, *Chaſelet*, *Martinval de Boſſemoat*, *de la Haye*, *de Bourneuf*, *de Vandre Martel* Captain of a Ship, the Chevalier *Lodeve* with nine Captains and eight Lieutenants Reformades of the Brigade of *Picardy*, *Navarre*, and *Normandy*. The Sieur *Lebret* was ſhot through the Buttocks with a Musket-buller; beſides whom were wounded the Sieurs *de Montagne* Colonel of a Regiment, *de Caſtelan* Major of the Guards, *de Caviſon*, *Croiſelles*, *de Montigny*, and *de Moiſſac* by the Battery which blew up: the Chevalier *d'Ailleurs*; was hurt with an Arrow through the Arm *De la Marliere* Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of *Lorrain* with five or ſix Officers of that Body, and *Villiers* Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment *Jonzac* were all wounded. The Marqueſs of *Lignieres* had his Thigh broken and a Finger ſhot off, and his Lieutenant-Colonel had his Arm broken. The Marqueſs of St. *Vallier* Collonel with five or ſix of his Officers, the Chevalier *de Norvion* Colonel with ſeveral Officers of the Regiments of *Bretagnie*, *Montpezat*, *Harcourt*, and *Conti* were all wounded, with four other Captains of Horſe, and four Lieutenants; alſo the Marqueſs of *Vxelles*, the Chevalier *de la Haugette*, the Count *de Liſſe* Captain of the Guards to the Duke of *Navailles*, the Count *de Montbrun* Commander of the Kings Muſquetiers, and the Sieur *de Tagni* Quarter-maſter-General were wounded: who being Perſons of great Quality as well as Courage that left their Country, and expoſed themſelves to dangers, with no other motive than their own gallantry or defence of the Chriſtian Cauſe, ought be numbred amongſt the Heroes and Champions of our Age. Of Priſoners there were not above ſeven or eight taken, amongſt which were the Sieur *de Bois-Dauphin* a Norman, and Son of a Marſhal of *France*, and the Sieur *de Chateau Neuf*, the firſt for his Youth, Beauty, and Courage greatly eſteemed by the Turks, and both entertained by the Vizier with more generoſity than uſually poſſeſſes the Nature of Turks: who after this ſucceſs, having gathered and thrown the heads of the ſlain according to their manner into a heap, did one day in merriment pitch them upon the points of their Lances, and ranking them in file and order, with Hats and Feathers on them, beat the French March amongſt them with ſhouts and Vollies of Muskets.

French Officers ſlain.

Matters ſucceeding in this manner unhappily, and the Enemy already almoſt in the midſt of the Town, being come to the laſt Retrenchment, beyond which could be raiſed no more

inward

1669. inward Fortifications; the Officers as in like cases of misfortune began to throw the blame upon each other, and the contest between the French and Italians grew as hot within the Town, as the War was without; so that the Duke of *Navailles* appearing discontented, though in reality he might well be discouraged, and might be apprehensive with due reason that the Town was in a desperate condition; howsoever he pretended, that the time was almost expired, which the King had prefixed for the continuance of his Forces in *Candia* and that therefore he could not think of any other design for them, than that which was in order to their imbarking. The Captain-General being greatly surprised at this resolution, endeavoured to perswade him to the contrary, and being accompanied with the General of *Candia*, and the Proveditor General waited on the Duke at his own Quarters, where he represented to him in the most efficacious terms possible the present dangerous condition to which the City was reduced; until which time, under the Providence of God, they acknowleged the preservation thereof to the magnanimous Arms of their religious King; and therefore in such a conjuncture of misfortunes and extremity they knew not unto whom they might have recourse for assistance, but to the Generosity of his Excellency, and of those Gentlemen, who for no other end but that of Religion and Honour, had undertaken so great a Voyage, and had voluntarily cast themselves into the hourly dangers of this Siege? That the Succour they demanded was really great and most important for defence of the place, in regard that thereon their whole safety depended. Howsoever it might have cost some labour, though not much blood to the French Forces, if they would have worked on a new Retrenchment with the same celerity and diligence, as they formerly used, whereby the Siege might be prolonged until the Winter, or till the Christian Princes might take new measures, and send greater Recruits. Hereunto *Navailles* gave answer, That the zeal which the King his Master conceived for the conservation of *Candia*, was evidenced by better effects, than the empty promises without fruit of other Princes; and that accounting the present number of Forces and Gentlemen of considerable Quality which were ingaged in this War, together with the great expence and charge his Majesty had been at in maintenance of a Fleet to transport them, his Majesties affection to the Republick was unquestionable: and that both he and his Officers who had the honour to command those Forces had undertaken a long Voyage, and entred into dangers with constancy and readiness of mind, and had assaulted the Enemy almost before they saw them, and given relief to the Town before they set their foot in it: but if the issue of affairs did not correspond with a success agreeable to their good intentions, and the primary design of this Enterprise, they must have patience, seeing that it cost no other than the slaughter of Frenchmen, and that there had been a large effusion of the Noble and Illustrious as well as of the common blood. It was a species of ingratitude not to remain contented with such forcible arguments of friendship; and it was a breach of modesty to pretend, that because his King had lent them eight thousand men, that therefore they should continue in *Candia* so long as one remained alive. It was true, that besides the King's service he was acted by some inward motives of Religion, but that he could not transgress the Commands and Instructions of his Majesty, which injoyned him to imbark his Forces in order to their return about the 20th. of that present month of *August*. In reply to which, though the Captain-General and the other Venetian Officers, and also *Bali Rospigliosi* the Admiral of the Popes Gallies urged his stay with all the instances and arguments imaginable, yet nothing could prevail to detain him until the arrival of other Forces, only he was contented to leave six hundred men in the Town during the time that he continued at *Standia*: so that by this time having imbarked his Forces, and lastly the six hundred men left on the Works, the Duke took his farewel and departed: so that the Town being as it were deserted and forsaken of its chief hopes, all things were given for desperate, and men began to be weary of their lives, as well as of the War and of their labours; and whereas with the assistance of the French, (as it was said in the Council) the Town might have held out until the next Spring, it was now by this grand revulsion reduced to its last Crisis, and so weakened, as that no possibility of preservation remained but in honourable terms of Surrender. And though the French in their Voyage home about *Malta* encountred positive Orders to remain on the place, yet judging the Town might already be surrendered, and so the return disgraceful and in vain, proceeded notwithstanding in their course for *France*, for which default and want of constancy the Duke of *Navailles* being arrived at *Tolon*, sustained the punishment of his Princes disfavour, and ordered for some time not to approach the Court.

The French Leave the Town.

1669.

The Turks, by departure of the French, increasing in hopes and courage, made an assault on the Quarters of *Sabionera* and St. *Andrea*; and first attaquing some Souldiers to the number of about thirty, who were placed on the Guard at the Post of St. *Pelagia*, they cut most of them off, and put the rest to flight; with which the Turks being more animated, advanced to the Palisade of the new Rentrenchment; but Vollies of Cannon, and showers of Musket-shot, and stones pouring on them, gave some stop to the fury of their carcer. *Grimaldi* observing that the Enemy was at a stand, brought up his Voluntiers and Cavalry which served on Foot, and together with the Forces from *Brunswick* so plyed the Turks with stones, Granadoes, and shot, that the Fight was confused, bloody, and horrid; howsoever the Enemy so persisted, that the Commanders gave Order, That the gross of the Army should fall on; but the Souldiers were so broken and torn, that they refused to advance, though thrust forward with the point of Sword and Spear. The Captain-General in the mean time taking his course along the Marine, on which part also the Turks were far advanced, caused a Mine to be sprung under the thickest crowd of the Turks: which consisting of an hundred Barrels of Powder, made such a destruction, as abated much of the storm, and induced the Enemy to retire within their Redoubts. The Marques St. *Andrea*, in like manner performing the office of a valiant and experienced Souldier, applied himself to all

The Turks make an assault.

places

1669. places where danger moſt required his preſence, and recovered certain Breaſt-works which the Enemy had gained in the Skirmiſh.

Nor was the ſtorm leſs furious and bloody on the part of *Sabionera*, nor was the ſucceſs and advantage on the Chriſtians ſide leſs conſiderable, in all which the Souldiery deſerved great commendations and renown; the two French Regiments of *Peraſi* and *Jonſac* under the Command of the Sieur *Choiſeul* did wonders; as alſo thoſe few which remained of the Regiments of *Savoy* commanded by Signior *Arborio*: Signior *Rados*, *Micolo Polani* a Noble Venetian, the Proveditor *Cornaro*, the Colonels *Gabriel*, *Givii*, and the Sergeant Major of the Troops of *Bruſwick*, and Serjeant Major *Bellegarde*, as alſo the Commander in cheif of *Malta* gave honourable teſtimonies of their Bravery and Valour. In ſhort the Captain-General praiſed them all, which was the beſt reward he could beſtow on ſuch generous Souls; and then ſent Orders to *Standia*, That the Forces arrived with the Duke *Mirandola* ſhould immediately be landed: theſe Forces, which when they were firſt imbarked, amounted to the number of a thouſand five hundred men, were now by Calentures and other ſickneſſes cauſed by the exceſſive heats of the ſeaſon reduced to ſix hundred; and though they were unhealthy and unexperienced Souldiers, yet the extremity of Affairs was ſuch, as called them to immediate ſervice, and to be placed on the Guard of the new Retrenchment.

But all this could give little relief to the periſhing condition of this miſerable Town; which was not only weakened by departure of the French, but by at leaſt five hundred others, ſuch as Swedes and Germans, and other Nations, who notwithſtanding all care and endeavours to the contrary, crowded under the French Banner. Likewiſe the Batalion of *Malta* imbarked, which though reduced to a ſmall Body, was yet very conſiderable for the Quality and Valour of the Cavaliers; which example all the Voluntiers followed, and thereby reduced the Town to a condition beyond all poſſibility of defence; for that in actual ſervice not above four thouſand men remained, and of theſe at leaſt an hundred a day being killed, the Town muſt neceſſarily in a ſhort time become a prey to the Enemy; wherefore the Captain-General called a Council of the moſt eminent Officers; and becauſe the matter was of great importance, he judged fit alſo to have the opinion of the Commanders of the Galleaſſes, and of the other Captains of the Fleet. At this Council were preſent.

A Council for to conſider of the ſtate of Candia.

Franceſco Moroſini Captain General.
Giacomo Contarini Duke of *Candia*.
Girolamo Battaglia Proveditor General of Arms.
Daniel Moroſini Proveditor } of the Kingdom.
Giacomo Cornaro Proveditor }
Alviſe Minio Commiſſary of the Ammunition and Proviſion.
Marquis St. *Andrea Montbrun* General of the Army.
Marquis of *Frontenac* Lieutenant General.
The Baron *Frederick de Spaar* General of the *Tramontani*.
The Cavalier *Bartolomeo Variſano Grimaldi* Sergeant General.
Baron *Chilmerſeck* Serjeant General.
Count *Francis Salvatico* Governor of the Arms of the City.
Cavalier *Verneda* Chief Engineer, and Superintendent of the Artillery.

1669.

On the other ſide ſate the Commanders at Sea, which were as followeth.

Lorenzo Cornaro Proveditor of the Fleet.
Alviſé Magno Captain in Extraordinary of the Galleaſſes.
Iſeppo Moroſini Captain in Ordinary of the Galleaſſes.
Georgio Benzoni Captain of the Gulf.
Aſcanio Giuſtiniano Governor of the Gulf.
Angelo Moroſini Pay-maſter.
Gio. Batt. Calbo Commiſſary of the Ammunition and Proviſions.
Alexandro Locattelli Cancellier.

All which having taken their places, the Captain General began to declare, That the extremity of the place was ſo well known and evident to them all, that there was no need for him to inform them of the particulars; only that he had called them together to know their opinions and counſels in what manner the defence of the Town might be beſt prolonged, and what advice they would give him touching the preſent premures and emergency of Affairs. He added further, That he had by good experience proved them to be as well judicious and wiſe in their Counſels, as they were valiant in the Execution; and that now was the time to lay aſide all oſtentation of ſpeech, and to attend unto that which was ſolid reaſon and advice, which he deſired every one to deliver freely with a clear and real ſenſe and affection towards the grand Concernment. Then he ordered the Cancellier to read a ſhort preamble of the matter on which they were to deliver their opinions, deſiring every one to expreſs his judgment in Writing; But after ſome few had ſubſcribed their Declaration, ſo much time was ſpent therein, that it was conceived more expedite for every perſon to declare his opinion by word of mouth.

As to the firſt point all generally concurred, that conſidering the ſmall number of the Defendants, the Town could not hold out much longer; for that the Enemy on the ſide of St. *Andrea* was arrived to the laſt Retrenchment, which being low, weak, and compoſed of bad matter, could not long reſiſt their power; that on the ſide alſo of *Sabionera* they were ſo far advanced by the lower grounds towards the Arſenal, that in a ſhort time they would block up the Port, and cut off all proviſions and ſuccours from the Town; and that if the Enemy were reſolved to adventure the loſs of two or three thouſand men by a general ſtorm; there would remain no poſſibility of withſtanding their Force. This being generally aſſented unto, and concluded on all hands, another Queſtion was propounded; namely, That conſidering the premiſes, what was to be done which might render the moſt effectual ſervice to the Republick; it was well known how important that place was to the Publick, and what vaſt Treaſures of Gold and Silver, and what plentiful Effuſions of bloud had been expended and poured forth in defence thereof; and that therefore it ought to be maintained to the utmoſt and laſt gaſp of ſtrength; but

that

1669. that it ought alſo to be conſidered, That the Town being either taken by aſſault, or the Port blocked up, there would certainly enſue ſuch deplorable Conſequences as every perſon may imagine; and the Republick be damaged by loſing all that which is now in a poſſibility of being ſaved. It was therefore put to the Vote, beginning on the ſide of the Inferiors, as the cuſtom is, and ſo aſcending to the chief; and it was reſolved that they ſhould capitulate, and enter into a Treaty with the Turks. When it came to *Grimaldi's* turn to ſpeak, he confeſſed clearly, That the Town could not hold out for many days, and though it was more glorious to the Defenders to dye on the Walls of it, yet it would be of worſe ſervice to the Publick; howſoever he was of opinion, that rather than ſurrender, it would be better to burn it, or blow it up with Mines; in execution of which, the wounded and unſerviceable people ſhould, in the firſt place be ſhipped away, then taking the opportunity of a dark and quiet Night, the Infantry might be all embarked; it was true, as he confeſſed, that the action was difficult and full of hazard; howſoever, two things moved him to this Counſel; One was, The little aſſurance he conceived of the faith of the Turks; and the other was, The gloriouſneſs of the action: for as this City had been in an extraordinary manner defended, and of which the World cannot give the like example; ſo the end thereof would not be leſs renowned and famous, it not being a greater triumph to drive the Enemy from the Walls, than being vanquiſht to leave a bloudy Victory, and inſtead of a Palace a heap of ſtones and aſhes. Many of the Council, and amongſt them Marqueſs St. *Andrea Montſirun*, was of the ſame opinion, and the Commiſſary *Mimo* endeavoured to ſecond it with efficacious Arguments; But in fine, after a long Diſcourſe, they all concluded that the reſolution was more generous than practicable; by reaſon that ſo many people could not be embarked without knowledge of the Enemy, who was not only quartered near, but within the very Walls of the City.

The Captain General was of a different opinion; for that beſides the difficulty of embarking the Souldiery, there were alſo ſome other conſiderations which might diſſwade this reſolution, and render it more prejudicial to the Publick than a Surrender by Compoſition. After ſome ſhort debate, all at length concurred in the ſame ſentiment, from which alſo *Grimaldi* did not much diſſent, confeſſing that the propoſition he had made would prove difficult in the Execution; howſoever, conſidering the little faith which the Turks obſerve, he thought it more ſecure to confide their ſafety to Fortune and their own Swords, than to the engagements and moderation of a perfidious and enraged Enemy. In ſhort, he ſubmitted wholly to the better judgments of the Council, and more particularly to the Captain-General, and the Marqueſs of St. *Andrea*, who were beſt acquainted with what more nearly concerned the ſervice and intereſt of the Prince.

In fine, the concluſion was, That they ſhould enter into a Treaty with the Vizier, and endeavour to obtain the moſt advantageous Conditions poſſible. Howſoever, it was thought fit to advertiſe firſt this their determination to the Auxiliary Forces at *Standia*; and to renew the inſtances they had formerly made to them for three thouſand men, with which, and with two thouſand Gally Slaves they would endeavour the making of another Retrenchment, whereby the Town might be conſerved for ſome time longer. Howſoever, in this interim the Captain General being willing to touch the Viziers pulſe, that he might better diſcover in what manner he ſtood affected towards a Treaty, diſpatched one Colonel *Thomas Anand*, an Engliſhman, of courage, and of able Parts, and of intire honeſty, together with one *Stefano Cordili*, an intelligent young man, to the Vizier's Camp; and that his deſign might not be diſcovered by thoſe of the Town, they were ordered to paſs from *Standia* with a white Flag up the River *Geoffiro*; and that being come to a Treaty, they ſhould only diſcover the mind and inclinations of the Turks, without making known their intentions, or entering into particulars. 1669. *Reſult of the Counſil.*

Being come in this manner prepared to the *Vizier's* Camp, they told the Turks, That they were come to renew the Treaty begun by Signior *Molino*, which had been broken off by the Arrival of the French and Pope's Forces; to which a Turk, then come from the Vizier's Tent, reſolutely anſwered, That they ſhould think of no Articles nor Treaty without a Surrender. To which *Anand* replyed, That they would do well to acquaint the Vizier ſo much, for that perhaps he might be of another opinion; and ſo not urging farther they departed; but returning after Dinner the ſame Turk came down again, called *Achmet* Aga, a Confident of the Vizier's together with *Panaiotti* the Vizier's Interpreter; and then with more earneſtneſs declaring, That nothing would be heard, unleſs in the firſt place they were reſolved to deliver the Town, and threatned them in caſe they returned without this Propoſition: The Captain General being adviſed hereof, the next morning *Anand* and *Scordili* went again on the ſame meſſage; and meeting the Turks under *Paleocaſtro*, they acquainted them that they had orders to treat about a Surrender; but firſt deſired to know what Articles they would give them, and what Town in exchange for this. In this manner a Treaty being begun, it was reſolved for better expedition to erect Tents nearer to the Town for the place of Conference, where the Plenipotentiaries on both ſides were to meet. *Ibrahim* Paſha, late Paſha of *Aleppo*, *Achmet* Aga, the Kahya-begh of the Janiſaries, the Spahyler *Agaſi*, and the Interpreter *Panaiotti*, were the perſons choſen by the Turks: on the part of the Chriſtians, after ſome Debate, no other perſons were choſen beſides *Anand* and *Scordili*, who meeting the Turks at the time and place appointed, demanded of them ſome other place in exchange for that of *Candia*. To which the Turks with ſome heat replyed, That it was againſt their Law to deliver Towns where Moſchs were built, into the hands of Chriſtians. To which the others anſwered, That this could not be their Law, ſince that in a Treaty ſome months paſt begun by the Cavelier *Molino*, they had offered to deliver up into the hands of the Chriſtians *Candia Nuova*, *Sitia*, and *Giraptira*, all places where Mahometan Moſchs

1669. Moſchs were erected; and though the Turks might now imagine it eaſie to win the Town by force, they aſſured them that greater difficulties remained; and that if they remembred what bloud, what labours, and what Treaſures their ſmall acqueſts and advance had coſt them, they might thence calculate what Force ſtill remained to conquer, and that the laſt gaſp of this dying Fortreſs would ſpend it ſelf with more ruine and deſtruction than they had felt in all the other approaches and aſſaults thereunto. In fine, the Turks ſeeming reſolved to be ſole Maſters of the whole Kingdom of *Candia*, the Venetians began to condeſcend to receive ſome compenſation in another manner.

Howſoever, the difficulties were not yet ended but greater appeared, for the Turks demanded ſatisfaction for the charge of the War; and the Haratch or head-mony, which for all thoſe years of the Wars they had not received from the people of the Iſles of the *Archipelago*; they demanded alſo a Tribute for the Forts and Iſlands of *Cerigo*, *Tino*, and *Cliſſa*; and the other Conqueſts in *Dalmatia*; all which points cauſed new Diſputes, which were maintained with thoſe heats, and with that obſtinacy, as if it had been impoſſible for both parties ever to meet in a concluſion. Notwithſtanding, after long Debates, on the fourth of *September* they came to agree of giving hoſtages, and to certain propoſals concerning the manner of ſurrendring the place. The Turks demanded to have the Outworks put into their hands, with one of the Gates of the City, and the Paliſade of the new Retrenchment: To which *Anand* and *Scoradili* anſwered, That this was not a propoſition to be made to the Captain General, for that they were aſſured, the Garriſon would ſooner ſuffer themſelves to be cut in pieces, than to commit themſelves to the mercy of the Turkiſh Souldiery; whoſe faith is recorded in the Hiſtory of *Famagusta*, and may ſerve for a true example and mirror of their treachery and faithleſneſs to all Ages. In this manner the Treaty had like to have been broken off; but at length they concluded, That it was neceſſary to render an account to the Vizier of the particulars of this Conference, adjourning the Treaty until the next Morning.

Notwithſtanding all which, the Turks did not abate in the leaſt point their progreſs in the War, labouring in their Works, and fighting with more heat than ever. The Venetians on the other ſide were not leſs active, firing continually their Cannon and Granadoes, and making ſome little Sallies, endeavoured as much as they were able to cover the weakneſs of their Forces. The Turks had raiſed a new Battery which broke a great part of the Paliſade of the new Retrenchment, upon which it was expected that they ſhould make a ſtrong attempt, for whoſe better entertainment two Mines were prepared to receive them; but they deferring the aſſault, the Captain General gave orders to fire both the Mines at once, which conſiſting of a hundred and fifty Barrels of Powder, made the ground to tremble both in the City and in the Camp, overthrowing ſeveral works with miſerable ſlaughter of the Enemy.

The Turks obſerving this reſolution in the defendants, became more tractable, and leſs ſevere in their demands; ſo that *Ibrahim* Paſha with the reſt contented themſelves with no other ſecurity for performances of Conditions than Hoſtages; of which three were conſigned mutually on both ſides. After which, other Articles were, with leſs Difficulty, concluded; ſo that in the morning of the 6th of *September* the Turks demanded that the Chriſtians ſhould give all their Articles in Writing; whereupon the Council ordered *Grimaldi* to draw them up; which were in ſubſtance as followeth. 1669.

The Conditions of Peace.

First, That for obtaining a good and laſting Peace, it is agreed, That the City of *Candia*, with all its Cannon which were planted there before the time of the War, be conſigned into the hands of the Vizier.

Secondly, That quiet poſſeſſion be given to the Republick of *Suda*, *Carabuſa*, and *Spina Longa*, with the Territories thereunto belonging, with the Fortreſs of *Cliſſa* in *Dalmatia*.

Thirdly, That the Venetians may carry away all the Cannon which have been brought into the Town ſince the beginning of the War.

Fourthly, That for embarking the Souldiery, Pioneers, and Inhabitants of all Qualities and Conditions, with their Arms, Proviſions, and Baggage twelve days time ſhall be granted and aſſigned.

Fifthly, That what ſhall remain unſhipped at the end of the twelve days aforeſaid, the Vizier ſhall, with his own Boats, aſſiſt to the lading thereof.

Sixthly, That during this time of truce, no perſon whatſoever ſhall tranſgreſs his Limits, or paſs the bounds of his Station or Quarters; and that he who doth ſhall be treated as an Enemy.

Seventhly, That ſo ſoon as theſe Articles ſhall be ſubſcribed under the *white Flag*, all Acts of Hoſtility ſhall ceaſe both on one ſide and the other.

Eighthly, That for ſecurity of performance of theſe Articles, three Hoſtages be mutually given on one ſide and the other.

Ninthly, That for better aſſurance, that the Venetians will uſe all their endeavours to embark their Men and Goods, the Turks may employ two Officers for Eye-witneſſes of the ſame.

Tenthly, That for better effecting hereof, all Ships, Gallies, and other Veſſels may freely approach near unto the ſhore, and enter into the Port both by Day and Night.

Eleventhly, That the Venetian Fleet may remain at *Standia*, or at any other Iſland in the *Archipelago*, until ſuch time as they are diſpatched, or that things are duly prepared for their departure.

Twelfthly, That all Commiſſions given by one ſide and the other be revoked, and that whoſoever ſhall after the ſpace of forty days commit any Act of Hoſtility againſt the tenor of theſe Articles of Peace, ſhall be puniſhed with capital puniſhment.

Thirteenly, That ſo ſoon as an Ambaſſador from *Venice* ſhall arrive at the Port, all Slaves or Priſoners of War taken under the Venetian Colours ſhall be freed and releaſed.

Fourteenthly, That what depredations ſhall be made at Sea or Land after theſe Articles are

1669. are ſubſcribed, and before the publication thereof, ſhall be faithfully made good and reſtored.

Fifteenthly, That a general pardon be given to the Subjects of both ſides, who have acted contrary to their Faith and Allegiance, during this War.

Sixteenthly, That in Vertue of theſe Capitulations the former Articles be likewiſe confirmed which were made in the Year 1571, and that no Tribute or Preſent be demanded from the Port, unleſs as hath formerly been paid for ſuch Iſlands as the Venetians hold in the *Archipelago*.

Seventeenthly, That of theſe Articles two Copies be made, one in Turkiſh with its Tranſlation into Italian, ſubſcribed by the Vizier, and ſealed with the Grand Signior's Signet; and the other in Italian underwrote by the Captain-General, and ſealed with the Seal of the Republick.

Theſe Articles being ſigned, the Hoſtages were given both on one ſide and the other. Thoſe given by the Venetians were *Fauſtino da Riva* Lieutenant-General, *Giovanni Battiſta Calbo* Commiſſary, and *Zaccaria Mocenigo* who had been Duke of *Candia*. Thoſe given by the Turks were *Belin Aſſan* Paſha, *Mahomet* Aga of the Janiſaries, and *Gurgi Bei* Teſterdar or Treaſurer.

During this Siege, of the Venetians ſide there were killed and wounded thirty thouſand nine hundred eighty five, of the Turks one hundred eighteen thouſand ſeven hundred fifty four.

The Batteries which the Turks raiſed againſt *Sabionera* and St. *Andrea*, conſiſted of fifty nine Pieces of Cannon, carrying from fifty to an hundred and twenty pound weight of Bullet.

The Storms which the Turks made upon the Town were fifty ſix.

The Combats under ground forty five.

The Sallies made by the Venetians ninety ſix.

The Mines and Fornelli ſprang by the Venetians eleven hundred ſeventy three, by the Turks four hundred ſeventy two.

The Venetians ſpent Barrels of Powder fifty thouſand three hundred and ſeventeen.

Bomboes of all ſorts by the Venetians of fifty to five hundred weight, were forty eight thouſand an hundred and nineteen.

Granadoes of Braſs and Iron an hundred thouſand nine hundred and ſixty: Granadoes of Glaſs eighty four thouſand eight hundred ſeventy four.

Cannon-ſhot of all ſorts two hundred ſeventy ſix thouſand ſeven hundred forty three.

Pounds of Lead eighteen millions forty four thouſand nine hundred fifty ſeven. Of Match pounds thirteen millions twelve thouſand five hundred.

What quantities the Turks might conſume of Ammunition is not certain; only it is obſervable, That the Braſs taken up in the ſtreets which came from the Enemies Bomboes was ſo much, that whole Ware-houſes were filled with the Metal, and ſo much ſold as yielded many thouſands of Crowns.

The Articles being ſubſcribed, and Hoſtages given, the Captain-General attended with all application of mind and induſtry imaginable to imbark the Men and Ammunition, committing in the mean time the care of the City to *Cornaro* the Proveditor of the Fleet. 1669.

During theſe days that all things were providing in order to a Surrender, there was great ſilence in the Turkiſh Camp, and no diſorder in the City; the Souldiers on the Ramparts, and the Turks in their Trenches ſaluted each other with civility, and entertained communication and diſcourſes together with friendſhip and freedom of ſeveral paſſages relating to their War, nothing of quarrel, or ſcuffle, or rude words happening out between them in all the term of the twelve days. The Vizier ſent divers times civil Meſſages and Preſents of refreſhment to the Captain-General and Marqueſs St. *Andrea*, which they returned with equal reſpect and generoſity; and ſo exceſſive were the Turks in theſe offices, that the Venetians began to be jealous, leſt under this mark and guiſe of courteſie ſome fraud or deſign ſhould be covered according to their own Proverb: *Chi ti fa piu carezze che ſuole, ó ti ha engannato ó enganar ti vuole.*

In ſhort, all things were diſpatched with that diligence and care, that on the 27*th* of *September* the City was conſigned; all the Inhabitants departed thence, not one remaining in the City, except only two Greek Prieſts, a Woman, and three Jews.

The War began in April 1645.

In this manner the Whole Iſle of *Candia*, the cauſe and occaſion of all that Blood and Treaſure that was ſpilt, and exhauſted in twenty five years War, fell at length to the fortune and increaſe of the Turkiſh Empire, with its moſt impregnable Fortreſs of the World, ſtrengthened with as much Art and Induſtry, as the human Wit of this Age was capable to invent, after a ſtrait Siege of two years, three months, and twenty ſeven days. For the ſpace of twelve days allotted for the Surrender being expired, on the 27*th*. of *September* being Friday, the great Croſs erected on the Wall was after midnight taken down, and advice given to the Venetians, ſo ſoon as the morning dawned, that the Turks did that day attend the Surrender, which was accordingly performed by the Principal Citizen about nine of the clock of the ſame morning who offering the Keys of the City to the Great Vizier in a Baſon of Silver on the breach of St. *Andrea*, was by him preſented with a Veſt of Sables, and five hundred Zechins in Gold, and to his Servants were given two hundred. To *Moroſini* alſo a Preſent was offered worthy his Quality; but he refuſed it, ſaying, That he would never give a ſeeming occaſion to the malicious World to ſlander him with the leaſt appearance of having ſold his important Charge. Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting on the breach, ſome of the moſt cowardly and diſorderly amongſt the Janiſaries preſſed forward to have entred by force, in violation of the Articles ſo lately agreed and confirmed; but ſome of the Garriſon not yet imbarked, keeping themſelves ſtill on the Guard, repulſed the moſt forward in the Riot by killing three or four of their Companions: which diſturbance and inſolence of the Souldiery, when made known to the Vizier, he aſſembled the diſorderly together; and firſt upbraiding their cowardiſe, who durſt not enter in the time of War, would now counterfeit Valour in the time of Peace, ſentenced fifteen of them to be impaled on the breach, which piece of Juſtice

Candia delivered.

1679. and Gallantry was immediately executed. This rumour being appeaſed, the *Topegibaſhee* and *Cebegibaſhee*, or the Generals of the Ordnance and Arms took quiet poſſeſſion of the Forts and Cannon of the City, and whil'ſt the Turks entred over the breach, the Chriſtian Army withdrew and imbarked themſelves as faſt as convenience and decency would permit, who after the departure of the French, and of ſuch who accompanied them, were not computed to be above two thouſand five hundred men, and thoſe ſickly, ill accoutred, and half naked; and thus this City and whole Iſland became ſubject and a prey to the Ottoman Arms. Amongſt the Officers which took poſſeſſion of the Town were the Teſterdar and the Aga of the Janiſaries. The Teſterdar as he paſſed over the breach of St. *Andrea*, and obſerving how low and weak the Works were on that ſide, turned to the Aga of the Janiſaries, and with ſome diſdain ſaid to him, We have here ſpent ten days in the Surrender of this Town which we might have taken in two hours.

The Turkiſh Army taking poſſeſſion on Friday the 11th. of *September*, the Vizier made his Entry on Friday the 4th. of *October*; in which time they had erected a triumphant Bridge over the breach of St. *Andrea*, on which the Vizier entred into the Town, and paſſed directly to the Church of St. *Francis*, which was converted to a Mahometan Moſch, where having ſaid his Namaz or Prayer, he went to the houſe where the Marqueſs St. *Andrea* was lodged, which was prepared for him, with a ſumptuous Entertainment of five hundred Diſhes at the expence of the Grand Signior.

This City in four parts of five was ruined and demoliſhed in the time of the Siege, all the Bells and Ornaments of the Churches and Houſes to the very Locks of the doors were carried away; the Arms remaining were old and ruſty, and not above three hundred and fifty Pieces of Cannon left on the Walls, and thoſe for the moſt part very ſmall: the Inhabitants remaining were only five, as we have ſaid before, unleſs ſome few decrepit Jews and Greeks, which might make up the number of about thirty; ſo that never could be a more ſad ſpectacle of deſolation, nor a more clear Mirror of the miſeries of War.

The Great Vizier being poſſeſſed of the Town, diſpatched away an Expreſs with the good News thereof to the Sultan, who poſted as faſt as wind and weather would permit. And here the Reader may eaſily apprehend what joy poſſeſſed the minds of the Turks in all places where the rumour flew of this Cities Surrender, which had for ſo many years baffled and put a ſtand to the Ottoman Sword, And though the joyful tidings added wings to the Meſſengers haſt, yet the uncertainty of the Grand Signiors abode retarded ſome dayes the arrival of the News: which will ſeem very ſtrange to him that conſiders, that the motion of ſo great an Emperour in the Glory of his Fortunes ſhould be leſs obſcure than the light of the Sun, perceptible by all conditions, who inhabit that ſide of the Globe, where his rayes are viſible.

The News brought to the Grand Signior at Negropont.

At length the Meſſenger found the Sultan within the Woods and Mountains of *Negropont* where he had paſſed the heats of the Summer, and ſome part of his diſcontent in thoſe ſolitary retirements: it being now towards the end of *September*, and the Winter approaching, the Iſle was incapable to entertain ſo great a Court, and to return back ſeemed as diſhonourable as it was dangerous, the Souldiery and People being equally diſcontented, the one by the ill ſucceſs and government of Affairs, and the other by oppreſſion of Taxes: but this joyful News cleared all thoſe clouds and ombrages of doubtful and diſconſolate thoughts, which the Grand Signior received like a dream, being at firſt ſo ſurpriſed with ſuch an unexpected happineſs, that he could ſcarce believe it; but at length recollecting his ſcattered ſpirits, without delay returned the Meſſenger again with his Embrahore or Maſter of his Horſe to the Vizier with the Preſent of a Sable Veſt, a Dagger, and a Sword, being the uſual ſignals of the Sultans favour, and with a Letter freighted with Encomiums and Praiſes of his Valour and Fortune. And whereas the Vizier had perſwaded him to return to *Conſtantinople*, he anſwered, That he was reſolved to winter at *Salonica*, where with the Spring he expected his preſence, and from thence in company with him, ſhould be ready to chuſe any Seat, which in his judgment the Vizier apprehended moſt conducing to the benefit of the Empire.

The Captain-General *Moroſini* having in the mean time imbarked his Forces, ſailed to *Sudi* to provide and fortifie that place, *Spina Longa* and *Carabuſa*, poor Rocks and Appendages to the greater Iſle of *Candia*, with all neceſſary ſupplies of Victuals and Ammunition: which only ſerve for a Proſpect into *Candia*, and to keep alive the Title of the Venetian Republick to that Kingdom. *Suda* is the moſt conſiderable of the three, but yet not ſtrong, the Sea being fordable between that and *Candia*, and not of long reſiſtance, whenſoever the Turk ſhall think it worth his time to ſubdue. Here *Moroſini* attended the Ratification of the Peace from *Venice*, and the diſbanding of the Turkiſh Army, in which time four French Ships with Succours of Men and Ammunition arrived at *Candia*, but coming late were diſappointed of their deſign, and ſo returned back into their own Country.

The Venetians at Suda.

The Turks having now finiſhed their work, diſpeeded a way their Janiſaries and Pioniers by all occaſions of ſhipping: thoſe that remained were imployed all the Winter in filling the Trenches without the City, and many Slaves taken out of the Gallies to repair the breach of St. *Andrea*: in which work, whilſt they threw up the diſordered rubbiſh, ſo poyſonous a ſtench evaporated from the bodies of the ſlain, which lay buried in thoſe ruines, as begat a Peſtilence and other diſeaſes in the City and in the Gallies; but labouring continually on that work, they ſoon acquitted themſelves of the contagion, by help of the Winters cold which then approached.

In this manner expired the Action of this Year, fortunate in its ſucceſs to the Turks; for though they gained but thirty Acres of Land with expence ineſtimable of Blood and Treaſure, yet the Glory and Fame which attended it, being the conſummation of twenty five years Wars, and the Theatre where the whole World were Spectators, was of greater value to the Turks than any other conſideration, and may with time prove a place of advantage to the farther increaſe of their Weſtern Empire, unleſs

1669. unleſs God Almighty by his Mercy and Providence give a ſtop to the progreſs of this Grand Oppreſſour.

Serini and the Nobles of Hungary offer themſelves to the Turk.

But before this Year ended, behold the miſery of Chriſtendom, by reaſon of diſcontents and animoſities in the Imperial Court, the Count *Serini* Prince of *Croatia*, the Marqueſs *Frangipani* and Count *Nadaſti*, joyned with other Nobles of *Hungary*, ſent Meſſengers to the Grand Signior, offering themſelves Subjects and Tributaries to the Turk, deſiring his Protection of their Religion and Liberties, deſigning to act the part of *Bethlem Gabor*.

The Great Vizier imployed himſelf this whole Winter paſt in repairing the Fortifications of *Candia*, regulating them in ſome meaſure according to the Turkiſh Model, and in repairing and beautifying the Town, which was done with ſuch admirable expedition, that in a few months moſt of the houſes demoliſhed in the time of the Siege were again erected, and the Churches converted into Moſchs and adorned, three of the principal whereof took the Names of the Grand Signior, Great Vizier and Captain Paſha, and were endowed by them with an honourable Revenue, ſufficient to maintain them in Reparations, Lamps, and Taliſmans. But the Turks were not more pious towards their Moſchs than the Chriſtians were careleſs and cold towards their Churches; for the Venetians inſerted not one Article in favour of a Chriſtian Church or a Religious Houſe, which would have been granted as ſoon as demanded, only a Greek who was Interpreter to the Great Vizier called *Panaiotti*, a Perſon of Parts and Learning, at the expence of two thouſand two hundred Dollars; and an Armenian Merchant called *Apro Chelabei* at the charge of a thouſand four hundred purchaſed two Churches for their reſpective Nations.

The G. Signior returns to Salonica, and hunts.

The Grand Signior in the mean time returned to *Salonica* to paſs the remainder of the Winter, which place being famous for multitude of all ſorts of Game, drew his heart, and made him impatient till he arrived thoſe Plains, more deſired by him than the Elyſian fields; for having made his Entry into that City, the next day he deſigned to hunt: but being put in mind that the Engliſh Ambaſſadour Sir *Daniel Harvey*, who (as we ſaid) arrived at *Conſtantinople* the year before, attended his Audience, he was contented to grant it to him the next morning. But yet not to loſe his hunting, at midnight he ſent Officers to the Ambaſſadour to prepare for the next days Audience very early; and to gain time, ordered his Horſes to be all ready, that ſo having diſpatched that Ceremony, he might immediately mount into the Saddle and purſue his Game. Howſoever he was not in ſo much haſte, but he teſtified due reſpect to His Majeſty of Great *Britain*, and the eſteem he had of the Engliſh Nation, ordering the Capitulations to be renewed; and commanding the Chimacam, that if any one ſhould break or infringe them, that he ſhould cut him off without farther argument. But as to renewing the Capitulations, the Chimacam falling at the Grand Signiors feet, beſeeched him, That that particular might be deferred until the arrival of the Great Vizier, whoſe proper power and act it was to make War and Peace; and therefore for him to intermeddle about Capitulations was to invade the Viziers Authority, which he durſt not do without putting his life in danger, or at leaſt rendring his Perſon obnoxious to his irreconcileable diſpleaſure; with which the Grand Signior being ſatisfied, ordered that the renewing of the Capitulations ſhould be deferred until the return of the Viſiier, and ſo diſmiſſed the Lord Ambaſſadour from his Preſence; but this work of renewing the Capitulations was reſerved for the care and conduct of Sir *John Finch*, who ſucceeded in the Embaſſy after the death of Sir *Daniel Harvey*.

Sir Daniel Harvey, *his Majeſties Ambaſſadour, hath his Audience of the Grand Signior.*

The Grand Signior ariſing from his Throne mounted into his Saddle to follow his exceſſive delight in Hunting, which now he purſued every day without reſpect of cold or wet, or Horſes or Attendants; but like an impetuous *Nimrod* raged amongſt the timorous Hares and flying Harts, over-ſpreading the Woods with vaſt numbers of poor Jews and Peaſants, which he had commanded forth to drive for Game, not reſpecting the extreme rigour and Froſts of Winter, by which many of thoſe poor Wretches lying abroad in the nights, were benumbed, and dyed. And ſo far did his humour tranſport him in this Recreation, that he was diſcouraged at no inconvenience or labours which attended it; for one day appointing his Hunting at a certain place, which to paſs on Horſe-back was a great circuit, but a nearer cut over a Gulf or Arm of the Sea, he ordered his Horſes round, whilſt he in Perſon attended with the Chimacam and ſeveral of his Grandees, paſſed over to the other ſide in a Gally. But being impatient of his Sport, and not able to give time to his Horſes to make their way, aſcended his Gally, commanding them to row away with all ſpeed; and arriving at the other ſide ſome hours before His Horſes could come, would yet land: and being weary of expectation, reſolved to meet them on foot through all the dirt and mire of a low and rich ſoil: where whilſt he travelled heavily, and almoſt tired, by good fortune they eſpied a Miller driving his Horſe laden with two Sacks of Meal; whom when they had called, and made him to lighten his burden, and take off the Pack-ſaddle, the Chimacam himſelf ſtripped off his own Sables Veſt, and covered the Horſe with it, on which the Grand Signior mounting in great ſtate, rode like a Prince till he met his own Retinue, which paſſage ſerved to fill the diſcourſe at night of that days Hunting, and deſerves to be chronicled with our Engliſh Dialogue between the Miller and the King: howſoever we make uſe of it here to demonſtrate the ſtrange and paſſionate humour which poſſeſſed this Sultan in his Hunting.

The G. Signior delights ſolely in his Queen.

Little other recreation did this Grand Signior take, unleſs it were in the Company of his chief Sultana, called the Haſaki Sultana, by whom having had a Son, which beginning now to play and ſpeak, reconciled much of his affection to the Female Sex, but yet with that moderation and well regulated love, that he confined himſelf wholly to this one Woman, having ſent for her to be his Companion in all journies and adventures of Errantry, whilſt the other Ladies as incumbrances and impediments to the ſpeedy motions of the wandring Court, were diſpeeded to *Conſtantinople* under the Government of the Queen Mother, as we have before declared; of which priviledge this Sultana beginning to be

1669. ſenſible, endeavoured to encreaſe and conſerve the Affections of her Lord by all the arts and tricks of love imaginable; for ſhe was really, or elſe feigned to be, ſo enamoured of him, that ſhe pined and macerated away her ſelf for his abſence; and when he was indiſpoſed in his health, or intended a long Journey from her, ſhe would fall into Swoundings, and Paralytical Fits, or ſomething elſe, which was an undoubted ſymptom of true affection, ſuch as commonly intervenes amongſt us in the chaſt embraces of ſingle marriage; that the Grand Signior, whoſe love to Women were not naturally as vagrant as his delights after the chaſe of wild Beaſts, was ſo much ſatisfied in her alone, that he could be no more without her than ſhe without him; ſo that, like *Diana*, or ſome Mountain Nymph, ſhe became a Huntreſs after her Prince, as he a Ranger after his Game.

And now in this place it may be pertinent to add; that on the 30*th.* of *December* of this year 1669. Sir. *Daniel Harvey* his Majeſties Ambaſſadour, being then on his departure from *Salonica*, Mr. *Willam Hedges* who was with him there, being the Treaſurer to the *Levant* Company in *Turky*, and *Signior Antonio Perone*, the Druggerman or Interpreter, having occaſion of buſineſs attended that day on the *Keis-Efendi*, or chief Secretary; who ſo ſoon, as they came into his preſence he called out to them, I hope ſaid he, that you are come to turn Muſſelmen, or believers; for your great Champion *Serini Ogly*, (for ſo they call *Serini*) is become Feudatary, having ſubmitted, and put himſelf under protection of the Grand Signior. It was but the night before, that certain Meſſengers from Count *Serini*, and his adherents arrived at this Court, proffering to accept the Standart from the Grand Signior, and pay him Tribute, ſo they might obtain the power and protection of the *Ottoman* Arms againſt the Emperour. This propoſition though in appearance ſo advantagious, that it might ſeem to admit of no doubt in the acceptance; yet both the Grand Signior and the Chimacam were ſo ready after the late ſucceſs at *Candia* to joyn in their Complement to the Vizier, that they would neither conclude, nor give anſwer to theſe Meſſengers, until firſt they had conſulted his ſence, and opinion on the proffer, wherefore to looſe no time according to the uſual expedition of the *Turks*, two gallies were the very ſame night diſpatched with theſe Meſſengers to the Vizier at *Candia*, to give him notice of this tender, and to demand his counſel, and aſſent thereunto: with like ſpeed the gallies were returned with the Viziers approbation, though afterwards on better conſiderations the *Turks* touched this cauſe ſo tenderly, that *Serini* and his complices being detected, the plot Miſcarried and the Conſpirators brought to condigne puniſhment, as ſhall hereafter be related; what ſuſpition the Counſel at *Vienna* might have of this deſign is uncertain, yet this is out of all doubt, that they had no aſſured knowledge thereof, until it was firſt brought them by Mr. *Hedges*; and yet ſo much time was taken up herein, as that he travailed from *Salonica* to *Conſtantinople*, where he arrived the 13*th.* of *January*, and there remaining ſome time for the better Setlement of his affairs before his journy thence for *England*, by Land he departed on the 14*th.* of *Feburary*, and on the 29*th.* of *March* following, was by Leiutenant General *Eſterhas* received in to *Raab*, to whom giving this firſt Intelligence about *Serini*, and his adherents, was courteouſly treated, but yet detained, until advice was given hereof to General *Montecuculi* then at *Vienna*, and his licenſe, and paſs given to Mr. *Hedges* for his farther proceedings in his journy. Anſwer hereof being returned, he had licence given him to depart, and a guard to conduct him ſafe to *Vienna*, which is very neceſſary on thoſe Frontiers. At *Vienna* Mr. *Hedges* being examined upon Oath by Count *Capelliers* to the truth of the foregoing Relation, Troops were immediately diſpatched to the Caſtle of *Serini*, where they ſo ſeaſonably arrived, as to take poſſeſſion of it for the Emperour ſome few hours before the Turkiſh Forces, (having received a ſtop by cutting of the bridge) came to ſeize it for the Grand Signior: Count *Serini* perceiving by this Act, that his deſign, was diſcovered, fled with *Frangipani* his Father-in-law towards *Tranſilvania*, but being on his way thither overtaken by the Emperours Edict, he was together with *Frangipani* ſeized at Colonel *Careis* Houſe, and thence brought to *Vienna*, and lodged at the Convent of Father *Nicholas Donilard* an Iriſh Frier in the Suburbs of that city; where *Serini* having ſeen, and diſcourſed perſonally with Mr. *Hedges*, he declared to him, *That if the Turks had been, as good as their words, he had not been there a priſoner at that time.* In this particular two things ſeem ſtrange, and unuſual. Firſt on the *Turks* ſide, that a matter of this ſecrecy ſhould be ſo openly divulged and diſcourſed by them at *Salonica*: And ſecondly, on the Emperours part, that a buſineſs of this Importance commonly known at the Grand Signor's Court, ſhould want a perſon to advice, and transfer it to *Vienna*; until it came accidentally to be publiſhed by a ſtranger, who having taken a circuit with it by way of *Conſtantinople*, and his leiſure there to accomodate his own affairs, vented it, rather as a Subject of diſcourſe, then a new diſcovery. 'Tis true, the *Turks* are very commonly open in their counſels, and have a qualitie to keep nothing ſecret though recommended to them under never ſo many Injunctions of privacy: yet that the Emperour who commonly maintains a Miniſter tending at the *Ottoman* Court, ſhould have no other intelligence hereof, then ſuch an accidental, and unexpected conveyance, is a matter which affords occaſion to upbraid the Negligence of the *Germans*, and at the ſame time to admire and praiſe the divine Providence and Juſtice. 1670.

Anno Chriſti 1670. *Hegeira* 1081.

THE Spring coming forward, the Great Vizier declared, That after St. *George's* day, which is the 23*d* day of *April*, (called by the Turks *Caſſim gheun*) he reſolved to depart from *Candia*; and therefore ordered, That all Ships, Saiks, Brigantines, and other Veſſels, which were found in any Port of the Grand Signior's Dominions, ſhould be ſent to *Candia*; to

1670. to tranſport him and the remainder of his Army to *Rhodeſto* in *Romelia*, from whence he deſigned his March to meet the Grand Signior at *Adrianople*. But before his departure he took a view of the Iſland, taking his progreſs through the whole circumference of it, and numbring all the Inhabitants which paid Harach, or Pole-mony, found them not to exceed two and twenty thouſand perſons. For though in the time of *Delle Mehmet* Paſha, who was the firſt that brought the Ottoman Sword into that Country, there were liſted fifty five thouſand, who paid duties of Harach; yet now, the Plague, the Sword, and other miſeries of War had reduced them to that ſmall number, of whom ten thouſand (as is reported) periſhed in the Mines, and before the Walls of their own City; and great numbers of Olive-Trees being cut down and burned by the Souldiery in time of the War, is the reaſon that that Iſland yields not half the quantity of Oils as in former times.

The Vizier takes a jurvey of the whole Iſle of Candia.

The Ambaſſador of *Venice* Signior *Aliviſe Molino*, before mentioned, was now at *Candia*, deſigning to accompany the Vizier in his Voyage to the Grand Signior; for adorning which Embaſſy the Republick had appointed a Ship to carry the Preſents and ſeveral Perſons of Quality for attendance of the Bailo (for ſo their Ambaſſador is called;) and in regard in that paſſage the ſhip was to touch at *Zant*, they laded on her a hundred thouſand Zechins for payment of that Souldiery, which with the Captain General were returned from *Candia* to that place, with Preſents for the Grand Signior and his Court; but it pleaſed God, that this Ship ſailing down the Gulf, met with ſo furious a ſtorm of Wind, that ſhe ſuffered ſhipwrack on the Coaſt of *Italy*, where not only the ſhip and goods were loſt, but every ſoul upon that ſhip periſhed; amongſt which was *Lorenzo Molino* Son of the Ambaſſador, and *Ottavio Labia*, another noble Venetian.

The Vizier departs from Candia, *and arrives at* Scio.

The Great Vizier entertained himſelf ſo long in *Candia* that the month of *May* was well entered before he departed thence; and by the way touched at *Scio*, where he was met by all the Officers and Governors of the adjacent Juriſdictions, who came to make tender of their Preſents and Services; but the Vizier in a plauſible manner, accepted of their courteous Offers, but returned their Gifts, ſaying, That he was ſo ſenſible of the great oppreſſions and experices the neighbouring Countries had ſuffered by reaſon of the War, that he was reſolved to ſuperinduce no new Charge by Victory and Peace.

In like manner from all parts was a confluence of poor oppreſſed people, who came to petition for juſtice and relief againſt the corruption and tyranny of their Governors in the reſpective Countries. But the Vizier admitted no Audience for Complaints, whether it were to maintain an appreſenſion of his clemency and gentleneſs, by acting nothing that was cruel or ſevere, or to enjoy himſelf after his cares and turmoils in the War; he almoſt for fourteen days continuance entertained himſelf in private by the cool and cryſtalline Fountains of *Scio*. Some report, that he gave himſelf at that time ſo exceſſively to Wine, being overjoyed at his ſucceſs, and concluſion of the War, that he was never capable, during his abode there, of ſerious thoughts or counſels; ſo that his Kahya, or Secretary, could never be admitted acceſs, unleſs he were called, though on the moſt urgent occaſion of buſineſs. Others interpreted his retirements to be in order to ſerious conſiderations about the management of Affairs at his return; as how to ſatisfie the expectations of the Grandees, who patiently attended an amendment of abuſes in the Government; how he might pacifie the minds of the Souldiery, who were jealous of Conſpiracies againſt the lives of the Royal Brothers, and how to ſteer in an even courſe at Court between the ſecurity of his Maſter, and ſatisfaction of the Vulgar; for all the World lived in hope that alteration of times would amend abuſes, and that the laſt remedy of all was the return of the Viziers Authority. Howſoever, it is certainly reported, That the Vizier was become exceedingly intemperate in wine, and drowned much of his cares in the fumes and vapours of it, ſuppoſing himſelf, as *Tiberius* did in *Caprea*, exempt from the eyes of the World; whilſt he remained in *Scio*, which the Sea had ſeparated from the greater Continent. And yet the Vizier, is believed, never to have taſted Wine, or known whether it was bitter or ſweet, till the pride of his ſucceſs in *Candia* tranſported him to make his joy extravagant, to which the Officers about his Perſon invited him; as that which cheared the ſpirits, ſtrengthened the Nerves, and induced a ſtrange kind of delight and pleaſure in the fancy, beyond any thing of Poppies, or Opiate Compoſitions, or *Biram*-Paſha's Pills, or Berſe, or a thouſand other inventions, fit only to confuſe mens reaſon, and ſtupifie the brain, and benumb all the ſenſes, in which ſome, as I have heard, had ſo practiſed themſelves by degrees, that they could ſwallow five drams in twenty four hours, though I never knew any, unleſs one Turk, whom I ſaw eat above three; but then they could eat nothing elſe, nor were they fit afterwards to receive or digeſt any other nouriſhment, Nature being uſed to that poyſon, rejected all other ſounder nutriment. But Wine (they ſaid) cheared the heart in that manner, and comforted the ſtomach, that the Turks began now generally to drink it, unleſs he were ſome Phariſaical Hypocrite of the Ulamah, or ſome ſuperſtitious aged and ignorant Profeſſor. So that the vice of drunkenneſs became more common amongſt the Turks, than amongſt the Germans, or our ſelves: I am ſure more intolerable, and adminiſtred to more miſchiefs, by how much the Turks being unaccuſtomed to Wine, knew leſs how to comport the heats of Intemperance.

The Great Vizier perſwaded to drink wine.

The Souldiers and other Turks drink Wine to exceſs.

And here I ſhall make a little digreſſion from my purpoſe in hand to acquaint my Reader of the effects which I have obſerved to be produced in thoſe who accuſtom themſelves to the uſe of Opium. In all the Country Villages amongſt the Turks, the more aged ſort of men who have moſt leiſure, and leaſt neceſſity to work, addict themſelves to Opium for alleviation (as they ſay) of their cares, and to forget their ſorrow, for pleaſure in the taſte there can be none, being very bitter to the palate; which being taken in a morning in a ſmall quantity, about the bigneſs of a Tare, ſuperinduces at firſt a ſtrange chearfulneſs about the heart, and thence raiſes a more pleaſing vapor to the head, than any

A digreſſion about Opium.

can

1670. can proceed from the ſpirits of the beſt and the higheſt Wines: but afterwards as it begins to digeſt, the vapour becomes more groſs, and conſequently a kind of ſtupefaction is induced over the brain and nerves, which with drowſineſs and ſleep paſſes away like a drunken fit. The Youth amongſt them which drink Wine abhor Opium, until growing into years, and to the care of a family (as a ſign of which they ſuffer their beards to increaſe) they are taught by their Imaum, and more by example of others, that Wine being againſt their Law, is only diſpenſable in wild and unbridled Youth, but in thoſe of riper age is a vice to be reproached by all ſober and well-governed men. In the place of which they take up the lawful and innocent Pill of Opium, which makes men ſerious and ſetled (as they ſay) becauſe that it operates not like Wine, which makes men mad, and raſh, and violent, but diſpoſes them to be Sots, and to ſit grave and quiet without doing hurt to any man, which is a qualification accounted very laudable amongſt them, and is one of the greateſt Vertues which they endeavour to acquire in their Tekeés or Monaſteries. This being the reaſon for which it is taken and allowed, it is grown a common cuſtom almoſt amongſt all the Country-people, who in the morning before they go to work take firſt their Opium, and upon it three or four diſhes of Coffee; for it is obſervable, that none eats Opium but who accompanies it with great quantities of Coffee, which is doubtleſs a kind of Opiate in it ſelf, and partakes very much of a Narcotick Quality; by this means and conſtant uſe ſome arrive to take ſtrange quantities; the moſt that ever I knew any man take was three drams in twenty four hours, *viz.* a dram and a half or thereabouts in the morning, and as much an hour afternoon: the which for more exactneſs I had the curioſity to ſee weighed. The ſame perſon offered for a ſmall reward to take five drams in twenty four hours; but then he ſaid, it required a long time to digeſt, and did not doubt but to overcome it: but I was too ſcrupulous to put a man into a ſleep, from whence I feared he might never awake. This perſon was of a *thin* and livid complexion, his skin ſhriveled, no more beard than a few hairs, his mouth commonly open, becauſe his chap was fallen; his countenance putting me often in mind of the Picture I have ſeen of the *Gorgons* head; for had it been incompaſſed with Snakes inſtead of his Turbant, it might have ſerved for a perfect Original. He had arrived to the years of forty eight, and from the years thirty he had entred into Opium from great exceſs of Wine: in which condition he found that his ſtomach required little other nouriſhment, being content with a ſmall quantity of bread and water for his other Diet, Opium ſupplying him with all the other Delicacies he could deſire: he was the father notwithſtanding of two or three children, which he confeſſed to have begot in the ſtrength of his Opium, having no deſire to accompany with his wife, until he was firſt invigorated with his uſual Doſe, being till then like a Trunk or Log, *wanting ſpirits* almoſt to turn his body. For his Opium was that only which could revive all, which about a quarter of an hour after it was taken began to operate, and then we diſcovered in his eyes, which before were dull and heavy, ſcarce opening, a certain quickneſs and ſparkling, and then ſoon after he was fitted for the work of the day, and could labour as others, and take a journey on foot of ſeven or eight miles to Market, and return home at night: his body was always bound, or his belly conſtipated with the hardneſs of his excrement, and yet he was ſubject to no other ſickneſs, unleſs his vitiated deſire to this Poyſon which can nouriſh no wholeſome or healthful body. The Turks, as I have learned, make little other uſe of Opium than this; yet ſometimes they will put it into their Camels ears, and the noſtrils of their Horſes, when faint and weary, wherewith they revive again, and ſoon recover their ſtrength and force to travel. 1670.

The Vizier having thus paſſed ſome days of Entertainment at *Scio*, entred again his Gally, and paſſing through the Streights of the *Helleſpont* arrived at *Rodeſto*, where having landed many of his Janiſaries and ſuch of the Army as remained with him, after a few days continuance he marched to *Adrianople*, where he was received by the Grand Signior with all evidences of ſatisfaction, and entred the City triumphant after the manner of the Turkiſh *Allai*.

The Ceremonies and Complements being paſt, which uſually intervene between Great Perſonages after a long abſence, the grand Conſultation was, In what manner to prevent the ſeditious irruptions of the Souldiery, and how to reconcile the Jealouſies between the Grand Signior and his Brothers. For the former, two things were concluded neceſſary. Firſt, to divide the Militia of the Janiſaries, which was immediately executed, and eight thouſand of them, under pretence of Incurſions, were ſent through *Moldavia* to remain on the Frontiers of *Poland*. Secondly, it being obſerved, that moſt of the Souldiery drank Wine, from whence in ancient times aroſe many Mutinies and Seditions of the Souldiery, dangerous to the Ottoman State, as namely in the time of *Mahomet* III. when the Janiſaries in the heat of drunkenneſs entred the Seraglio by force, and demanded the Heads of the chief Favourites: And as then it was judged the beſt Expedient to cool the hot brains of the Janiſaries, to proclaim a Prohibition of Wine at *Conſtantinople*, and to command upon pain of death, That thoſe who had any Wine in their Houſes ſhould bring it forth, and ſtave it; ſo now the uſe of it was univerſally forbidden in all the parts of the Grand Signiors Dominions, and a ſpecial Command was ſent to all places reſpectively under the penalty of death, and a thouſand maledictions, curſing Wine as come from Hell, and as a Liquor produced by the Devil to enſnare mens ſouls, and inebriate their heads, and confound States. And ſo generally was this Prohibition enjoyned, that his Majeſties Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople* with long ſolicitation and charge obtained licence for his Family, and the Merchants there to make Wine; but for the Merchants at *Smyrna* there was more difficulty, and this year Wine was not made in their Houſes according to cuſtom, and not without ſcruple permitted to be imported from the Greeks Iſlands, and other parts where the Command extended not its force; for the Prohibition was to all places where Moſchs or Turks Inhabitants, the Villages or Iſles where Chriſtians only lived were not included. To 1670.

this

1670. this Prohibition were added on every Friday Sermons to the People inveighing againſt Wine, and curſing the Drinkers of it, in which affair *Vanni Efendi* the Grand Signiors Preacher was much concerned, from whom the Original of this Counſel was judged to proceed. And now to pleaſe the Reader, who perhaps may be curious to know the ſtile of this Prohibition; I have here inſerted the Command *verbatim* as tranſlated out of the Original, and directed to the Kadi of *Smyrna*.

The Command againſt Wine.

TO the moſt perfect of the Judges amongſt Muſulmin (or Believers) the moſt worthy amongſt thoſe Powers which profeſs one God, the Mine of Vertue and Wiſdom, the Exemplar of Juſtice to all People, the Inheritor of the Sciences of the Prophets and Apoſtles, the Ornament of his Office, and (through the Grace of God aſſiſting) our Preſident in Smyrna, *whoſe Vertues may they ever be augmented. At Receipt of this my Royal Command know, That Wine and Games at Dice, and figured Cards, and of Arrows without feathers, which are Lotteries, are the filthineſs of Diabolical work (according to the teſtimony of the miraculous Revelation) are Fomenters of malice and wickedneſs, and are the ferment of that Faction and Sedition which corrupt and ſeduce the Servants of God, which being prohibited by Authority, and yet uſed, provokes the anger and diſdain of Almighty God againſt us: And whereas by this Mother of all wickedneſs (that is, Wine) the Muſulmin Kingdoms are defiled, there appears an evident alteration of the Muſulmin Law and Faith, and an inlet to actions of foul impreſſion. Praiſed be the high and moſt great God, that in the days of my years abounding in Felicity, the obſervation of lawful Precepts hath been confirmed, and unlawful things have been prohibited; and now I know that this is the ſum of the moſt important Affair conducing to my Kingdoms and my own Felicities, and in general the principal and greateſt care, and the beſt and moſt neceſſary Canon of my Empire: ſo that being deſirous to ſatisfie the Creator of the World, my Royal and immutable Will reſolves to cleanſe and purifie the Muſulmin Kingdoms of this prohibited and filthy abomination; wherefore when this Royal Command comes to your hands, whereſoever there are Taverns of Wine, let them be raſed and thrown down in all Cities and Towns ennobled with Muſulmin Moſchs, let the buying and ſelling thereof be prohibited, with all drinking and uſe of Wine; and likewiſe I command, That in* Conſtantinople, Bruſa, *and* Adrianople *the Impoſition thereupon be wholly taken off. And that in all other Cities and Towns adorned with Muſulmin Moſchs, there be not a drop of Wine ſuffered or admitted in; and that Muſulmins neither privately nor ſecretly drink Wine; and whoſoever is or ſhall be Author of this ſin, and to alter my Command in this particular, either now or hereafter, may he be puniſhed by the Univerſal Lord of all the World. Likewiſe when this my Command of high Reputation appears, which is a Royal Writing, let it be annexed to the Decretal Rolls, and be put in execution according as it is obligatory. And when this Command comes to your hands, you are to have all due care of this injoyned particular, That it operate according to the Tenor of this Royal Injunction, participating of Proſperity and Majeſtick Power, by virtue of which you are to reprove, reprehend, hinder, and prohibit, according to the Law of God, the drinking of Wine; and that it may be wholly taken away, let the Tax and Revenue which proceeds from thence be taken off, and in all guarded and governed Cities and places of my Kingdoms, let the Taverns be ruined and overthrown. And therefore you are to make known and publiſh to all Citizens and Inhabitants the force of this my Royal Command, as well in the City of* Smyrna, *as in other Cities and Towns ennobled with Muſulmin Moſchs, and you are to ruine the Taverns which are found there. And you are to take away the Houſes of Entertainment amongſt the Franks which are in* Smyrna *that ſell Wine, nor ſhall they ſell Wine in their own houſes, but you ſhall hinder and prohibit them: and if thoſe Taverns ſhall be the Poſſeſſions of private men, you ſhall adviſe the Owners of them; or if they be bequeathed by Teſtament to the Deputies of the* Muteveli, *you ſhall admoniſh them with earneſtneſs and threats, That in the place of Taverns they raiſe other more profitable and lawful Buildings, and that they re-edifie them in a different form from the firſt. And the Taverns being ruined and demoliſhed according to my Royal Command, and the Butts and other Utenſils thereof taken away, you ſhall make a publick Arz thereof, and ſend it to my Royal Stirrup; and you being admoniſhed thereof by my Royal Admonition, you are to have a care that neither in the City nor Suburbs thereof, nor in Cities adorned with Royal Moſchs any perſon whatſoever bring in Wine, or one drop thereof, or that the buying or ſelling thereof be admitted, and that no Muſulman drink Wine. For if after this I come to underſtand, That any perſon have brought in Wine, though it be but one drop, I ſwear by the Holy Souls of my Grandfathers, and great Grandfathers that thoſe who bring it in, or ſell it, or drink it, ſhall be puniſhed with ſuch tortures, as were never inflicted on any before. In ſhort, this being a buſineſs ſo important as to the Faith, as to my Empire, my ſtrong intention and firm reſolution is to cleanſe and purifie in the higheſt degree as well the Frontiers, as the Royal Seats of my Empire from ſo foul a ſink,*

1670.

1671. *ſink of ſo much filthineſs and diſſention; and therefore do injoyn this Royal Writing of high felicity ſo far, that nothing ſhall be able to change or alter it, or revoke this Command of Majeſtick Reputation. And for the future, let him be who he will, that ſhall offer to oppoſe, or alter, or change this my Command declared by theſe Preſents, or have intention or deſign to the contrary, may the curſe of God be upon him. In conformity hereunto know you, that are Judges, that this being my Will and Pleaſure, and ultimate Reſolution, you are to regiſter this noble Command in the Book of publick Acts and Decrees, that ſo it may be preſerved; and for execution thereof, you are to uſe all your diligence and power, and therein to take due care; for if after theſe Admonitions, Confirmations, Menaces, and Rigors, Wine be either bought or ſold in the Cities or Suburbs, or other places, as before; or that there remains any Tavern not ruined, or if in any wiſe a drop of Wine be bought or ſold, you ſhall receive due puniſhment, and your ſelf ſuffer the ſame torments which are threatned againſt thoſe who are publickly guilty of the tranſgreſſion of this Law. Therefore know this, and knowing it, give credit to my noble Firme.*

Dated in the Month *Rabiul Evel*, *Hegeira* 1081. in *Adrianople*.

And now one would imagine that this Command being a Hatteſherif ſigned with the Grand Signior's own hand, would have been of durable and perpetual Force and Authority. But experience hath ſhewed us the contrary, that in one Year after, Licence being firſt given to Franks, to make Wine in their own houſes, and eſpecially to all Chriſtian Miniſters; in one year more the indulgence became univerſal, and Taverns were again admitted, and, ſtill continue as common and free as in former times.

Anno Chriſti 1671. *Hegeira* 1082.

THE Ship which carried the Preſents for the Turks and deſigned to tranſport the Ambaſſadour, being caſt away, new preparations were made, and the Gally *Brazzana*, commanded by *Alexandro Zeno*, a noble Venetian, was diſpatched with them, being ordered to tranſport Signior *Molino* the Ambaſſadour to the Port, who was received with the uſual honours due to his Quality and Character; all which Ceremonies and Offices being paſt, ſeveral matters occured which were not ſo well expreſſed in the Capitulations, but that they needed an explication; and new Orders and Models for redreſs of Affairs in *Dalmatia*: For the Morlacchs, who in the time of the War had ſubmitted themſelves to the obedience of the Venetians, began now to infeſt the Country, and to enter into thoſe places, which in the firſt years of the War they had deſtroyed and abandoned; the Turks on the other ſide oppoſed them, and the Country being open, many skirmiſhes happened, and as many troubles enſued as in the time of the War. 1671.

For adjuſting theſe differences *Mahomet* Paſha of *Boſna* was diſpatched into thoſe Countries with Authority and Inſtructions; where on the other ſide he was met by *Antonio Barbaro*, Proveditor General of *Dalmatia* and *Albania*, appointed by the Senate to accord and ſettle the differences of the Confines; and the place deſigned for meeting of the Commiſſioners was appointed to be between *Climno* and *Cliſſa*; but ſuch was the fury of the people, and the paſſion that both parties had to recover their ancient poſſeſſions, that the Turks in the Month of *November* by force of Armes made themſelves Maſters of *Obronzo* and *Dernis*, which were ſurrendred without much oppoſition, by reaſon of the ſmall numbers of the Morlacchs, who neither having Garriſon nor Fortifications were eaſily ſurprized, under the pretence of peace. But it ſucceeded otherwiſe at *Scardona*, where by the aſſiſtance of a Gally and ſome Brigantines, the Turks, who were the Aggreſſors, were repulſed; and in like manner at *Riſano* they were beaten off, and put to flight with much confuſion and ſlaughter, with the death alſo of *Uſuff* Bey, their chief Commander, and Author of all theſe troubles.

The Relation of theſe diſturbances was carried to the Port by the Boſnacs, who were concerned in theſe Affairs, with all circumſtances of aggravation which might incenſe the Grand Signior, and move the Vizier to take part in their Quarrel; But he being deſirous to maintain that Peace which he himſelf had concluded, moved the Grand Signior to diſpatch a Haſachee, or one of his Royal Officers, to render him an exact account of the true ſtate of the Affairs of that Country. In which Interim *Mahomet* Paſha of *Boſna*, the Commiſſioner happening to dye, the Vizier moved, That the Morlacchs ſhould ſurrender up thoſe places which they had lately poſſeſſed, and that new Commiſſioners ſhould be again ſent for adjuſting the Limits of the Confines, and the Poſſeſſions of the Inhabitants. The Senate of *Venice* accepting this propoſition, gave Orders to their General *Barbaro* to withdraw the people from the places in diſpute, and in the Month of *May* 1671. made and conſtituted the Cavalier *Nani*, Procurator of St. *Mark*, their Plenipotentiary, with full authority to compoſe all differences touching the Frontiers. On part of the Turks one *Mamut*, once Paſha of *Buda*, and late Chimacam of *Conſtantinople*, was nominated and impowred with like faculty; he was a perſon with whom I was well acquainted, and of whom we have had occaſion to diſcourſe, when he was Kahya to old *Kuperlee*. He was a Native of the Country of *Boſna*, who are reputed for men of much more affable and courteous diſpoſition, and of more pleaſing Converſation, than the common temper of the Turks who are for the moſt part of haughty, ſullen, and ſaturnine Complexions.

Theſe Commiſſioners, with *Thomas Tarſia* Interpreter, met about the end of *July*, in the plains of *Iſland* between *Zara* and *Sebenico* under Tents erected for that purpoſe: At this meeting were preſent alſo the Mufti, and Treaſurer of *Boſna*, and all the Kadi's and Military Officers of that Province, which might make a Body of four or five thouſand men, ill armed, and badly accoutred: With *Nani* the Commiſſioner

1671. oner for *Venice*, were preſent, *Alberto Magno* Captain of *Zara*, *Farſetti* Proveditor of *Cliſſa*; divers military Officers, ſuch as the Cavalier *Variſano*, *Grimaldi* Serjeant General, Count *Rados*, the Count *Scorto*, *Vimercato*, *Ceſarini*, with divers other Colonels, and Perſons of Quality, and Nobles of the Province, ſome of which were Repreſentatives for their principal Cities, ſuch as *Zara*, *Sebenico*, *Spalato*, and *Trau*. His Excellency the Comiſſioner *Nani* had three Troops of Horſe, and as many Companies of Foot, for his Guard, and at *Poſſidaria* were two Gallies and four Brigantines to attend him: ſo that his Equipage appeared as well Martial, as agreeable to a place ordained for a Treaty of Peace.

On the 27*th*. of *July* the Commiſſioners had their firſt Conference in the Paſha's Tent, the Debate continued many hours with much heat; which did not only relate to the late Conqueſts, but new difficulties aroſe in regard that *Ferat* Aga, appointed Commiſſioner for the Port, had in the year 1573 aſſigned Bounds and Limits to the Confines, according to his pleaſure and arbitrary will, which not being aſſented unto by the Venetians, a new regulation was made by the ſaid *Ferat*, together with Cavalier *Soranzo* in the year 1576. Time afterwards, and the turbulent ſpirits of the Inhabitants had altered theſe Limits, and by reaſon of the long War the Land-Marks and Bounds of the Confines were removed or wholly deſtroyed. The original Copies of the Writings of Agreement were rotted, and much defaced, the names of the places and the ſcituations being wrote in divers Languages, were confuſed, and the reports of the people were ſo different, proceeding from the diverſity of their Intereſts, that little of judgment could be founded on their relations. At length, as to the Confines of *Zara*, it was agreed, That they ſhould be regulated according as they were limited by *Soranzo* and *Ferat*; for better ſettlement of which, and to avoid all doubtfulneſs or miſtake, the Commiſſioners took the pains to travel ſeveral days journey in perſon to erect the bounds and Limits of each people; in which though many conteſts and differences aroſe between particular perſons, yet at length perſonal intereſts were forced to give way to publick determinations.

In like manner the Confines of *Sebenico* were determined, being bounded by the River *Checa*, and being arrived at *Scardona*, the Paſha *Mamut* deſired that he might have the conveniēnce of paſſing in the Gally, and accordingly he was received aboard, and treated with that generous entertainment which is agreeable to the magnificence of the Republick; and landing at the River of *Belulla* on the Banks of the Vally *Daniel*, where the Paſha had placed his Tents, the Turks who with a greedy eye ſwallowed in their thoughts the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of all theſe Plains, would have enlarged their Confines to thoſe marks which *Ferat* Aga had ſingly placed according to his own arbitrary pleaſure, including alſo *Verpogly* within their Limits. This *Verpogly* was a ſmall Redoubt on the top of a Hill once belonging to the Venetians, which at the begining of the War they abandoned, as coſting more to maintain and defend, than the value or conſideration of it; the Turks afterwards poſſeſſed it, when they had a deſign to beſiege *Sebenico*, but afterwards forſook it, and retired; upon this place *Mamut* much inſiſted, producing a Command from the Grand Signior, ordering that it be taken in, fortified, and garriſoned. But *Nani* with more force of Argument inſiſted on the contrary, producing ancient Writings, and undeniable Teſtimonies to prove that this place did really, and of right belong to the Republick; by which, though the Paſha was fully convinced in his own mind; yet being over-awed by the inſolent importunities of the Inhabitants, he was cautious and fearful of declaring his true ſenſe in the caſe, but rather endeavoured to overcome the Venetians ſometimes with flatteries, and anon with menances, having to that purpoſe, beſides his own Forces, ordered the Beglerbey of *Greece* to approach thoſe Confines with an Army of about ten thouſand men. But all this did not move the ſteddy Conſtancy of the Venetian Commiſſioner from his reaſon and right; for maintenance of which he appeared firm and reſolute, and being neceſſitated for conveniēnce of Water to remove his Quarters to the Lake *Rebenich*, gave ſome jealouſie to the Paſha by this retirement of an intention to break the Peace; howſoever, *Nani* declared his meaning to the contrary, and that there might be no interruption to their proceedings, propoſed that theſe differences might be remitted to the Supreme Powers; and that in the mean time, until anſwers came, they might proceed in the adjuſtment of other parts of the Confines. But the Paſha aſſented not hereunto, but deſired rather the diſpute ſhould be referred to the Port, and that in the mean time he himſelf ſhould retire to *Cettina*, and the other to *Spallato*. Scarce were the Meſſages ſent, and the Diſpatches made (by *Iſaac* Aga, a Perſon whom I well knew) before *Mamut* Paſha, after a ſhort indiſpoſition ended his days: he was a man of about ninety two years of age, at which years I have admired to ſee him ride abroad, and tranſact his affairs with great dexterity, with a ſtrong memory, and a ſound judgment. And here it is admirable to obſerve with what conſtancy and patience the Turkiſh Officers do uſually ſupport their laborious employments; they contemn all difficulties and incommodiouſneſs of living, as if they did not feel them, inuring themſelves to colds and hearts, to watchings and labours, being abſtemious in their diet, and as occaſions require, not indulging to ſleep; and no queſtion but this aged man travelling in the ſcalding heat of the Sun, and ſuffering much for want of plenty, as well as of good water, dried up that little radical moiſture which remained, and cauſed this Autumn-fruit to fall, which perhaps might have continued a ſhort time longer on the tree, had it not been deſiccated by drought, and ſhaken too hard by the motion of travels and labour.

The difference about Verpogly.

Mamut Paſha dyes.

The News of *Mamut* Paſha's death being arrived at the Port, a Commiſſion was immediately granted to *Chuſaein* Paſha Imbrahor, or Maſter of the Horſe to the Grand Signior, to ſucceed in his government and buſineſs of Treaty concerning the Limits of the Confines; with which Authority and Inſtructions *Chuſaein* poſted away, and being well informed by *Iſaac* Aga of the ill nature and rapacious diſpoſition of thoſe Borderers, arrived with intentions to agree, and with courteous and benign thoughts towards Cavalier *Nani*, who had gained a great eſteem and repute amongſt the Turks of a generous and noble diſpoſition.

On the 4 of *October* the Commiſſioners met in

1671. in the Valley of St. *Daniel*, ſhewing a courteous and kind aſpect each towards other. Wherefore laying all conſiderations concerning the Limits aſſigned by *Forat Aga*, and the Conteſts about *Verſoglie*, the Line drawn from the Mountain *Tartarus* was agreed, and determined to be the true and undoubted Confines of *Sebenico*. The Valley of St. *Daniel*, for the pleaſure and fruitfulneſs of it, adminiſtred more of difficulty; but at length the Arguments of *Nani* prevailed, and induced the Paſha to aſſent to thoſe Bounds, which had been aſſigned by *Soranco* in the year 1576. giving, to avoid future miſtakes, the true names to thoſe places, which the Turks for their advantage, and to confuſe things, had altered and diſguiſed, that they might not be known. Thence proceeding to the Teritory of *Traa*, where was leſs of difficulty or trouble; for the Wars not having made much alteration in that place, the Lines were evidently deſcribed by *Soranco*, according to whoſe deſcription the Fields, Plains, Rocks, and Mountains were meaſured out and allowed.

A new Conference of the Commiſſioners.

Laſtly, They came near to *Spalato*, where before the War there was little of any Territory aſſigned; but now by the Conqueſt of *Cliſſa* there was aſſigned unto it a ſpatious and fruitful Country, extending it ſelf to the foot of the Mountains. As to *Cliſſa* there was no difference at all; howſoever the Turks would on no means admit, that the Venetians ſhould keep *Salona* and *Vragnizza*, becauſe by that they would cut off all communication between *Cliſſa* and *Spalato*, and thereby render it a place uſeleſs, and of more charge than benefit; and becauſe thoſe two places of *Salona* and *Vragnizza* had been the Dowry of a Sultana Wife of *Ruſſen* Paſha, and by her given to endow a Moſch, which therefore according to their Religion could not be given away, nor alienated. But *Nani* inſiſting as vigorouſly on this, as on other points, ſhewed himſelf reſolute to maintain this particular, as being that, which if not granted, would certainly in a ſhort time be occaſion of thoſe quarrels and diſſentions, which muſt neceſſarily break forth into an open War: for that there could be no ſecurity of Peace to the Inhabitants of *Salona*, whilſt they lived amidſt their Enemies, and juſt on the Skirts of *Cliſſa*, *Spalato*, and *Saſſa*. *Chuſacin* having well comprehended this conſideration, and being deſirous to diſpoſe matters towards a durable Peace, ſlighted the opinion and ſenſe of the Borderers, and ſo concluded all matters, and in preſence of *Nani* ſubſcribed the Agreement on the 24*th.* of *October* in open Divan held in the Campagne of *Salona*; the which was alſo mutually ſubſcribed, and Copies interchangeably given. And in this manner the difference about the Confines was concluded, and the long War between *Venice* and the Turks had an end.

Whilſt all things were reducing themſelves into a poſture of Peace, the Timariots diſbanded, and the Janiſaries retired to their Chambers, in the month of *October* returned the Turks Envoyé from *France*, bringing with him an Ambaſſadour from that King called Monſieur *De Nointel*, a Perſon of an excellent temper, grave and ſerious in his Treatſes and comportment; and to give this Embaſſy the greater reputation, he was attended with three Men of War and a Fire-ſhip, which ſailing along the *Helleſpont* and *Propontick* without oppoſition, came to an Anchor near ſeven Towers, from whence ſending advice of their arrival to the Chimacam demanded to be ſaluted by the Seraglio, they promiſing as they paſſed to ſhew the firſt demonſtrations of courteſie; but that being denied, as not uſual or cuſtomary, the French Ships paſſed the Seraglio ſilently without firing a Gun, or any ſignifications on either ſide, whether of Friendſhip of Hoſtility: the Ships came to an Anchor at *Fondaclé*, where the Ambaſſadour remained aboard unſaluted and unacknowledged by the publick Miniſters of the City; until the Great Vizier, who ſuppoſed that a breach with *France* ought to have better foundation than a meer Punctilio of Honour, ſeemed more to deſpiſe than take notice of the affront. For he who knew ſo well to diſſemble, after he had ſeen the French Troops ranged both in *Hungary* and *Candia*, againſt the Ottoman Forces, and yet politickly connived thereat, and accepted an excuſe, *did not eſteem* it prudence to ground a War for want of the ſmoke of a few Guns; but on the contrary ordered, That the Ambaſſadour ſhould be received with the uſual Form and Solemnity of Reception. The French having the advantage by this ſucceſs, the Souldiers and Sea-men belonging to the Ships committed many inſolencies in *Pera* and *Calata*, which never were revenged or accounted for; and when the Ships departed, above an hundred Slaves eſcaped from the Gallies and parts of *Conſtantinople*, and gained Sanctuary aboard: amongſt the reſt one Monſieur *De Beau-jeu* a Knight of *Malta*, who had for a long time been Priſoner in the ſeven Towers; but at length knocking off his Irons, and by help of a Cord letting himſelf down from one of the higheſt Towers in the night, recovered the Ships, and regained his liberty. Nor yet did this nor other affronts, whereby the French did really brave the Turks, adminiſter ſufficient ſubject of choler to the Vizier; for paſſing all by, as if nothing had been done, or nothing worthy his notice, frankly gave his Orders to let the Ships paſs the Caſtles, which upon the foregoing cauſes and pretences had been before detained: adding, That it was natural, as well for men as for birds, to endeavour to procure their liberty, and therefore were not blameable but that thoſe to whoſe care they were committed, wanting due circumſpection and vigilance in their Office, ſhould pay for the eſcape of their charge by the price of their own lives or liberties.

1671.

The French Ambaſſadour in the mean time proceeded in his Journey to *Adrianople*, where the Court reſided; and having paſſed through the ſeveral degrees and Punctilio's of Viſits and other Ceremonies, at length deſcending to matters of buſineſs, propoſed the renovation of the Articles of Peace, with an addition of thirty two Particulars to be altered or adjoyned. The Vizier who all this time kept more in his heart than he evidenced in his countenance, refuſed to condeſcend to a conceſſion of the moſt eaſie and reaſonable of their demands, offering only to renew the Capitulations *verbatim*, according to the Tenour of the ancient Cannon, without other alteration than the Name of the preſent Sultan, and the Date of the Month and Year, and herein he was ſo conſtant and fixed, that no arguments or colours of reaſon could ſeem to move him in the moſt minute and leſs important points of circumſtances; and this perhaps left the World

ſhould

1671. should imagine, that the Turks were affrighted into Terms and better Treatments of Friendship, or that Immunities and Privileges in the Ottoman Court were acquired rather by rude usage adjoyned with menaces and neglects, than by more candid and fawning Addresses.

In this manner the French Affairs rather went back than forwards in the Ottoman Court, and it seemed that the Turks late Embassy into *France* and of the French to the Port served to augment the differences more than allay them. For the new Ambassador falling short in his expectation, having obtained nothing of those many Particulars which he demanded, retired male-content from *Adrianople* to his usual Residence at *Constantinople*, where he resolved to attend what farther Instructions should be given him from *France*; and supposing his Master would ill resent his usage so contrary to what was promised in general terms, did suppose, that his next Orders would be of revocation, and that those frequent disgusts and distrespects so often received, and given on one side and the other, would at length burst out into an open defiance. The Turks apprehended so much themselves, and as their affairs and designs proved afterwards with *Poland*, they were displeased that they had given the most Christian King so just an occasion of quarrel: for understanding towards the latter end of the Year 1671. that great Preparations for War were making in *France* both by Sea and Land, they were conscious that their demerits had justly deserved the chastisement of the French Arms, in revenge of the many injuries they had offered that Nation, and therefore pausèd a while, and observed the motion of these Enemies, before they would engage themselves in a War with *Poland*. But at length the beginning of the Year 1672. having discovered the designs of *France* to be only intended against *Holland*, the Turks reassumed their purposes so long premeditated against *Poland*, with an arrogance natural to Turks, and with a scorn not only of *France*, but of all Christendom. For his most Christian Majesty judging perhaps, that the rude treatment of an Infidel Prince so far remote, intrenched not so much on his Honour and Interest, as the quarrel he had with the neighbouring States, seemed to contemn for the present, or rather to defer the revenge of former injuries until a more fit and commodious season; wherefore in the mean time his Ambassador upon new Instructions from *France* brought purposely by a Man of War, repaired a second time to *Adrianople*, where he intimated unto the chief Ministers the great desire his Master had to maintain that League and Friendship, which for above an hundred years had continued inviolate and uninterrupted: and therefore waving all other former Particulars of demand, declared himself satisfied, only to renew the Capitulations, with that single alteration of their Customs from five to three in the hundred, according to that Priviledge which the English and all other Christian Merchants enjoyed, whose League and Friendship was subsequent to that of others. The Great Vizier being now freed of that suspicion and fear he apprehended of the French Fleet, and being assured that their Arms were not now probable to disturb him in his designs intended, he seriously smiled in his sleeve at these Addresses, 1671 and with a kind of scorning neglect bid the Ambassador welcome to the Court, saying, That he should have what he desired. Wherefore the Capitulations were transcribed, and the alteration made in the value of their Customs; but the Vizier who meant nothing less than to yield them this Priviledge, deferred the signing thereof from day to day; pacifying the daily importunity of the Ambassador with dilatory excuses, until at length having protracted the time to the very day that the Grand Signior and he began their March towards *Poland*, without so much as granting the Ambassador a personal Audience, did then with soft and gentle words signifie to the Interpreters the grand pressures of his Affairs at present, that would not permit him time to perfect all matters with the Ambassadour, whom they should assure, that at his return with Glory and Victory from the Enterprizes in hand, those requests should be granted, and his promises performed; and in the mean time his Nation should remain secure in these Dominions, as in former times, and the League and Friendship continued and maintained. The Ambassador was strangely surprised at this last Farewel; but being a Gentleman of great Morality and Vertue, knew, no doubt, how to bear such a disappointment with an equality of mind agreeable to the greatness of his Soul; and therefore with a due resentment of the injury received, he returned to *Constantinople*, whilst the Sultan and his Vizier proceeded in their March towards the Confines of *Poland*.

But before I enter into a relation of the motives of that War, and the success thereof, which is the Subject of the following Year, let us return to the place from whence we have digressed, and observe in this Year of Peace and repose of this Empire, what the Sultan contrived for security of himself by the death of his Brothers.

We acquainted you formerly in what manner the Sultan was disappointed in his designs against his Brothers, by means of his Mother, to whom the Janisaries had committed the care of their safety, which she according to her promise had maintained, and tendered equally with her own. But now the Vizier being returned from the Wars, and the most seditious amongst the Janisaries withdrawn from *Constantinople*, it was thought fit to make a new attempt on the Princes still residing in the old Seraglio, which was performed with those due preparations and secrecy, that it took effect on Sultan *Orchan*, the eldest of the two, who in the Month of *September*, 1671. dyed by a draught of poyson, which was administred to him as a Present from his courteous Brother; some say he was strangled, and that before he submitted his neck to the Bow-string, he killed one of the Executioners with his Hanjarre. This Prince was reported by the people to be a comely Person, of a strong and robustious body, of large and black eyes like Sultan *Morat*: his death was lamented by all, and presaged as fatal to the Empire, in regard that that very night that he was murthered the Moon suffered a greater Eclipse than it had done for many years before, which happening out in this conjuncture was interpreted as ominous, and served to increase the maledictions and evil speeches, which the Turks in all places

Sultan Orchan put to death by his Brother.

1671. caſt out upon thoſe who gave this counſel to the Sultan.

About this time the State of *Genoua* deſirous to change their Officers in *Turkie*, ſent a new Reſident to *Conſtantinople*, and a Conſul to *Smyrna*, which change was principally obtained at the requeſt of the old Miniſters, who weary of an employment ſo tedious, without a benefit correſponding to their melancholy life, and perceiving their Trade decline before it was arriyed to any tolerable ſtate or degree of reputation, by the aſſiſtance and mediation of friends ſollicited their Letters of Revocation. For the Trade of *Genoua* being cheifly founded on hopes of thoſe advantages which they expected from a coarſe or baſe alloy of mony, did inſtantly decay ſo ſoon as the Turks diſcovered themſelves to be abuſed by the vaſt quantities of Temins imported, as we have before related: after which their profit failing, the Conſulage conſequently decayed, which is the only ſubſiſtence and encouragement of ſuch Officers as are neceſſary to reſide for the continuance of that Peace, which but a few years before they unadviſedly made with the Turk. The new Reſident had no ſooner arrived at *Conſtantinople*, and conſidered the poor and mean eſtate and ill foundation of their Trade, the growing charge of the Reſidency, and the great debts thereof that were to devolve upon him from his Predeceſſor; but he perceived into what a Labyrinth of troubles he had ingulfed himſelf, inſtead of being preferred according to his hopes into a place of Honour and happy retirement. In which confuſion of thoughts ariſing one morning before day from his bed, and ſitting on his Cloſe-ſtool (as the ſervants of the houſe report) reached at a Towel, which being intangled within the Lock of a Carbine that hanged always charged near his bed, unfortunately drew the Trigger too hard, which with that gave fire, and ſhot the poor Gentleman into the belly with a brace of Bullets, of which being mortally wounded, after Confeſſion and ſome Prayers in a few hours he paſſed to another life: unhappy miſchance, if it may be called a chance; for I have underſtood from a ſober perſon of that Nation, that the anguiſh of mind which he conceived at the evil condition of his Affairs, wrought in him a deepneſs of melancholy and deſpair, under which languiſhing ſome days, did at laſt moſt miſerably lay violent hands upon himſelf.

A new Reſident ſent from Genoua.

The Conſpiracy of Serini, Frangipani, and Nadaſti.

And now it is time to recal to mind the Conſpiracy of Count *Serini*, Marqueſs *Frangipani*, and Count *Nadaſti*, Perſons of Quality and of great Power in *Croatia* and *Hungary*, who (as we ſaid before) had ſent their Meſſengers to the Great Vizier then remaining in the Leagure of *Candia*, with overtures of ſubmiſſion to the Ottoman Power. It was ſtrange News to the World to hear that the Houſe of *Serini* ſhould abandon the Chriſtian Party, and thoſe renowned Defenders of their Country ſhould apoſtatize, though not from Chriſtianity, yet from that Cauſe and Liberty which their Anceſtors and themſelves had defended with Blood, Treaſure, Valour, and Conſtancy. But diſſentions and animoſities ſown by Satan, the Enemy of the Chriſtian Church, did ſtrangely corrupt the minds of thoſe famous Perſons, and raiſe in them a Spirit reſolved to avenge the neglect and injuries put upon them by the Miniſters of the Imperial Court, though at the expence and hazard of their fortunes and lives, and ruine and ſhiprack of their Honour and Conſciences: For the neglects and affronts undeſervedly caſt on *Nicholas Serini* during the late War (as before related) and the contempt and ſcorn put on the Croatian and Hungarian Nobility, was ſuppoſed to have fired the hot and ambitious Spirits of theſe Perſons, who could more eaſily endure the ſlavery of the Turkiſh yoke, than condeſcend to the Government and prevalency of a contrary Party. Wherefore in proſecution of their deſign, the complices of *Serini* being reſolved to ſubmit to the Turk, diſpatched two other Gentlemen to the Ottoman Court (beſides thoſe which were ſent the year before to *Salonica*) who arrived at *Adrianople* the 11*th* of *February* 167½ demanding the protection of the Sultan, for which they promiſed a Tribute of thirty Purſes, or fifteen thouſand Dollars every year for thoſe Lands they held in *Croatia*. To make Anſwer hereunto a Divan or Council was called, in which were weighed all the Arguments and Reaſons on one ſide and the other. The Muftee oppoſed their receiving into protection, as being againſt the Capitulations and Agreement ſo lately concluded with the Emperor, wherein the receiving or abetting of Rebels is expreſly forbidden, and provided againſt by one ſide and the other; but *Vanni Eſendi* the Preacher who uſed to be always of a different opinion to the Muftee, urged to have them received, becauſe that the advancement of the Mahometan Cauſe, and enlargement of their Empire was more ſacred than the conſervation of their League with an Infidel Prince. And that the Ottoman Court was no longer to be termed the Refuge of the World, if it could not yield that protection which oppreſſed Kingdoms and diſtreſſed Princes petitioned to obtain. In this manner the matter being controverted without Agreement, it was in fine reſolved to refer the matter to the determination of the Grand Vizier, who was now a few months paſt return'd triumphant from *Candia*. But by this time Intelligence being come by way of *Boſna*, that the Emperor had already entered *Croatia* with thirty thouſand men, that he had taken *Chiacheturno* in *Cotoriba*, and that *Serini* and his Aſſociates were taken already or fled, either to *Vienna* to beg pardon of the Emperor, or *Tranſylvania*, or to ſome other place, that the Marqueſs of *Bada* had fortified *Sequas* and other Caſtles of *Serini* with German Garriſons; the Turks eſteemed it too late to adminiſter help to this deſperate cauſe, and therefore refuſed to own the Patronage of a People, to whom they could neither pretend by Reaſon, nor defend by Arms. The Vizier alſo like the Fox, contemned thoſe Grapes which he could not reach, and with an abhorrency as it were of the Revolt or the Rebellion, as a zealous Hater of all perfidiouſneſs, refuſed to afford protection to any of the Complices in the late Confederacy, which he politickly deſigned in reference to the Emperor, whoſe friendſhip he would ſeem to conſerve moſt faithfully, leſt he ſhould interrupt him in the carrying on of that War, which he then meditated againſt *Poland*. But what became afterwards of theſe Conſpirators is the ſubject matter of the German Hiſtory, it is ſufficient to acquaint the Reader here that their deſign being

1671.

1672. ing ſeaſonably diſcovered, they were interrupted by the hand of Juſtice, and met that Fate which is due to Traitors and Rebels to their Country, having abuſed the goodneſs of their Prince, to whom clemency and mercy are connatural. We ſhall therefore leave theſe men to render the next account to the Judge of all things, and proſecute our Relation of the Wars of *Poland*, which now was the next prize held up to the Turkiſh Militia, and was that adventure which was to conſummate the glories of the Great Vizier. Howſoever, this gave beginning to that Rebellion in *Hungary*, which to this Year *1679* hath been continued, without proſpect how far it may proceed, and what may be the iſſue of ſuch direful Effects.

Anno Chriſti 1672. *Hegeira* 1083.

WE have formerly acquainted you how coarſely the Chimacam of *Adrianople* had in the year 1667 treated the Ambaſſador of *Poland*, who came to complain of the incurſions made into their Country by the Tartars; deſiring that not only ſatisfaction might be made for the late ſpoils, but that that unruly and ſavage people might be reſtrained from the like Attempt for the future. But the Vizier being now returned in perſon it was thought neceſſary, That to preſerve this groſs Body of Empire from corruption, it ſhould be exerciſed with motion, and the vigorous agitations of a new War. To what place they ſhould now convert or employ their Arms, was the important ſubject of a grand Conſultation; they had lately made up a peace with the Venetians, ſo that on that ſide it was too early to make an irruption, the parts of *Perſia* were too remote and diſtant to carry on a War with ſucceſs and pleaſure, the fields of *Hungary* had been lately traced, and they were ſatiated with the blood of *Auſtria* and *Germany*; ſomething now of novelty muſt be propoſed, and the forgotten ways of *Poland* muſt be again opened, there being ſomething, it ſeems, of wantonneſs in proſperous Arms, which delight in variety, and abhor as much to fight often in the ſame Country, as Travellers do to ſee the ſame place twice. The Polanders had unto this day ſo preſerved the Limits of their Country with honour and gallantry, that the Turks could never ſecure to themſelves one palm of Land within their Territories, until the civil and moſt deteſtable Diſcords of that Country laid them open to the fury of their Enemies, who embraced this moſt grateful opportunity, which facilitated their Deſign, and made that eaſie which they had ſo long deſired, and with care ſtudied and contrived. But for the better underſtanding of theſe Affairs it is convenient for us to take the Thread of Hiſtory at ſome diſtance off, that ſo we may with better light comprehend the Cauſes, Original, and Occaſions of this War.

The Turks deliberate of a War.

The hatred and jealouſies which the Ottoman Port hath always nouriſhed and conſerved againſt the Kingdom and Dominions of *Poland*, are ancient and inveterate, having their riſe from the valiant oppoſition and ſucceſsful repulſes it always made againſt the various attempts of the Turks; whereby the Poles were animated to treat always at equals with them, and with terms agreeable to that vain glory and ſwelling pride, which are natural to their Nation. But that which renewed the memory of paſt actions, and raiſed an expectation in the Turks to avenge the injuries by ſubjugating the Coſacks, was one *Bogdan Chmilniczki* General of the Coſacks, who growing powerful in that Country, with the ſtrength of a numerous Army, abhorring the Pride of the Poliſh Nobility, denied obedience to their Kingdom, reſolving to make himſelf the abſolute Prince of that Province, from whence various fortunes of War ſucceeding, he was at length forced to join himſelf to the Tartars, and crave the protection of the Turkiſh Arms. In the mean time, *Poland*, invaded by the Swedes, Moſcovites, and Tranſilvanians, was diſmembred of *Livonia*, and a great part of *Lituania* and *Verania*, the firſt poſſeſſed by the Swedes, and the latter by the Czar of *Moſcovy*, and the Rebel Coſacks; which confuſions rejoyced the Turks, and gave them the firſt hopes, not only to free themſelves from the frequent Piracies the Coſacks committed on them in the Black Sea, but to impoſe upon them the Ottoman Yoke; to which end they maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the Generals of that people, promiſing them the aſſiſtance of Men, Mony, and Arms, but yet with that caution, that they would not ſeem unprovoked to quarrel with the Poles, or without juſt cauſe to violate the peace of *Choccin*, to which they pretended a moſt religious and reverend regard.

1672. *The Cauſes of the War with Poland.*

Wherefore, that they might not appear cauſeleſs Actors againſt that ſolemn League, they ſecretly encouraged thoſe Incurſions, which in the Years *1666* and *1667* we have already mentioned to have been made by the Tartars into *Poland*, as far as the Walls of *Leopolis*; which action, that the Tartars might not have occaſion to abett and maintain, the Poles reſolved to ſend a moſt ſplendid Embaſſy to the Turks, deſiring that the Tartar *Han* might be depoſed, for having unjuſtly violated the ſacred peace of *Choccin*. For that as the Poles were obliged to reſtrain the Piracies and Depredations of the Coſacks in the Black Sea, ſo the Turks were become ſecurity againſt the incurſions of the Tartars. Scarce had the Ambaſſador *Radiowski* delivered this meſſage, before he unhappily died at *Adrianople* (as we have before ſignified;) to whole Complaint and Demand, after many delays, no other anſwer was given, than that the Poles ſhould firſt break their League which they had contracted with *Moſcovy* for thirteen years, without the conſent, and againſt the pleaſure of the Port, and then after that they might expect and promiſe themſelves all due ſatisfaction.

In this manner Affairs ſtood when King *Caſimir*, weary of the Factions and Diſcords of the Nobility, reſigned up his Crown to retire unto a private life. And now it being neceſſary to proceed to a new Election we may conſequently expect various Commotions and Diſturbances in this State, ſufficient to attract the eyes of the Turks, and encourage the Coſacks in their intended Revolt. At length Prince *Michael Korebut Wiſnowieski* being elected King, it ſeemed agreeable to reaſon, that all *Verania* ſhould have returned to obedience of him,

1662. him, to whom the beſt part of that Country did by right of patrimony, and natural inheritance belong; but the ſucceſs thereof fell out contrary to all expectation, for *Doroſensko*, then General, deſigning to uſurp that Government, propoſed the project of uniting *Verania* to the Body of *Poland*, as a member of the Crown, by which means that Province would not only become free from its Vaſſalage to the Nobility, but obtain equal ſuffrages in the Diet, with all the other more free and priviledged Countries; and in this manner he might not only compel *Poland* to condeſcend to his deſigns, but confirm himſelf in the abſolute and ſupreme Authority of the Coſacks: This propoſition, therefore ſeemed ſo inſolent, and ſavouring of Rebellion to the Poliſh Court, that a ſevere and menacing Meſſage was diſpatched to *Doroſensko*, threatning to take from him his Bulaua, or Truncheon of General, if ever he entertained any ſuch imagination ſo highly derogatory to the Majeſty of the Poliſh State; he therefore thought it his time to caſt himſelf wholly into the Protection of the Sultan, and accordingly diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors to the Port to ſignifie their ſubmiſſion, begging to be received into the Arms of the Ottoman Power; and as an aſſurance thereof, that he might receive the (Tough) which is the Enſign of Authority, carried by Paſhaws. The Vizier at the firſt motion hereof, reflecting on the evil conſequences, in caſe the Grand Signior's honour ſhould be foiled in this action, ſuſpended a while a compleat anſwer thereunto; but at length being inſtantly ſollicited, and perceiving the Diſorders and Factions of *Poland* to encreaſe, the Coſacks were received for Subjects of the Empire, and obliged to wage War againſt all Enemies to the Ottoman Power.

Duke *Michael* being elected King, the firſt Act he performed was to ſend an Ambaſſador extraordinary to the Grand Signior, with no other Deſign than to acquaint him of his Election to the Crown, only in caſe an opportunity preſented, then to move for a ratification of the Articles concluded at *Choccin*. This Ambaſſador, called *Wiſozki*, being of a haughty and proud ſpirit, became the Author of all the miſchief which enſued; for being of a temper which could not equally bear the honour of his important Office, launched out into matters beyond his Commiſſion, and inſtead of imparting his Meſſage, would become ſole Arbitrator of all the differences between thoſe two powerful Princes; for he being unacquainted with the Power or Affairs of the Turks, ſuppoſed nothing in this World comparable to the number, riches, and valour of his own Nation, and therefore gave himſelf that liberty of arrogant Language, that by way of Command and Menaces he rather ſeemed to act the part of a Governor or Umpire in the differences of State, than of an Orator or Suppliant for peace. In his conceit the Turks wanted both courage and power, to invade *Poland*, and therefore ſuppoſed he might ſafely brave them into a ratification of former Articles, eſpecially when he mentioned a hundred thouſand Horſe, *which he* undertook before the Vizier to be able on his own account to conduct as far as the Walls of *Adrianople*. It was a ſtrange humor of *Rodomontado* that inſpired theſe two laſt Ambaſſadors, and if from them we may take a pattern 1672.
of the diſpoſition of the reſt of the Poliſh Nobility, it will be no wonder to hear and read the Deſtractions that are amongſt them, that they carry themſelves with diſreſpect to their Prince, are emulous and factious amongſt themſelves, and that their pride and ignorance, which have flattered their humour, and triumphed amidſt their Tenants and Vaſſals, ſhould betray them to all thoſe evils which we may fear may be the conſequences thereof.

The Great Vizier, conſidering the confidence which this perſon uſed in his Diſcourſe, imagined that the differences in his Country might be compoſed, and therefore in compliance with his deſire, offered in general terms to confirm the peace made at *Choccin*, without Addition of any new Article in reference to the Coſacks, being a buſineſs of that nature which admitted of no preſent determination; this, he ſaid, was his ultimate reſolution, which if the Ambaſſadour approved not, he might then adviſe it home, and expect a farther reſult of their Counſels. *Wiſozki* being really poſſeſſed in his fancy of the Turks weakneſs, gave way to his paſſion, and with little judgment replied, That he approved not of the Propoſition, nor needed he to tranſmit any ſuch advice into *Poland*, he himſelf being a Plenipotentiary of as full a Power as the King and Council; for being a Nobleman, he, was by conſequence that neceſſary Member of the Republick, that nothing could paſs without his Suffrage.

The Vizier amazed at this extravagant way of diſcourſe, the which he ſupported with moderation and contempt, diſpatched away a Chiaus into *Poland* with Letters, deſiring that this Ambaſſadour ſhould be recalled, as being a Perſon unable to manage matters of the leaſt concernment; and if they ſupplied his place with an other, he ſhould be received with due reſpect, and a plain way laid open to conclude his Negotiations to the ſatisfaction of both Parties.

Wiſozki abounding in his own ſenſe and humor, repreſented matters in a far different manner into *Poland*, alledging, That the Law of Nations was impeached by the violence offered to his Perſon, being impriſoned, and the uſual Tain or Allowance of Ambaſſadours withheld from him; both which were not abſolutely true: for the maintenance he refuſed as too mean for his Quality and Office; and for his Impriſonment, it was no other than Confinement to the City of *Conſtantinople*, with a prohibition only from paſſing over unto *Pera*, where formerly in a houſe he had taken, he committed a thouſand irregularities and diſorders, which cauſed the Vizier to recal him again over to *Conſtantinople*, denying him the liberty of paſſing more to the other ſide. Theſe were the injuries which he complained of into *Poland*, ſtill fancying, That if the Nobility were aſſembled to conſider of theſe matters, the Turk would be ſo affrighted at it as to condeſcend unto any terms he ſhould propound. Theſe reports of *Wiſozki* took that impreſſion with the Court, that eſteeming all authentick which he ſaid or wrote, without farther examination iſſued out Orders for a general Inſurrection, and that all people ſhould prepare for the War, rendring the Vizier no other anſwer, than that when their Ambaſſadour was ſet at liberty, and

1672. and had licence to depart, the like ſhould be permitted unto theirs, and in the mean time the Chiaus was committed to ſafe cuſtody, The Grand Signior highly angred at this obſtinate miſunderſtanding, immediately ordered that *Wiſozki* ſhould depart, and at the ſame time commanded his whole Militia to riſe and follow him to the War; and ſo much the rather was he animated by the reports ſent him from *Doroſenzko*, ſeconded by the Vayvods of *Moldavia* and *Valachia*, whoſe Letters declared the miſerable confuſions in *Poland*, divided into divers Factions and Parties, their want of money, and the mutiny of the Souldiery inclined rather to betray than defend *Verania*. And now a Sword and other Preſents uſual in theſe caſes, being ſent to the Tartar *Han*, he was ordered to unite with the Coſſacks, and to invade *Poland*, where being encountred near *Batowa*, by a Body of Horſe under the Command of *Luzecki* Governour of *Podolia*, the Poles were defeated, and was the firſt bad Omen of the ill ſucceſs of this unhappy War.

To ſecond theſe beginnings, the Grand Signior having raiſed an Army of an hundred and fifty thouſand men, marched towards *Poland* already ſick and languiſhing with its own inteſtine diſtempers, and unable to contend with a Body united within it ſelf, wanting neither internal vigour, nor nouriſhment to maintain its ſtrength; the firſt Enterpriſe was the impregnable Fortreſs of *Caminiecz*, which had often in former times baffled the Ottoman Arms; but now being ill provided, deſtitute of Arms, Ammunition, Proviſions, and but weakly manned, and what was worſt, deſpairing of any Relief, after eleven days Siege ſurrendred it ſelf to the pleaſure of the Conquerour. Hence the Turks had an open paſſage through all *Podolia* and *Volhinia* to the very Walls of *Leopolis*, which they paſſed over like Travellers rather than Enemies, there not appearing one perſon in Arms to oppoſe them, delighting and ſporting themſelves in theſe moſt fruitful and delicious Countries of *Europe*: thus had private animoſities and civil rancour poſſeſſed the minds of the Poles one againſt the other, that they had rather yield themſelves to the ſervitude of an Enemy, than condeſcend to the humor or counſel of a Citizen. Thus had the Turks paſſed all this Summer in the Plains and Cities of *Poland*, where it ſeemed rather Peace than War, all places ſubmitting without difficulty unto the Grand Signior as to their true and natural Lord and Soveraign, by which means the Inhabitants redeemed their Lives and Eſtates; for the Sultan willing to demonſtrate his clemency, and to ſpare thoſe who voluntarily yielded, and encourage others to ſubmit to ſo gentle a yoke, forbad all the common outrages of Souldiers, not permitting Plunder or Booty to be brought into the Camp; nor greater Spoils to be committed, than if his Army had paſſed through his own Dominions; whether this obliging or winning manner of proceedings overcame the ſtout hearts of the Polanders more than blows, will be experienced in the ſequel of this ſtory; it is certain the Militia returned home poor and weary, and more broken by this years Expedition, than by the long and tedious March to *Perſia*, and hazardous Battles during the Siege of *Babylon*; but the Sultan was deſirous to return home, and give this firſt proof and teſtimony to the World of his war-like and invincible Spirit, of his clemency and of his ſucceſs in Arms, that at his firſt appearing in the Field, all Armies and Fortreſſes ſubmitted to his Power. The Poles on the other ſide being of an opinion and temper far different to that of their Ambaſſadour *Wiſozki*, reſolved to purchaſe the departure of their new Gueſts on any terms; ſo that theſe following Articles were agreed and concluded. 1672.

That the King of *Poland* ſhould quit all Claim to *Ukrain*, *Podolia*, and *Ruſland*.

That for *Leopolis* and the Country thereabouts ſhould be paid a Tribute of ſeventy thouſand Dollars a year; all other Capitulations formerly made were to ſtand in force and virtue.

Theſe Articles being ſigned, the Grand Signior committed the Government of *Verania* and *Podolia* to *Doroſenzko*, and the defence of *Caminiecz* to *Huſſein* Paſha with a Garriſon of twelve thouſand Janiſaries; ſo that now being returned home, the Militia was permitted to repair to their ſeveral Countries and Dwellings, the following year being dedicated to the repoſe and eaſe of the Souldiery.

Towards the end of this Year, when the Ships of *Barbary* returned home, thoſe of *Tripoli* conceived a certain diſcontent againſt their Paſha named *Oſman* for his covetous behaviour towards his Souldiers; for having that Summer taken very rich Prizes from the Venetians and other Nations, the Souldiers expected at their return home to receive a diviſion of their Spoils according to their juſt and equal ſhares. But the Paſha grown old and covetous, getting the whole into his hand, appropriated the greateſt part to his own Coffers, diſtributing to the Souldiers an inconſiderable proportion of what they had gained the year before. Hereupon the chiefeſt Commanders amongſt them becoming greatly enraged began to incenſe the Souldiery, which for intereſt or want of Pay, being always ready to mutiny, took fire immediately, and eaſily were blown into a Rebellion; ſo that firſt making Parties, and retiring into ſecret Junto's and Councils, they reſolved to deſtroy the Paſha, and alter the Government, and thereby make themſelves Maſters of all the Treaſure and Riches which *Oſman* Paſha had in the ſpace of thirty years amaſſed together. The Paſha having notice of all that paſſed, and apprehending the Conſpiracies of this unbridled People to be dangerous, began to provide for his ſafety, and getting together ſo many as he ſuppoſed of his Party, and that were, or might be faithful to him, which joyned with his Slaves and Servants, made up a ſmall Garriſon, wherewith to defend and preſerve himſelf within his Caſtle, which being well provided of Ammunition and Victuals, he ſhut his Gates, denying acceſs or admittance unto all perſons upon pretence and account whatſoever. Hereupon the Mutiny appearing, the Souldiery drew into a Body in the open field, againſt whom ſeveral ſhot were made from the Caſtle; ſo that now the Civil War was begun, and the whole Force of *Tripoli* raiſed againſt the Paſha and his Caſtle, which being ſtraitly beſieged the Defendants who were for the moſt part Servants and Slaves, failing in their courage, reſolved to make Conditions for themſelves to the beſt advantage; wherefore conſpiring againſt their Maſter, entred his Chamber

an

1662. and ſtrangled him in the night; and the next morning opening the Caſtle-gates, received the Enemy within the Walls, making manifeſt the death of their Maſter and their own Treachery. *Oſman* Paſha being dead, every one acted for a time what the wildneſs of an unruly multitude could ſuggeſt, till ſuch time as the Heads of the Rebellion could frame themſelves into ſome form of Government, which for the preſent was reſolved to be by a *Dei*, as moſt convenient for commanding of the Souldiery, intending for the future to take the *Algier* Government by a Divan for their Pattern and Model of Rule, under which the people of that place had found and experienced the ſweetneſs of liberty, riches, and ſucceſs. Theſe matters being agreed upon, ſome of their Men of War were ſent to give advice unto the Grand Signior of the revolutions of their City, ſupplicating him to pardon the violence uſed againſt their Paſha *Oſman*, whoſe Covetouſneſs and Tyranny forced them for ſelf-preſervation to precipitate that Authority, which they knew on their complaints, his Majeſty would have granted them; and that he would be pleaſed to receive them into his protection and favour, as his faithful and humble Subjects and Slaves, and as an evidence thereof would grant them a Paſha confirmed by his Royal Signature. The Sultan, though at firſt ſhewed himſelf much diſpleaſed with this manner of proceeding againſt *Oſman* Paſha; yet ſeeing that there was no remedy, ſuffered himſelf to be mollified by their Preſents and ſubmiſſion, granting them a Paſha for their Governour, whoſe power proved as unſignificant as his doth, who bears that Title at *Algier*. Matters being thus reduced to ſome tolerable condition amongſt them, they concluded, That the moſt beneficial courſe of life to render them conſiderable, as well as to amuſe and divert the minds of their rude people from innovations againſt their Governours, was to grant free liberty to whomſoever pleaſed to arm out Ships of War; which Priviledge *Oſman* Paſha reſerved to himſelf and his Confidents; and finding at preſent that they were able to ſet out ſix Sail from forty to fifty Guns, and four more from twelve to thirty, intending to accompliſh in all the full number of fifteen Sail; thoſe who traded in the Levant Seas began to apprehend, that this faithleſs and heady people would at a time, when they found their advantage and the temptation of a rich Prize, break their Peace with his Majeſty our King, the which *Oſman* Paſha had notwithſtanding conſerved for ſeveral years without violation, moved perhaps thereunto out of an apprehenſion, that in ſuch troubles which a War with *England* might bring upon them, he might loſe or impair his riches, and bring the like confuſion on his people, as he had lately heard of in *Algier* on the like occaſion: but how and in what manner theſe matters ſucceeded, and how at length this people broke their Peace and Faith, we reſerve to be recounted at the end of the Year 1674.

Towards the end of the month of *Auguſt* it pleaſed God to take out of this life unto a better Sir *Daniel Harvey* his Majeſties Ambaſſadour at *Conſtantinople*: a man whoſe perſon being comely, was extremely grateful to the Turks; and for the experience he had at the Ottoman Court, was equal in the happy management of Affairs to any of his Predeceſſours.

1672.

Anno 1673. *Hegeira* 1084.

BUT it ſeems the Turks had made too much haſte in their return to digeſt a Conqueſt of ſo large Extent; ſo that they were ſcarce well warmed by their Winter-fires, before they were alarmed again with Jealouſies of *Poland*, and the Seditions amongſt the Coſſacks, whom *Doroſenzko* wrote he could not keep in ſubjection, unleſs he had ſome Succours ſent him from the Port. The rumors likewiſe that the Muſcovite armed, and was reſolved to Aſſiſt the Poles in recovery of their loſt Country, increaſed the apprehenſions of the Turks, who too late perceived the errour they had committed in ſo ſoon disbanding their Army, which before ſome were ſcarce got home, they were forced to recal. But now the year was well begun, and no grand preparations made; ſo that it was impoſſible to collect an Army in ſo ſhort a time conſiderable enough to be honoured with the Conduct of the Sultan; wherefore it was reſolved, that all things this year ſhould be diſpoſed in a readineſs againſt the next. But the Grand Signior had a project of his own to depart ſpeedily with his Court, and to paſs the heats of the Summer in the Mountains of *Zegna* about five or ſix days Journey on his way towards *Poland*, which being reported to be a place well planted with Trees, watered with cool and freſh Springs, and abounding with all ſorts of Game, made him impatient to take up his Summer-quarters in a Country ſo agreeable to his humor; and that he might cover the deſign of pleaſure with that of profit and policy, he pretended that the report of his proceeding ſo far would both haſten the Army, and give a terrour to the Enemy. But the Great Vizier and his Council who weighed all things better, were of another opinion, judging it neither honourable for the Court to be retired into Woods and Mountains, nor the advantage of ſuch a ſurmiſe able to countervail the expence and inconveniences of that Journy; and therefore it was concluded to ſtand unto the firſt reſolution, That the Grand Signior with the main Body of his Army ſhould not move until the following year, but that in this interim all preparations ſhould be made for Proviſions and Ammunition, in order unto which three thouſand Janiſaries were already ſent away to *Kemieczc* under the Command of the *Sampſongibaſhee* and ſix thouſand more under the *Zagargibaſhee* were to be landed on that *Iſthumus*, which joyns the *Crim* Tartar unto the Main, from whence they had a ſhort March to the aſſiſtance of *Dorhſenzko*. *Chaſaein* Paſha lately come from *Damaſcus*, was nominated for General to be ſent into *Siliſtria*, and there to command in Chief over the Militia of *Dobriza*, *Boſna*, and *Rumelia* in caſe of any alteration and diſturbance in *Poland*: this Perſon was always accounted a ſtout and valiant Souldier, though ſeldom fortunate, and was the ſame that loſt the Battel before *Lewa* in the laſt German Wars, as we have before intimated: he was about this time grown infirm by a hepatical Dyſentery, which reduced him to a weak condition of body, with little hopes of recovery.

In the mean time arrived at *Adrianople* an Ambaſſadour from the great Czar of *Muſcovy*, bringing

1673. bringing Letters dated in *April* of the preceding year, which was before the time that the Turks had entred *Poland*, the contents of which were, That the Grand Signior would do well to desist from his design against that Country; for that if he did proceed and invade those Dominions, he should find himself obliged to make War upon him, and with his mighty and puissant Power to drive him back to his own Jurisdiction. This Message appeared very unseasonable, and caused much laughter at first; for that the Turk had since the Date of that Letter invaded *Poland*, and possessed himself of vast Countries, and yet neither encountred any opposition from the Muscovite, nor so much as heard any rumor of his Motion. Wherefore the Turks with scorn forbad the Ambassadour any farther Addresses, and commanded him to be gone speedily, saying, That his Master had neither courage nor force to maintain his word of War, nor wisdom to manage a Treaty of Peace.

The unseasonable Addresses of the Moscovite Ambassadour.

The Reports now from the parts of *Poland* spake matters to be in a quiet posture, and not likely to concern the Turks much for this year; wherefore the Grand Signior began again to renew his purposes of pastime and pleasure in the Mountains of *Zegna*, but because no true or perfect account could be given of the delights, refreshments, and situation of that place, the *Olack Celebi* or chief Postmaster was sent to survey the Country, and to return with a relation of all matters: but in the interim the design was altered; for the Grand Signior having begun a Fabrick in which he had expended about eighty thousand Dollars, at a small Village about nine or ten miles from *Adrianople*; the place and novelty of the Building so well pleased him, that he found in himself an inclination to pass the whole Summer there; and becoming likewise enamoured of a young Lady in his Seraglio, notwithstanding his former tenderness to his Queen, and late aversion to all other Women, he judged it was possible to divertise his time well in those parts, and more to his contentment, than in wild woods and uninhabited mountains. Whereupon the intentions of *Zegna* were laid aside, and nothing thought of but the rest and quietness of the Court for this year.

But because it was reported, That the Czar of *Muscovy* made great Preparations for War, it was judged necessary to command the *Crim* Tartar to be watchful of his motion by Land, though the natural slothfulness of that people gave them no apprehension of their Arms for this year; howsoever it being probable, that they might prove more active and forward in the Black Sea, than they were capable to do by Land, by sending forth their small Boats down the *Volga* to take and pillage the Saiks and Vessels belonging to *Constantinople* and other parts; the Captain-Pasha was ordered to pass into that Sea with thirty five or forty Sail of Gallies for defence of the Coast, and for fortifying and repairing *Asac*, and the Fortresses thereabouts: but whilst these Preparations were making for the Euxine or Black Sea, the other Seas were neglected and undefended; for the *Alexandrian* Fleet consisting in all of eight Sail, were encountred not far from *Rhodes* by some Maltese and Ligornese Corsaires: the Ships of the Turks were most of them very great and potent Ships, one of them was at least fifteen hundred Tuns, and was capable to carry an hundred Guns, the others of eight hundred or a thousand Tuns, able to have resisted and overcome, had they been well armed, double the force that assaulted them; but being now engaged with an Enemy, though not so strong, yet better experienced in marine Affairs than themselves, they fought with them stoutly the first day; but the next day six Gallies coming to the Christians assistance, (which had been harboured in some Port not far distant, and led thither by the noise of the Cannon, to which also a calm giving the greater advantage) the Turks began to faint in their courage, so that four Gallions and two Saiks yielded to mercy, which was a Prize of so great value, that it was supposed never to have been equalled since the time of Sultan *Ibrahim*, when the loss of the grand Sultana and other Ships gave the first occasion of War with *Venice*. This great Ship which was reported by those who saw her to be both longer and broader than the Soveraign, carried only sixty Guns, and was manned accordingly only with about an hundred Seamen, and about two hundred more which were Landmen, wholly unacquainted with the Sea or with Naval Fights: the biggest Ship amongst the rest was belonging to the Queen-Mother, and the others to the Grand Signior, being freighted principally with Sugar, Coffee, Rice, and other Provisions for the proper maintenance of their Courts, which we may suppose will highly inflame these grand Personages, with anger and disdain, when they reflect on their own proper losses which touch them so nearly as their peculiar Goods and the Furniture of their Kitchins.

The Alexandrian Fleet taken by the Malteses.

The Turkish Court now angered with this loss, was more moved in the midst of *May*, when a Messenger from *Poland* arrived with Letters from the Grand Chancellour, declaring with modest terms, That their Kingdom was unable or unwilling for many respects to pay the promised Tribute; so that if they did not judge fit to wave or lay aside those pretensions, they should be forced to take up Arms in defence of their Honour, Safety, and Priviledge of their Dominions. The Turks surprised with this unexpected Message, too late perceived the errour of the last years proceedings, which were carried on with a clemency and confidence not agreeable to the disposition and humor of such an Enemy, as is unacquainted with servitude, and so far from being able to support a Foreign Yoke, that they cannot endure subjection to their own Civil Government, every Nobleman (of which there are many in *Poland*) being ambitious to be a Prince, judges himself better than his elected King. Hence proceeded all those dissentions which laid them open to the late invasion of their powerful Enemy, the apprehension of whom having obducted for a while those sores of Faction which festered amongst them, and that principle of self-conservation, which by a forcible nature inclined them to Union, at length armed them with a resolution to avenge the Liberties of their Country, and assured them of the Truth of that Saying, That *a Kingdom divided against it self cannot stand.*

The Poles refuse to pay their promised Tribute.

The Turks now wished that they had either made a true use of their Victory, and the op-

1673. portune Conjuncture of the laſt years Affairs to have ſetled and ſecured their Conqueſts, or that they had never begun the War; for now finding themſelves engaged in it, they were in honour obliged to proceed, and loſe the fair opportunity which preſented to make their advantage in *Hungary*; to which place they had been, and were ſtill invited by the Rebles of that Country, who to revenge the Cauſe of *Serini*, *Nadaſti*, and ſome other Diſcontents and Aggrievances of which they complained, and to defend the Proteſtant Religion, in which by the zeal of ſome Churchmen, they were diſturbed, reſolved to abandon their Allegiance to their natural Prince, and rather ſeek a protection for their Eſtates, and allowance for their Religion under the Turks, than remain beholding for either to a prevailing party at the Imperial Court. The chief Authours of this Rebellion were *Petrozy*, *Sepeſi*, *Tende*, *Gabor*, *Sutrey*, and other principal perſons amongſt the Hungarians, who having on their own ſtrength oppoſed themſelves againſt the Emperour the laſt year were defeated in divers engagements, and at length reduced to a very low and miſerable condition. Wherefore they renew again their Petitions and Preſents to the Sultan, ſent by their Agents about the beginning of this Month of *April*, begging his aſſiſtance and protection, repreſenting the eaſineſs of the Conqueſt, and how large a Gate they were able to open to his Armies, and make a plain way for him into the moſt fertile and opulent Countries of the World, of which he ſeemed already half poſſeſſed by reaſon of thoſe Diſcontents and Factions that were amongſt them.

The Rebels in Hungary renew their Petition to the Turks for aſſiſtance.

The Turks though well ſatisfied of the reaſonableneſs of the deſign, yet being engaged in honour againſt *Poland*, knew not how to retract, and therefore diſpatched away the Meſſengers for the preſent with fair hopes and ſecret promiſes, well treated in private, though they received rather a Denial than Encouragement in publick. For the expedition againſt *Poland* was that which employed ſolely the wiſeſt heads of the Empire, who as it were in fury iſſued out immediate Orders, That all thoſe who eat the Grand Signior's Bread, ſhould without farther delay prepare themſelves for the Wars againſt *Poland*; and that Proviſions and Ammunition ſhould be ſupplyed in all places according to the uſual proportions; The Tugh, or Horſe-Tail, (the Signal for departure) was ſet forth, the Tents ordered to be carried into the Field, and ſuch haſte made in all parts, as if the raiſing of an Army were the buſineſs, but of one day; reſolving immediately to proceed againſt their Enemies, to whom the Sultan returned a moſt dreadful and menacing Letter, full of expreſſions agreeable to the Turkiſh Style, which threatned Confuſion, Sword, Famine, Fire, Deſtruction, and a thouſand other more direful Judgments: but the Collection of this great Army, and the appendages belonging thereunto, were not ſo ſuddenly provided as to admit of ſuch a diſpatch as the Sultan's fury pretended; wherefore in cooler blood it was concluded, That for this Summer they ſhould not paſs much beyond the other ſide of the *Danube*, that the Winter Quarters ſhould be deſigned in *Siliſtria*, from whence they might more effectually threaten and affright their Enemies with their neat approach.

The rage of the Turks againſt Poland.

About this time the French found an opportune ſeaſon to accommodate all their Affairs with the Port, and to put a period to the ſeveral Articles and particulars they had for many years demanded. For now the French King not only appeared very formidable by reaſon of his ſucceſs againſt *Holland*, but likewiſe inſtrumental to promote the deſigns of the Port, whilſt he kept the Brandenburgher employed, and diverted the whole Armies of the Empire; and now alſo that they might engage him not to contribute aſſiſtance to the Poles, they judged it reaſonable policy to evidence to that Ambaſſadour more external demonſtrations of kindneſs, and ſtrain their courteſie beyond the terms which they could cordially, and in reality afford them. Wherefore, at length the Capitulations were renewed, and ſome Articles and Priviledges ſuperadded, which are theſe that follow.

1673.

First, That all religious Perſons and Biſhops of the French Church ſhall remain and continue quiet and unmoleſted in their reſpective Habitations and Dwellings, with liberty to perform all their Eccleſiaſtical Rites and Ceremonies.

Secondly, That the Religious of Jeruſalem *and of* Bethlem *ſhall conſerve thoſe religious places which they have anciently poſſeſſed, and there may continue to celebrate their Worſhip of God, and all their Devotions, without any diſturbance.*

Thirdly, That if theſe Religious of Jeruſalem *or* Bethlem *have any difference or diſpute with the Officers thereof, it ſhall be remitted to the deciſion of the Port.*

Fourthly, All Frenchmen, and all under their Banner, ſhall ſafely at all times go to Jeruſalem, *and return without moleſtation.*

Fifthly, The two Churches in Galata *belonging to the Jeſuits and Capuchins, and anciently poſſeſſed by them, are now again confirmed by theſe Preſents; one of which belonging to the Capuchins having been burnt, free liberty is given for the rebuilding thereof, and to remain as formerly in the hands of the French; and in the Hoſpital in* Galata, *if they will read the Goſpel after their faſhion, none ſhall give them diſturbance or hinder them.*

Sixthly, Whereas the French Nation formerly paid 5 per. Cent. *Cuſtom, now in regard they have been ancient friends to the Port, and that they have renewed their Capitulations, they ſhall pay no more than* 3 per Cent. *and accordingly let no more be demanded.*

Seventhly, All Portugueſes, Sicilians, Catelans, Meſſineſes of Ancona, &c. *that have no Ambaſſadors at the Port, if they come under the French Banner, ſhall pay no more than* 3 per Cent. *according as the French pay.*

Eighthly, In payment of their Cuſtoms, they ſhall pay the Currant Mony ſuch as paſſes in our Treaſury, and the Farmers of

1673. *of the Customs shall not refuse the same.*

Ninthly, The Mesteria they shall pay according to what the English Merchants pay, and no more.

Tenthly, All the Merchandise they bring, or shall bring, shall be valued according to the present estimation, and no more pretended of them, and if the Customers will notwithstanding raise the esteem of the Goods above the value, then if the Merchant will pay his Custom in specie, it shall not be refused.

Eleventhly, The Custom of Silk being paid —— a new Custom ought not to be demanded.

Twelfthly, The Custom being once paid, the Customer shall not refuse to give his Teschare, and the Merchant being willing to transport his Goods to another Scale, another Custom shall not be demanded.

Thirteenthly, The Officers and Customers at Sidon, Birut, Aleppo, *or* Cairo *shall not compel the Merchants to take Goods by Force, not under any pretence whatsoever take one Asper from them, nor demand mony to be lent unto them.*

Fourteenthly, The French Vessels may bring Goods from the Indies, *by way of the Red Sea, unto the Port* Suucis, *and having paid their Custom once there, whatsoever Goods they cannot sell in that Country, they may have liberty to transport over land to* Alexandria, *and there relade them again on their own Vessels without paying another Custom, or receiving molestation from any person. Howsoever, this Capitulation is to be understood with this condition, that this point shall be signified to the chief Officers of* Cairo, *who having called a Council of the most knowing and experienced persons to consider hereof, and they concluding that this point is in no wise prejudicial to that Country, nor to the Interest of the Believers, then this Article to be of force, but if they advise the contrary, then this to be of no effect.*

Fifteenthly, If the Fryars, or Merchants, or Druggermen will make Wine, and transport it abroad, none shall hinder them.

Sixteenthly, The French Consuls, and all under their Banner, having a difference with any of or above, four thousand Aspers, it shall be decided at our publick Divan.

Seventeenthly, If any man-slaughter shall happen in the street where French dwell, they shall not be liable to pay the price of the Bloud, unless it be proved before the Justice that a Frenchman was guilty thereof.

Eighteenthly, The Druggermen in service of the French Nation shall enjoy the same priviledges, as before specified.

Nor was the French interest only available at that time to obtain the foregoing Articles, and renew their Capitulations with such Additions: but likewise to procure Licence for the Ambassador to travel into the remotest parts of the Ottoman Dominions; for though it were a thing never practised before, and denied (as is well known) to other Christian Ambassadors; yet it was granted to Monsieur *de Nointel* with so much freedom, that first in a Brigantine he went to *Scio*, thence visited the chief Isles of the *Archipelago*, thence crossed to *Rhodes*, and so proceeded to *Satalia*, *Cyprus*, and *Jerusalem*: so much confidence had the Turks, contrary to their custom, in this Ambassador: for as they stile all Representatives from Foreign Princes their pawns or pledges of Peace, so had not the Turks in that conjuncture thought the interest of *France* worth the obliging, they would never have deviated from their ancient Custom, and given an example for other Ministers to demand a priviledge of the like nature. 1673. *The French Ambassador obtains licence to travel.*

But to return again to the designs against *Poland*, the Sultan about the end of *July* marched with such Forces as were then in a readiness towards the Confines of that Country; and though he had not with him above fifteen thousand men, yet it was concluded that the Fame and terror of the Grand Signior's motion would either abate and bring low the spirits of the Poles, and induce them to dispatch an Ambassador with terms of Peace, or at least this readiness of the Turkish Camp would be an early preparation for the designs of the next year, and put the whole Empire into a timely motion, and that uniting with the Forces of the Frontiers, they might make a Body sufficient to resist any sudden Incursion. This resolution being taken, the Great Vizier led the Van, and encamped on the Banks of the *Danube* near a place called *Isacgee*, where he with all diligence built a Bridge of Boats to pass his Forces with the greatest facility to the other side, on which lies the Country of *Moldavia*. The Sultan about a days journey short of the Vizier, fixed his Court and Camp at a place called *Babadog*; with intention after some days to cross the River, and proceed as far as *Kemenitz*, that by the influence of his powerful Presence he might encourage his Army there, and provide all things necessary for security of that Garrison. But in the mean time advices coming that the Polish Army, consisting of about twenty thousand men, was roving about the Confines of *Leopolis*, under the Command of General *Sobieski*, and that a reconciliation was passed between the King and him; and that *Zirchu*, Commander of the Cosacks, joyned to considerable forces of the Moscovite and Calmuck Tartars, had made incursions into the parts about *Osac*, caused the Sultan to desist from his designed progress to *Kemenitz*, and to pass no farther than over the River into *Moldavia* for hunting or other pastimes. By these matters the Turks being fully convinced, that the Poles resolved not to pay their promised tribute, nor to send an Ambassador with propositions, which were condescending or supplicating for Peace; the Sultan himself dispatched away an Aga with Letters into *Poland* full of threats, menaces, and protestations of bringing all that ruine, misery, and destruction on their Country, which always attends the most cruel and bloudy War, if they did not retrieve their error by a speedy 1673. *The Turks resolve on a war against Poland.*

1673. submiſſion and compliance with thoſe Articles which were the laſt year accorded. And this was the laſt motion the Turks made towards a Peace, which they were deſirous to embrace on any terms honourable, that ſo they might have opportunity to divert their Arms to the more mild Climates of *Hungary*, where, beſides the entertainment they expected to receive from friends, who invited them, they ſhould not be liable to half thoſe inconveniences of Cold, Froſts, and Famine, as they were probable to meet in the parts of *Poland*.

But the Poles were ſo much in earneſt, and ſo little eſteemed the menaces of the Sultan, that they anticipated his threats by ſome acts of hoſtility, and ſhowed that they ſo much ſcorned his anger, that they were reſolved to be the firſt Aggreſſors. For the great Mareſchal *Sobieski* with his Lieutenant General *Wiſnowitzki* marched forward, and boldly paſſed the *Nieſter* with fifty thouſand ſelect Souldiers. The General of the Turkiſh Army, *Chuſaein* Paſha, alarmed hereat, immediately iſſued forth ſuch Orders for preparing and fitting his Camp as were agreeable to a ſpeedy Battel; and that he might underſtand the ſtate of his Camp, he called the Prince or Vayvord of *Moldavia* to examine him concerning the ſtate and condition of his Forces; the anſwer he gave proving not ſatisfactory to the expectation of the Turk, who was enraged at the approach of the Enemy, with high and proud words inſulted over the Prince, giving him no better terms than Dog and Infidel, and at length ſtruck him over the head with his Pole-Axe; notwithſtanding which, and the diſgrace he put upon him, imprudently that night committed unto him, and to the Prince of *Valachia*, the care of the Guards, which conſiſted of three thouſand Men. The Valachians as near Neighbours and Aſſociates with the others, ſeemed at firſt more grievouſly to reſent the affront, than did the Moldavians, and therefore that Night took their Prince by force and carried him to the Poliſh Army. The Prince, that he might make a Verture of Neceſſity, complained of no force or violence offered unto him by his Souldiers, but as if he had voluntarily revolted, ſhowed outwardly a fair and ſerene countenance towards the Poles, until ſuch time as with forty of his Men, he found an opportunity to eſcape; but being by next morning at break of day overtaken by five Troops of Polonian Horſe, his whole Retinue was ſlain by them, excepting five of his men, who with himſelf, ſaved themſelves by the ſwiftneſs of their Horſes; Howſoever, the Prince received a wound on his left hand with a Sword, with which preſenting himſelf before the Great Vizier, and by that teſtimony boaſting of his Faith and Loyalty to the Ottoman Houſe, was conducted by him to the preſence of the Sultan, who, in reward of his fidelity and valour, veſted him with a rich Coſtan, and reſtored him again to his Principality with addition of three hundred Aſpers a day pay. His Wife and Children which remained as Hoſtages at *Conſtantinople*, being upon the News of the Princes Revolt clapt into the ſeven Towers, were again releaſed, and conducted to their houſe with all imaginable honour and magnificence.

The Poles paſs the Nieſter.

The Prince of Valachia carried by his own Souldiers to the Poles.

But the Moldavian Prince was more in-

1673. earneſt, and heartily diſdained the affront offered him by *Chuſaein* Paſha, towards whom, and the other Turks, though he carried a ſerene and calm countenance, yet he nouriſhed a ſecret flame and ſtorm within himſelf; to vent which, and revenge the affront, he maintained a correſpondence with *Sobieski*, giving him intelligence of all matters in the Turkiſh Camp, how he might moſt eaſily ſurprize the Forces of the Paſha of *Sivas*, and the four Generals of the Spahees of *Alchabolik*.

The Prince of Moldavia revolts.

The Chriſtians made uſe of this intelligence accordingly, by making their aſſault on the Enemy on the weakeſt ſide, when the Prince having reſerved his anger until an opportune Seaſon, turned his face againſt the Turks, and with a courage agreeable to his ſpirit and command, he entered the Tabor, or Intrenchment of *Chuſaein* Paſha, and wounded him with his own hand. The heat of the Fight continued fourteen hours, in which none behaved himſelf more valiantly than did *Solyman* Paſha the Beglerbeg of *Boſna*, who though he was as brave and fought as ſtoutly as any man could having ſix Horſes that day killed under him, he was at length forced to fly and abandon the field, following *Chuſaein* Paſha, of *Sivas* and *Ciddi-ogla*, who made better uſe, in ſaving themſelves, of their horſes heels, than their own Arms; But in this Flight his Horſe pitching his foot into the hole of a wooden Bridge, which he was to paſs, was there ſtopped until he was overtaken by a Souldier with a Hat, who ſhot him through the Body; ſo that continuing his flight more faintly than before, he was overtaken by a Polonian Huſſar, who with a Lance bore him to the Ground, where he was trod under foot, and cut in pieces by the Enemy: The other three Paſhaws were wounded; the Generals of the Green and Yellow Sangiacks of the Spahees were taken Priſoners, and two other principal Commanders of the Spahees were killed. The Zagargeebaſhee, who commanded eighteen Chambers of Janiſaries, was taken priſoner, the Standard of the Janiſaries taken, and they wholly cut in pieces and deſtroyed, conſiſting of eight thouſand five hundred men; all the Troops and Attendants of thoſe Paſhaws, with four Sangiacks of Spahees, were ſlain upon the place, which in all were computed to be about twenty five thouſand men. The booty taken was very conſiderable, for beſides the ordinary Baggage they took two thouſand purſes of money, then newly brought for payment of the Souldiery, and twenty five thouſand Waggons of Proviſions and Ammunition.

The Turks overthrow.

After this ſucceſs and important Victory the Poles became Maſters of the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Chotin*, and other ſmaller Palanchas, on the Banks of the *Nieſter*, making their Incurſions into *Moldavia*, as far as *Jaſh*, which is the principal City of that Country. And thus far was *Kaplan* Paſha proceeded with the Recruits of about four thouſand men, when the News came of the fatal Rout, and the fame thereof encreaſing by the fearful Relations of ſuch as fled from the Battel, alarmed the Turks with ſuch frightful apprehenſions, that they retreated back again to the other ſide of the *Danube*, and united themſelves to the Forces of the Vizier. But *Chuſaein* Paſha, though he ſaved his life, yet could not con-

ſerve

1673. serve the Air of the Sultan's favour; for so soon as he arrived at the Court, he received an ill welcome; for according to the manner of Turks, who punish the ill success of a General equal to Crimes committed, he was immediately put into Chains, deprived of his estate and honours, and sent prisoner with the attendance only of two servants unto the Castles of the *Dardanells*, where the disturbance and unquietness of his mind reduced him to an infirmity of Body; so that being sick, and without Friends or Physicians, he sent to Sir *John Finch*, his Majesties *Ambassador*, as he passed up the *Hellespont*, to afford him the use and assistance of his Physician; but the Ambassador excused himself, letting him know, that his Retinue being passed before on another Vessel, he was sorry it was not in his power to accommodate him in the manner he desired.

Chusaein Pasha imprisoned.

The Winter being now well entered, which is very wet and cold in those Countries, caused the Armies on both sides to draw into their warmer Quarters, there to meditate and contrive their designs for the more active season. During these Affairs the King of *Poland* died; so that the Election of a new Prince, the manner of reconciling their intestine Differences, and the means to defend their Countries, were Subjects of important Consideration, and matters more than sufficient to employ the wisest heads of that Nation for a longer time than their common Enemy was resolved to afford them. The Turk on the other side though full of revenge and anger for their last misfortune, yet patiently took this loss as the paring only of his Nails, that his Claws might grow the longer, and was so rowsed with this blow, that he summoned all the Nations of his large Empire to come in to his assistance, towards which forty thousand Carts laden with Provisions were appointed to rendezvous on the Banks of the *Danube* towards the end of the month of *March*. Yet in the mean time the Turks not having patience to see their perfidious Prince avail himself of his Revolt, and in Despight of the Ottoman Power to to seat himself in his Principality of *Jasb*, were resolved to drive him thence; and in order thereunto not expecting a milder season, immediately dispeeded some Troops of Tartars, and two thousand Spahees under the Command of a new Prince, to drive him out of the Country. In the mean time the Poles, since their late Victory, kept the Fortress of *Kemenitz* straitly blocked up on all sides, and thereby reduced them to such a want of food and other provisions, as might probably cause them to surrender before the Summer could open a way to their relief.

The King of Poland dies.

But before I conclude this Year, I must not omit to acquaint the Reader, that in the month of *September* an English Factor at *Smyrna* descended of good Parents, and educated under a severe and religious Master, one who had a reasonable Estate of his own, and in good business and employment, did notwithstanding in the absence of his Partner, with whom he was joyned in Commission, carry out of the house 215½ fine Cloths belonging to several Principals of *England*, with a considerable Sum of ready Mony, Jewels, and things of value: of which having possessed himself, he went before the Kadi, and there in presence of divers Officers of the City turned Turk, hoping by the Privi- 1674.
ledge of the Mahometan Law, whereby no Christian testimony can pass against a Turk, to appropriate unto himself that whole Estate, which he had thus treacherously got into his sole custody. And it being impossible for Turks to attest the Marks, Numbers, or know the Estates of Persons being in *England*, he judged himself out of the reach of any Power or Art to dispossess him of his unjust and wicked acquests. Howsoever the Consul did so closely pursue him both at *Smyrna* and at the Turkish Court, that in the space of seven months he regained all the Cloth, and the best part of the Mony and Jewels out of his hands: and in fine reduced this Renegado to so low a condition, that he humbly supplicated the Consul to contrive a way for his passage into *England*: at which time His Majesties Frigate the *Centurion* being then in Port, he was imbarked thereupon, and so returned into his own Country.

The Particulars of all which having been amply related in Writing and Letters to private Friends, I purposely omit the same in this place, that so I might cast a veil over the nakedness and shame of our Nation in that City. Howsoever I judge it requisite to recount this Story in brief and in general heads, That men may know there is a God who rules above, who rejects impious and licentious persons, confounding the designs of those who betraying their Trust, deviate from the common Rules of Morality and Honesty.

Anno 1674. *Hegeira* 1085.

THis Year began at *Smyrna* with the happy Arrival of Sir *John Finch*, sent by His Majesty for Ambassador to the Grand Signior in the place of Sir *Daniel Harvey*, who dyed in *August* 1672. at his Country-house not far from *Constantinople*. His Excellency entred the City on the first day of *January* 167⅔ rejoycing the English Factory with the sight of their new Ambassador, (that Office having been now void for the space of sixteen months) who was welcome also to people of the Country, judging him fortunate for arriving at the Feast of their great *Biram*: nor less pleasing was the News thereof to the Court, especially to the late Pasha of *Tunis*, whose Goods and Monies taken by one *Dominico Franceschi*, out of an English Ship called the *Mediterranean*, in her passage from *Tunis* to *Tripoli*, this Ambassador had recovered from *Ligorne* and *Malta*; which being an action without example, was greatly admired and applauded by the Turks, and esteemed an evident demonstration of that great Interest and Power which the Glory of our King hath acquired in Foreign parts, and of the singular dexterity of such a Minister.

About the 18*th* of *March*, Sir *John Finch* arrived at *Constantinople* being transported to the *Dardanells* on his Majesties Fregat the Centurion; and thence on a Gally hired at *Smyrna* for that purpose. Some few days after his arrival, the Grand Signior and Vizier being at *Adrianople*, the Lord Ambassador had audience of the *Chimacam* whom he saluted with this speech.

I

1674. *I am come Ambaſſadour from Charles the Second King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *ſole Lord and Soveraign of all the Seas, that environ his Kingdoms, Lord and Soveraign of vaſt territories, and poſſeſſions in the* Eaſt *and* Weſt-Indies, *Defender of the Chriſtian Faith againſt all thoſe that Worſhip Idols or Images. To the moſt Powerful and mighty Emperor of the* Eaſt, *to maintain that peace, which hath been ſo uſeful, and that commerce which hath been ſo profitable to this Empire: For the continuance, and encreaſe whereof I promiſe you in my ſtation to contribute what I can, and I promiſe to my ſelf, that you in your will do the like.*

But to proceed to the Wars. The Polanders being thus proſperous, made uſe of their ſucceſs, and the ſharp cold of the Winter-ſeaſon to make their Incurſions, and Winter-quarters through all the Principalities of *Moldavia*; for they being born in cold Countries, and accuſtomed to the Snows and Froſts, were more patient and enduring of extremity of weather than were the Turks, who were brought forth from more mild and moderate Climates: ſo that neither could the Poles be driven out from thoſe Countries, nor *Kemenitz* be relieved by them, until ſuch time, that the Sun getting high, and thawing the Snows, and warming the Earth, prepared a ſeaſon fit for return of the Turks who marching according to their cuſtom with an Army compoſed of great multitudes, quickly compelled the Poles to retire. For the Grand Signior and Vizier having both ſeated their Winter-quarters on the Banks of the *Danube*, were ready at the firſt opening of the Summer to enter their Arms into the Enemies Countries; and having called the Tartars to their aſſiſtance, did according to the uſual cuſtom make Incurſions for depredation of Slaves, Cattel, and whatſoever elſe was portable in a running March.

The *Chan* or King of this People was at that time greatly indiſpoſed in his health, of which he adviſed the Great Vizier, as if he intended thereby to obtain a releaſe from his perſonal attendance that year in the War: But the Vizier, who either ſuppoſed this excuſe to be only a pretence, or that he had a kindneſs for his Perſon, immediately diſpatched away his own Phyſician called Signior *Maſſelini*, an Italian born, a worthy Learned man, a good Chriſtian, and my intimate Friend: with whom maintaining a conſtant correſpondence by Letters, he wrote me, That from the Grand Signiors Quarters which were at *Batadog* near the Banks of the *Danube*, he arrived after ſeventeen days Journey in *Chrim*, where (he ſaid) he was received with ſingular honour and kindneſs by the Great *Chan*, whom he found to be a Prince of admirable prudence, gentleneſs, and generoſity, but greatly afflicted with a Hypochondriacal Melancholy; which being an infirmity of ſome years ſtanding, was with the more difficulty removed; howſoever he was ſo far from being uncapable to follow his Army, that he adviſed him to divert his mind with the thoughts of War: which counſel having taken, after thirty days abode in the Camp, he found himſelf much more chearful than before, and greatly relieved of that preſſure of Melancholy and caliginous Vapours which offended his Brain. "We are now (ſaid he) at "*Uſſia* at the Mouth of the *Boriſthenes*, which "we have paſſed from the other ſide unto this, "where the River is nine miles broad, from "hence we are marching towards *Bender* upon "the *Nieſter* to paſs into *Moldavia*, and there "to joyn with the Ottoman Army. The Poles "have ſent to demand Peace, but with con"dition, that *Kemenitz* be reſtored to them; "which Propoſition was with great diſdain re"jected, and will never be granted whilſt this "Emperour reigns. Theſe people greatly de"ſired a Peace with *Poland*, which the Electi"on of *Sobietki* for King may probably facili"tate; for not only they, but the Turks alſo "dread a March into *Poland*, and are ſo in"veterately bent to take revenge on the Muſ"covites and Coſacks, who lately became "their Subjects, that they could accept of any "reaſonable Terms of Accommodation with "*Poland*. I for my part found *Tartary* a very "pleaſant Country, plentiful of all Proviſi"ons, and the people much more courteous "and obliging to the Strangers and Chriſtians, "than thoſe Turks with whom you and I have "converſed. Thus far *Maſſelini* writes in commendation of the Tartars, and in farther confirmation hereof, I have read in ſome Books, That as to their Morals, there are very few Nations to be found leſs vicious, they are extremely ſevere and faithful, they have no Thieves or falſe Witneſſes amongſt them, little Injuſtice or Violence, and live in union and great tranquillity: the marvellous fidelity of the Captive Tartars in *Poland* is every day to be obſerved, who never fail to return at the time appointed, when they are licenſed upon their word to go and procure their Liberties by the exchange of Poliſh Priſoners, which they execute punctually, or return themſelves, not failing a minute. And it is obſerved, That the Poliſh Gentlemen do rather truſt the young Tartars, which are in their Service, with the keys of their Money and Jewels, than any of their Houſhold.

A Journy into Tartary.

The time for Armies to draw out of the Winter-quarters, and take the Field being now come, the Grand Signior and Vizier, with great numbers both of Horſe and Foot paſſed the *Danube*, and proſecuting their March to the Confines of *Poland*, they relieved *Kemenitz* in the firſt place, the Poles at the News of their approach raſing the Siege. Thence they proceeded to *Chuzim*, a ſtrong Fortreſs on the *Nieſter*, taken from them in the laſt year by the Chriſtians, after the defeat given to *Chuſaein* Paſha, as before related, the which was ſurrendred without much difficulty on Articles, which were ill obſerved, the whole Garriſon being afterwards put to the Sword. Nor had they worſe ſucceſs againſt the Muſcovites, who retreated backward as the Turk advanced, leaving *Aſac*, after it had been ſacked and almoſt deſtroyed, to be again rebuilt, which was ſpeedily effected by the aſſiſtance of the Captain-Paſha, who was that year with thirty nine Gallies diſpeeded into the Black Sea, and with great numbers of Slaves and Souldiers repaired the ruines which the Muſcovites had made. In the mean time, whilſt the chiefeſt ſtrength of the marine Force was thus employed, a ſmall Squadron of about ten Gallies were ordered for the

Kemenitz relieved.

Archipelago

1674. *Archipelago* and the Levant, under the Command of one *Mahomet* Pasha, a Person that managed sundry great Employments; but his prodigality and profuse way of living was the cause that he could thrive in none, only he thereby gained so much interest and credit with the Grandees and Monied men of the Court, who are the Pages and Eunuchs, as served him to contract a debt of a thousand Dollars without any ability of his own to give them satisfaction: of which these Creditors being assured, made it their Petition to the Grand Signior to grant him the Command of that Squadron of Gallies, which was that year designed for the *Archipelago*, supposing that he in this Expedition being to pass unto many Islands and Countries, knew how to make such use of his time, and the advantage of his Employment, as would gain him a sufficient benefit whereby to satisfie and clear all scores and accounts with them. This Office being accordingly conferred, *Mahomet* Pasha prepared himself to depart, whilst the Creditors remained in full expectation of a profitable Voyage and speedy returns; which to improve to the best advantage, the Pasha first visited the open and undefended Isles, from whence with the greatest severity and rapine imaginable he pillaged and plundered what he was able, making some of them to ransom their whole Country with mony. Thence he proceeded to *Scala Nova*, called by the Turks *Kousb-adasee*, a place on the Coast of *Asia*, not far from *Ephesus*, where he demanded of the people (though all Turks) the Sum of five thousand Dollars, which they not finding to pay, were treated with all kind of force and violence, till at length paying down 1500, and engaging to pay the rest in a months time, the Pasha departed, leaving an Aga, a Servant of his, to receive the money at the time agreed. In that interim, the Kadi coming to be changed, and another of more courage and spirit succeeding in his place, believed that the best service at his beginning and entrance into Office which he could perform towards the people, was to relieve them from the oppression of the Pasha, and perswade them positively to refuse the payment; who taking courage from their Chief, drove the Aga out of Town, with a thousand menaces and reproaches. Upon this News *Mehmet* Pasha returned again full of anger and indignation, but found not that easie reception nor kind entertainment, as before; but on the contrary, the Gates were shut against him, and the people abandoning their Habitations, with common consent resolved to make a Journey, to the Grand Signior: and to shew they were in earnest, proceeded so far in their way as to *Ephesus*; which is about ten miles distant from thence: the prejudice and danger of which complaint *Mahomet* Pasha greatly fearing, sent Messengers to pacifie them with good words and promises to relinquish his pretensions, in case they would return; but the uproar was so great, that they found as much difficulty to quiet it, as the Town-Clerk in ancient times had to appease the Tumult raised by the Silversmiths about *Diana* of the *Ephesians*. Being thus baffled at *Kousb-adasee*, he vented his fury on some poor Islands which he could more easily master, and thence proceeded to *Napoli di Romania*, where the people being already alarmed with his behaviour, and violence of his actions in other places, and encouraged by the example of *Kousb-adasee*, upon his arrival there, without farther ceremony shut their Gates, and appeared armed against him upon the Walls; at which entertainment and unexpected opposition, the Pasha fearing some evil consequences, set sail from thence, and crossing again the Seas into *Asia*, made *Rhodes* his next Port; Thence he passed to *Satalia*, to *Cyprus*, and *Scanderone*, and so again returned for *Constantinople*, taking *Smyrna* in his way, committing most extreme rapine and violence on the people, whose complaints having gone before him to the Court, he was immediately cut off at his arrival; but in the first place, his gains and ill gotten goods were seized on to satisfie the Grand Signior, and his Creditors of the Seraglio, who being sent to fish for Wealth, was served like the Cormorants in the *Indies*, which being made tame, and taught to fish for the benefit of their Masters, have a Ring clapped about their necks to prevent them from swallowing the prey they take.

Mahomet Pasha sent with a Fleet of Gallies into the Archet.

1674.

But to return to the Actions at Land, which were matters of the greatest importance. The Turks had no sooner relieved *Kemenitz*, recovered *Choczim*, and caused the Muscovites to retreat, and draw their Forces into their Country; but being Masters of the Field, and having the choice of acting according to their own pleasure, resolved to secure the places they already possessed, esteeming it more wisdom to make sure their late acquisitions, than to add thereunto new conquests, which they could not maintain. And therefore considering the inconstancy of the Cosacks, who having abandoned their subjection to *Poland*, had submitted themselves to their yoke; and also how unable *Doroszenzko* their Governour was either to keep them in obedience, or else to defend them from the Polonian Incursions; they resolved for prevention of these inconveniences, and for a secure remedy against any sinister accidents of this nature, to make seisure of that Party of the Cosacks, who had not submitted to them, and transport them into other parts, which they accordingly put into execution, and sweeping all the Countries as they passed, carried away men, women, and children into Captivity: part of which, such as belonged to the Grand Signior, had some Lands assigned them along the Coast near the Black Sea; the Armenians, who were a Trading people, and lived at *Kemenitz*, were transported to *Philipopoli*; of the Jews some were carried to *Adrianople*, and others to *Constantinople*; but the younger sort of both Sexes were permitted to the Souldiery to carry them for Slaves to their own homes, and were in great numbers dispersed through all parts of the Empire: a Policy anciently used by *Pharaoh* to his Egyptian Subjects, who having bought their Lands of them, did afterwards transport them from one end of the Land unto the other, that so he might keep them in the greater servitude and subjection, *Gen.* 47. 21. *And as for the people, he moved them from one end of the borders of Egypt to the other.* And in this manner the success concluding the year, without any great Enterprise or Feats of Arms, the Sultan returned to his Court at *Adrianople* about the end of *November*, licensing all the Asian Horse and Souldiers of remotest parts to return to their own Countries, with liberty to appropriate the the following year to their repose and care for their peculiar concernments.

The Turks secludetheir Conquest.

To

1674. To these Wars amongst secular Persons and men of Arms were added Differences, and never to be decided Controversies between the Religious of the Roman and Greek Churches at *Jerusalem*, who contending for the possession of the Holy Sepulchre of the King of Peace, rent that seamless Coat of Christ, and managed their Controversie with more malice and rancour each against other, than Princes do, who invade one the other with Fire and Sword. For the Franks or Western Christians subjected to the Popes Dominion, had possessed for several Ages a right to the Holy Sepulchre, and enjoyed the honour of the custody thereof, notwithstanding the pretences of the Greeks thereunto, who for many years in vain attempted at the Ottoman Court to obtain that Priviledge; for the Franks being ever more powerful by charitable contributions brought from Christendom, besides large Sums of Money from the King of *Spain*, did always outbid the Market of the Greeks, and consequently made use of stronger arguments, than the adverse Party could produce in defence of their cause. Until such time, that one *Panaioti*, a Greek born in the Island of *Scio*, having by his parts and excellent address arrived to the honour of being Interpreter for the Western Tongues to the Great Vizier, at length obtained that favour with his Master, that he seldom refused whatsoever he with reason and modesty requested; and being a great Zelot in his Religion, and esteemed the chief Patron and Support of the Greek Church, he secretly begged in behalf of his Country, the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre at *Jerusalem* out of the hands of the Franks; which the Vizier would not deny him, both to reward him for some services already performed, and likewise because he knew that a concession of this nature would again raise the spirits and animosities of Christians; the allaying and appeasing of which being an office solely in the power of himself, and the supreme Authority, would certainly prove beneficial to the Ottoman Court. *Panaioti* having obtained this Command, and considering that the defence thereof would be a trouble to him, for that thereby he should create Enemies which were no less than Kings and Princes to contend with, and perhaps should live to see it reversed, wisely laid it by him, there to remain dormant until the time of his death; which happening the year past, the Command was produced and brought to light, and was before the *Easter* of this year set on foot at *Jerusalem*, and by virtue thereof the custody of the Sepulchre sentenced by the Pasha and Kadi of that place to belong unto the Greeks, the which was occasion of so great trouble and confusion, as disturbed the Holy Feast, and polluted the Sacrifices with the blood of one or two persons, who most earnestly contended for the Priviledge of their Nation and Religion. Nor could this difference be decided here, but both sides appealed to the Court above; which being heard and debated in publick Divan, the possession of the Sepulchre was adjudged in favour of the Greeks; the Franks being only to injoy a precarious use thereof, as Pilgrims and Strangers to the Country. Howsoever the Fryers of *Jerusalem* would not tamely yield up their Right, but again resolved to try their Fortune at the Court, having by means of *F. Camisaries* their Commissario with expence of a great Sum of Money obtained a review of the case, but without success; for all these endeavours and charge proved fruitless, the former sentence being confirmed in favour of the Greeks; and the Franks having no other Expedient, applied themselves to the assistance of the French Ambassadour, to whose protection the Holy places are assigned by Capitulations. But neither the power of the French Ambassadour, nor of any other Christian Representative was available; for the Vizier either mindful of his promise to *Panaioti*, or being resolute to maintain the Command he had given, would on no terms be perswaded to revoke it; the which intention of the Vizier being made known to the Greeks their Patriarch earnestly pressed a hearing of the case; but the Fryars not willing to abide the shock, retired to *Constantinople*, lest the Greeks forcing them to Justice, they should be condemned *in Judicio contradictorio*, and a Hoget or Sentence passing, they should be condemned in Law as well as by Authority of the Hattesheriff. Which to put in execution, the Patriarch took out a Command whereunto was added, That the Fryers in token of their subjection, should pay a Drachm of Silver a head to the Patriarch, and hold all their places of them. This was the issue of the present controversies, which is certainly determined for the time of the Vizier without revocation, yet perhaps in the time of another, it may admit of a review for money, especially being received when as yet the new Minister *hath* not satiated his covetous desires; howsoever, the expence will always be chargeable, and the success uncertain. Thus have I seen and observed in this particular the effect and experience of two things; *viz.* The covetousness and pride of Fryars, and the conclusion of their Law-suits before Infidels. The Franks, or the Western Christians, had until this time the custody of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Greeks that of the Chappel of *Bethlem*, but the use was free to both; but the Franks not being able to enjoy the Sepulchre with contentment, whilst with envious eyes they beheld the Greeks in possession of *Bethlem*, were always contriving designs by force of money, and power of Christian Ministers to eject them from that Right; until that now in these contentions they have lost both; being neither able to recover the one, nor conserve the other.

The difference between the Latines and Greeks at Jerusalem.

Before we end this year of 1674. and begin that of 1675; it will be necessary for us to discourse of the cause, and original of that War which *England* had with the Government of *Tripoli* in *Barbary*, and the success and conclusion thereof.

War with Tripoli.

In the year 1672. Old *Mahomet* boar at *Scio* and of the *Greek* race who for many years by *Baratz* or commission from the Grand Signior had boaren the Office, and Title of Pasha of *Tripoli*; and being grown very rich, and covetous by the Pyracies his Ships made on the Christians, and oppression of his people, not dividing amongst the Souldiery, that just proportion of the prey, which of right belonged to them, so incensed the minds of that people, that conspiring against him they murdered him in his Castle, and seized all his riches, to the use of the Publick. The Pasha being dead all his creatures, and persons that boar Office in his time were displaced, and others of more justice, and bravery (as they imagined,)

1674. imagined), put in their places, and a New Governor being ſet up, he began to make a through Reformation, and to alter and change every thing according, to his own humor, and pleaſure. In the firſt place he gave leave to all people to Arm in *Corſo*, or to ſet out Private Men of War, as every one pleaſed, and was able; different to the practiſe of the former Paſha, who reſerved that benefit, and priviledge to himſelf; and next it was propoſed to conſtitute a Divan after the manner of *Algier* in whom the ſupream power of all ſhould be lodged. In order hereunto they immediately, ſet forth to Sea ſix Sail of Ships from forty to fifty Guns, excellent Saylors, and armed them with the beſt and ſtouteſt of their Men, together with four more from twelve to thirty Guns; with theſe Ships they took many prizes belonging to *French*, *Venetians*, and other Nations; and though they had long deſired to taſte alſo of the ſweetneſs of *Engliſh* Eſtates, yet not encountring a prize worthy the trouble and evil conſequences of ſuch a breach; they for ſome time deferred the deſign which they had long meditated. Till at length about the Month of *Auguſt* 1674. they unhappily encountred the *Martin*, a rich Ship bound from *Venice* to *Cadiz*, which they carried to *Tripoly*; and on the *17th* of *September* following, they ſeconded this outrage, by other of the like nature, committed on the *Hunter* Fregat, *Thomas Parker* Commander bound from *Ligorne* to *Smyrna*; whom the *Tripolines* meeting with ſix Men of War at the entrance into the *Archepelago*, they brought her into the Port of *Tripoly*; where having plundered all the ſtrangers goods laden upon her, to the import of forty thouſand dollars, the particulars of all which were given under Oath of the Commander, the Ship was diſmiſſed, and diſpeeded on her Voyage to *Smyrna* with no other damage to the *Engliſh*, then the embezelment of 726 dollars robbed, or pilfered by the Souldiery, together which ſuch charge, as the Conſul of *Tripoly* challenged for his ſervice therein. This news being adviſed into *England*, as a breach of Peace, his Majeſty out of his uſual and gratious care of the welfare of Trade, was pleaſed to order Sir *John Narbrough* his Commander in chief in the *Mediterranean* Seas, to demand ſatisfaction from that people; who accordingly Sailing thither, and requiring reſtitution of the goods injuriouſly taken, received a denial, and denunciation of War. Whereupon Sir *John Narbrough* wrote to the Conſul of *Smyrna* in this manner.

*Theſe are to adverti*ſe *you, that the people of* Tripoly *have broken the peace with his Majeſty; they are reſolved to take all the* Engliſh *Ships they can meet, and overcome. I have been there with a Squadron of his Majeſties Ships to demand reſtitution of the goods taken out of the* Martin: *and* Hunter: *they refuſe to make any, ſo that now it is open War with thoſe people: I am now at* Malta *taking in water, I intend to fit at* Ligorne; *I ſuppoſe his Majeſty will have a Squadron of Ships to look after theſe people of* Tripoly *this Summer. Sir, I pray ſignify this to my Lord Ambaſſador at* Conſtantinople, *and to all others his Majeſties Subjects where you converſe, that they may prevent falling into their hands; in haſt I conclude, and kiſs your hand, and I remain*

1674.

On board his Majeſties Ship *Henrietta* at *Malta. March* 15*th* 167⅓.

Your Humble Servant *John Narbrough.*

Sir *John Narbrough* having fitted himſelf at *Ligorne*, and recruited with an additional Squadron of ſix or ſeven Men of War he departed for *Tripoly*, taking under his Convoy, the *Vyner*, *Briſtol* Merchant, and Mediterranean for *Smyrna*; and now appearing before the Port of *Tripoly* in a formidable manner, the *Pyrates* began to repent of their late violation, knowing that they muſt now either diſgorge their ill got goods, or prove the evil effects of War; their hearts began now to fail them, ſo that they unrigged all their Ships, laying them up cloſe in the harbour, and with them for the preſent all thoughts of roving on the Seas; for ſuppoſing, that the *Engliſh* Ships could not lye alwaies in that Station, but that bad weather, or want of proviſions would enforce them ſometime to retire, they hoped in that interval to find an opportunity to lanch into the Seas, where being clear, and good Saylors, they might have room enough to eſcape. Howſoever Sir *John Narbrough* with his Squadron, continued with ſuch diligence on the coaſt, plying them with continual allarms, ſtanding off to ſea at night, and towards the land in the day; that they found not the heart, nor opportunity to adventure abroad; until one of their Ships, which had formerly been their Rere-Admiral, bound with Negroes for the *Morea*; reſolved to hazard an eſcape; but not being able to make her paſſage good, ſhe was forced aſhoar, and burnt by our Ship, moſt of the Negroes falling into the *Engliſh* hands; ſome few days after Sir *John Narbrough* fired three of their Galeots, burnt a Saree, took a fiſher-boat and a Sambechin; with which ſucceſs being encouraged, and the Enemy affrighted, their Ships were blocked up in Port for ſome months, whilſt ours found free paſſage on the Seas; until that at length growing weary of ſo long a demorage, neceſſity drove them to adventure abroad, which two of their beſt Men of War ſucceſsfully effected on the 8*th* of *September* in deſpight of the *Engliſh* Squadron, being aſſiſted with calm weather, and help of their Oares: four others obſerving the ſucceſs of the former in a few days after attempted the like, and eſcaped in the ſame manner. And now the Commanders of *Engliſh* Ships in diverſe Ports, taking falſe meaſures, on confidence that the *Tripolines* were blocked up in their Ports, truſted themſelves with unadviſed ſecurity into the Seas; amongſt which none was ſo unfortunate, as a Ship called the *Briſtol* Merchant one *Plummer* Commander, laden with eighty two Bales of Silk, beſides other rich commodities bound from *Smyrna* to *Ligorne*, whereon were ſeveral Merchants, ſome of which having lived many years in *Smyrna* had acquired plentiful Eſtates:

1674. namely Mr. *John Foley*, Mr. *Thomas Laxton*, Mr. *Jacob Turner*, Mr. *Phillip Gell*, and Mr. *Tiſon* Nephew to Mr. *Foley*; Perſons who expected a proſperous Voyage, and a happy arrival in their own Country: But obſerve here the courſe of humane diſappointments, for being imbarked on the Ship aforeſaid they ſet Sail from *Smyrna* the 10th or 11th of *September* in company with the *Vyner* which happened to be about two or three days after the *Tripolines* had firſt broken out of their Port; theſe two Ships by bad weather, or want of due care loſt company, each with other in the *Arche-pelago*, which proved a happy fortune to the *Vyner*; for the *Briſtol* Merchant, ſome few days after being off of *Cape Sapientia* encountred the two *Tripolines* which firſt came out of Port, and being Veſſels of forty to fifty Guns, ſoon made themſelves Maſters of a Merchant-ſhip laden and of mean force. The *Tripolines* were greatly elevated with this rich prize which they immediately carried to a place called *Derno*; and there landing their goods and men; for better ſecurity tranſported them over land to *Tripoli*. The Perſons we mentioned before, were forced for the moſt part to walk all the way a foot, being thirty four days journey, unleſs ſome times, they were favoured to mount a Camel, which is ſuch an unpleaſant way of riding, that walking is much more eaſie; and travelling in a ſandy, dry Country, water was very ſcarce, the days journies being commonly proportioned according to the diſtance of the Wells of Water; which they drank with better Appetites, and Pleaſure, then they formerly reliſhed the moſt pleaſant Wines. Being arrived at *Tripoli* they were ill welcomed by the ſevere looks, and hard diet which they received from their Hoſts; and the Plague raging greatly in the City, added to the miſeries, and dread of the place.

The *Tripolines* encouraged with this prize, and with the expectation of the farther ſucceſs of their Ships abroad, hoped to weary out the *Engliſh* Squadron, which ſtill continued to infeſt and trouble their coaſts taking their Corn, Boats, and interrupting all Commerce which that Town had with the Sea. At length the *Engliſh* reſolved to make an attempt on the Ships in Harbour which they reſolutely performed in the night, and with great ſucceſs according to this relation which Sir *John Narbrough* gave under his own hand.

Friday the 14th *of* January 167⅘.

I *Being before* Tripoli, *in* Barbary *with his Majeſties Ships under my command, namely theſe,*

Harwich, *Henrietta*, *Portſmouth* } Fregats

Anne and Chriſtopher Holmes. } Fire ſhips.

Guiney, *Martin* } Merchants Ships attending for Convoy.

And ſeeing four of the Tripoly *Ships of War in the Port of conſiderable force preparing to go out, and cruiſe, I fitted a fireboat out of the fireſhips; and commanded that all the boats of my Squadron being twelve in number, ſhould be manned, armed, and fitted with Fire-works alſo; I ordered a conſiderable Officer to be a Commander in every boat, and my Leiutenant* Cloudiſly Shovel *to be Commander in chief of them all; for being reſolved by Gods permiſſion to attack the Enemy that night in Port, I gave inſtructions requiſite for ſuch a deſign. About twelve a clock in the night my boats reſolvedly entred the Port, took and ſeized the guard boat, and killed the people in her, boarded the Ships, and fired them, and utterly deſtroyed them all, ſome Turks and Moors ſlain, the reſt fled to ſave themſelves. Theſe four Ships lay under the Dey's Caſtle Walls, which was all that were in Port, except a* Tunis *Merchant Ship, which I ordered ſhould not be medled with and ſo eſcaped firing. This Action was performed in leſs then an hours time without ſuſtaining the leaſt damage on our ſide, then the expence of ſome Ammunition, Fire-works, and Fireboat, which were effectually beſtowed, as deſigned, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Turks, who endeavoured to impede our deſign, by plying ſeveral great and innumerable ſmall ſhot at our boats, and men, which were within Piſtol-ſhot of the Dey's own Caſtle, and Palace. Such was the wonderful mercy of God towards us, that not one man of ours, was killed, wounded or touched; nor a boat any way diſabled, but all returned in ſafety, bringing the Guard boat, two Moors, and the Turkiſh Colours of the four Ships in triumph along with them to my Ship. Our men employed in the boats on this occaſion were one hundred fifty and ſeven, they all behaving themſelves, as became Engliſhmen.*

1674.

To God alone be the Glory.

Names of the *Tripoly* Ships of War that were burnt with their Guns.

	Guns
White crowned Eagle	50
Looking-Glaſs	34
Sta Chiara	24
French Petach	20

Guard boat brought off with one Peterero, and two Moors in her.

I verily believe that in caſe I had landed at that time with five hundred men only I might have carried the City, for the Turks were ſo amazed, that they fled out of it,

1674. *it, they fired ſeveral great and ſmall ſhot all at random, without hurt to any of our men, God being pleaſed ſo to direct it.*

The 26th *of* January *I fired about one hundred ſhot into the City of* Tripoly *amongſt the Inhabitants.*

The firſt and third of February *I took and deſtroyed five Corn boats twenty Leagues to the Eaſtward of* Tripoly, *and landed and burned a Stack of wood and Timber, which was for building their new Ship, and ſome ſmall Maſts, and Yards, and ſome bags of bread brought off, and two Guns ſpiked, which could not be got off; it beginning to blow, and likely to be bad weather; ſo I was conſtrained to leave them, and repair on board, and leave the coaſt. The tenth of this Month the* Portſmouth *took a Sambechee in her ballaſt thirty Leagues to the Eaſtward of* Tripoly, *ſhe belonging to that Government, the Moors got all aſhoar but the Sambechee was brought to* Malta.

From aboard his Majeſties Ship, *Hartwich March* the 18*th* 167⅞. John Narbrough.

The *Tripolines* being diſcouraged, and affrighted with this boldneſs and diligence of the *Engliſh*, and apprehending that they would always infeſt their coaſt, which would be an utter ruine, and deſtruction to them; and being touched in the moſt ſenſible parts of their intereſt, and welfare; they generally concluded, that there was now no ſafety, but by making a peace with the *Engliſh*: To farther which, and to aſſiſt in the Office of Mediation; it happened, that there was at the ſame time at *Tripoly*, one *Haſſa* bey, a great man of *Tunis*, who had been Dei of that Country; but being droven from thence by his Nephews, was come to *Tripoly* with an immenſe treaſure, intending afterwards to Tranſport himſelf to *Conſtantinople*, to make his aggreivances known at the Grand Signiors Court. Of this perſon we ſhall diſcourſe more at large hereafter; but in this place, it is pertinent to relate, how inſtrumental he was to effect this peace in which he laboured with the greater zeal, that ſo by aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, he might find a ſpeedy and ſafe conveyance on their Ships of his Perſon, Goods, and Servants into the *Morea*, from whence he deſigned by land to *Conſtantinople*. The Treaty being thus began; a peace was concluded between his Majeſties of Great Britain, *&c.* and *Halil Paſha*, *Ibrahim Dey*, *Aga*, *Divan* and Governors of the Noble City, and Kingdom of *Tripoly*, Dated the fifth of *March* 167⅞. Being the laſt day of the Moon *Zelhedga*, and *Hegeira* 1086. By this inſtrument all the former Articles were again confirmed with addition of two others.

Firſt, that all Perſons taken under Engliſh Colours ſhould be delivered to Sir John Narbrough *and ſet at liberty without payment of any ranſom for them; under which notion,* Mr. Foley, Mr. Laxton, Mr. Turner, Mr. Gell, *and* Mr. Tiſon, *with the Captain and Sea-men taken on the* 1674. Briſtol *Merchant were freed; whoſe ranſom otherwiſe might have coſt dear, and perhaps almoſt the value of their private Eſtates.*

Secondly, That eighty thouſand Dollars (which was the account made of the value of goods, and Mony taken on the Martin *and* Hunter) *ſhould be made good to Sir* John Narbrough, *in Mony, or Goods, and Slaves. To which was adjoyned ſuch a ſubmiſſion, recantation, and acknowledgment for their late offence, and outrage, as teſtifyed the ſorrow of their true repentance, as we ſhall ſee more at large in their following Articles.*

And now the peace being concluded; Sir *John Narbrough* returned to *Malta*; and ſoon after came back to *Tripoly* to receive the remainder of the monies, and goods agreed for, the Slaves being delivered already. In this interim the ſix Ships which had formerly broken out of the harbour, and ſailed to the *Levant*, hearing of the peace, returned to *Tripoly*; where great feuds and diſſentions aroſe; the Souldiery accuſing *Ibrahim Dei*, nick named *Miſſer ogli* as the beginner and Author of the War, and for continuing it ſo long with obſtinacy, until they were reduced to their laſt extremity. In fine they threatned to cut him in Peices; but at length they were contented to caſhier him only from his Office, after which he fled into the *Morea* and their Vice-Admiral *Muſtapha Grande* was made *Dei* in his place; with whom, and with the Souldiers in general now returned; Sir *John Narbrough* renewed the Articles of Peace, and dated them the firſt of *May* 1676; which are theſe that follow,

Articles of Peace and Commerce between, *&c.*

Articles of Peace, and Commerce Between the moſt Serene, and Mighty Prince Charles the Second by the Grace of God King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Chriſtian Faith, *&c.* And the Moſt Illuſtrious Lords *Halil Baſſa*, *Ibrahim Dei*, *Aga Divan*, and Governors of the Noble City and Kingdom of *Tripoly* in *Barbary* concluded by Sir *John Narbrough* Knight, Admiral of his Majeſties Fleet, in the Mediterranean Seas.

I. IN *the firſt place, It is Agreed, and Concluded, That from this day and for ever forward; There be a true, firm and Inviolable Peace, between the Moſt Serene*

1674. *King of Great Britain* France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Chriſtian Faith*, &c. *And the moſt Illuſtrious Lords, The* Baſſa, Dai, Aga Divan, *and Governors of the City and Kingdom of* Tripoly *in* Barbary, *And between all the Dominions and Subjects of either ſide; And that the Ships, or other Veſſels, and the Subjects and People of both ſides, ſhall not from henceforth, do to each other, any harm, offence, or Injury in word or Deed, But ſhall Treat one another with all poſſible reſpect and Friendſhip.*

II. *That any of the Ships, or other Veſſels, belonging to the ſaid King of Great Brittain, or to any of his Majeſties Subjects, may ſafely come to the Port of* Tripoly, *or to any other Port or Place of that Kingdom, or Dominions thereunto belonging; freely to buy, and ſell without the leaſt Diſturbance; paying the uſual Cuſtoms as in former times hath been payd, for ſuch goods as they ſell; And for the goods they ſell not, they ſhall have free Liberty to carry on Board their own Ships without paying any Duties for the ſame; And when they pleaſe they ſhall freely Depart, from thence without any ſtop, hindrance or moleſtation whatſoever.*

III. *That all Ships and other Veſſels, as well thoſe belonging to the King of Great Brittain, or to any of his Majeſties Subjects, as alſo thoſe belonging to the People and Kingdom of* Tripoly, *ſhall freely paſs the Seas, and* traffick *where they pleaſe without any ſearch, hinderance, or moleſtation from each other; And that all Perſons and Paſſengers of what Country whatſoever; And all Monys, Goods, Merchandize and Moveables, to whatſoever People or Nation belonging; being on board any of the ſaid Ships or Veſſels, ſhall be wholly free, and ſhall not be ſtopped taken or Plundred, nor receive any harm or Damage whatſoever from either Party.*

IV. *That the* Tripoly *Ships of War, or other Veſſels therennto belonging, meeting with any Merchant Ships, or other Veſſels of the King of Great Brittains Subjects, not being in any of the Seas appertaining to his Majeſties Dominions may ſend on board one ſingle boat, with but two Sitters, beſides the ordinary Crew of Rowers, and no more but the two Sitters to enter any of the ſaid Merchants Ships or any other Veſſels; without the Expreſs from the Commander of every ſuch Ship or Veſſel; And then upon producing them a Paſs under the hand and Seal of the Lord High Admiral of* England, *the ſaid Boat ſhall preſently Depart; And if the Merchant, Ship or Ships, Veſſel or Veſſels produce no Paſs from the Lord High Admiral of* England, *yet if the Major part of the ſaid Ships or Veſſels Company, be Subjects to the ſaid King of Great Britain, The ſaid Boat ſhall preſently Depart, And the Merchants Ship or Ships, Veſſel or Veſſels, ſhall proceed freely on her, or their Voyage, And if any of the ſaid Ships of War, or other Veſſels of his ſaid Majeſties meeting with any Ship or Ships, Veſſel or Veſſels belonging unto* Tripoly; *if the Commander or Commanders, of any ſuch Ship or Ships, Veſſel or Veſſels, ſhall produce a Paſs, Signed by the chief Governor of* Tripoly *and a Certificate from the* Engliſh *Conſul, living there, Or if they have no ſuch Paſs or Certificate yet if the Major part of their Ships Company or Companies, be Turks, Moors, or Slaves belonging to* Tripoly, *Then the ſaid* Tripoly *Ship or Ships, Veſſel or Veſſels ſhall proceed freely.*

V. *That no Commander, or other Perſon, of any Ship, or other Veſſel of* Tripoly, *ſhall take out of any Ship or Veſſel of his ſaid Majeſties Subjects, any Perſon or Perſons whatſoever to carry them any where, to be examined, or upon any other pretence, nor ſhall uſe any Torture or Violence to any Perſon of what Nation or quality whatſoever, being on Board any Ship or Veſſel, of his Majeſties Subjects upon any pretence whatſoever.*

VI. *That no Ship-wrack belonging to the King of Great Brittain or any of his Majeſties Subjects, upon any part of the coaſt belonging unto* Tripoly *ſhall be made or become a Prize. And that neither the goods thereof ſhall be ſeized, nor the Men made Slaves; But that all the People of* Tripoly, *ſhall do their beſt endeavours to ſave the ſaid Men and their Goods.*

VII. *That no Ship or any other Veſſel of* Tripoly *ſhall have permiſſion to be Delivered up, or to go to any place in* Enmity *with the ſaid King of Great Brittain, to be made uſe of as Coſairs or Sea Rovers againſt his ſaid Majeſties Subjects.*

VIII. *That none of the Ships or other ſmaler Veſſels of* Tripoly *ſhall remain Cruiſing, near his Majeſties City and Garriſon of* Tangier *or in ſight of it, nor any other way Diſturb the Peace and Commerce of that place.*

IX. *That if any Ship or Veſſel of* Tunis, Argier, Tittuan, *or* Salli, *or any other place being in War with the ſaid King of Great Brittain, bring any Ships or Veſſels, Men or Goods belonging to any of his ſaid Majeſties Subjects to* Tripoly, *or to any Port or Place within that Kingdom; The Governors there ſhall not permit them to*

1674. to be ſold within the Territories of Tripoly.

X. That if any of the Ships of War, of the ſaid King of Great Brittain do come to Tripoly or to any other Port or Place of that Kingdom, with any Prize, they may freely ſell it, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of it, at their own pleaſure, without being moleſted by any; And that his Majeſties ſaid Ships of War, ſhall not be obliged to pay Cuſtome in any ſort; And that if they want Proviſions, Victuals, or any other things they may freely buy them at the rate in the Market.

XI. That when any of his ſaid Majeſties Ships of War ſhall appear before Tripoly, upon Notice thereof given to the Engliſh Conſul, or by the Commander of the ſaid Ships, to the chief Governors of Tripoly; Publick Proclamation ſhall be immediately made, to ſecure the Chriſtian Captives, And if after that any Chriſtians whatſoever make their eſcape, on board any of the Ships of War; They ſhall not be required back again, Nor ſhall the ſaid Conſul, or Commander, or any other his Majeſties Subjects, be obliged to pay any thing for the ſaid Chriſtians.

XII. That if any Subject of the King of Great Brittain, happen to dye in Tripoly, or its Territories, his Goods or Monys, ſhall not be ſeized by the Governors or any Miniſters of Tripoly, but ſhall all remain with the Engliſh Conſul.

XIII. That neither the Engliſh Conſul, nor any other Subject of the ſaid King of Great Brittains ſhall be bound to pay the Debts of any other of his Majeſties Subjects; Except that they become ſurety for the ſame by a Publick Act.

XIV. That the Subjects of his ſaid Majeſty in Tripoly, or its Territories in matter of Controverſie, ſhall be lyable to no other Juriſdictions but that of the Dai, or Divan, except they happen to be at Difference between themſelves; In which caſe they ſhall be lyable to no other Determination, but that of the Conſul only.

XV. That in caſe any Subject of his Majeſty, being in any part of the Kingdom of Tripoly, happen to ſtrike, wound or kill, a Turk or a Moor (if he be taken) he is to be puniſhed in the ſame manner, and with no greater Severity, than a Turk ought to be (being guilty) of the ſame offence; But if he eſcape, Neither the ſaid Engliſh Conſul, nor any other of his ſaid Majeſties Subjects, ſhall be in any ſort queſtioned or troubled therefore.

XVI. That the Engliſh Conſul, now or at any time hereafter living in Tripoly ſhall be there at all times, with entire freedom, and ſafety of his Perſon and Eſtate, and ſhall be permitted to chuſe his own Druggerman, and Broaker; And freely to go on board any Ship in the Road, as often, and when he pleaſes; And to have the Liberty of the Country; and that he ſhall be allowed a place to pray in; And that no Man ſhall do him any Injury in Word or Deed. 1674.

XVII. That not only during the Continuance of this Peace and Friendſhip, but likewiſe (if any Breach or War) happen to be hereafter between the ſaid King of Great Brittain, and the City and Kingdom of Tripoly, The ſaid Conſul and all other his ſaid Majeſties Subjects, ſhall always and at all times, both of Peace and War, have full and abſolute Liberty to Depart and go to their own, or any other Country, upon any Ship or Veſſel of what Nation ſoever, they ſhall think fit, and to Carry with them, all their Eſtates, Goods, Families, and Servants, (although born in the Country,) without any Interruption or hindrance.

XVIII. That no Subject of his ſaid Majeſty being a Paſſenger, from, or to any Port ſhall be any way moleſted or medled with, although he be on Board, any Ship or Veſſel in Enmity with Tripoly.

XIX. That whereas a War hath lately happened, between the moſt Serene King of Great Brittain, and the moſt Illuſtrious Lords Halil Baſſa, Ibraim Dai, The Aga Divan, and Governors of the Noble City and Kingdom of Tripoly in Barbary; by reaſon of the Injuries done unto the King of Great Brittain and his Subjects, by the Government and People of Tripoly contrary to the Articles of Peace; We Halil Baſſa, Ibraim Dai, Aga Divan, and Governors of the Noble City and Kingdom of Tripoly in Barbary, do acknowledge the Injuries done; And that the Breach of the Peace, between his moſt Excellent Majeſty of Great Brittain, and its of Tripoly was committed by our Subjects, for which ſome are baniſhed and ſome fled from our Juſtice; And for further Satisfaction to his moſt Excellent Majeſty for the Breach of Articles we are ſorry for the ſame, and do by theſe engage to ſet at Liberty and Deliver unto the Right Honourable Sir John Narbrough Knight, Admiral of his Majeſties Fleet, in the Mediterranian Sea, All Engliſh Captives, Reſiding in the City and Kingdom of Tripoly, and Dominions thereunto belonging, without paying any Ranſom for them; And likewiſe by ſetting at Liberty and delivering unto the ſaid Sir John Narbrough Knight, all

1674 *all other Perſons taken under* Engliſh *Colours without paying any Ranſom for them, And by paying eighty thouſand Dollars in Mony, Goods, and Slaves, to the aforeſaid Sir* John Narbrough *Knight: And moreover we do engage our ſelves and ſucceſſors, That if any Injuries for the future be done, contrary to theſe Articles, by the Government and People of* Tripoly, *to the King of Great Britain and his Subjects, if upon demand of ſatisfaction from the Government, and people of* Tripoly; *We, or they refuſe, or deny to give ſatisfaction therefore, ſo that a War be occaſioned thereby, between the King of Great Britain, and the Government and people of* Tripoly; *We do engage our ſelves and ſucceſſors to make reſtitution for the Injuries done, and likewiſe to make ſatisfaction to the King of Great Britain for the full charge and damage of that War.*

XX. *That no Subject of the King of Great Britain,* &c. *ſhall be permitted to turn Turk or Moor in the City and Kingdom of* Tripoly, *being induced thereunto by any ſurprizal whatſoever, unleſs he voluntarily appear before the* Dei, *or Governor with the* Engliſh *Conſuls Druggerman three times in twenty four hours ſpace, and every time Declare his Reſolution, to turn Turk or Moor.*

XXI. *That at all times, when any Ship of War of the King of Great Britain,* &c. *carrying his ſaid Majeſties Flag at the main-top-maſt-head, appear before the City of* Tripoly, *and come to Anchor in the Road, That immediately after notice thereof given, by his ſaid Majeſties Conſul or Officer from the Ship, unto the* Dei *and Government of* Tripoly; *They ſhall in honour to his Majeſty cauſe a Salute of one and twenty Cannons to be ſhot off, from the Caſtles and Forts of the City, and that the ſaid Ship ſhall return an Anſwer by ſhooting of the ſame Number of Cannons.*

XXII. *That preſently after the Signing and Sealing of theſe Articles, by us,* Halil Baſſa, Ibraim Dei, Aga Divan, *and Governors of the Noble Kingdoms and City of* Tripoly, *all Injuries, and Damages ſuſtained on either part, ſhall be quiet taken away and forgotten, and this Peace ſhall be in full force and vertue, and continue for ever, And for all Depredations, and Damages, that ſhall hereafter be Committed, or done by either ſide, before Notice can be given of this Peace, full ſatisfaction be immediately made, And whatſoever remains in kind ſhall inſtantly be reſtored.*

XXIII. *That whatſoever ſhall happen hereafter, that any thing is done or committed, by the Ships or Subjects of either ſide contrary to any of theſe Articles (Satisfaction being Demanded therefore) ſhall be made to the full, and without any manner of Delay, and that it ſhall not be Lawful to break this Peace, unleſs ſuch ſatisfaction be denyed, and our Faith ſhall be our Faith, and our word, our word, and whoſoever ſhall be the Cauſe of the breaking of this Peace ſhall aſſuredly be puniſhed with preſent Death.* 1674

Confirmed and Sealed in the Preſents of Almighty God, the fifth day of *March* Old Stile, and in the year of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, one thouſand ſix hundred ſeventy five, Being the laſt day of the Moon *Zelheldga*, and the year of the *Hegeira* on thouſand and eighty ſix.

Whereas there were ſeveral Articles of Peace and Commerce, between the moſt Serene and Mighty Prince Charles *the Second, by the Grace of God King of* Great-Britain, France *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Chriſtian Faith,* &c. *And the moſt Illuſtrious Lords* Halil Baſſa, Ibraim Dei, Aga Divan, *and Governors of the Noble City and Kingdom of* Tripoly *in* Barbary, *lately made and concluded by the ſaid Lords, on the one part; And by Sir* John Narbrough *Knight, Admiral of his ſaid Serene Majeſties Fleet in the Mediterranean Seas, on the other part, and by them confirmed and Sealed in the Preſence of Almighty God, the fifth day of* March, *Old Stile, And in the year of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt* 1675 *being the laſt day of the Moon* Zelhedga, *And the year of the* Hegeira 1086.

Since which time of Confirming and Sealing the aforeſaid Articles of Peace, and Commerce, The aforeſaid Lord Ibraim Dei, *being fled away from the Government, of the City and Kingdom of* Tripoly *in* Barbary.

Now we Halil Baſſa, Aga Divan, *Governors, Souldiers and People of the aforeſaid City and Kingdom of* Tripoly, *have Chooſen and Elected Vice Admiral* Muſtapha Grande *to be* Dei *of the aforeſaid City and Kingdom of* Tripoly *to ſucceed* Ibraim Dei, *in the aforeſaid Government.*

And now we Halil Baſſa, Aga Divan, *and Governors, Souldiers and People of* Tripoly *aforeſaid, having ſeen the aforeſaid Articles*

1674. *Articles of Peace and Commerce which were lately made and concluded as aforesaid; And having seriously perus'd and fully considered all particulars therein mentioned, Do fully approve of all and every the aforesaid Articles of Peace, and we and every one of us do now by these presents, consent and agree to and with Sir* John Narbrough *Knight aforesaid, for the just and exact keeping and performing of the said Articles; And do accept, approve, ratifie, and confirm all and every of them in the same manner and form as they are inserted and repeated in the preceding Articles aforesaid; hereby firmly engaging our selves, and successors, assuring on our faith sacredly to maintain and strictly to observe, perform, and keep inviolably all and every the aforesaid Article and Articles of Peace and Agreements for ever. And to cause and require all our Subjects and people of what degree or quality whatsoever, within the City or Kingdom of* Tripoly *in* Barbary; *or Dominions thereunto belonging, both by Sea and Land punctually, inviolably, carefully and duly to observe, keep, and perform all and every the aforesaid Article, and Articles, thereof for ever: And our Faith shall be our Faith, and our word our word, and whosoever shall at any time violate and break any part of the said Article, or Articles of Peace, they shall be assuredly punished, with greatest severity, and his or their heads shall be immediately cut off; and forthwith be presented unto any Officer whom the most Serene King of Great Britain, &c. shall Authorize, to make Demand thereof.*

It is further agreed that the Subjects belonging unto the most Serene King of Great Britain *&c. Trading unto the Port of the City and Kingdom of* Tripoly *in* Barbary *aforesaid, or to any Port or Place of the Dominions thereunto belonging; in any Merchants Ship or other Vessel belonging to the said Serene Kings Subjects shall not pay so much Custom by one* per Cent. *for whatsoever Goods or Merchandize they sell or buy; as other Nations do for the Customs of the like Goods, or Merchandize, notwithstanding whatsoever is Specified in the Second Article aforesaid to the contrary.*

And that the most Serene King of Great Britains Consul residing in Tripoly *aforesaid, shall have Liberty at all times, when he pleaseth to put up his said Serene Majesties Flag, on the Flag-staff on the Top of his House, and thereto continue it spread as long time as he pleaseth; likewise the said Consul to have the same Liberty of putting up and spreading the said Flag in his Boat, when he passeth on the Water, and no Man whatsoever to Oppose, Molest, Disturb, or Injury him therein either by Word or Deed.*

These and all other preceding Articles are to remain firm for ever, without any alteration; and in all other particulars not mentioned in any of these Articles, the Regulation shall be according to the Capitulation general with the Grand Signior. 1674.

Confirmed likewise and Sealed in the Presence of Almighty God, at our Castle in the noble City and Kingdom of Tripoly *in* Barbary, *the first day of* May *Old Stile, and in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ* 1676, *being the twenty sixth day of the Moon* Zaphire, *and the year of the* Hegeira 1086.

Halil Bassa's Seal, Mustapha Dei's Seal, Aga's Seal, Ally Admiral's Seal.

A True Copy Examined out of Sir John Narbroughs.

Thomas Fowler.

HAving thus related the original cause, proceedings, and conclusion of our War with *Tripoly*. Let us Travel to *Tunis*; which though since the year 1655 hath ever maintained Peace with *England*, yet the civil dissentions among themselves have administred unto us Subject of discourse, and more especially, since it hath some relation to *Hossse-bey*, whom formerly we named, as Mediator of the Peace between Us, and *Tripoly*.

Civil war at Tunis *in* Barbary.

On the sixth of *September* 1675. *Morat Bei* General of all the Land Forces in the Kingdom of *Tunis* dyed, the most Politick, and Popular Person, that ever managed that Office, his Sons *Ciddi Mehmet* and *Ciddi Ali* by the general approbation, and consent of the Souldiery joyntly succeeding him in that charge. But the ambition of these two young Gallants would admit no union in the Government; the Elder would know no equal, and the younger no superior, so that it was necessary for one to govern, or both to be laid aside: the decision of which was referred to a full Assembly of the *Turks*. In the mean time *Hossey-bey* Brother to *Morat* deceased, and Uncle to the two Competitors, taking advantage of these divisions, offered himself a Candidate for the place; and so operated with the force of mony, and with assistance of the younger Nephew who would rather yield to an Uncle, then to a brother, that he clearly carried the election by the common suffrages of the people. The Elder Son *Ciddi Mehmet* not enduring the indignity to be thus degraded took the field and set up his standard; After him followed all his Fathers Old *Spahees* and the *Moors* abroad came into him, so that in a few days he became so formidable as to give Laws to the *Dei* and People of *Tunis*; obliging them immediately to banish his Uncle, and to receive him as sole, and absolute General of all the Land Souldiery in those Dominions *Hossse-bey* not being able to resist this force,

posted

1674. poſted away with ſuch expedition that he adventured to embark himſelf, retinue and treaſure (which as was reported being modeſtly calculated, amounted to three millions of Dollars) on no better a Veſſel, then a *French Satee* for *Tripoli*; where he was honourably received by that Government; and Letters ſent from them to the young *Bei* at *Tunis*, mediating for the return of his Uncle, with promiſe, that he ſhould live quietly, and give no interruption to the courſe of his Government; but *Ciddi Mehmet* reſolving not to truſt him, poſitively declared againſt his readmiſſion, as not conſiſtent with his Government, and Safety.

It happened at this time that the *Engliſh* had War with *Tripoly*, and blocked up the Port; and that afterwards a Peace enſuing; (*Hoſſſe-bey*) (as we ſaid before,) ſhewed himſelf very forward, and zealous in the Mediation; which taking effect; he was afterwards together with his retinue tranſported on the *Briſtol Fregat* Commanded by Sir *John Berry* to *Modon* in the *Morea*, from whence he went by Land to carry his Complaints to *Conſtantinople*; whilſt the *Briſtol Fregat* proceeded to *Smyrna*, to receive the *Turky* Companies Ships under Convoy for *England*.

Hoſſſe-bey being arrived at the Grand Signiors Court prepared an eaſie and ready acceſs to the Grandees, by the great Preſents, he ſent them; which being the only means to mollify and make tender the hearts of *Turks*; he found upon all his addreſſes ſuch reſentments, and compaſſionate feelings of his aggreivances that if aſſurances in words, and promiſes would do his work, he might be aſcertained of engaging the entire power, and puiſſance of the Empire for his re-eſtabliſhment. The news of *Hoſſſe-bey*; being gone to addreſs himſelf to the Turkiſh Court for relief much perplexed the Government at *Tunis*; and at the ſame time the plague deſperately raging there, made them ſick, and infirm both in body, and mind: wherefore after ſerious conſiderations and debates hereupon; it was concluded neceſſary, to Fight *Hoſſſe* with his own Weapons; and immediately to diſpatch away four Ships for *Conſtantinople* with Meſſengers, and Preſents to the Grand Signior and his Officers being the only means to open the reaſons and underſtandings of the *Turks*, and make them as well capable to comprehend the juſtice of their cauſe, as to reconcile their affections. The four Ships arriving at *Conſtantinople*, were ſeized on, at the inſtance of *Hoſſſe-bey*; and he declaring, that thoſe Ships were belonging to him, and his own proper Eſtate, eaſily procured a judgment in his favour; and the Captains of them being called to the *Divan*, were Commanded to own *Hoſſſe-bey* for their Maſter, and to obey him as their Paſha, and abſolute Lord under the Grand Signior. It was too late, when at *Tunis* they apprehended the Error they had Committed, in ſending theſe four Ships to *Conſtantinople*; which now upon more ſerious conſideration then the former they expected to return freighted with armed Men, and Imperial Commands to re-eſtabliſh *Hoſſſe-bey* in the Government of which, and of what was farther preparing at the Ottoman Court, that they might have good advice; they diſpatched two Meſſengers for *Conſtantinople* on a French *Satee*, which they had freighted for that purpoſe, to Land them at *Smyrna*; where being 1674. arrived they addreſſed themſelves to me, then Conſul there, bringing me Letters of recommendation from friends at *Tunis* to aſſiſt and help them in all their occurences. I was well informed in all particulars concerning the ſucceſs, and motions of *Hoſſſe-bey* at *Conſtantinople*, and I did not omit to relate all matters diſtinctly to them; for not long before, I had occaſion to be acquainted with *Hoſſſe-bey* himſelf having at his earneſt requeſt found means to furniſh him with the Sum of three thouſand Dollars, upon a good Pawn of Gold, and Jewels; amongſt which there was a Fetlock of Gold enameled, and ſet with Diamonds, juſt in the form and faſhion of thoſe, which we put on our horſes, when they go to graſs; and this, I underſtood, was one of the Ornaments, which they put on the Ancle of the Bride on the marriage day; I know not whether it were to grace her legs, as bracelets do our wriſts, or to put her in mind of her ſervitude, ſo ſoon as ſhe ſubmits to Wedlock. I acquainted them, as I ſaid, with all matters: That the Grand Signior, and his Officers, had greatly reſented the ſufferings of *Hoſſſe-bey* and that they owned his cauſe, having ſtopt the four Ships of *Tunis* at *Conſtantinople*; and had promiſed to furniſh him with a whole Chamber of Janiſaries, with a Licence to raiſe ſuch Volunteers on the Sea-coaſt of *Aſia*, as would willingly, and of their own accord follow his Colours. I had not many days given them this intelligence, which others confirmed in like manner; before *Hoſſſe-bey himſelf with his four men of War and two* other hired Ships arrived in the Port of *Smyrna*: where having ſtayed ſome days to take in proviſions, and embark thoſe who had liſted themſelves for his ſervice in thoſe Parts; they departed for *Tunis*, touching at *Scio*, *Navarine*, and *Tripoly*, in their Way, reinforcing themſelves with ſuch, as voluntarily followed their Standard. The Meſſengers poſted back with all ſpeed, on a Veſſel hired at *Smyrna*; and arriving ſome time before *Hoſſſe-bey*; rendered an account of the treatment which he had found at *Conſtantinople*, with the particulars of the forces he brought with him. The *Tuneſines* being prepared with this intelligence, took courage to oppoſe a handful of men, to whom they refuſed Licenſe ſo much as to one man of them to land; only out of reſpect to the Grand Signior's Commands, they were willing to admit *Hoſſſe-bey* to a treaty; and to receive him aſhoar with three or four Servants and Companions; They ſleightly peruſed his Papers, rather to diſcover his ſtrength, and the progreſs of his negotiations, then with intentions to condeſcend in the leaſt to his deſires; which having done, and given permiſſion to ſee his houſe, and viſit his wife, and children; they haſtned him again aboard; and all the Country being in Arms, they threatned to treat him and his People, as Enemies, if they adventured to make a deſcent. *Hoſſſe-bey* being diſcouraged with this rude Treatment, and with the Union, and general Confederacy of the people againſt him contrary to his expectations; returned to *Navarine*; where he landed, diſcharged his Ships, and Souldiers, which lay too heavy upon a Private Purſe, and retired himſelf for ſome time with much melancholy and diſcontent; at length he travelled again to *Conſtantinople*, where the Turkiſh Officers attend-

ed

1675. tended his coming with open mouths, expecting to ſhare once more in the recruits he had brought with him from *Tunis*. But his ſtock being low, he was not able to diſpenſe his mony, and preſents ſo generouſly, and plentifully as before; which the *Turks* perceiving fell much in their reſpects for him, and ſtrangly on a ſuddain loſt wholly the zeal and compaſſion for his cauſe; ſuffering him to live at *Conſtantinople* in the Condition of a private Aga. In the mean time the diſturbances, and civil diſſentions ran high at *Tunis*: the two Brothers waging War with various and interchangeable ſucceſs, cauſed ſuch agitions in the State, that in three months time four *Deys* were cut off. At length the younger Brother *Ciddi Ali* gaining the Victory, and always inclining towards his Uncle, conſented that he ſhould be recalled from *Conſtantinople*; whereupon four Ships were fitted at *Porto Farina*, to carry preſents of atonement to *Conſtantinople*, and to bring *Hoſſey-bey* from thence with Title of Paſha; whom the people now, expected with great impatience, as the only Perſon, whoſe Preſence and Authority was able to ſettle, and reſtore them to their former quietneſs and union. This happened in the year 1677; when the Country was ſo harraſſed with Civil Wars, that a miſerable Famine enſued; ſo that a Caffiee of Wheat which was ten Buſhels, was ſold for twenty eight Dollars, and of Barly for fourteen: and the ſcarcity of this Country which is commonly the Granary of *Italy*, had ſuch influence on thoſe parts and *Spain*, in the years 1677 and 1678 that the State of the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany* ſuffered much thereby; and had more, had not the State of *Luca* out of Friendſhip, and on the ſcore of Neighbourhood relieved their neceſſities.

Anno 1675. *Hegeira* 1086.

PRopoſitions of peace not being ſo earneſtly preſſed, nor ſo advantageouſly proffered by the Poles, as the pride of the Turks did expect, the War ſtill continued, but not proſecuted either on the one ſide or on the other with the ſame violence with which it began. For the Sultan deſigning this year to circumciſe his Son, the young Prince, now about twelve years of Age, and to marry his Daughter of ſeven to his Moſayp, or Favourite, Paſha of *Magnaſia*, commonly called by the Name of *Kul-ogli*, which ſignifies the Son of a Slave, he reſolved to dedicate this whole Year to quiet repoſe, mirth, and jollity at home, only two thouſand Janiſaries were ſent to *Ibrahim* Paſha to recruit the Souldiers on the Frontiers of *Poland*, and the Tartars were reinforced with ſome Turkiſh Troops under *Uſuff* Paſha to aſſiſt *Doroſenſky* againſt the Poles, who were with a conſiderable Army fallen into *Ukrania*; And the Captain Paſha, with twenty eight Sail of Gallies, was diſpeeded into the Black Sea for carrying of ſuch Proviſions and Ammunition for War as was neceſſary for ſupply of the Army: Beſides which, no preparations of War were deſigned, theſe being judged ſufficient, though not to conquer, yet at leaſt to repreſs the Incurſions, and amuſe or keep the Armes of the Enemy employed.

For at the Ottoman Court the face of all things was become ſerene and calm; no Seditions of great men, nor diſcontents of the people, nor black and cruel deſigns of State diſturbed or clouded the ſplendour of the Solemnities, or the brows of the great Statiſts, but all matters ran in an uninterrupted courſe of joy and Feſtivity. The Sultan, who in his action ſhewed himſelf a moſt benign Prince, ſparing and compaſſionate of the blood and miſery of his Subjects, hath, ſince his arrival to a mature Age, exerciſed a wiſe manner of Government, ſevere and juſt, and yet void of the cruelty and tyranny of his Anceſtors; under whom the trading Chriſtian enjoyed the privilege of their Capitulations with more juſtice, and leſs frequent Avanias. The Vizier alſo, and other great Officers, being ſenſible of the benefit which Trade begat, treated Merchants with more gentleneſs and reſpect than in former times, their Ships not being forced on every occaſion into the Grand Signior's ſervice, but rather perſwaded to it by rewards and fair promiſes, otherwiſe than in the times of former Viziers; and it is to be wiſhed alſo that the like might be ſaid under the Government of thoſe which are to ſucceed; though if we look forward to the years 1678 and 1679 we ſhall find the Scene of things altered, and not only Merchants, but even Ambaſſadors, and the Repreſentatives themſelves, remain under ſad diſcouragements. Amongſt theſe joys and gentle ways of Government, the manner of this Court was much altered; the Divan had not for two months ſpace been opened for buſineſs, to the great prejudice and interruption of Juſtice; Wine, that great abomination to the Turkiſh Law, which four years paſt was by the Imperial Decree forbidden under pain of Death and a thouſand Execrations and Curſes, was now the common Drink, and divertiſement in faſhion, uſed immoderately by all, excepting the Grand Signior, the Muſti, and Reis Effendi; the Vizier himſelf having been exceſſively intemperate therein, had extinguiſhed the natural heat of his ſtomach, which could be warmed by no leſs heat than what proceeds from *Aqua Vitæ*; by which debauchery and indiſpoſition all Buſineſſes were ſlowly and negligently diſpatched, and according to his example the Officers and Miniſters acted in their Affairs, which in former times being always diſpatched by nine a Clock in the Morning, that became now the time and hour of riſing.

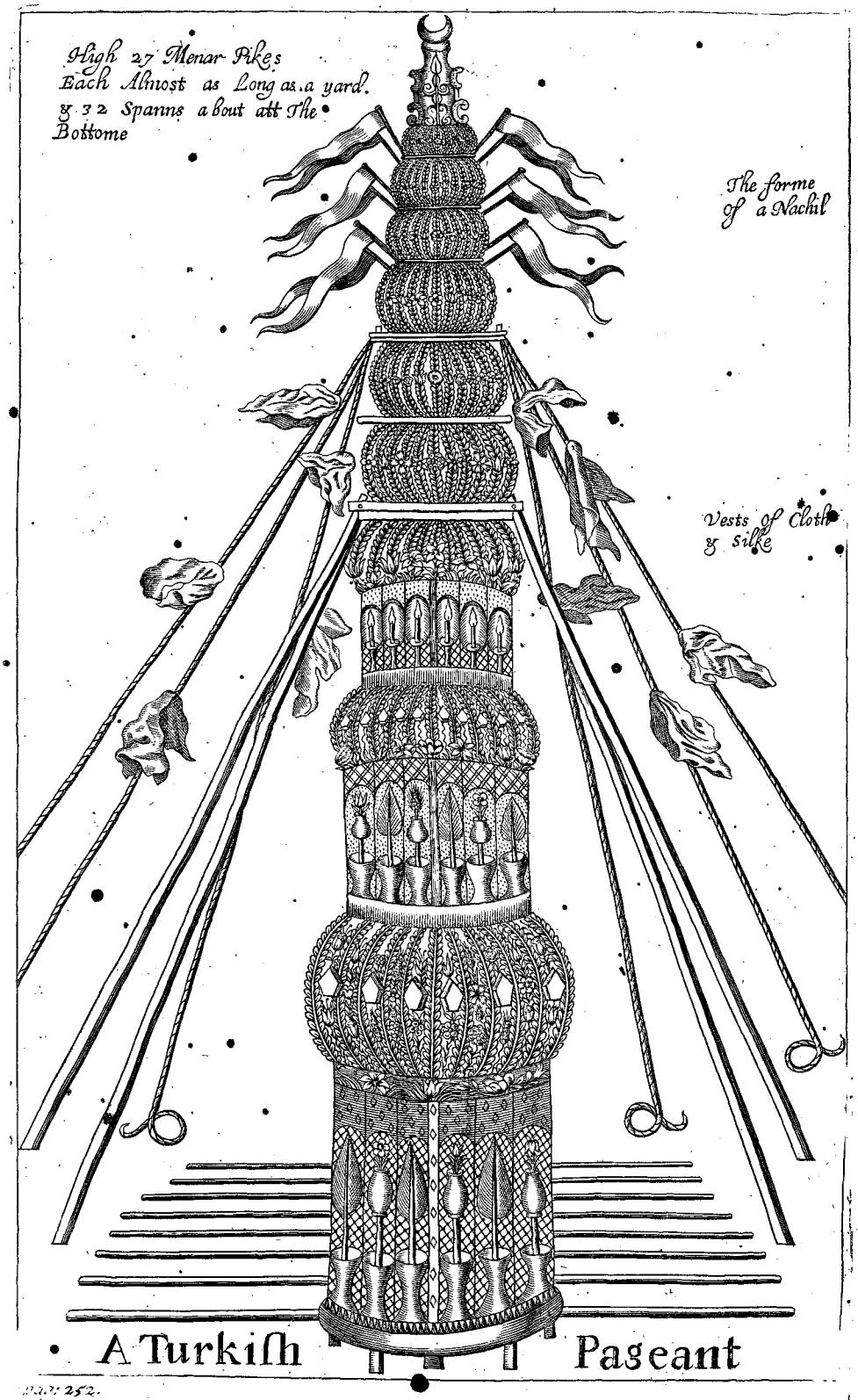
The happy ſtate of the Ottoman Court.

The Grand Signior himſelf, though not taught by his Attendants to drink Wine, leſt it ſhould perhaps betray him to ſome actions dangerous to them, gave himſelf to Amours; for falling in love with a Poliſh Woman, lately captivated at *Kemenitz*, he made her his Second Haſakee or Sultaneſs; for having had the good fortune to bring him a Son, that honour was the reward of her fruitfulneſs; and that he might give other teſtimonies of his favour, he caſt his eyes on a poor Chinganee, or Gipſy Boy, who with ſinging and dancing ſo pleaſed him, that he gave him ſix purſes of money containing three thouſand Dollars, with Horſes and Servants, and took him into the Seraglio. Amidſt theſe Delights the Grand Signior gave order to the Vizier not to ſpeak to him of three things: Neither of returning to *Conſtantinople*, nor againſt his Favourite, nor againſt his Hunting; in other matters he might uſe freedom.

1675 Another alteration of a better nature, with reference to Learning and Knowledge, ſeems alſo remarkable in this Court; for the Grand Signior having been ſome years paſt preſented by the Dutch Reſident, with twelves large Volumes of the new *Atlas*, upon an accidental ſight thereof was ſo pleaſed, that he commanded it ſhould ſpeedily be tranſlated into Turkiſh; to which Work Dr. *Alexandro Mauro Cordato*, the Viziers Interpreter, who ſucceeded in the place of *Panaioti* deceaſed, was nominated; but he finding it too unweildy for him, deſired the aſſiſtance of a French Jeſuit, then at *Scio*, skilful in the Turkiſh and Arabick Languages, who was immediately ſent for, and therein employed; and though it is thought, that this buſineſs is above their Element, and that it will ſoon cool and be neglected, yet it ſeems to be the firſt ſtep which the Turks have made unto Learning, and therefore is the more obſervable.

The great Feſtivals in what manner celebrated at the Turkiſh Court.

And now the Feſtivals beginning on the *16th.* of *May*, we muſt for ſome days lay aſide all buſineſs, and obſerve with what order and form theſe Solemnities were performed. In the firſt place. On this day the Grand Signior, with the young Prince his Son, went to their Tents, which were pitched very ſumptuouſly in the Plain near the City, and indeed were truly ſtately and magnificent; all the great men, as the Vizier, Mufti, and others, having their Pavilions erected; amongſt which was raiſed a very ſtately Throne, with a Canopy of Cloth of Gold, extended under the ſhady leavineſs of two tall Elms, which, ſet off with many Lamps, in the Night repreſented a very pleaſant and glorious Scene. On this Seat of State the Sultan placed himſelf in the morning, being accompanied thither by all the Paſhaws then preſent, and by the Rrepreſentatives of thoſe who were abſent; who according to their Degree, in order kiſſing his Veſt, delivered in a Silk Purſe, a Note or Schedule of their Preſents, which were afterwards put into the Teſterdar's or Lord Treaſurers hands to ſee and compare them with the particulars received; which were ſo great and conſiderable, that they far ſurpaſſed the Charges and Diſburſments of the Solemnity. Oppoſite to the Tents were ſeveral poles fixed, between which at Night were hung Lamps of ſeveral ſhapes, which being varied every Night made a very pleaſing and magnificent Object; by light of which in the Evening were exerciſed ſeveral tricks of Activity, as Wreſtlings, Dancing, and Singing, and ſometimes were acted Turkiſh Comedies, which conſiſt only of Farces, and ſome ridiculous Dialogues; and at laſt the divertiſements of the night concluded with Fire-works, which were ſo many, that (as reported) 240 men were employed for four months time in the making of them, and yet there are better made in Chriſtendom; only one ſeemed to excel the reſt, being a ſort of Rocket, which went up very high, without any tail of fire, like the common ones, carrying only a ſmall compacted Globe of red fire like a Star, and making no noiſe in mounting, but raiſed to its height, breaks. Theſe were the paſtimes of the Night; in the day time all the ſeveral Arts and Trades, ſome one day, and ſome another, paſſed before the Tents, every one offering their Preſents, as they paſſed, repreſenting by ſome kind of Pageant and Proceſſion their diverſities of Trade: this continued for fifteen days. On the *25th.* of this inſtant *May*, was a ſolemn Cavalcade, in which marched the Janiſaries with all their chief Officers, Chiauſes, and Mutaſaracas, *&c.* And of the Great Men, the Vizier, Mufti, and *Kul-ogli* the Favourite, the firſt on the right hand, and the ſecond in the middle; after them followed the young Prince who was to be circumciſed, extraordinary rich in the Furniture of his Horſe, and the number and largeneſs of the Diamonds, which were on his Tulbant and Breaſt. In this Cavalcade were carried twenty four ſmall Nachils, and two large ones, as high as the Maſt of a Ship, which were carried by a hundred Slaves, and ſet before the Seraglio, which are in form of triumphant Pyramids, adorned with Tinſils in thirteen Diviſions, according to this following Form or Deſcription.



A Turkish Pageant

1675. On the 27*th.* being the day of *Mahomet's* Birth, the Grand Signior rode publickly to the Moſch of Sultan *Selim*, having no other attendance than the Retinue of his own Court; his Pages were very rich in Cloth of Gold, each carrying a Feather ſtudded with a rich Jewel on his Head; after the Grand Signior rode the young Prince, who that Night was circumciſed. During this Feſtival, a vaſt number of people was fed at the charge of the Grand Signior, and about two thouſand circumciſed, every one of which had a Quilt given him, with a ſmall pay of three Aſpers a day for his Life.

The manner of the Marriage of the Grand Signior's Daughter.

This Solemnity for the Circumciſion being ended, on the 10*th.* of *June* began the Feaſt for the Marriage. The Kuzlir Aga, who is the black Eunuch of the Women, was Bridegroom or Comparé to the young Princeſs, and the Teſterdar or Lord Treaſurer to *Kul-ogli*, both which in the name of the Bride and Bridegroom went before the Lord Chief Juſtice called the Kadeleſcher, and by him had the Articles of Marriage wrote, and paſſed into publick Act; which being done, the Preſents were ſent, and firſt thoſe from the Bridegoom to the Bride, which were theſe, a great number of Beaſts and Birds ill-favouredly made in Sugar, thirty Mules laden with two Cheſts of Sweet-meats a piece, and about their necks each carried a Veſt of Sattin for the Muletiers, then were carried a great many Pots of Sherbet, then an hundred and twelve men carrying Veſts of Silk, Cloth, Velvet, and Cloth of Gold, ſome had three, ſome five or ſix at leaſt wrapt up in Linen; then went five Horſes, one with rich Furniture; then followed a noble Veſt of Cloth of Gold lined with Sables and nine Buttons and Loops on a ſide embroidered with large Pearl, on the top of which on the one ſide was a very large Diamond, and on the other a Saphire, with Shoes, Boots, and Pattents for the Bagno, all covered with Pearl; likewiſe two Dreſſing-boxes, with Looking-glaſſes, and a Cap in form of a Crown, a little Cabinet embroidered all over with Pearl, eight Girdles ſet with Emeralds, Rubies, and Diamonds, a large Diamond-ring, a pair of Pendants of two great Emeralds, with many other particulars, which in paſſage were impoſſible to be remembred.

Theſe Preſents being thus performed on the part of the Bridegroom to his Bride, the next Preſents concerned the Grand Signior to his Daughter, which were in place of her Dowry according to the cuſtom of the Eaſtern Countries; wherefore the 19*th.* of this month the Preſents were uſhered with a moſt ſolemn Cavalcade of all the Grandees of the Court to the Houſe of the Bridegroom, which were two Gardens made of Sugar, forty little Nachils, eighty ſix Mules laden with Houſhold-ſtuff, ten men with her Dreſſings, as Boots, Shoes, &c. embroidered with Pearl as the former; then were carried her Jewels ſet in Girdles, Bracelets, &c. promiſcuouſly together, not in that rule as thoſe were which were ſent her by the Bridegroom. The Houſhold-ſtuff was made up with coverts, yet howſoever ſome parts were left open on the ſides, to ſhew that the Cuſhions were embroidered with Pearl, and others were of Velvet embroidered with Gold. At laſt came twelve Coaches with Slaves and thirty ſix black Eunuchs. The 23*d.* the Bride was conducted to her Bridegrooms Palace with a ſolemn Cavalcade, with two great Nachils of the ſame form and bigneſs as thoſe carried at the Cavalcade of the Prince, with two ſmaller ones of Silver. The Bride was ſeated in a handſom Coach drawn with ſix Horſes, and covered with Plates of Silver, and the ſides adorned with long Streamers of Tinſel: before which went the Kuzlir Aga or chief black Eunuch of the Women: after followed four Coaches, with Six Horſes apiece, and twenty one more with four Horſes, each carrying two Eunuchs: than at ſome diſtance off came the Haſakée or Queen-Mother to the Bride in a Coach all covered with Plates of Silver, and attended with ten other Coaches more: the night following the Bride was conducted to the Nuptial Chamber in ceremony only, ſhe not being yet ripe for conſummation of Marriage: all which Solemnity was attended at the Bridegrooms Court, with the ſame Sports and Fire-works which were made at the Tents, with an addition of dancing on the Ropes, and ſliding down a Rope faſtned to the top of the Steeple of the Moſch of Sultan *Selim*, which had like to have proved fatal to one who came down with a Boy at his back; for when he was about twenty yards from the ground, the Rope broke, but falling on a tree firſt, and then on a man, he was taken up with little hurt. The moſt remarkable of all theſe Shows was a man that walked up a Rope as high as the ſecond Balcony of the Menareh or Steeple of Sultan *Selim*, which is as high as commonly our Spire-Steeples are in *England*: And another hanging on a Rope with his hands, with his body extended, turned himſelf twelve times round with his hands: at all which Sights the Grand Signior was a conſtant Spectator. In this manner theſe Solemnities ended, the Moſayp or Favourite rich in the eſteem of his Prince, and in high honour with all, had yet ſome allay to attemper and moderate his joy; for the Princeſs not yet fit for conſummation, in caſe ſhe dyed before that time, all her Jewels and Goods muſt return to the Grand Signior, notwithſtanding which he would be obliged to pay her Dowry; which was ſaid to be the Sum of two years Revenue of Grand *Cairo*, but let it be what it will, he will be inſolvent, being, as reported, three hundred Purſes already in debt. And now to demonſtrate the uncertainty of the Courts of Princes, as well as of all other places and conditions of the World, the Great Teſterdar or Treaſurer, who had for the ſpace of thirteen years managed this Office with ſingular induſtry and advantage, was now removed from thence, and under a ſpecious ſhew of Preferment, was advanced to the Dignity of Paſha of Grand *Cairo*: this change was the more wondered at, becauſe he was a Perſon ſo acute and ſo proper for the Office, that no man that held the place did ever manage it with greater reputation, nor with greater benefit to the Intereſt of his Prince; for beſides his good husbandry in other matters, he was ſo skilful in knowing the price of Commodities, and ſo near in making his Bargains, that the Merchant could ſcarce live by him, which in that conſumption of Goods made in the Seraglio, will produce a conſiderable abatement, when all things are bought at the beſt hand; conſidering which, many reaſons were alledged, and conjectures made of his removal: ſome ſaid, That the Grand Signior having a liking to a young Man of his, to prevent his being taken into the Seraglio, the Teſter-

The Teſterdar put out of his Office.

1675. dar gave him a Wife, and thereby greatly displeased the Grand *Signior*, as if he had purposely contrived it, to defeat his desires: others said, That the Grand *Signior* would have borrowed money of him to pay the Arrears of the Spahees, which he refused to lend: but others talked, and that with best reason, That *Kara Mustapha* the old Chimacam, who is always with the Grand Signior, had found an opportunity to represent him amiss, suggesting, that the Testerdar should say, That want of money in the Treasury was caused by the vast Sums consumed in the fooleries of the late Feasts: and the Vizier, though he entertained no personal animosity against him, yet was willing to sacrifice him to the friendship of *Kara Mustapha*. And so being dispossessed of his Office, thereunto succeeded the Janisary *Efendi* or Judge-Advocate of the Janisaries, a great Drinker of Wine, and one not to hold any comparison with the parts and abilities of his Predecessour. Money now wanting greatly in the Treasury, several ways were sought to bring it in, and to save expences. The first of which was, that a review be made of all Ororaks, such as *Milites emeriti*, who are excused from the War, and yet receive their pay; from which number those were excluded who had bought it, or were not come legally by it, which would save the Grand Signior a vast Sum of Money yearly: and to help at this time of need, the late Treasurer must refund and ease himself of money, before he enters on that rich and important Office of Grand *Cairo*. And *Chusaein* Aga the chief Customer, who was a man that had inriched himself by many bad ways and arts, was displaced from his Office, and caused to disgorge great Sums of Money to add unto the Supplies of the Treasury. He was a Person of a subtle disposition, raised from the mean degree of a Shoemaker, and being well acquainted both with good and bad ways of gaining money, was a proper Instrument for the Turkish Government, it being his fortune to fish riches rather for others than himself. And now being deprived of his Office and the best part of his Wealth, he resolved, like all other discontented Ministers, to take a Pilgrimage to *Mecha*, and to that end made a solemn Visit to the Pasha of *Cairo*, then in his Tents near *Scutari*, acquainting him of his intentions to wait on him, and perform his Respects in his passage to the Holy *Keblech* or *Mecha*.

Ways for raising Money.

The Turks have not of late years been very prodigal of the blood of their Subjects, nor have those Executions been done of late on any Officer, unless his Tyranny and Oppression of the people did justly draw due punishment upon himself. And such was the case of the Kahya or Secretary of the Chimacam or Governour in the Viziers absence of *Constantinople*, who taking on himself the management of all the Affairs of his Master, acted every thing according to his own pleasure; for finding that whatsoever he did or propounded, was always confirmed and assented unto by his easie Lord, he assumed a boldness to undertake any thing upon the proffers of money, so the Sum was in any manner agreeable to the greatness of the matter required, or to the danger he incurred; by which means he involved his careless and unwary Master in such intrigues, as could have no excuse besides his own supineness, and the corruptness of his Servant. At this manner of administring Justice, the people being discontented, hastened the removal of the Chimacam: and now another entring on the Office, the Kahya remained exposed to the malice and complaints of all his Enemies, amongst which none was of greater force than an accusation laid against him, for having granted leave to the Armenian Christians at *Constantinople* for a Sum of Money to erect a Church; for which, though a Command was granted by the Great Vizier, obtained at a good price, to build one there of Timber, but of a low and mean Fabrick; yet the Kahya for a greater Sum of twenty Purses of Money, or ten thousand Dollars, improved this Command, and changed their Materials from Timber to Stone and Mortar: the which Building beginning to rise with some magnificence, offended the neighbouring Turks with so much scandal, that great numbers of them carried the Complaints thereof to the Grand Signior; who calling the Vizier, and examining the Case, the Vizier would own no other Command, than for repairing of an old Church, but not building one new. Whereupon Sentence of Death being passed on the Kahya, an Officer was sent to execute it. And in his way to *Constantinople*, at a place called *Selebrea*, meeting with the Offender, he caused him to return again with him to *Constantinople*, where having strangled him, his Body was thrown into the Sea.

The Chimacam of Constantinople his Steward cut off.

1675.

We have thus far discoursed of the Affairs at home, which consisted for the most part in jollities and divertisements; let us now look on the enterprizes and attempts abroad, and we shall find no great matter of action this year performed against *Poland*, more than some incursions made into *Ukrania* by the Turks and Tartars under the Conduct of *Ibrahim* Pasha, in which we have no Battels, nor great Skirmishes to recount, only a seizure or surprize of those Cosacks, which were not under the jurisdiction of *Dorosensko*, who like sheep were driven from their pastures, and Men, Women, and Children carried away into Captivity, and transplanted into Countries, where they might better serve the purposes and designs of the Turkish Empire; to which ends also vast numbers of Tartars with their Families, were called to inhabit the circumjacent parts of *Kemenitz*, for better security of that Conquest, to which the Tartars most willingly concurred, esteeming it a happy Bargain to exchange the Soil of *Tartary* for the fruitful Plains, and more gentle Air of *Poland*. And thus we may consider what the intestine Discord of the Poles hath brought upon themselves; that they, who in former days maintained their honour and reputation with the Turks, beyond any of the bordering Nations; not having ever suffered them to continue in their Country, much less to sojourn or possess one palm of Ground therein; can now more easily see them before the Walls of *Leopolis* or *Cracovia*, and planted in the very Bowels of their Countrey, rather than a King of their own Countrey set over them not agreeable to their own humour and fancy; or perhaps rather than behold the envied exaltation of some persons to dignity, or some little disorders in their Government; of which the Turk knows well to make use, it being no new Lesson for him, to profit himself of the Discord and Animosities of the Christians.

In

1675. In like manner the Marine Affairs of the Turks this year afforded little worthy of obſervation, unleſs it were, That the Captain Paſha was employed with about thirty Sail of Gallies into the Black Sea, for tranſporting of Ammunition and Proviſions to thoſe Forces in *Ukrania*; but he returned not with an equal number of Gallies, with which he departed, having loſt five of them by ſtorm, and then arrived at *Conſtantinople* on the 26*th.* of *October*, called by the Greeks the Feaſt of St. *Demetrius*, and by the Turks *Caſſim-gheun*, a day which is commonly remarkable for Storms at Sea; of which the Turks and Greeks are ſo aprehenſive or ſuperſtitious, that on that day or near that time, either before or after, until the ſtorm hath vented its fury, and taken its courſe, they will not adventure themſelves unto the Sea, upon the moſt preſſing occaſion, or hopeful inducement whatſoever.

And here I judge it requiſite to conclude this Year with two matters very obſervable relating unto Trade: The firſt is with reference unto the Genoueſes, who in the Year 1666. firſt ſent their Ambaſſador Signior *Durazzo*, with many Preſents and great Magnificence to conclude a Peace with the Ottoman Empire, with the ſole deſign and intention of Trade; which having been eſtabliſhed on no other foundation at the beginning, than that of their Temins, and the Fabrick of their own Cloth, when the firſt failed, as it did in two years after, and that their Cloth turned not to account, but was out-ſold by the Engliſh and Dutch, then their Trade began to decay, or rather never came to perfection, like the fruit of a young tree, which buds fairly, and produces fruit, but hath not ſtrength to digeſt or bring it to maturity: Even ſo it was with the Genoueſes, who having been at the charge of an Ambaſſadour Extraordinary, and ſetled a Reſident at *Conſtantinople*, and a Conſul at *Smyrna*, and all the other Formalities of Trade, wanted that nouriſhment thereof from their own ſoil, which produces the true and natural fruit of Commerce, which is gain and profit; and being out-done by other Nations in ſhipping, there could little or no benefit be expected from their own Navigation in the Levant. For theſe reaſons, their Trade failing; the Duties of Conſulage on Goods appointed to maintain the Officers, and defray the publick Expences, were conſequently wanting; ſo that the Count *Fieſchi* Reſident for that Republick at *Conſtantinople*, finding himſelf in great diſtreſſes and neceſſities, and unable to maintain himſelf and his Attendants agreeable to his Character and Quality, often adviſed his Prince and the Senate of the unhappy ſtate of their Affairs, deſiring from them either to provide a Supply agreeable to the occaſions, or to recal him from that Office, where he could no longer live in that Honour required. This importunity produced the exchange of Officers, and the Miſſion of Signior *Giuſtiniano* to reſide at *Conſtantinople*, and Signior *Gentile* at *Smyrna*; the firſt of which, ſome few days after his arrival, being unfortunately killed with a Carabine in his Chamber at *Conſtantinople*, as before related, the Office of Reſident came to be ſtill continued in the perſon of *Fieſchi*, who remaining without proviſions neceſſary to maintain his degree, and the annual Preſents expected by the Turks, which they eſteem as due as their Income, and as part of their Revenues, was forced to take up money on Pawns, and his own Credit at the Intereſt of 20, 25, or 30 *per cent.* according as his neceſſities increaſed; and the apprehenſions men conceived of an inſufficiency and hazard in their ſecurity, was the cauſe that the debt, which in the beginning was inconſiderable, increaſing with Intereſt upon Intereſt, came at length to the Sum of ſixty or ſeventy thouſand Dollars, which the Republick of *Genoua*, attributing in a great meaſure to the ill Conduct of *Fieſchi*, and judging the greateſt part of this debt to be feigned, ſent another Reſident called Signior *Spinola* to ſucceed him in his Office, who arriving at *Smyrna* in the month of *May* 1675 of this preſent year, on a ſtout Ship hired of the Venetians, and under the notion of a Man of War accompanied with a Merchant Ship, and a new Conſul (the old one dying the year before) ſetled there ſuch Orders, as were judged neceſſary for the government of their Affairs. But before theſe Genoueſes arrived, a report had fore-ran them from *Ligorno* and other parts, that their Ships brought great quantities of falſe Gold and falſe Pieces of Eight: the which coming to the ears of the Turks, Commands were provided againſt their arrival to ſearch their Ships, and try their Monies; to which the Genoueſes not condeſcending, Arz or teſtimony was made thereof by the Kadi unto the Grand Signiors Court. In the interim whilſt this Arz went up, and the anſwer expected, the Genoueſe Reſident deſigning to proceed forward on his Voyage to *Conſtantinople*, demanded the Kadi's Morafelau or Ticket of Licence for the Man of War on which he came, to paſs the Caſtle, (for that Ship had entred within the Port.) The Kadi judging it neceſſary, that both the Reſident and Ship ſhould attend the arrival of the anſwer from above, refuſed to grant this Licence; whereupon the Reſident all in a rage imbarked himſelf, and immediately ſet ſail, and having a fair Breez out of the Port, gently ſlided along by the ſide of the Caſtle without any ſtop or interruption.

The Trade of Genoua.

This affront being put upon the Kadi, greatly diſpleaſed him; ſo that calling the Lieutenant and Gunner of the Caſtle into queſtion, and not admitting of their Plea, that the Ship was a Man of War, and the perſon thereon a Reſident, both which were privileged, and both going up to the Grand Signiors Court, were to anſwer there for what was laid againſt them; but this I ſay, not being admitted for reaſon, the Kadi committed them both to Priſon, from whence with ſome charge afterwards they releaſed themſelves.

The new Reſident being arrived at *Conſtantinople*, the Creditors of Count *Fieſchi* demanded payment of the debts owing to them, which was given in, to amount to ſixty thouſand Dollars, and ſo much was to be paid before *Fieſchi* ſhould be permitted to depart, or at leaſt that part thereof being ſatisfied in hand, the new Reſident *Spinola* ſhould give ſecurity for payment of the remainder: the which he refuſing to do, as not owning the accounts which *Fieſchi* had given in, in regard he judged them to be compoſed of extravagant Intereſts, and to ariſe on charges not allowable by that Republick, who after the death of *Giuſtiniano* diſowned *Fieſchi* for their Miniſter; hereupon great diſturbances and commotions aroſe amongſt the Creditors, ſome of which being in great Power, as the Janiſary-Aga and others,

Se-

1675. Sequeſtration was laid on their Man of War; ſo that ſhe was toaed away to the Arſenal, and there laid up, and attached for payment of the debt: which ariſing on the account of the Publick, the Goods of the Common-wealth was juſtly eſteemed liable to the Sequeſtration: during which time the Peſtilence, the Epidemical diſeaſe of that ſeaſon at *Conſtantinople*, affecting with its contagion the Ships company, about eighteen or twenty of them dyed thereof, and all their affairs reduced to a ſtrange conſternation.

In this interim many and various were the diſputes and conteſts between the two Reſidents; ſometimes they propoſed to refer their differences to the deciſion of the Engliſh, French, and Venetian Miniſters; ſometimes again, finding the diſtance ſo wide and ſpacious between them, they reſolved to have their matters determined by Turkiſh Sentence. At length the new Reſident perceiving no end of this buſineſs, and that the Ship lay ingaged at a great charge, and as it were captivated to the great diſhonour of the Republick, came to an agreement to pay thirty three thouſand Dollars, one third whereof was to be paid in hand, and the other two thirds by equal portions in the ſpace of one year; the firſt payment to be made after ſix months, and the other ſix months after; to which not only the Reſident, but their Merchants alſo entred perſonally into obligation. In this manner the Ship being cleared, and taking ſuch Lading as offered for *Genoua* at *Conſtantinople* ſailed for *Smyrna*; where taking another Ship of the ſame Country into her company, departed with the Dutch Convoy for Chriſtendom. But having remained ſix months in Port, ſubjected to much charge and trouble, and not finding a Freight equal to the time and expence, was no great incouragement to the Genoueſes to continue this Trade; which by good experience appears in no manner agreeable to their Country, nor yielding ſucceſs anſwerable to the long expectation of ten years paſt.

In this Year it was, that the Grand Signior and Great Vizier at the inſtigation of *Chuſaein* Aga the chief Cuſtomer (whom we have before mentioned) caſting their eyes on *Smyrna*, and finding it a place of a great Trade, and a convenient Port, for which in ancient times it was always famous, and for the ſame cauſe was frequented by Merchants both from the Eaſtern and Weſtern parts of the World; ſo that it was become the only great and conſiderable Mart or Scale within the Precincts of the Turkiſh Empire: conſidering it (I ſay) in this manner with a benign eye, as bringing great profit and advantage, they began to think it worthy the Ornament of ſome publick Edifices, founded with that Magnificence as might endure long, and renew the ancient Honour and Reputation of *Smyrna*: Hereupon they erected in the firſt place a Beſaſteen, which is in the nature of our Exchange, where ſeveral Shops are made, and variety of Goods ſold; and to make the better Front towards the Sea, it was founded therein on vaſt Stones and Piles, fit to ſupport a weighty Building.

A Beſaſteen and new Cuſtom-houſe, and a Royal Chan built at Smyrna.

The next Edifice erected was a Cuſtom-houſe built into the Sea only on Piles of Timber, with a handſom Front towards the Sea; and this the Great Vizier judged to be a work not only neceſſary, but alſo agreeable to the Majeſty of his Maſter; for until this time the Cuſtomer lived in a hired Houſe not unlike the others which Merchants inhabit. And now this Houſe being compleated, a Hatteſheriff or Royal decree came down from the Court, commanding that all Ships that came into that Port either to lade or unlade, ſhould lay their ſides to that Cuſtom-houſe Scale, and thereon diſcharge their Goods, and receive others. 1675.

And now whereas the Merchants injoyed at all times in former days the convenience of having their Goods landed on, and laden from their own Keys or Scales, they greatly reſented this innovation; and as they unwillingly quit any Priviledge, ſo they judged this not unworthy to be contended for with ſingular conſtancy and reſolution: the commodiouſneſs of which was thought ſo conſiderable, that it not only cauſed this place in former days to flouriſh, and to be diſtinguiſhed from all the Marts in the World; but alſo the injoyment thereof invited the Inhabitants from the more elevated parts of *Smyrna* (where was health and pleaſure) to the lower Bogs and Mariſhes, exchanging health and chearful air for profit and convenience of Commerce. Hereupon applications were made by all the Conſuls of the Frank Nations to their Ambaſſadours and Miniſters at the Grand Signiors Court. In the mean time Trade by common agreement was interdicted, at leaſt as to the lading or unlading of Ships, which continued for ſeveral days, and touched ſomewhat grievouſly the Engliſh and Dutch Nations: the firſt having two Ships, and the latter ſix Merchants-ſhips in Port. The Engliſh Ambaſſadour being then perſonally at *Adrianople*, was the firſt who without the aſſiſtance of any other Miniſter, moved in this affair, but found great oppoſition in it from the Turkiſh Officers; who with ſome reſentment of the preſent reluctancy of the Merchants, declared not without paſſion, the reſolution the Grand Signior had to conform the honour of the Cuſtom-houſe in ſome ſemblance with thoſe of Chriſtian Princes; and therefore did wonder that the Chriſtian Merchants could ſo eaſily condeſcend to the rules of thoſe Cuſtom houſes in their own Countries, where they were Natives, and yet could not ſupport the ſame in theſe parts where they were Aliens and Strangers. And as a farther evidence of the Turks reſolution to maintain this point, it was ſaid by the Vizier's Kahya, that the Grand Signior was reſolved to blow up both Port and Town, rather than not be obeyed in his own Dominions; with this Anſwer, Merchants deſpairing of the ſucceſs, began to unlade their ſhips at the Cuſtom houſe, or to give an account there of the Goods in their Boats; for the Cuſtomer was become ſenſible, there was not ſufficient Water for ſhips to ride at the Key of the Cuſtom houſe, and did alſo indulge unto the Merchants ſeveral other particulars herein, that ſo the innovation might ſit the more lightly on them, which he perceived was ſo ill reſented and taken to heart. And this was the firſt beginning in the Months of *Auguſt* and *September*, when this priviledge was taken from the Merchants. And in this Year alſo the Great Chan next to the Beſaſteen was in Building, and the firſt Foundation thereof laid, and the great Aquaduct brought from the Plains of *Bogiaw*, and little *Harchi-bonar*.

At the end of the year 1674, we have related the beginning proceedings, and concluſion

of

1675. of the War, which our Gracious King was pleased in defence of his Subjects, and Commerce to make on *Tripoly*; which we brought down to this year 1676; when Sir *John Narbrough* Sailing home for *England*, touched in his way at *Algiers*, for better understanding of the State of all matters with that Government. Things had for some time remained in a doubtful condition between *England*, and that people; who having lately proved the smart effects of War with us, were not very forward to make a breach. Howsoever it being that time, when by means of a General Peace, which we enjoyed with all the World, and of a War in which the rest of Christendom was involved, that our navigation flouri sh'd, and that few other Ships besides *English* passed the Seas; the *Algerines* grew weary of a Peace with us. And herein they seemed to have some more reason then usual, because that when it was their fortune to meet with strangers, they were so disguised with *English* Colours, and Passports surreptitiously, and fraudulently procured, that they could not distinguish their Friends from Enemies, whereof they made frequent Complaints, and addresses to his Majesty. The King out of a sence of Justice, and a tender care of his Subjects welfare, knowing that such indirect practises must necessarily produce a War was pleased by a Letter to that People, to signify his care in that particular, and recalling all Passports formerly given, promised a better regulation of them for the future; as appears by the Proclamation here following, which was inclosed, and sent in the Letter to *Algiers*.

By the King.

A PROCLAMATION.

Relating to the Articles concluded between His MAJESTY, and the Government of *Algiers*.

CHARLES R.

WHereas by the late Articles of Peace concluded between His Majesty, and the Government of Algiers, His Majesty out of His Royal Care of the Persons and Estates of His Subjects, did agree and provide, That none of His Subjects employed or trading in any English Ship or Vessel, should for the future be taken and sold as Slaves, or his or their Goods made Prize by any of the Subjects of the said Government of Algiers; And also, that any of His Majesties Subjects going in Foreign Ships, as Passengers only, and having Authentick Passports testifying the same, should have the like freedom for their Persons and Goods aboard such Foreign Ships: And whereas His Majesty is informed, that divers of His Subjects, contrary to the effect and true meaning of the said Treaty, do take upon them to colour and conceal the Ships of Foreigners, with whom the said Government of Algiers is in War, and to that end do either wholly Navigate the Ships of such Foreigners, or otherwise serve in the same as Mariners or Souldiers: Which way of proceeding, as it doth for the present administer just cause of Complaint from the said Government of Algiers, so will it in a short time (if not prevented) indanger the Security intended by the said Articles for the Ships, Persons and Estates of His Majesties Subjects: His Majesty doth therefore by this His Royal Proclamation, strictly forbid all His Subjects, that they do not for the future Navigate the Ships or Vessels of any Foreigners in War with the said Government, nor presume to serve in the same either as Mariners or Souldiers. And His Majesty doth hereby further Declare, That if any Offenders contrary to this His Royal Proclamation, shall be taken, His Majesty will not require any release of their Persons or Estates from the said Government of Algiers; but that they must expect to be excluded (as they were intended) out of the benefit of the said Articles; His Majesty also strictly charging such persons as shall hereafter go as Passengers in Foreign Ships or Vessels, to take care that they have Passports with them signed by His Majesties proper Ministers in England, or His Ministers or Consuls abroad, expressing the Names of their Persons, and the Contents and Qualities of their Goods, at their perils.

Given at our Court at *Whitehall*, this Two and twentieth day of *December* 1675. in the Seven and twentieth year of Our Reign.

God save the King.

This

1676. This Care and juſt Expedient of his Majeſty to prevent Fraud and Abuſes in this buſineſs, was otherwiſe conſtrued by the *Algerines*, and made uſe of, in a contrary ſence, then was intended by his Majeſty. For now whatſoever Ships they met with, without theſe new Paſſes, they began to ſend to *Algier*, and make prize of their goods; not conſidering that the meaning of the King was by theſe Paſſes to determine doubtful caſes about Ships; and not to make a ſnare to entrap Ships *Engliſh* built, manned with *Engliſh* Men, and freighted with the goods of his Subjects. But theſe Pyrates, and ungracious Villains would find a knot in a Bull-ruſh, and a ſcruple where none was; for now they ſeized moſt *Engliſh* Ships they met with; for few had been ſo cautious, as to procure the new Paſsport; ſo that by this pretence having made themſelves Maſters of a conſiderable Eſtate belonging to *Engliſh* Merchants; and denying to reſtore the ſame, a War was the neceſſary conſequence of their refuſal, which broak out in the year 1676, the ſucceſs of which we may perchance have occaſion to relate in the following years.

Anno Chriſti 1676. *Hegeira* 1087.

THis Year began with joyful News to the whole Turkiſh Empire, all Places and Cities of leſs renown rejoycing to hear the intentions of the Sultan to refreſh and adorn again his Capital Throne of *Conſtantinople* with the Imperial Preſence; for that City (which is the moſt proper Scituation of the World, to be made the head of a great Empire) having now almoſt ſixteen years wanted the Rays of Majeſty, and the Countenance of the Sultan, became almoſt abandoned and forſaken of its Inhabitants, ſo that the ſpacious Seraglios or Palaces of the chief Miniſters and Officers of the Empire began to decay and run to ruine, and the Artiſans and Shop-keepers to leave their dwellings, and to follow their Trade at *Adrianople*, or in the Camp. But now the News of the deſigned return of the Grand Signior to his ancient Seat, filled all places with joy and triumph, eſpecialy at *Conſtantinople*, which was not more ſatisfied with the conſideration of the benefit and advantage it was likely to receive by the Royal Preſence, than that thoſe ſuſpicions and jealouſies which formerly poſſeſſed the mind of the Sultan with a prejudice againſt this place, did ſeem now to vaniſh, and that he reaſſumed a confidence of his Royal City equal to that love and eſteem which his Anceſtors had of it; ſo that the humour which then poſſeſſed *Conſtantinople* appeared like that of *London* at our Kings Reſtauration, all joy, even to tranſport, for this unexpected Return; the people in the ſtreets congratulating their mutual happineſs, thanked God, that they had lived to ſee that happy day and bleſſed hour.

The G. Signior returns to Conſtantinople

The occaſion of this unexpected and ſudden reſolution cauſed many roving gueſſes and opinations of the reaſons of it. Some ſaid a Dream which the Grand Signior had, and which gave great diſturbance to his thoughts, until he reſolved for *Conſtantinople*. Others ſaid, the revolt and troubles at *Cairo*, of which we ſhall preſently have occaſion to diſcourſe, and ſome added certain Commotions at *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*; ſome reported, that *Xeriff* of *Mecha* wrote him a Letter, that he could not acknowledge him the Head and Protector of the Muſſulmin Faith, ſo long as he had abandoned his Imperial City, and lived in the mountains and unknown places. Others ſaid, that the Janiſaries and Militia murmured, and that his Coming to *Conſtantinople* was forced and not to be avoided; and that the Sultan being now out of love with *Adrianople*, had curſed it, and ſworn never more to ſet foot in it, having ordered the materials ſent for the building of the Great Seraglio at *Adrianople*, to be ſtopped on the way, and returned back again. At this rate all the World talked and diſcourſed, joy and hopes made the people fancy every thing according to their wiſhes. The Grand Signior being approached near to *Conſtantinople*, fixed himſelf in his Camp in the Fields, near a ſmall Seraglio of his own, called *Daout Baſha*, from whence the people for many days expected, that he ſhould, according to the Cuſtom of his Anceſtors, make a ſolemn Entry; inſtead whereof he made ſome Salies with a ſmall Company through the Streets, as it were *incognito*, taking his paſtime on the Water, and on the ſides of the *Boſphorus* in his Gallies and Boats, but moſt commonly frequented his Place of *Scutari* on the Aſian ſide, where with much delight and confidence he lodged and repoſed his Court, but made no ſolemn Entry through the City, nor frequented his great Seraglio; where though he might perhaps dine, and paſs certain hours, yet he ſlept not one Night there; of which the people took eſpecial notice, and thereby received confirmation of the jealouſie their Soveraign had of them, to their extraordinary grief and diſſatisfaction; however it was ſome contentment to the people, and renown unto the City to have their Emperour ſo near, though it was rumoured as if the Court towards the approach of Winter intended again to return unto *Adrianople*. In the mean time the Grand Signior took his chief delight and divertiſement on the Water, paſſing in his Gallies and Pleaſure-Boats up the *Boſphorus* to the mouth of the Black Sea; and thence returning, much frequented the Gardens, and Houſes of Delight upon the Banks of the River; and viſiting all places, a Country Houſe called *Therapea*, belonging to the Dutch Reſident, received the honour of his Preſence, which he liked ſo well, that he took it from the Proprietor, and conferred it without any conſideration of money on one of his Courtiers, giving out a Proclamation, That no Chriſtian Miniſter ſhould poſſeſs any Seat or Habitation on the ſide of the *Boſphorus*. A ſtrange thing, and what is not to be paralleled in any part of the World.

1676. *Conjectures concerning the reaſons of the Grand Signiors return to Conſtantinople.*

About the beginning of this Year the Captain Paſha died, and *Zaid Ahmet* Paſh-ogli, then at the Camp, ſucceeded him; his Father was a famous Man, and in the ſame Charge, but cut off by old *Kuperlee*. Soon after *Ibrahim* Paſha, General of the Army at *Keminitz*, likewiſe died, and his Office was conferred on *Ibrahim Paſha*, that was Paſha of *Candia*, of whom we have had often occaſion to ſpeak, being a great friend to the Engliſh Nation. The Great Vizier alſo was not far remote from the Confines of Death, being now fallen, by reaſon of immoderate drinking of Wine, and chiefly of hot Cinamon Waters, into a formed Dropſie and Jaundice.

In

1676. In the preceding year we touched on the removal of the Teſterdar or Treaſurer from his Office to the Government of Grand *Cairo*, and the reaſons for it, which though it might be a preferment (being the richeſt and moſt important Charge of the Empire) to which the eſteem the Sultan had of his parts and abilites, might probably advance him; yet the imploying of him at a diſtance ſo remote, was certainly an effect of ſome diſpleaſure, whereby he or his Favourites judged him a Perſon not fit to remain longer near the Royal Preſence. Wherefore having commenced his Journey (as before mentioned) he arrived at Grand *Cairo*, where he had not long continued before he began, according to the natural acuteneſs of his mind and hugſtering manner, to pierce with a narrow inſpection into all Affairs of that Government, and particularly into the Revenue and Treaſure of the Country, contriving with himſelf by what means the diſorders might be corrected, and the Revenue and Tribute improved; for he had an excellent Genius or Spirit in the matters of Money, nothing in advantage of Intereſt could ever eſcape him; ſo that he began to lay a new foundation in all proceedings; he would not be contented with the old Taxes and Impoſitions, and where he found Lands improved, or the Cuſtoms augmented, he would put in for a ſhare of the Benefits, and would reform every thing wherein he judged his Maſter to have been abuſed. But though he was acute and ſharp-ſighted in ſuch matters as theſe, yet he wanted experience in the Government of *Egypt*; for theſe great Beghs of this Country being alarmed with the innovations, began to ſtand upon their Guard, and to enter into private Conſultations, in what manner to oppoſe themſelves to this new way of Government, which looked like ſlavery, and deſigns of bringing them into ſervitude, and a ſubjection unknown to them and their Fore-fathers. For indeed the Government of *Egypt*, if well conſidered, is rather Ariſtocratical than Monarchical; for though they acknowledge the Sultan to be their Head, and accept his Paſha for Ruler, and pay a yearly Tribute, yet the Beghs which are great Lords in their reſpective Countries, carry the ſway and Dominion in all other matters, and will endure nothing with favours of oppreſſion or innovation; ſo that theſe perſons grown jealous by the proceedings of the new Paſha, flew into open Sedition, and immediately to Arms, with force of which they aſſaulted the Paſha's Palace, took him and threw him into Priſon. The News whereof flying with all haſte to the Ottoman Court, appeared at the firſt apprehenſion or ſurpriſe as if all *Egypt* had revolted, and gave the World occaſion to diſcourſe, That the Wars were to be carried Eaſtward, and that the ſudden reſolution of removing the Court to *Conſtantinople*, was in order to a farther March into thoſe parts. But frequent Meſſages with time making the buſineſs to be better underſtood, cauſed the Grand Signior to diſpeed with all haſte another Paſha, with Commiſſion to remove the former, and to continue all the ancient Cuſtoms and Priviledges from the beginning indulged to the Beghs of *Egypt*: with which Meſſage and gentle words of grace and favour from the Sultan, all diſcontents being pacified, the former Paſha was releaſed from his Impriſonment, and ſuffered to depart, and thence proceeded to the Iſland of *Candia*, where he entred on that Paſhaluck, ſucceeding *Ibrahim* Paſha in Charge, who (as before related) was ſent to *Kemenitz* to be General of the Army, in place of the Paſha lately deceaſed. 1676

But here I muſt not forget a ſtory which happened during the time of this Summer, whilſt the Grand Signior had his abode and injoyed his Recreations in the circumjacent parts of *Conſtantinople*; there was a certain Sultana which had been a caſt Wench of Sultan *Ibrahim*, who after his death, having been married to ſome Paſha, obtained her releaſe from the old Seraglio, and being alſo a Widow by the death of this Husband, had liberty to take her habitation on the Banks of the *Boſphorus*, or where ſhe thought fit. This Lady was called *Soltana Sporcha*, in Turkiſh *Modar*: how ſhe came to be ſo nominated I cannot tell, perhaps ſome Italian Pages of the Court might in reſpect to her way of living impoſe this Name upon her, for ſhe was no other than a Bawd, or ſomething worſe, making it her Profeſſion to buy young Girls, and to educate them in ſinging, dancing and in all the ways which beſt accompliſh Courtiſans: Amongſt this Train of Scholars, ſhe had one more briſk and aery than the others, which could ſing, and dance, and prate incomparably, and was ſo quick in her Repartees, that ſhe greatly delighted the Paſha's and Lords, whoſe pleaſures ſhe attended, bringing from them conſiderable Gifts and Preſents to the enriching of her ſelf and Miſtreſs; and became ſo much the talk of the Court, that at length the report of her arrived the ears of the Grand Signior, who being alſo deſirous to injoy ſome divertiſements by the pranks of this witty Girl, ſent to the Sultana one of the black Eunuchs for her: which Imperial Command ſhe not daring to diſobey, conſigned her with great ſubmiſſion into the hands of the Meſſenger; but with this caution, that ſhe humbly deſired the Sultan not to make any attempt on her Chaſtity, in regard ſhe was both a Virgin and Free-woman. The Grand Signior having pleaſed himſelf with the wantonneſs of this Wench, began to take a fancy to her, and reſolved to take her into the Seraglio; but ſhe ſhewing a kind of nicety and coineſs, the Grand Signior, who perhaps was better accommodated, ſent her back again to her Miſtreſs, reflecting (as was ſuppoſed) with ſome diſguſt on the caution which accompanied her. It happened not long after, that this Girl exerciſing her Art in the preſence of ſome great Perſons, one *Cheſmé* Aga, a Boſnian by Nation, Captain of the Great Viſiers Guard, a ſtout and valiant man, happening to be a Spectator one night, became unfortunately enamoured of her, and from that time not being able to remove the impreſſion ſhe had made in his heart, reſolved, if poſſible, to make her his Wife, and to that end made his affections known and his intentions of Marriage, both to her and to her Miſtreſs. The Girl was well enough pleaſed to become the Wife of ſo honourable a Perſon; but the Sultana unwilling to loſe the profit and benefit ſhe daily brought her in, refuſed the Match, declaring, That ſhe was a Slave, and not at her own diſpoſal, and therefore in no capacity of beſtowing her ſelf any way without her conſent. This impediment giving a ſtop to the Marriage, put the two Lovers on plots and contrivances in what manner to injoy each other, and Love being ingenious, quickly

The Hiſtory of Soltana Sporcha.

1676. found out a means to bring them together; for the Girl escaping from her Mistress, lodged herself in those Chambers which her Lover had found for her. And being now missed, none but *Chesmé* Aga was charged with her, of whom she complained to the Grand Signior, and cited him before his Master the Great Vizier to answer for her; but he denying to know any thing of her, and no witness appearing against him, all farther proceedings were superseded for the present: But *Soltana Sporcha* keeping watchful spies upon all the motions of *Chesmé* Aga, at length found him and his Mistress together, and by the Authority of Officers brought them both before the Vizier: to whom the Sultana sent a rude message, That *Chesmé* Aga should be punished, and that her Slave should be returned. The Visier hereof acquainted the Grand Signior, and gave him to understand the message which the Sultana had sent him, desiring to know what punishment he was pleased should be inflicted on them. In which interim *Chesmé* Aga told the Visier, That he expected no other than a sentence of death from the Grand Signior, only he desired that his beloved Mistress might be spared, for he was sure he should live in her. It was not long before the fatal Decree came for putting *Chesmé* Aga to death, and sending the Woman to the Seraglio, which was immediately executed; which act might seem to denote a natural cruelty in the Sultan, being in reality very severe, though the whole course of his Reign hath been more gentle and mild than of any of the Ottoman Emperours; only this fact proceeded rather from disdain than thirst of blood, being angry that this Girl should prefer the Love of one of his Vassals before the Honours of the Seraglio, and that her Mistress the Sultana should charm him with a lye of her being free, when she was no other than a slave, and not long before bought for an inconsiderable price.

Not long after this, and towards the *11th*, or *12th*, of *September*, when the Sun was come to the Equinoctial, the Grand Signior prepared to depart. The rumour of which displeasing and making sad the peoples hearts, as much as his presence before comforted them, it was given out, That the Grand Signior intended to return with the Spring, and divide the consolation, which his residence produced, between the two Regal Cities, and for an evidence thereof, he ordered a Platform to be laid for erecting a new Seraglio at *Scutari*, and the Visier designed another at *Bezick-rash*, and the Palaces of the Pasha's and great Men were all putting into a way of Reparation, which for some time amused and contented the minds of the Commonalty.

The Grand Signior returns again to Adrianople.

About the beginning of *October* the Grand Signior set forward towards *Adrianople*, being accompanied with the Mosayp, which is his Favourite, and *Kara Mustapha* who was his Chimacam, taking his recreation by the way in Hunting; but the Great Vizier *Achmet* Pasha continuing still sick of his Dropsie and Jaundice, took his Journey by Water as far as *Selebra* for his better ease, and thence proceeding in a Horse-litter to *Churlu*, which is the half-way to *Adrianople*, on the twenty third of *October* expired his last; his Disease, though heightned by Wine and hot Spirits, yet was in some part hereditary, his Father dying of the Dropsie. His Body was on the twenty fifth brought back again in a Coach to *Constantinople* with a small Attendance, and buried in the same Sepulchre with his Father. He was a Person (for I have seen him often, and knew him well) of a midle stature, of a black beard, and brown complexion, something short-sighted, which caused him to knit his brows and pore very intently when any strange person entred to his presence: he was inclining to be fat, and grew corpulent towards his latter days. If we consider his age when he first took upon him this important Charge, the Enemies his Father had created him, the contentions he had with the *Valede Sultana*, or the Queen-Mother, and the Arts he had used to reconcile the affections of these great Personages, and conserve himself in the unalterable esteem of his Soveraign to the last hour of his death, there is none but must judge him to have deserved the Character of a prudent and politick Person. If we consider how few were put to death, and what inconsiderable Mutinies or Rebellions happened in any part of the Empire during his Government, it will afford us a clear evidence and proof of his gentleness and moderation beyond the example of former times; for certainly he was not a Person who delighted in bloud, and in that respect of an humor far different from the temper of his Father; He was generous, and free from Avarice, a rare Vertue in a Turk! He was educated in the Law, and therefore greatly addicted to all the Formalities of it, and in the Administration of that sort of Justice very punctual and severe; He was very observant of the Capitulations between our King and the Grand Signior, being ready to do Justice upon any corrupt Minister, who pertinaciously violated and transgressed them, of which I could give several instances, but these being improper for this place, are only in general to be mentioned with due gratitude in honour to his Memory. As to his behaviour towards the neighbouring Princes, there may, I believe, be fewer examples of his breach of Faith, than what his Predecessors have given in a shorter time of Rule. In his Wars abroad he was successful, having upon every expedition enlarged the Bounds of the Empire; He overcame *Newhausel* or *Oywar*, and laid thereunto a considerable part of *Hungary*, which to this day continues subject, and pays contribution to the Turk.

The Death of the Vizier Achmet.

He concluded the War with *Venice* after twenty seven years continuance, by an intire and total subjection of the Island of *Candia*, having subdued that impregnable Fortress, which by the rest of the World was esteemed invincible.

He won *Kemenitz*, the Key of *Poland*, where the Turks had been frequently baffled, and laid *Ukrania* to the Empire; reducing the Cosacks, those mortal Enemies, to subjection, and to a desire of taking on them the Ottoman Yoke: and finally, he imposed a new Tribute on all *Poland*. After all which Glories he dyed in the *47th* year of his Age, and *15th* year and *8th* day of his Government; a short time, if we consider it, for such great actions; howsoever, if we measure his triumphs, rather than count his years though he might seem to have lived but little to his Prince and People, yet certainly to himself he could not dye more seasonable, nor in a greater height and eminency

His Character.

1676. hency of Glory. *Utcunque Principi, & Reipublicæ parum, ſibi certè ſatis ſuaq; Gloriæ vixiſſe videbitur.*

The Great Vizier having in this manner expired his laſt breath, the Seal was immediately carried by his Brother to the Grand Signior, who upon Receipt thereof, according to common expectation, conferred the ſame on *Kara Muſtapha* Paſha, who had for ſo many years formerly exerciſed the Office of Chimacam, which is as much as Deputy to the Great Vizier, of whom in other places we gave a Character of being a wiſe and experienced Perſon, of a ſmooth behaviour, and a great Courtier; agreeable to which temper of mind, ſo ſoon as he attained this promotion, he ſent an obliging and courteous Meſſage to the Servants of the deceaſed Vizier, condoling with them the death of their Maſter, promiſing to take them and their Concernments into his Care and Protection; according whereunto he advanced *Solyman* Kahya (who was the late Vizier's Subſtitute,) and for ſome years had managed all Affairs to the Office of Embrahore, which is chief Maſter of the Grand Signiors Horſe, and is a place not only of honour, but of great ſecurity. He that was his own Kahya he made a Vizier of the Bench, and Chimacam in the ſame manner as he was to *Achmet* Vizier; by which point of policy he ſeemed to have ſtrengthened himſelf againſt all Enemies, for having two Creatures of his own ſo well diſpoſed; one neat the Perſon of his Prince, who would be able to do him all good Offices; and the other (whenſoever the Wars or other occaſions ſhould cauſe him to be abſent from the Royal Preſence) might ſupply his place without attempting to ſupplant him. The Kapiſſer-Kahyaſee, or Maſter of the Ceremonies to the late Vizier, he made his own Kahya, and all the other Agas which depended on that Court, he received into his own ſervice; ſo that in effect there ſeemed, by this great chance of Mortality, to be little other alteration in the Court, than of the ſingle perſon of the deceaſed Vizier; of whoſe Memory, that the Grand Signior might evidence the love and eſteem that he retained, he did not intermeddle or appropriate unto himſelf any part of his Eſtate, or diſanulled his Teſtament; but reſigned all into the hands of his Relations, challenging no ſhare or proportion thereof: And whereas the Vizier left no Children, the Eſtate fell to his Brother and Siſters, who to evidence their Devotion to Religion, and good will to the Publick, and to pleaſe the eyes of the envious World, conferred on *Mecha* the Rent of the new Cuſtom houſe, the Beſaſteen, and new Chan built at *Smyrna*, and finiſhed in the year 1677.

Kara Muſtapha made Vizier.

At this firſt change there were rumors, that the new Vizier had begun his Government in blood, having cut off ſeveral Heads lately in Authority; but all was falſe, and only grounded on a diſpleaſure which he was known to have conceived againſt certain perſons. Only one act he performed rather of juſtice than ſeverity, having cut off one of the Pay-maſters of the Exchequer for falſe Money. The occaſion was this: Certain Muletiers having received mony from the Exchequer in Venetian Zechins, and finding ſeveral of them falſe, returned them again, but could not prevail to have them changed; whereupon having made their Memorial thereof, they carried them to the Vizier, and upon examination, the Pay-maſter declared, That he received them from the Great *Ibrahim* Han-ogli, who being for that Cauſe ſent for and accuſed, was put into a fear, which proved as dangerous to him as a Diſeaſe, the apprehenſions of Death being worſe than the reality; but the Great Teſterdar ſoon cleared him of this Accuſation, having atteſted, That to his knowledge the mony received from him was good, and diſpoſed on other occaſions; ſo that the whole blame lying now on the Pay-maſter, and upon farther ſearch more of the ſame ſtamp being found in his hands, he deſervedly ſuffered the puniſhment of Death, the which had likewiſe been inflicted on another Officer of the ſame rank, but not being found ſo culpable as the other, he was permitted to redeem his life with forty Purſes of Mony, or twenty thouſand Dollars.

1676.

Thus far we have ſeen the gentle and ſmooth behaviour of the preſent Vizier towards the Friends, Relations, and Servants of the deceaſed, and with what Acts of Juſtice he began his Government. But, behold, on a ſudden the face of the whole Court was changed, every Officer thereof putting on a Countenance of fierceneſs, pride, and arrogance, beyond the manner and cuſtom lately practiſed. For the Great Viſier took on himſelf the State and Grandeur of the Sultan, (the acceſs being as difficult to him as to his Maſter) his Kahya that of the Viſier, and ſo every inferior Officer advanced himſelf into a fancy of poſſeſſing the next and immediate Degree above him. This haughty behaviour had a more particular influence on the Miniſters and Repreſentatives of Foreign Princes, whoſe Interpreters were not admitted, as formerly, to private Audiences or Conferences about their Affairs, but only at the Publick Divan, where their Arzes or Memorials were to be preferred in the ſame manner as was practiſed by the Subjects of the Country, and thoſe of conquered Nations, who petition for Juſtice. The which abaſement was not only caſt on the Interpreters, but on the Perſons of the Repreſentatives themſelves: an example of which we have in the French Ambaſſador; who coming at the time appointed to receive his Audience of the Viſier, was forced to expect a long time before he could have admittance, and then entering into the Chamber of Audience, was rudely crouded, and ruſhed upon by a Crew of unmannerly Chaouſes, who no otherwiſe regarded the Perſon of the Ambaſſador, than if he had been one of the Grooms or Lacquies. Being come to the Seat of Audience, the Ambaſſador obſerved, That the Stool for the Great Viſier was ſet upon the Soffrá, and that for Him below, or at the foot of it; the which being an unuſual and unpractiſed diminution of the ancient honour given formerly to Ambaſſadors, he ordered one of his Servants, To ſet it again on the Soffrá equal with that of the Viſier's; the which being done, was again brought down by one of the Viſiers Pages, and placed as before; whereupon, the Ambaſſador ſeizing the Stool with his own hand, carried it on the Soffrá, and ſate upon it; which being reported to the Viſier, then in his retiring Chamber, he ſent twice to him to remove, letting him know, That unleſs the Stool were returned into the Place appointed by him,

Alterations with the new Vizier.

1676. he would not appear in the Chamber of Audience. Whereunto his Excellency returned this prudent Anſwer; That the Viſier might diſpoſe of his Chair as he pleaſed, but not of his Perſon. In which Interim the Chaouſ-Baſhee came in, roaring out, *Calder*, *Calder*, which is, Take it away, Take it away, (meaning the Stool) at which noiſe the Ambaſſador ariſing to ſee what the matter was, had the Stool taken from under him; whereat being greatly enraged, he threw out of the Roofn in a high paſſion, and cauſing the Preſents which he brought to be again returned with him, he mounted his Horſe, and departed.

Afterwards it was intimated unto the Engliſh Ambaſſador, That he might, if he pleaſed, receive Audience of the Great Viſier; But his Excellency, underſtanding in what manner the French Ambaſſador had been treated, excuſed his going, on pretence of an Indiſpoſition of health. Howſoever, the *Venetian* Bailo, and the Reſidents of *Holland* and *Genoua* were contented to be admitted unto Audience on thoſe terms which the Viſier was pleaſed to allow. And though during the time that he was Chimacam, and bore other inferior Offices, and Charges of Truſt, his behaviour was gentle, affable, and civil; yet I fear, that now having changed his Office, he will have alter'd his humour, and that his Greatneſs will have encreaſed his Pride, Avarice, and Fierceneſs: thus, no man knows what another will be, when he ſhall enter into power. 1676.

Dic mihi ſi fueris tu Leo, qualis eris.

And as *Magiſtratus indicat Virum*, ſo in the actions of his management the temper and conſtitution of this great Perſon will be diſcovered. And thus having given a ſhort Account and Character of this preſent Viſier, his future Acts and Monuments muſt be the Subject of other Pens.

FINIS.

A TABLE

To the Continuation of

Mr. *KNOLLES*'s Turkiſh Hiſtory;

Written by Sir *PAUL RYCAUT*, &c.

Note that [a] *ſignifies the firſt Column of each Page, and* [b] *the ſecond.*

A.

ABaffi's *Conduct not ſatisfactory to the Grand Signior*, 280, a. *Afterwards ſends him a Sable in Token of his Favour*, ib. a. *He receives a Mandate from the Grand Seignior to aſſiſt the Rebels in* Hungary, 281. a. *He diſcovers a Conſpiracy againſt his Life, ſuſpected the* Germans, *and thereupon revolts*, 278, b.

Abaſſa *Paſha of* Erzirum *his Rebellion*, 1, b. *he advances towards* Conſtantinople, 5, b. *is reconciled to the Grand Signior*, 11, b. *and made Paſhaw of* Boſna, 12, a. *made General in the War with* Poland, 24, a. *he is ſtrangled by command of the Grand Signior*, 26, b.

Abermont, *the Captain of the French Man of War, whereon* Monſieur de la Haye *arrived at* Conſtantinople, *incurs great danger of his Life, and wherefore*, 170, a.

Achmet *Great Vizier deprived of his Office and ſtrangled*, 78, b.

Aleppo, *the Merchants thereof more ſubject to troubleſom Avania's than others, and an Inſtance given*, 130, a. b.

Alexandria, *a Plague there*, 54, b. *the* Alexandrian *Fleet encountred by the* Venetians, 122, b. *taken by the* Maltеſes *in* 1673, 235, a.

Algierines *infeſt the Seas caſting off their Reverence to the Sultan*, 9, b. *land at* Scanderone *and rob the Ware-houſes, and then ſet them on fire*, ib. b. *infeſt the Gulf of* Venice, 38, b. *are blocked up by the* Venetian *in* Valona, 39, a. *make Complaints at the Port of the Engliſh Fleet commanded by the Earl of* Sandwich, *but find no Encouragement*, 115, a. *they make a Peace with the* Engliſh, 129, a. *the Articles ſigned by the Grand Signior*, 136, b. *they are carried by the Author to* Algier, *with a Relation of two pleaſant paſſages in his Journey*, 137, a. *they except againſt an Article of the Peace, and ſend a Letter to His Majeſty, whereupon the War breaks out afreſh*, 139, a. *the inconſtancy of their Government*, ib. a.

Ali *Paſha ſlain in* Meſopotamia *by the Perſian, and his Army routed*, 6, a.

An Alliance *entred into between the Emperor, the King of* Poland, *and the Venetians*, 308, *a.*

The French Ambaſſador *threatned to be ſent Priſoner to the ſeven Towers*, 284. b.

Sultan Amurat *advanced to the Throne at fourteen years of age*, 2, a. *deſcribed*, ib. b. *his lewd debaucht life*, 14, a. 15, b. *like to have been killed by Lightning, which works ſome Reformation in him for the preſent*, 17, a. *he ſends an Ambaſſador into* Perſia, ib. b. *A Peace made with the Perſians, but quickly broken*, 23, b. *ſeveral Acts of his Tyranny*, 23, a. *he deſtroys Taverns*, ib. b. *makes War on the Poles*, ib. b. *ſues to them for Peace*, 24, a. *more Acts of his Cruelty*. 28, a. *forbids all Houſes of Entertainment*, ib. a. *goes in perſon with his Army into* Perſia, ib. b. *muſters at* Erzrum *three hundred thouſand fighting Men*, 30, a. *his Patience and Labours*, ib. a. *cauſes his two Brothers* Bajazet *and* Orchan *to be ſtrangled*, ib. a. *he returns from* Perſia *to* Conſtantinople, 31, b. *his averſion to Tobacco*, 32, a. *more Inſtances of his Cruelty*, ib. a. & 37, 38, a. *he reſolves again to march in perſon into* Perſia, 37, a. *he begins his March in* May 1638. 38, a. *the Hiſtory of his March*, 41, b. 42, a. *the whole Army arrives before* Babylon *or* Bagdat, 42, b. *he takes it*, 43, b. *his braving Letter to the King of* Perſia, 44, a. *he returns to* Conſtantinople, ib. b. *he dyes of a Fever contracted by a Debauch*, 47, b. *his Character*, 48, a.

Colonel Anand, *an Engliſh-man, and one* Stefano Cordili *made Plenipotentiaries to treat with the Great Vizier about the ſurrender of* Candia, 217, b.

Michael Apafi *conſtituted Prince of* Tranſilvania *by the Turks*, 110, b. *his Letter to the Earl of* Winchelſea, *Engliſh Ambaſſador at the Port*, 121, a. b. *he is beloved of his People*, 146, a.

Prince Thomas *of* Aremberg *ſlain*, 289, a.

Aſac *beſieged and taken by the Moſcovites and Coſſacks*, 38, b. *beſieged by the Turks in the year* 1641. *but not taken*, 52, a. *again beſieged in* 1642. *and then taken, being abandoned by the Inhabitants*, 53, b. *After it had been ſacked by the Moſcovite in* 1674. *the Turk rebuilds it*, 240, b.

Aſan *Paſha of* Aleppo, *rebels and marches towards* Conſtantinople, 91, a. *he joyns Battel with the Great Vizier, and diſcomfits him*, ib. b. *he is treacherouſly ſtrangled by* Mortaza *Paſha*. 92, a.

Aſan *Aga, the Moſayp, or Favourite, his Story*, 134, a.

Auſtria *ſpoiled by the Turks in the Year* 1663. 143, a.

The Table.

B.

BAbylon or Bagdat *taken from the Turks by the Perſians in* 1626, 6, a. *the Turks laying ſiege to it to recover it are beaten off*, ib. a. *likewiſe the ſecond time*, 9, a. *a third time*, 16, a. *the Grand Signior himſelf commanding the Army takes it*, 43, b.

Bakockza *taken by Count* Serini, 146, b.

Ballarino, *Secretary to Signior* Capello *the Venetian Bailo, ſupplies his Office*, 88, a. *his ſorrowful Letter to Senator* Nicolo Contarini, 122, b. *his Character*, 123, b. *he is ſuſpected by the Turks to uſe Sorcery*, 132, b.

Balſora *taken by the Perſian*, 6, a. *its Paſha rebels in* 1667. *and is forced to flee into* Perſia, 194, a.

Baltagibaſhee, *what*, 134, b.

Cardinal Barbarini *beſtows a Penſion of eight hundred Crowns a Month upon Count* Serini, 153, a. *he ſupplies the Venetians with four thouſand Meaſures of Corn in their Wars in* Candia, 194, a.

Barcan *taken by Count* Soiſé, *and burnt*, 156. b. *beſieged by the Chriſtians*, 305, b. *taken*, 306, a. *the grand Slaughter there*, ib. a.

The Baſſas *of* Buda, Erſeck, *and* Poſſega *ſtrangled*, 303, a. *The Baſſa of* Buda *ſtrangled by the Grand Signior's Order*, 278, b. *The Baſſa of* Waradin *ſtrangled by the Grand Signior's Order*, 279, a.

Girolomo Bataglia, *and* Franceſco Bataglia, *Proveditors General, both killed at the Siege of* Candia, 204, b.

Duke de Beaufort, *the Pope's General at Sea deſires of the King of* France, *his natural Prince, leave to try his Fortune by Land at the Siege of* Candia, 212, b. *he is killed there*, 214, b.

Bechir *Paſha of* Babylon *joyns with* Abaſſa *in his Rebellion*, 3, a.

Beker *Paſha of* Rhodes *ſtrangles the Paſha of* Cyprus, 54, a. *made Captain Paſha*, 55, a. *put to death by Order of the Grand Signior*, 56, b.

Belgrade; *here the Great Vizier had his Winter-quarters the firſt Year of the Hungarian War in* 1663. 145, a. *reſides there the ſecond Winter after the Peace made*, 161, b.

Signior Bembo *obtains a Victory over the Turks at Sea*, 90, a.

Sir Tho. Bendiſh, *Ambaſſador at the Port, his Expedient for obtaining redreſs of Wrongs offered to the Merchants*, 58, a. *he oppoſes the forcing of Engliſh Ships into the Turks Service againſt* Candia, *but without effect*, 83, a.

Berclay *made Prince of* Tranſilvania, 107, b. *the Tranſilvanians depoſe him*, 110, a.

Berzenche *taken by Count* Serini, 146, b.

Bethlem *Gabor, vid.* Gabor.

Biram *Paſha made Great Vizier*, 34, a. *is ſlain at the Siege of* Babylon, 43, a.

A Blazing-ſtar *ſeen in moſt parts of the known World in* 1664. *and particularly in* Turky, *with their opinion what it portended* 162, a.

Dukes of Brunſwick *and* Lunenburg *aſſiſt* Candia *with three thouſand men*, 206. a.

Buda, *the Garriſon their mutiny, but upon ſurrendring four of the Ring-leaders to puniſhment, and craving pardon, things are quieted and paſt by*, 19, b. *The Siege of* Buda, 309, a. 319, a. *ſome Standards taken and preſented to the Duke of* Lorrain, *with* 15 *Barks loaden with the Wives and Children of the Turkiſh Officers of* Buda, *with great Riches*, 320, a. *an Account given by a Deſerter of the Condition of the Beſieged*, ib. b. *General* Schoning *arrives with the* Brandenburg *Auxiliaries*, 321, b. *Several Mines ſprung by the Beſieged*, 323, a. b. *An Aſſault made with great loſs on both ſides*, 323. 324. *Letters from the Beſieged diſcovered*, 324, a. *another Mine ſprung, and ſeveral Miners in danger of being covered by the Earth*, ib. b. *ſeveral falſe Allarms*, 325, a. *Captain* Libert *an excellent Miner loſt*, ib. a. *Two Mines ſprung by the Turks with little harm*, ib. a. *Preparation for a general Aſſault*, ib. a. *The Caſtle blown up*, ib. b. *The Baſſa ſummoned to ſurrender, but refuſes*, ib. b. *A general Aſſault*, 326. b. *The Generals of the Infantry being moſt wounded, they of the Horſe were ordered to ſupply their places*, 327, b. *A ſecond Summons ſent*, 328, a. *The Baſſa's Anſwer*, ib. a. *Another Aſſault*, 329, a. *The Beſieged expect Succours*, ib. a. *their Succours defeated*, 331, a. *Another Attempt of the Grand Vizier's to relieve the Beſieged*, 332, a. *The Sieur* Rummel *ſlain with a Muſket Bullet*, ib. a. *Another Attempt to relieve the Beſieged*, 333, a. *Upon the Chancellors' arrival from the Emperor a Council of War called, and a general Aſſault made, the Beſiegers enter the City*, 334, a. Abdi Baſſa, *the Governour, ſlain*, ib. b. *The great Treaſure taken*, ib. b. *The Grand Vizier decamps immediately upon the taking of* Buda, ib. b. *purſued by the Duke of* Lorrain, 335, a.

C.

CAffa *taken by the Tartars from the Turks, but ſoon reſtored*, 11, a.

Cairo, *a Rebellion of the great Beghs there*, 149, b. *another*, 259, a.

Caminiec *taken by the Turks in eleven days*, 233. a. *blocked up by the Poles*, 239, a. *but the Siege raiſed by the Turks*, 240, b.

Candia, *its General fights a Turkiſh Gally belonging to the* Archipelago (*miſtaking it for a Pirate*) *commanded by* Dervis Bei, *which had like to have broke the Peace, but the Venetian Ambaſſador at the Port makes up the buſineſs*, 10, a.

Candia (*the Iſle*) *how it became the Poſſeſſion of* Venice, 61, a. *what the occaſion of the Turks making War againſt it*, 55, b. *the beginning of the War*, 59, a. *The Turks Sea and Land Forces at firſt employed in it, what*, ib. b. *what the preparations of the Venetians*, 60, b. *the Turks land in this Iſle*, 61, a. *what ſupplies the Venetians had towards this War from* Chriſtendom, ib. b.

Candia (*the City*) *firſt beſieged in* 1647. *by the Turks, who were then forced to raiſe the Siege*, 75, b. *beſieged a ſecond time in* 1650. *and again beaten off*, 83, b. *beſieged a third time, when the Turks loſing* 3000 *Men at one Aſſault again drew off*; 84, b. *this War carried on faintly by the Turks for ſeveral years*, 114, a. *proſecuted afreſh in* 1666. 185, b. *what aid the Venetians then had from Chriſtian Princes*, 188, b. *the Fortifications of the Town deſcribed, and what Quarters were poſſeſſed by the Beſiegers and Beſieged*, 195, a. *the Hiſtory of the Siege continued* (*uninterruptedly*) *from* 195 *to* 207, *and from* 211 *to* 219. *its Duke killed*, 206, b. *large Succours ſent thither from* France, 212, b. *the Garriſon makes a notable Sally, but with bad ſucceſs*, 213, b. *French Officers ſlain in this Sally*, 214, b. *the French depart*, 215, a. *a Council held to conſider of the ſtate of the Town*, 216, a. *the reſult of the Council to enter into a Treaty with the Vizier*, 217, b. *the Conditions of Peace*, 218, b. *the Town delivered to the Turks*, 219, b. *an account of the number of the ſlain on both ſides, the Batteries, Storms, Sallies*, &c. ib. a. *what a ſad ſpectacle of Deſolation at its Surrender*, 220, a.

Canea *taken by the Turks*, 61, b. *they land here forty thouſand fighting Men*, 74, b.

Cantemir, *a Tartar, makes a new Colony*, 34, b. *being driven out of it by the Tartar Han, he is ſtrangled at* Conſtantinople, 35, a.

Marin Capello *takes the Algierine Gallies in the Port of* Valona, 39, b.

Antonio

Antonio Capello, *Commander of the Venetian Gallies*, 60, b.
Gio. Capello *made Doge General of the Sea*, 62, a. *what his Armata*, ib. a.
Signior Capello *Bailo at the Port imprisoned*, 85, b. *his ill usage casts him into a deep Melancholy*, 86, b. *his Commission taken from him*, 88, a. *he dyes at* Constantinople, *but his Corps conveyed to* Venice, 124, a.
Cara Mustapha. *See* Kara Mustapha.
Caramosauls, *what*, 22, b.
Carrisia, *a strong Garison, allarms all* Croatia, 277, a.
Caschaw *surrendred*, 315, a.
Casimir *King of* Poland *resigns his Crown, and how Affairs then stood there*, 231, b.
Count Cesi *French Ambassador at the Port*, 27, b.
Cheitan Ibrahim, *Seraskier, condemned to lose his Head for the Defeat at* Gran, Newheusel, *&c.* 318, a.
Chirsaleas, *a courageous Captain*, 145, b. *is slain near* Serinswar, 152. a.
Chusaein *the Great Vizier advances Sultan* Amurat *to the Throne, who soon deposes him from his Office, and afterwards causes him to be strangled, and why*, 2, 3.
Chusaein *Pasha, General of the Turks in* Candia, 82, a. *is made Great Vizier, but to reside still in* Candia, 84, a. *is discharged from the Office of Great Vizier*, 86, a. *is put to death by the Great Vizier* Kuperlee, 92, b.
Chusaein *Pasha of* Buda *besieges* Leventz, 154, b. *is routed by Count* Soise, 155, b.
Another Chusaein *Pasha is made Governor of* Caminiec, 233, b.
Claudiopolis *besieged by the Turks, but not taken*, 111, a. *yeilds it self to* Apasi, *Prince of* Transilvania, 147, b.
Cliffa *taken by* Foscolo, *the Venetian General*, 76, a. *the Turks endeavour to regain it, but are beaten off*, 82, b. *it is described*, 172, a.
Count Coligni, *Commander of the French Troops in* Hungary, *joyns* Montecuculi, 154, b. *his Valour at the great Battel with the Turks on the* Raab, 158, a. *having received Honours of the Emperour he returns homewards with his Army*, 161, a.
Constantinople, *a terrible Fire there in* 1634. 25, b. *a great Plague there in* 1661. 111, b. *an Insurrection there on the account of the Grand Signior's Brothers*, 211, a. *another Plague there*, 315, a. *Great Disorders there*, 315, a. 318, a.
Corban, *what*, 2, a. *the manner of it among the Turks*, 144, b.
Andrea Cornaro, *General and Inquisitor in* Candia, 60, b. *is slain in the defence of* Retimo, 61, b.
Another Andrea Cornaro, *Captain-General of the Venetians*, 186, a. *being made Proveditor General, he is slain at* Candia *with a Granado*, 212, a.
Coron *taken by the Venetians*, 317, a.
Cosacks, *their Boats described*, 4, a. *in them entring the* Bosphorus *they make great spoil on the Turkish Coasts*, ib. a. *they infest the Black Sea*, 11, a. *again more numerously*, 14, b. *their Country described*, 36, a. *the ground of the War betwixt them and the Poles*, 36, a. b. *they again infest the Black Seas*, 82, b. *they infest the Tartars*, 133, a. *great numbers of them carried into Captivity by the Turks*, 241, b. *they assassinate their General*, 311, b. *they give the Turks and Tartars a great Defeat*, 308, a.
Cross. *The Vayvod of* Valachia *caused a prodigious* Cross *to be erected before his Tent in the Camp at* Vienna, 298, b.
Sir Sackvile Crow's *difference with the* Turky *Company*, 62, *&c.*
Curdi *or* Cordiæi *their Country described, their Religion and Manners*, 118, a.
Cyrillus, *the Patriarch strangled at the false and malicious suggestions of the Jesuits against him*, 38, b.
Czecherin, *a great Battle there between the Turks and Moscovites, where the Turks being worsted, after rallied, assaulted and took the Town, at last are forced to retire for want of Provisions*, 280, a. b.

D.

DAlmatia *one seat of the War betwixt the Turks and Venetians*, 75, a. *after* Candia *was surrendred, Commissioners are sent hither by the Turk and Venetian for determining the differences of the Confines*, 227, b. *all the Particulars adjusted, and the War between the Turk and the Venetian ended*, 228 a.
Damascus *revolts to the* Persian 6, a.
Clipt Dollars *called in by the Great Vizier*, 130, a. *his Steward's Treasurer put to death for disobeying this Command*, ib. a.
Doroscnsko, *General of the Cosacks revolts to the Turks*, 232, a.
Dunelma, *or a Festival among the Turks, how celebrated*, 144, b.
The Dutch *Resident unjustly sentenced to make satisfaction for Goods belonging to Turks on board a Dutch Vessel surprized by Venetian and Maltese Corsairs*, 136, a.

E.

EGypt, *the Government there at present rather Aristocratical than Monarchical*, 259. a.
Elia *Pasha rebels in* Anatolia, *but being first beaten in the Field, and then besieged in* Magnesia, *surrenders himself upon fair promises, but at his arrival at* Constantinople *is strangled*, 19, b.
Elmas, *a Village in the Upper* Hungary, *near which the German and Turkish Ambassadors use to be exchanged*, 184, b.
Embrahore, *that Office what*, 263, a.
The Emperour *sends an Envoy to the Port, who disputes with the English Ambassador for Precedence*, 47, a. *He craves aid of several Princes against the Turks*; 283, b. *He and the King of* Poland *make a League Offensive and Defensive*, 286, b. *He comes to the head of his Army*, 287, a. *He leaves* Vienna, *and retires to* Lintz, 289, a. *His Army retires to their Winter Quarters*, 306, b. *He publishes an Act of Oblivion*, 308, b. *His Army with the Confederates rendezvouse at* Barkam, 318, b. *The Empress Crowned Queen of* Hungary, 282, a.
English *Trade first introduced into* Turky, *when*, 96. *what befel the Nation and Trade in* Turky *in the Year* 1662. 128, b. *the Custom endeavoured to be raised at* Aleppo *and* Scanderone *in* 1665. *by the Customer*, 172, b. *the Scale also threatned to be removed from* Scandarone *to* Tripoli *in* Soria *by the Lord Treasurer, but both without effect*, 173, b. *An English Factor in* Smirna, *designing to cheat several Principals in* England *of* 215 *fine Cloaths, and a considerable Summ of Money, turns Turk, but without succeeding in his Knavery*, 239. b.
Ephraim *Bassa kill'd by a Cannon*, 309, a.
Francesco Erizzo *elected by the Venetians Doge General of the Sea at the beginning of the War in* Candia, 60, b. *but hindred by Death from executing that Office*, ib. b.
Erzirum *siding with the Rebel* Abassa *is besieged by the Turks who are beaten off*, 10, b. *but is surrendred voluntarily upon* Abassa's *Reconciliation*, 12. a.
Esperies *surrendred*, 115, a.
Etteck,

Eſſeck, *Part of the Bridge burnt by Count* Leſly, 316, a. *the City of* Eſſeck *taken*, ib. a.

F.

FAcardin *an Arabian Prince his Hiſtory*, 21, b. 22, a.
Feſtivals, *how celebrated among the Turks*, 252, a. b.
Filek *taken by the Turks*, 283, a.
Sir John Finch *Engliſh Ambaſſadour at the Port*, 239, b.
Fire *happning in* Vienna *at the time of the Siege much endangered the Magazine of Powder*, 290, b.
Five-Churches *taken by the Imperialiſts*, 335, b.
Count Forgatz *overthrows a Party of Turks making Incurſions into* Hungary, 82, b. *being Governour of* Newhauſel *at the Turks invading* Hungary *in* 1663. *adviſing a Sally is with his Party routed*, 141, b.
Leonardo Foſcolo *his ſucceſs againſt the Turks in* Dalmatia, 75. b. *his ſucceſs in* Boſna, 82, b. *he is ſent into* Candia *with the Title of Generaliſſimo in the room of* Mocenigo, 84, a.
Marqueſs Frangipani, *with others offer themſelves to the Turk in* 1670. 221, a. *they find not the protection deſired, but are overtaken by the hand of Juſtice*, 230, b.
The French *force the Tripolins into the Haven of* Scio, 283, b.
French *Ambaſſador impriſoned*, 20, a. *his Interpreter impaled*, ib. a. *another Interpreter of theirs hanged*, 27, b. *their Ambaſſador* Marcheville *forcibly ſent away*, ib. a.
French *Ambaſſador at the Port impriſoned contrary to the Law of Nations*, 105, a. *that King remits an hundred thouſand Crowns to* Venice, *to aſſiſt them againſt the Turks*, 188, b. *three French Ships of War arrive in the Helleſpont*, 208, a. *an Ambaſſador from the Grand Signior to the French King*, ib. b. *the King ſends ſeven thouſand Men to the Relief of* Candia, *commanded by the Duke of* Navaille, *&c.* 212, b. *after having ſuffered great loſs there*, 214, b. *they depart*, 215, a. *a French Ambaſſador accompanies the Turks late Envoy to* France *in his Return to* Conſtantinople *with three Men of War, who beat themſelves very inſolently at their arrival*, 228, b. *what Succeſs he had in his Embaſſy*, ib. b. *he obtains ſome new Priviledges for his Nation*, 236, b. *and Licence to travel in the Turks Dominions*, 237, b.
Count Fuchier *General of the Artillery of the Empire killed at the great Battel betwixt* Montecuculi *and the Turks on the* Raab, 157, b.
La Fueillade *with two hundred French Gentlemen, Adventurers for Honour, and four hundred common Souldiers arrive at* Candia, 205, a. *having had above half of his Men ſlain in a deſperate Sally, he with the remainder returns home*, 206, a.

G.

GAbor *Prince of* Tranſilvania *makes War on the Emperour*, 4, b. *the reaſon of it*, 5, a. *he obtains Aid of the Turks*, 4, b. *a Truce made*, 5, a. *the Turks not keeping it are in ſeveral places diſcomfited by the Emperour's Forces*, 5, a. *the Truce ended, being aided by Duke* John *of* Weymar *and Count* Mansfelt, *as alſo by* Morteza *Paſha of* Buda, *he fights* Wallenſtein *the Emperour's General, and routs his Army*, 6, a. *whereupon a Peace is made betwixt the Emperour and Prince*, ib. b. *he dyes*, 13, a. *his Character*, ib. a. b. *leaving no Children his Widow for a while keeps the Government, but is perſuaded to reſign it to* Stephen Gabor, *who yet keeps it not, but reſigns it to* George Ragotski, ib. b.
Genoeſe *make Peace with the Turk*, 164, b. *they ſettle a Trade in* Turky, 165, a. *they ſend a new Reſident, who through the bad ſucceſs of Affairs falling into a melancholy, kills himſelf*, 230, a. *their Trade turns to very ſmall account*, 255, a. b.
Georgia, *ſome troubles there*, 119, a.
Captain Georgio *a famous Pirate taken by the Turks*, 202, a.
Germans *continue their Truce with the Turks*, 21, a. *deluded by the Turks pretences of Peace*, 131, b. *their Preparations for War with the Turks in* 1663, 140, a. *what Confuſions them in their Councils*, 143, a. *they ſend Miniſters to implore aid of Chriſtian Princes*, 149, a. *their Forces in* 1664. *what*, ib. a. *their great Inclination to Peace, notwithſtanding their good Succeſs, whence* 160, a. *a Peace concluded between them and the Turks*. ib. b. *they ſend an Ambaſſador to the Grand Signior*, 164, a. *what his Preſents were*, ib. b. *his Embaſſy ended with mutual Contentment*, 169, a. *the Controverſie between him and the Turkiſh Ambaſſador at the place of Exchange*, 184, b.
Jembeg Gheray *ſucceeds* Mehmet *in the Kingdom of* Tartary, 12, b. 13, a. *diſpeeds* 40000 *Horſe into* Podolia *and* Ruſſia *to Ravage the Country, who are intercepted by the Poles and Coſacks in their Return, and almoſt all cut off*, 13, a. *he is treacherouſly ſlain*, 35, a. Bechir Gheray *his Brother ordained King in his ſtead*, ib. b.
Signior Giavarina *ſent to the Great Vizier at the Siege of* Candia *to make Propoſals of Peace*, 196, b. *he dyes there of the Camp Diſtemper*, 199, b.
Gran *beſieged and taken by the Chriſtians*, 306, b. *beſieged by the Turks*, 313, b. *The Battel of* Gran, 314, a.
Gregorians, *a great Slaughter made of them by the Turk*, 9, a.
Grillo, *the Venetian Bailo's Interpreter, ſtrangled*, 82, a.
Proveditor Grimani *made Captain-General in the room of* Capello, 75, a. *he ſuffered Shipwrack and was drowned at the Iſle of* Pſara, ib. b.
Emir Gumir *betrays* Revan *to the Turks*, 31, a.
Emir Gumir *a Perſian Traitor ſtrangled*, 52, b.

H.

HAlil *Paſha made Great Vizier*, 2 b. *made General in the War with* Perſia, 8, b. *is recalled*, 9, a. *is put out of his Office*, 10, b.
Hammerling, *ſlain before* Quinque Eccleſiæ, 147, a.
Count Herberſtein *ſlain before* Quinque Eccleſiæ, ib. a.
*Chevalier d'*Harcourt *his Gallantry at the Siege of* Candia, 196, b.
Sir Daniel Harvey, *Ambaſſador from His Majeſty to the Port*, 209, a. *has his Audience of the Grand Signior at* Salonica, 221, a. *he dyes at* Conſtantinople, 234, a.
Haſaki *the Queen-Mother takes on her the protection of her Sons*, 207, b.
Monſieur la Haye (*the Father*) *Ambaſſador at the Port impriſoned contrary to the Law of Nations*, 105, a.
Monſieur la Haye (*the Son*) *propoſed by the French King to the Grand Signior and Great Vizier to be ſent Ambaſſador to the Port, in a Letter to each of them, and the Vizier's Anſwer thereto*, 125, b. 126, a. b. *he arrives as Ambaſſador at the Port, but ſlightly treated at his firſt arrival*, 169, a. b. *his firſt Audience*, 169, b. *his ſecond Audience*, 171, a.
Hoffman *ſent Ambaſſador to the Grand Signior*, 279. a. *ſtopped at* Belgrade *in his Return from* Conſtantinople, ib. b.
An Horſes *tail ſet forth at the G. Vizier's gate is a ſignal of the Camps motion within a month*, 131, b.

Huſaein

Huſsein *Paſha of* Siliſtria *marries the G. Vizier's Siſter*, 159, a.

Hungarians *aſſiſted by the G. Signior in their Revolt from the Emperor*, 279, a. *The occaſion of the Hungarians Revolt from the Emperor*, 278, a.

Hungary, *the War begins there betwixt the Emperor and Turk in* 1663. 140, a. *the Hungarians unſatisfied with the Peace made by the Emperor with the Turk, and why*, 160, b. *but through the Emperor's Arguments brought to acquieſce in it*, 161, a. *what gave occaſion to the Rebellion there*, 231, a. *they petition to the Turks for aſſiſtance*, 236, a.

I.

Jambolat *Ogli ſtrangled*, 33, b.

Janiſaries *unruly*, 1, a. 2, b. *they are curbed*, 12, b. *they again grow more inſolent*, 18, a. b. *but are ſoon tamed by the Sultan's ſeverity*, 19, b.

Janiſaries, *the formality of making them in theſe days*, 200, b. *they mutiny*, 315, a.

Janoua *in* Tranſilvania *taken by the Turks*, 107, a.

Sultan Ibrahim *ſucceeds his Brother* Morat *in the Throne*, 49, b. *his luxurious and effeminate way of living*, 50, b. 58, a. 76, a. *complimented by foreign Miniſters*, 51, a. *ſeized with an Apoplexy*, ib. b. *has a Son born*, viz. *Sultan* Mahomet *that now reigns*, 53, a. *a ſecond and a third Son*, 54, a. *a fourth and a fifth*, 55, b. *his lacivious fancy for a big Woman*, 58, b. *he falls in love with his Brother's Widow, but is rejected by her*, 76, b. *he falls alſo in Love with the Mufti's Daughter, who is taught by her Father to reject his Love*, 77, a. *he takes her by force, but after a few days Enjoyment returns her to her Father*, 78, a. *by the Mufti and his Accomplices he is depoſed and afterwards ſtrangled*, 79, a. *his Deſcription and Character*, ib. b.

Ibrahim *Paſha of* Caro *impriſoned there by the Beghs, but ſoon obtains his Liberty*, 150, a. *is deeply fined by the Grand Signior*, ib. a. *is made Paſha of* Darbiquier, ib. a. *arrives at* Candia *with* 800 *Spahees*, 202, b.

Ibrahim *Baſſa made Vizier inſtead of* Kara Muſtapha, 308, a.

Jeruſalem, *a great Controverſie betwixt the Religious there of the Latin and Greek Churches about the holy Sepulchre*, 242, a. *the Poſſeſſion of it adjudged by the G. Vizier to the Greeks*, ib. b.

Jews *how treated in* Turky, 12, b. *ſtrangely deluded by* Sabatai Sevi *the pretended Meſſiah in* 1666. 174, 175, 176. *they flock from all parts to him*, 178, b. *their ridiculous fancies concerning* Elias, 180, a. b. *they receive a new form of Worſhip from* Sabatai Sevi, 179, a. *but are enjoyned, upon his turning Turk, to return unto their old Method, by the Cochams of* Conſtantinople, 182. a.

Illay *near* Babylon *Gariſoned by the Turks*, 16. a. *retaken in an Aſſault by the Perſians*, ib. b.

Iſhmael *Paſha of* Buda *made Chimacam of* Conſtantinople, 131, b. *killed at the great Battel upon the* Raab, 157. b.

K.

Kaniſa *beſieged by Count* Serini, 148, b. *the Siege raiſed*, 152, a.

Kara Mehemet *kill'd by a Shot*, 309, b.

Kara Muſtapha *made Great Vizier*, 263, a. *his kindneſs to the Servants of* Kuperlee *his Predeceſſor*, ib. a. *his Pride and Inſolence to foreign Miniſters*, 262, a.

Kara Muſtapha *ſucceeds* Achmet *the G. Vizier*, 277, a. *he is ſtrangled*, 308, a. *his great Treaſure*, ib. a.

Katirgi *Oglé Paſha of* Canea *his Original and Life*, 207, a.

Kemenius *made Prince of* Tranſilvania, 110, a. *he is routed by* Ali *Paſha and ſlain*, 111, a.

Kemenitz. *See* Caminiec.

Kioſem *the Queen-mother her Artifice to advance her Son* Ibrahim *to be Emperour*, 49, a. *ſhe is impriſoned by him, but by ſubmiſſion ſoon obtains her Liberty*, 76, b. *ſhe conſents to his being depoſed*, 78, a. *ſhe with the G. Vizier and twelve Paſha's govern during Sultan* Mahomet *the Fourth's Minority*. 79, b.

Komorra, *where ſituate*, 140, b.

Kul-Ogli *the Grand Signior's Favourite*, 157, a. *he marries the Grand Signior's eldeſt Daughter*, 253, a.

Kuperlee (*the Father*) *Paſha of* Damaſcus *made Great Vizier*, 88, b. *his Diſpoſition*, 104, b. *he gets his Son joyned with him in the Office, and procures the Succeſſion therein for him*, 112, b. *his Rules given to the Grand Signior*, 113, a. *he dies*, ib. a.

Kuperlee (*the Son*) *ſucceeds his Father in the place of Great Vizier*, ib. a. *endeavours to eſtabliſh himſelf*, 116, a. *his Cruelty to the Germans of* Newhauſel, 142, a. *his Artifice to quiet the Minds of his ſhattered Army after their great Defeat on the* Rab *by* Montecuculi, 158, b. *he ſends for his Mother to* Belgrade, *who was eſteemed a cunning Woman*, 161, b. *he offers to the Son of the Tartar Cham to depoſe his Father, but the Son accepts not the profer*, 162, b. *he returns to* Adrianople *to the Grand Signior*, 163, b. *he arrives with his Army in the Iſle of* Candia, 188, b. *ſits down before the City of* Candia, 195, a. *his Juſtice on ſome diſorderly Souldiers at the Surrender of* Candia, 219, b. *he drinks Wine exceſſively*, 223, b. *he is brought thereby into a Dropſie whereof he dies*, 262, a. *his Character*, ib. b.

L.

Lemnos *taken by the Venetians from the Turks*, 89, a. *retaken by the Turks*, 90, b

Count Leſlie *German Ambaſſador to the Turks. See* Germans.

A Letter *ſent from the* Vizier *to the Beſieged in* Vienna, 209, b.

Levents, *who ſo called*, 127, b.

Leventz, *or* Lewa, *a Town in* Hungary, *taken by the Turks*, 144, b. *retaken by the Germans under the Command of Count* Soiſé, 154, a. *again beſieged by the Turks, but not taken*, ib. b.

Lewentz *ſurrendred to the Turks*, 283, a.

Lintz, *the Emperour removes from* Vienna *hither at the beginning of the Hungarian War in* 1663. 143, b.

Lorrain, *his great Care at the Siege of* Vienna, 291. a. *he meets the King of* Poland *with his Son at the head of the Army*, 298, a. *he oppoſes the parting of the Armies*, 305, a. *His Conduct at* Buda. *See* Buda.

Dukes of Lunenburg *and* Brunſwick *aſſiſt* Candia *with* 3000, 206. a.

Lupulo *Prince of* Moldavia *deſires the Sultan to confer the Principality of* Valachia *on his Son*, &c. 45, b.

M.

Mahomet IV. *born* 53, a. *ſucceeds his Father at ſeven Years of age*, 79, a. *removes his Court to* Adrianople, 111, b. *returns again to* Conſtantinople, 115, b. *his extravagant hunting*, 116, a. & 171, a. 221, a. *he concerns himſelf about Affairs of the Government*, 116, 117. *again removes his Court to* Adrianople, *with a deſcription of his Cavalcade*, 132, a. *his Averſion to* Conſtantinople, 151, a. 162, a. *he has*

a Son born, 151, a. *he ſeeks to deſtroy his Brothers*, 162, a. *he paſſionately loves his Queen*, 165, a. 221, b. *he returns with the Great Vizier to* Conſtantinople, 166, b. *he reſides at* Lariſſa *during the Siege of* Candia, 200, a. 207, b. *his Antipathy to Tobacco*, 207, b. *a ſecond Attempt to deſtroy his Brothers*, 211, a. *the News of the Surrender of* Candia *brought to him at* Negropont, *and how he received it*, 220, a. *he reſides the Winter following at* Salonica, 221, a. *then returns to* Adrianople, *where he receives the Great Vizier with great Reſpect at his Return from* Candia, 224. b. *a third Attempt to deſtroy his Brothers, which takes effect on the elder of the two*, 229, b. *he circumciſes his eldeſt Son, and marries his eldeſt Daughter to* Kul-Ogli, 253, a. *his Government commended*, 251, b. *he returns to* Conſtantinople, 258, a. *the Reaſons of it*, ib. b. *he goes back to* Adrianople, 262, a.

Mahomet *Paſha made Great Vizier*, 78, b. *he with the Mufti and other Accomplices conſpire the death of Sultan* Ibrahim, 79, a. *he is depoſed from his Office, and afterwards murdered*, 82, b.

Mahomet *Paſha of* Aleppo *marries the G. Signior's Siſter*, 159, a.

Mahomet *Paſha of* Romelia *ſent Ambaſſador to* Vienna, 162, b. *what his Preſents to the Emperor were*, 163, a. *his ſordid way of living at* Vienna, 185, a. *his Controverſie with the German Ambaſſador at the place of Exchange*, 184, b.

Malta, *the Gallantry of the Knights of* Malta *at the Siege of* Candia, 197, a. *the Malteſes with ſix Gallies take the Fleet deſigned for* Alexandria, *which had on board the Kuzlir Aga, with his Slave and her Son, and all his Treaſure*, 56, a.

Marcello, *a General of the Venetians ſlain in a Sea-fight with a Cannon-bullet, but dyes a Conqueror* (*in* 1656.) 89, a.

Count de Mare *killed at* Candia, 207, a.

Marqueſs of Marcheville, *French Ambaſſador at the Port, for his Complaints againſt the Captain-Paſha, is forcibly ſent away*, 27, b.

Vicenzo della Marra *Governour General of the Arms of* Candia *killed there*, 75, b.

Matthew *Prince of* Valachia *obtains a Victory over* Lupulo *Prince of* Moldavia, 45, b.

St. Maura *taken by the Venetians*, 311, a.

Maxims *of the Turkiſh Policy*, 279, a.

Medina *taken by the Perſian*, 6, a.

Mehmet *elected King of the Tartars by the people, overcomes his elder Brother* Gherey, *whom the G. Signior would have impoſed on them*, 3, a. *he defeats him a ſecond time, though aſſiſted by the G. Signior*, 10, b.

Mehmet *Paſha of* Cairo *made Great Vizier*, 19, a.

Count Mellin *ſlain*, 289, a.

Michael Korebut Wiſnowieski *elected King of* Poland, 231, b. *he dyes*, 239, a.

Mocenigo *General of the Venetians gains a great Victory at Sea over the Turks in* 1651. 85, a. *another in* 1655. 87, b. *in another his Ship blown up and himſelf ſlain*, 90, a.

The G. Mogul *promiſes to aſſiſt the Turk, if he will break with the Perſian*, 10, b.

Moldavia, *troubles there*, 19, b. *the Prince Revolts to the Poles*, 238, b.

Franceſco Molino *Proveditor General to the Venetians*, 60, b. *made Doge, General of the Sea*, ib. b. *diſmiſſed from that Charge*, 61, b.

Alviſe de Molino *ſent Ambaſſador to the Port, but is transferred to the Vizier at* Candia, 208, a. *after the Siege ended he paſſes to the Court at* Adrianople, 227, a.

Mongatz *refuſed to be ſurrendred by* Teckely's *Wife*, 315, b.

Marqueſs S. Andrea Montbrun *made Governour of* Candia, 203, a. *his diligence in his Charge*, 204, b.

Count Montecuculi, *Governour of* Rab, *made a General at the beginning of the War in* Hungary *in* 1663. 140, b. *puts a thouſand Men into* Newhauſel, 142, b. *joyns with Count* Serini, 152, a. *clears* Serinſwar *of* Serini's *Forces*, ib. b. *repels the Great Vizier at* Kemend *endeavouring to paſs the* Rab, 156, b. *gives a ſecond great Defeat to the Turks at* Chiesſalo *on this* River, *killing ſeventeen thouſand*, 157, b. *for which he is highly applauded and made Lieutenant-General of the whole Army*, 158, a. *Reaſons why his Services were more acceptable than thoſe of* Serini *or* Soisé, ib. a.

Morat, *vid.* Amurat.

Moravia *ſpoiled by the Turks in* 1663, 143, a.

Morlacks *revolt from the Turks to the Venetians*, 76, a.

Girolamo Moroſini *Commander of the Venetian Galleaſſes*, 60, b. *braves the Turkiſh Fleet*, 74, a. *killed by a Musket-bullet ſhot through his Head*, 75, a.

Franceſco Moroſini *made Captain-General for the Venetians*, 194, b. *he obtains a Victory over the Turks and is Knighted*, 101, b. *he refuſes a Preſent from the Vizier at the Surrender of* Candia, *and why*, 219, b.

Gioſeppo Moroſini *Captain of the Venetian Galleaſſes*, 197, b.

Moroſini *the Venetian General takes great part of the* Morea, 333, a.

Mortaza *Paſha treacherouſly ſtrangles the Paſha of* Aleppo, *that formidable Rebel*, 92, b. *for which piece of Service*, &c. *being made Paſha of* Babylon, *and removed from thence, he flees to the* Curdi, *whoſe Kings Daughter he had married, who deliver him into the Turks hands, and they ſtrike off his Head*, 117, b. 119, a. ib. b.

Morteza *Paſha of* Buda *joyns with the Prince of* Tranſilvania *againſt the Emperour*, 6, a. b. *he with the Prince make Peace with the Emperour*, 7, a.

Moſul *taken by the Perſian*, 6, a.

The Muſcovites *preſs the King of* Poland *to conclude a League Offenſive and Defenſive againſt the Turk*, 280, b.

Muſick *in the Turks Camp at the Siege of* Vienna, 293, a.

Sultan Muſtapha *his incapacity for the Government*, 1, a. *is depoſed*, 2, a. *commanded to be ſlain by Sultan* Morat, 44, b.

Muſtapha *Great Vizier ſtrangled by Command of the Queen-Mother*, 55, a.

Muſtapha, *Captain-Paſha, loſes his Head*, 50, b.

Muſtapha *Paſha of* Grand-Cairo *in* Egypt, 53, a. *made Paſha of* Siliſtria, ib. a,

Muſtapha, *Captain-Paſha, made Chimacam of* Adrianople, 131, b. *his Affection and Popularity*, 163, a.

A Mutafaraca, *what*, 162, b.

N.

NAdaſti *with others offer themſelves to the Turk in* 1670, 221, a. *they find not the Protection deſired, but are overtaken by the hand of Juſtice*, 230, b.

Bernardo Nani *made Proveditor General, and arrives at* Candia *with five hundred Foot*, 200, b. *he is killed by a Musket-ſhot in the Head*, 204, b.

Napoli di Romania *ſurrendred to the Chriſtians*, 338. b.

Narenta *in* Dalmatia *taken by the Venetians*, 311, a.

Count Naſſaw *killed in the great Battel betwixt* Montecuculi *and the Turks on the* Rab, 157, b.

Nathan, *a Jew, an Accomplice with* Sabatai Sevi, *the pretended Meſſiah, gives out himſelf to be* Elias, 175, a. *his Letters to* Sabatai Sevi, *and the Jews of* Aleppo, ib. a. b. *he arrives near* Smyrna, 182, b.
The Duke de Navaille *Commander of the Succours from* France *in* Candia, *in* 1669. 212, b. *after having loſt many of his Men he departs from thence,* 215, a. *for which he incurs the diſfavour of his Prince at his Return home,* ib. b.
Navarino *ſurrendred to the Chriſtians,* ib, b.
Nehemiah Cohen *a Rival of* Sabatai Sevi *in his Meſſiahſhip,* 179, a.
Newhewſel *beſieged by the Turks in* 1663, 142, b. *it bravely defends it ſelf being ſtormed,* 143, a. *the Turks ſtorm it a ſecond time, and are repulſed,* ib. b. *it is yielded upon Conditions,* ib. b. *its new Baſſa aſſaulted by the Imperialiſts whilſt on his Journy,* 279, a. *beſieged by the Emperour,* 287, b. *he ſuddenly raiſes his Siege,* ib. b. *again beſieged,* 312, a. *Taken by Aſſault,* 313, a.
Nitra, *by the Cowardiſe of the Commander, betrayed to the Turks,* 145, a. *taken again by the Chriſtians under the Command of Count* Soiſé, 153, b.
The Nogay *Tartar deſires Lands of the Grand Signior, for which they are fallen upon by the Crim Tartar,* 171, b.
Monſieur de Nointel *Ambaſſador at the Port from* France, 228, a.
Novigrade *ſurrendred to the Turks,* 145, a. *taken by the Imperialiſts,* 309, a.

O.

OPium *its Operation with the Turks,* 137, b. *more fully deſcribed,* 223, b.
Oſeck *and the Bridge adjoining to it of ſix or ſeven Miles long taken by* Serini *and burnt,* 147, a. *the Bridge is built again in forty Days by the Turks,* 151, b.

P.

PAdavini *dyes at* Canea, 199, b.
Count S. Paul, *together with la* Fueillade, *&c. arrive at* Candia, 205, a. *their Valour,* ib. b.
Peace *offered in vain by the Turk,* 314, b. 317, b. 318, a. *The Emperour ſends an Ambaſſador to the King of* Perſia *to break the Peace, whereby to divert the Grand Signior from a War with* Hungary, 280, a.
Perſia, *the King enters the Turks Dominions with a powerful Army,* 5, b. *his Succeſs,* 6, a. *ſends an Ambaſſador to the Port with Propoſals of Peace, but without effect,* 9, b. *ſends another likewiſe without effect,* ib. b. *the Perſians receive a Defeat by the Turk,* 14, b. *Peace made with the Turk, but quickly broke,* 20, b. *the King again ſends an Ambaſſador to the Port with Propoſals of Peace,* 34, a. *who not ſucceeding in his Errand is forced to accompany the Turkiſh Army into* Perſia, 38, a. *After the loſs of* Babylon *they ſend another Ambaſſador to the Port,* 45, a. *who obtains a Peace,* ib. a.
Peſt *taken by the Chriſtians,* 315, a.
Signior Piſani, *Proveditor General of the Kingdom, killed by a Granado at* Candia, 199, a.
Plague *at* Conſtantinople, 315, a. *The Plague at* Hungary, Newheuſel, *and ſeveral parts in the Turkiſh Countreys,* 280, b. 285, a.
Poland, *that King offers to enter into a League with the Emperour if he would declare War againſt the Turks,* 280, b. *he and his Son met by the Duke of* Lorrain *at the head of his Army,* 298, a. *his Speech to his Souldiers at the Siege of* Vienna, 300, b. *his Son preſented with a rich Sword by the Emperour,* 303, a. *he retires to his Winter-Quarters,* 306, a. *he takes the Field,* 311, b. *the manner of the marching his Army from* Kalemberg *to* Vienna, 299, 300. *their skirmiſhing with the Turks,* 301, b. *the Turks Flight,* 302. a. *the great Treaſure loſt in their Camp,* ib. b. *the K. of* Poland *enters* Vienna, ib. b,
Poles *make Peace with the Turks,* 16, b. *but the Turks ſoon break it, taking part with the Moſcovites,* 24, a. *they ſend an Ambaſſador to the Port,* ib. b. *give a great Defeat to the Moſcovites, who profer an advantageous and honourable Peace to the Poles, which is accepted,* 26, b. *they are ſued to for Peace by the Grand Signior, and at laſt conſent,* ib. b. *the Peace confirmed by the Turk,* 33, a. *they fruitleſly complain at the Port of the Incurſions of the Tartars,* 51, a. *kill ten thouſand of them returning from ſpoiling the Countrey of* Moſcovia, 53, a. *upon another Incurſion, wherein the Tartars carried away an hundred thouſand Captives, they again ſend an Ambaſſador to the Port, who being diſguſted with his ill Treatment falls into a Fever and dyes,* 189, a. b. *the Turks deliberate a War againſt* Poland, *and the Cauſes of it,* 231, a. *the War breaks out in* 1672, 233, a. *the diſtracted Condition of the Poles at this time,* ib. a. *they accept very diſhonourable and diſadvantageous Conditions of Peace,* ib. b. *refuſing to pay their Tribute the War breaks out afreſh,* 235, b. 237, b. *they obtain a conſiderable Victory over the Turks,* 238, b.
Poliſh *Army in a great fright,* 305, a. *forced to retire,* 336, a. *the Affairs of* Poland, 316, a. 336, a.
Poſſonium *garriſoned,* 144, a.
Presbourg *receives a Garriſon of Hungarian Malecontents,* 292, b.
Preveſa *taken by the Venetians,* 311, b.
Pſara, *a great part of the Venetian Fleet caſt away there,* 75, b.

Q.

QUinque Eccleſiæ *ſtormed by Count* Serini, *who put all the Inhabitants to the Sword for their Treachery, and burnt the Town,* 147, a.

R.

RAb (*the Fortreſs*) *the Turks ſeek to take it by Stratagem in* 1642. 53, b. *the Deſcription of it,* 140, b.
Rab (*the River*) *the great Defeat of the Turk by* Montecuculi *here,* 157, b.
Ragotski *elected Prince of* Tranſilvania, 14, a. *he refuſes Aid from the Turks,* 17 a. *he inſtates one* Matthias *in the Principality of* Valachia, *and ejects one conſtituted by the Grand Signior, called* Stridia Bei, *or Lord Oyſters,* 21, a. Stephen Bethlem, *that had been his Competitor for the Principality, ſtirs up the Turk againſt him, whom he defeats in ſeveral Battels,* 28, b. 30, a. b. *whereby he is confirmed in the Principality, and obtains alſo from the Port a Confirmation of the ſame for his Son,* ib. b.
Ragotski, *Prince of* Tranſilvania, *raiſes Troubles in* Hungary, 54, b. *his ambitious Spirit,* 105, b. *he invades* Poland, 106, a. *beaten by* Zerneski *General of the Poles,* 106, a. *depoſes himſelf,* ib. b. *reaſſumes the Principality,* 107, a. *beats the Paſha of* Buda, ib. a. *is again depoſed,* ib. a. *and again aſſumes the Principality,* ib. b. *joins Battel again with the Paſha of* Buda, *but is beaten and dyes of his Wounds,* 108, a. *his Character,* ib. a.
Ramadam, *a Sangiack of* Egypt, *taken Priſoner in*

a Sea-fight by the Venetians, and moſt of his Fleet conſiſting of twenty three Ships taken or ſtranded, 194, b.
Redeius *made Prince of* Tranſilvania *in the ſtead of* Ragotski, 106, b. *forced by* Ragotski *to relinquiſh his Power,* 170, a.
Count Remorantino *killed at the firſt Siege of* Candia *by the Turks,* 75, b.
David Retani *his Diligence and Courage in defending* Claudiopolis, 111, a.
Retimo *taken by the Turks,* 61, b.
Revan *betrayed by the Governour* Emir Gumir *to the Turks,* 31, a. *recovered by the* Perſian, 32, a.
Aug. Roſtayne *Adjutant of Marqueſs* Villa *at* Candia *killed with a Cannon-bullet,* 203, a.

S.

SAbatai Sevi *the pretended Meſſiah of the Jews in the Year* 1666, 174, a. *his Parentage and Education,* ib. b. *his Declaration,* 175, a. *he arrives at* Conſtantinople, *and is caſt into a Dungeon, afterwards impriſoned in the* Dardanelli, 178, a. *while he remains there he inſtitutes a new Method of Worſhip for the Jews,* 179, a. *he is accuſed to the Chimacam of* Adrianople *by* Nehemiah Cohen, *a Rival of* Sabatai *in the Meſſiahſhip,* 181, a. *being threatned with Death he turns Turk,* 181, b. *his Death in* 1676. 184, a.
Samozadé, *the Great Vizier's Secretary, his Ruine,* 135, b. *his vaſt Eſtate,* ib. b.
The Chevalier de Savoy *killed,* 288, b.
Schinta *aſſaulted by the Great Vizier, but he is beaten off,* 145, a.
Sebenico *beſieged by forty thouſand Turks, who were forced to raiſe the Siege,* 75, b. *the City deſcribed,* 172, a.
The Iſland of Schultz *attempted by the Turks,* 285, *again taken,* 286, a.
Segedin *taken by the Chriſtians,* 335, b.
Selictar *Aga who,* 10, b. *he is made Great Vizier,* ib. b. *gains a Victory over the Perſians,* 14, b. *beſieges* Babylon, *but is beaten off,* 16, a. *he returns to* Conſtantinople, *and is deprived of his Office,* 18, a.
Seraglio *at* Conſtantinople, *in a great part burnt,* 166 a.
Serches *Paſha,* vid. Selictar *Aga.*
Count Nicholas Serini *Commander of* Croatia *beſieges* Caniſia, *but commanded by the Emperor to raiſe the Siege,* 110, a. *he raiſes a Fort on the Turks Dominions, and calls it* Serinſwar, ib. b. *he is made General of an Army in* Croatia *in* 1663. *by the Emperor,* 340, b. *his juſt Cruelty to ſome Turkiſh Priſoners,* 142, b. *his Fortune and Conduct,* 143, b. *a notable Inſtance of his Valour,* 145, b. *his incomparable Diligence and Succeſs,* 147, a. b. *he eſcapes a great Danger,* 148, a. *upon a Diſguſt from* Montecuculi *he retires from the Wars,* 152, b. *Reflections on his Diſgrace,* 153, a. *the Preſents ſent him and Honours done him by Chriſtian Princes,* ib. a. *he is ſlain by a wild Boar,* 161, a. *his Character,* ib. a.
Count Peter Serini *defeats the Turks in the Streights of* Morlac, 148, a.
Serini *Prince of* Croatia, *Count* Nadaſti, *and others offer themſelves to the Turks in* 1670, 121, a. *they find not the Protection deſired, but are overtaken by the hand of Juſtice,* 230, b.
Serinſwar *taken by the Turks and razed,* 152, b.
Shart, *what,* 137, b.
Shecher Para, *a Pander for Sultan* Ibrahim's *Luſt,* 76, b.
Sigeth *beſieged by Count* Serini, *but not taken* 147, a.
Smyrna, *a Beſaſteen or Exchange and a Cuſtomhouſe built there by the Turks,* 256, a.
Sobieski *great Marſhal of* Poland *obtains a great Victory over the Turks in* 1673, 238, b.
Count Soiſe *his Succeſs in the* Upper Hungary *againſt the Turks,* 153, b. *he beats a Body of fourteen thouſand Turks,* ib. b. *he routs* Chuſein *Paſha of* Buda *with twenty five thouſand Turks,* 155, b. *his Commiſſion taken from him, but afterwards he is made Governour of the ſtrong Fortreſs of* Komorra, 156, b.
Solyman *Paſha, Kayah-begh of the Janiſaries, baniſh'd into the Deſarts of* Arabia, 113, b.
Solyman *Baſſa made Vizier,* 318, a.
Soranço, *the Venetian Ambaſſador at the Port, impriſoned at the beginning of the War in* Candia, 60, b. *he is ſent home,* 83, b.
Prieſt Sorich *Captain of the Morlachs his undaunted Spirit, but hard Fate,* 76, a.
Baron Spaar *ſent General into* Dalmatia, 133, a. *arrives at* Candia, 207, a.
Spalato *in* Dalmatia *deſcribed,* 171, b.
General Sporch *joins* Montecuculi *and* Serini *near* Serinſwar, 152, b.
Sultana Sporcha *her Hiſtory,* 259, b.
A Spy *brings a Letter from the Duke of* Lorrain *to Count* Staremberg *to aſſure him of a Supply,* 292, a. *A Spy taken returning from* Vienna *to the Duke of* Lorrain, ib. a. *another ſent by the Duke of* Lorrain *taken by the Turks,* 293, b. *Another informs Count* Staremberg *of Relief deſigned within eight Days,* 296, b.
Staremberg, C. *Governour of* Vienna, *his Care in Defence thereof,* 291, a. *his Service requited for the Defence of* Vienna, 303, a.
Styria *near* Gratz, *an Inroad made thereinto by* Abaffi, *and a thouſand Priſoners carried off,* 281, b.
Count Strozzi *by his ſmooth Arguments is received into* Poſſonium *with his Regiment,* 144, a. *is ſent Ambaſſador to the French King to implore aid againſt the Turks,* 149, a. *his Speech to the French King,* ib. b. *he is ſlain by a Musket-bullet near* Serini's *Fort,* 152, a.
Sultan *Queen follows the Grand Signior into* Hungary, 287, b.
Sweeds *conquer* Cracovia, 106, a. *totally routed afterwards by the Poles,* ib. b.

T.

TArtars *their kind of Life,* 133, b. *join with the Turks in their War againſt* Hungary, 134, a. *invade* Poland *in* 1667, *and carry away near one hundred Thouſand Captives,* 189, a. *their Diſpoſition,* 240, b. *they make Inroads as far as* Trinchein, *and carry away eighteen thouſand Slaves,* 282, b. *a great Body of them make an Incurſion into* Hungary, 288, a, *ſwimming a River they ſurprize the Baggage of the Emperor's Army on their Retreat to* Vienna, ib. b. *the Tartars the Forerunners of the Turks Army commit great Outrages about* Vienna, 289, b. *They deny Aſſiſtance to the Turks,* 312, a.
Tartary, *the King thereof treacherouſly ſlain,* 35, b.
Tauris *taken by the Turks from the Perſian,* 8. b. *utterly deſtroyed by them,* 31, b.
Tekeley *ſucceeds* Weſſelini *in Command of the Male-contents in* Hungary, 279, b. *being ſuppoſed to be inclinable to return to his Obedience is offered the Principality of* Tranſilvania *after the Death of* Abaffi, 281, a. *he receives great Favours from the Baſſa of* Buda *and Preſents from the Grand Signior,* 282, a. *Some affirm he was declared King of* Hungary, ib. b. *he marries the Princeſs* Ragotski, ib. b. *he cauſes Money to be coined,*

coined, 283, a. *he makes Propoſals of Peace, but upon too diſadvantagious terms to the Emperor*, 285, a. *he breaks the Ceſſation between him and the Emperor*, 286, b. *has a Son born at* Mongatz, ib. b. *he publiſhes a Manifeſto in the G. Signior's Name and his own, whereupon many Places revolt to him*, 288, a. *he is ſuſpected by the Grand Signior*, 307, a. *his bold Reſolution to juſtifie himſelf*, ib. a. *the Conteſts in* Upper Hungary *between him and the Imperialiſts*, 315. a. *betrayed by the Baſſa of* Waradin, ib. a. *ſent in Irons to* Adrianople, ib. b.

Falſe Jemins, *the Story of them*, 209, b.

Tenedos *taken by the Venetians*, 89, a. *quitted again by them*, 90, b.

Tranſilvania *invaded by the Turks in* 1661, 107, b. *again in* 1662, 121, a. *a Hiſtory of its miſery*, 122, a. *the Turks make frequent Incurſions into it in* 1665. *yet the German Ambaſſador then at the Port would not interpoſe in their Behalf*, 168, b.

A Treaſure *found in a Vault at* Vienna, 296, b.

Tripoli, *Peace made by the Engliſh with the* Tripoleſes *in* 1663, 138, a. *they rebel againſt their Paſha* Otman, *beſiege him in his Caſtle, and procure him to be ſtrangled, aſſuming the Form of Government of* Algier, 234, a.

Pirates of Tunis *infeſt the Seas*, 9, b. *See* Algierines. *Peace made by the Engliſh with* Tunis, 138, a.

Turks *keep no Reſidents in foreign Courts, the Reaſon thereof and the Conſequence*, 50, a. *eſteem Ceremony to be Submiſſion*, 51, b. *the Richneſs of their Tents*, 132, b. *the little Reſpect they bear to foreign Miniſters*, 136, b. *ſuperſtitious Admirers of old Prophecies*, 150, b. *their uſual Compliment to foreign Ambaſſadors*, 165, a. 169, a. *difficult to bring a Turkiſh Miniſter to Puniſhment*, 174, a. *they fall to drinking Wine exceſſively*, 223, b. *but it is ſoon forbidden them by the Grand Signior's ſpecial Command, which is recited*, 225, a. *The Turks conclude a Peace with the Poles and Moſcovites*, 281, a. *they make great Preparation for the War againſt* Hungary, 282, a. *the Turkiſh Court and Ladies contribute for the carrying on the War in* Hungary, 286, b. *the Turkiſh Army compoſed of* 200000 *Men advance into* Hungary, 287, b.

V.

THE Prince of Valachia, *by the Treachery of his Servant is forced to flee his Country, and to retire into the Emperour's Territories*, 159, b. *another Prince of* Valachia *is carried by his own Souldiers to the Poles in* 1673. *but makes his Eſcape from them.* 238, a.

Valona, *the Venetian Admiral takes fourteen Algierine Gallies in this Port*, 39, a. b. *which boldneſs the Venetians are glad to make amends for to the Port*, 46, a. b.

Van *beſieged by the Perſian*, 33, b.

Vanni Effendi, *a Shegh, a notable Diſpute between him and the Mufti*, 150, a.

Varadin *beſieged by the Turks*, 108, b. *the Inhabitants crave aid of the Emperour, but obtain none*, ib. a. *the Fortreſs deſcribed*, 109, a. *it is ſurrendred*, ib. b.

Vayvod *of* Valachia *cauſed a prodigious Croſs to be erected before his Tent in the Camp at* Vienna, 298, a.

Venice, *the Wars of* Venice, 337, a. *The Venetians declare War againſt the Turks*, 310, a.

Monſieur de Ventelay. *See* la Haye.

Vienna, *what Proviſion it made for it ſelf at the beginning of the War with the Turk in* 1663, 140, b. 144, a. *abandoned by the Emperour who removes to* Lintz, 143, b. *it is fortified by the Emperour*, 284, b. 285, b, *it is beſieged*, 289, 290, *&c. A Fire happening at* Vienna *during the Siege much endangered the Magazine*, 290, b. *Signs given to the Beſieged in* Vienna *of Relief at hand*, 298, b. *The Grand Seignior leaves the Siege of* Vienna, 302, a. *Cauſes the Heads of five of his Women to be cut off, leſt they might fall into the hands of the Chriſtians*, ib. a.

Marqueſs Villa *received into the Service of the Venetians as General of the Foot, and made Governour of* Candia, 166, b. 186, a. *his Speech to the Senate*, 167, a. *he ſurveys the Forts in* Dalmatia *in his paſſage to* Candia, 171, b. *he lands at* Candia, 186, a. *he takes the Field*, ib. b. *but after an aſſault or two of the Turks retires again into the Town*, ib. b. 187, a. *he is recalled by the Duke of* Savoy *his natural Prince, but by the interceſſion of the Pope and State of* Venice *licence for his continuance is obtained*, 190. b. *he is again recalled and departs*, 203, a, b. *his Speech to the Senate at his return*, ib. b.

W.

WAldeck *General of the* Lunenburg *and* Brunſwick *Forces in* Candia *ſlain there* 206, a.

Earl of Winchelſea *ſent Ambaſſadour to the Port*, 97, a. *his Anſwer to the Captain-Paſha propoſing to him to hire ſome Engliſh Ships to ſerve in the Wars againſt* Candia, 166. a.

Wirtemberg *ſlain at the Siege of* Newheuſel, 315. b.

Wiſozki *Ambaſſadour from* Poland *to the Port, his inſolent behaviour there*, 232, a.

Y.

YAmboli, *a famous Hunting of the Grand Signior there*, 159, a.

Z.

ZAtmar *beſieged by* Abaffi, 281, b. *Forced the City, but could not take the Cittadel*, ib. b. *Taken by* Tekely, 283, a.

Zechelhyd *revolts from the Emperour to* Apafi *Prince of* Tranſylvania, 146, a.

The End of the TABLE.

THE HISTORY OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE CONTINUED,

From the Year One thouſand Six hundred Seventy ſix, to the Year One thouſand Six hundred Eighty ſix.

By Sir *ROGER MANLEY*, Knight.

THE HISTORY OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE CONTINUED,

From the Year of Our Lord, 1676, to the Year 1686:

By Sir *Roger Manley*, Knight.

1676 THE Hiſtory of the Turkiſh Empire, having been transferr'd to us by Mr. *Knolles* very methodically and well, and continued by the deſerving Pen of Sir *Paul Rycaut*, to the Year *1676*, being the Twenty eighth of *Sultan Mahomet* the Fourth, now reigning: We have, as well by inclination, as to ſatisfie the deſires of ſome Friends, thought fit to proſecute ſo laudable a Deſign, by extending the Hiſtory of that great Monarchy to our preſent Times. And though we may be defective in skill for ſo Eminent an Undertaking, we ſhall notwithſtanding add Induſtry to our Endeavours, and compenſate our Failings by the candour and ingenuity of our Narrative.

Achmet, the great *Viſier*, being dead in his way to *Adrianople*, was ſucceeded by *Kara Muſtapha*, his Brother-in-Law, aged about fifty, and who had exerciſed the Office of *Caimacan* for many years. The Grand Seignior, to indear him the more to him, married him to one of his Daughters, though very young, not exceeding five years of age, according to the cuſtom practiſed by the *Sultans*, to be rid of their Daughters betimes, which are always numerous, by reaſon of the multiplicity of their Concubines, and by this means to eaſe themſelves of the Expence which they are obliged to be at in maintaining them according to their Quality.

In the ſame Month of *January*, the ſtrong Gariſon of *Caniſia*, having drawn out a Party to attack the Iſle of *Sexin*, allarmed all *Croatia*, by their Military Executions exacting Contributions, and pillaging and burning ſuch places as did not ſubmit to their tyranny. The Turks of *Newhauſel* did alſo ravage the Countrey on their ſide as far as *Fryſtat*. But before we enter upon this ſtage of War, it may be requiſite to ſay ſomewhat of the Troubles of *Hungary* which preceded, and their cauſes, and how the Infidels came to be Principals in a War of Religion between Chriſtians.

The Kingdom of *Hungary*, being ſubdivided into Counties, as in *England*, or Communities, have right to ſend their Deputies to the Dyets or Conventions of the Eſtates, which ought to be ſummoned every three years, according to the Laws of the Kingdom. This Aſſembly is 1676 compoſed of the Clergy, the principal Lords, the Gentry, and the ſaid Deputies of the Counties. It hath the right of chooſing a Palatine, who ought to be an *Hungarian* according to the priviledges of the Nation, and to have the intire direction of War and Juſtice. The great Lords have ſo great Authority over their Vaſſals, that they are look'd upon as ſo many leſſer Sovereigns in their ſeveral Territories. They have alſo great Revenues, which inables them upon occaſion to raiſe conſiderable Bodies of Men, the People in general being ſtrong, active, and valiant, but covetous, vindicative, and inconſtant.

The great Employments of the Kingdom were alſo inveſted in the Natives, and no Strangers were to be impoſed upon them, or Foreigners enquartered amongſt them; all which the Emperour, upon his Election to the Crown, was obliged to obſerve by the ſolemnity of an Oath. But on the other ſide, there being very many *Arrians*, *Calviniſts*, and *Lutherans* in the Countrey, they added to the averſion the Natives have to the *Germans*, having been, as they thought, too ſeverely uſed by them; complaining, that they were hindred in the free Exerciſe of their Religion, their Churches violently taken away from them, and their Miniſters forced from their Duty. It was farther complained, that the Grandees of the Kingdom were not permitted to injoy their Priviledges, of which one was, *That none of them ſhould for any Crime whatſoever be convened before any Judges but thoſe of their own Nation.*

Notwithſtanding all this, as the Emperour had ſworn to maintain their Priviledges, he had likewiſe promiſed to defend their Country, which could not be done againſt the Inſults of ſo powerful an Enemy as the Turk, without an Army; and thoſe ſtrangers living ill with the Inhabitants, and they again ſhutting their Towns againſt them, occaſioned infinite Violences and Diſorders on both ſides, which Repugnancy was the ſource of all the Troubles in *Hungary*.

The Emperour, beginning to ſuſpect the fidelity of the *Hungarians*, by reaſon of the obſtinacy wherewith they refuſed to lodge his Troops, began ſeriouſly to think of ſecuring the Kingdom to himſelf, which being perceived, he aug-

1676. mented by that Precaution, the hatred which the Nation had conceived againſt him; which was re-doubled by the refuſal of his Generals to withdraw their Troops out of their Fortreſſes. Theſe Grievances did ſo far agitate theſe Spirits, already jealous and diffident, that they at length reſolved to ſhake off a Yoke that ſeemed ſo inſupportable. Many great Lords by their particular Intereſt were glad to entertain this averſion, which might ſerve for the Execution of the Deſigns they had already formed. And thus the Spirit of revolting did inſenſibly diffuſe it ſelf through the whole Kingdom, and the general averſion grew to that height, that they of the Religion, ſaid openly, that they would rather live under the Domination of the *Turks* than the Tyranny of the *Germans*, whilſt one of their Preachers did dare maliciouſly to inſinuate, *That theſe Infidels would at leaſt grant them the liberty of their Religion, whilſt the* Dutch *would rack their Conſciences, under pretence of reforming them.*

The Emperour being informed of theſe murmurings, thought it expedient to ſecure the *Lower Hungary*, and to ſtrangle the Rebellion in its birth. Their reiterated preſſing to have the German Troops removed out of the Kingdom, gave him juſt cauſe of jealouſie: and beſides, he would not loſe the expence of all his toyls, and thoſe vaſt charges he had been at in fortifying the Frontier places, and entertaining Armies capable to oppoſe the Invaſions of the Turks. Finally, he judged it abſolutely neceſſary, to reduce a Nation to their duty, that gloried in their diſobedience to his Orders: being a King is no farther a Sovereign, than whilſt he obliges his Subjects to pay obedience to the Laws, and his Commands.

And thus in ſhort we have ſhewed the cauſe of this Revolt (which yet laſts) on both ſides, and though perhaps this digreſſion may ſeem foreign to ſome, yet, being the Turks have been ſo mainly concerned as to become Parties in it, we thought it reaſonable to ſubjoyn it to their Hiſtory.

And now to come nearer to the matter in hand, we will ſay ſomewhat of the Maxims of theſe Infidels, which will give us ſome light into their Policies; And firſt, it is a fundamental one to keep their Men perpetually imployed; for Idleneſs ingenders indigeſted Humours in the Politick, as well as the Natural Body, which renders it infirm. Another Maxim is, that they do never imploy their Forces more than in one War at one time, unleſs againſt weak Princes; Nor do they deſire to continue long in Arms againſt the ſame Enemy, unleſs conſtrained by their conſtancy, to the end they may not grow too warlike and expert; but leaving them by Treaties and Pacifications to their eaſe, keep themſelves ſtill employed, and, conſequently diſciplined, and their Sables from ruſting by continual managing of them. They moreover never break out into a diſtant War, before they have compos'd Affairs with their Neighbours. Thus when they tranſport their Armies toward the Frontiers of *Perſia*, they make Peace with the Princes of *Europe*, and ſo on the contrary. But the unhappy *Europeans*, giving them more opportunities by their diſſention to inlarge their Empire than any other, they, as well out of Ambition, as an irreconcileable Enmity to the Name of Chriſt, purſue the ſame with equal violence and hate. Hence it was, that though they had a Peace with the Emperour, they did not ceaſe to countenance and aſſiſt his Rebels in *Hungary* underhand with their Forces and Protections, receiving them, when cloſely purſu'd, into their own Quarters, where, being follow- 1676. ed by the Imperial Troops, ſeveral Hoſtilities were committed by them, which produced in ſome time an open rupture between the two Nations. The Emperour, to hinder this Commerce betwixt them, diſpatch'd *Meninsky*, his Interpreter for the Oriental Languages, to the *Port*; with inſtructions to diſcover whether the Hoſtilities which were committed upon his Subjects, were done by command of the Miniſters at that Court? But he could effect nothing. He had indeed had Audience of the Viſier at *Adrianople*, who only told him, That the Grand Seignior would ſend a Chiaux of his own to his Imperial Majeſty, who ſhould inform him of his Intentions.

The Emperour hereupon diſpatched an Expreſs to Count *Schaffgots*, his Envoy in *Poland*, with orders to endeavour to break the Negotiation of Peace betwixt that Crown and the Sultan, though this Precaution proved of no effect, the Treaty betwixt thoſe Potentates being ſigned preſently after, and very ſeaſonably on the *Poles* ſide, who, having an Army ſcarce of 15000 Men, were ſurrounded near *Zoranno*, by well nigh 200000 Turks, who yet gave them Peace when they leaſt expected it, tho' upon Conditions then not ungrateful, tho' afterwards quarrell'd at. The *Tranſilvanians* did alſo joyn with the Malecontents, for Prince *Abaffi*, having diſcovered a Conſpiracy againſt his Life, in *April*, and ſuſpecting the *Germans* 1677. to have deſigned it, it contributed much to engage him againſt them. About the end of this Month the Baſſa of *Buda* was ſtrangled by order of the Grand Seignior, perhaps by reaſon of his immenſe Riches; for they found two Millions of Money, which was brought into the Sultan's Treaſury.

In the beginning of *Auguſt*, there happened an Encounter betwixt the *Malecontents* and the *Croats*, where the firſt were worſted; but the Turks at the ſame time pillaged a Town near *Raab*, putting all the Inhabitants to the Sword; and 4000 of theſe Infidels, having gained the Paſſage of the River *Hydrouſk*, upon the Frontiers of *Croatia* and *Styria*, ravaged the Country even to the Gates of *Papa*, of *Veſprin* and of *Legrat*, driving away a great number of Cattel, and burning a great many Houſes.

Prince *Abaffi*, finding that the Grand Seignior did approve of the aſſiſtance he gave the *Hungarians*, ſent them freſh Troops, with twenty pieces of Cannon. Their Army being commanded by Count *Weſſelini*, their Palatine, amounting to 16000 Men, deſigned to beſiege *Zatmar* and *Kalo*, which Major General *Smith*, who commanded the *Germans*, perceiving, he ſent a Convoy with Artillery and Ammunition to the firſt of theſe places, which was defeated and taken by the *Malecontents*. But my deſign not being to deſcribe this War, I ſhall only mention it, as far forth as I find the Turks, whoſe Hiſtory we write, concerned in it. Upon concluſion of the Peace in *Poland*, the *Hungarians* had ſent thither to engage part of the Troops which that King had diſbanded, to their Service; and obtained 6000 of them, commanded by the Count of *Boham*, who joyning with the *Hungarian* Horſe, defeated *Smith*, with part of the Imperial Army, who deſigned to obſtruct their Conjunction with *Weſſelini*; which however being effected, they could ſcarce ſuffice to withſtand General *Kops*, in ſo much that being aſſured that the Peace was not only concluded betwixt the *Poles* and the *Turks*, but that the

Palatine

1677. *Palatine of Culm* was sent to *Conſtantinople* to ſee it ratified, they alſo deputed one of their principal Officers to endeavour to oblige the *Grand Seignior* to turn his Arms againſt the *German Empire*. But being the Turks were in actual War with the Great Duke of *Muſcovy*, they would not (being already engaged againſt ſo powerful an Enemy) intangle themſelves in a new War: And yet this *Envoy* obtained ſo much, that Orders were ſent to the Baſſaes of *Buda*, of *Belgrade*, *Waradin*, and other Places in *Hungary*, to aſſiſt them with all their Power. And they were aſſiſted by them, for theſe Infidels, not content to ſend Troops to joyn with them, they themſelves made ſeveral Incurſions in their favour. Four hundred Men of the Garriſon of *Nieuhauſel* took ſeveral Priſoners by *Neutra*, and beat the *Huſſars* of *Comorra* who would have oppoſed them; two thouſand Turks entred into *Croatia*, and having ſpoiled the Country about *Zakſholm*, they defeated a party of Imperialiſts neat *Carlſtat*. And thus theſe Infidels made War without declaring it, pretending they did not violate the Peace by theſe particular Encounters. But the Emperour being of

1678. another opinion, diſpatch'd *Hoffman*, his Secretary of State and War, to complain to the *Grand Seignior*, how his Baſſaes did daily aſſiſt his Rebels, againſt the purport of the Peace betwixt the two Empires. Being admitted to audience by the Grand Viſier, that Miniſter made him ſome propoſitions for the renewing of the Peace, but ſo diſadvantageous to his Maſter, that it ſeemed apparent, that the Turks ſought for nothing more than a pretence to break. And yet the Secretary effected ſo much for the preſent, that the Baſſa of *Waradin* was arreſted, and afterwards ſtrangled by order of the *Grand Seignior*, who yet would give that ſatisfaction to the Emperour upon the preſſing Inſtances of his Secretary, who alſo had made rich Preſents to all the Miniſters of the Port.

Whilſt *Hoffman* negotiated with ſo little ſucceſs at *Conſtantinople*, the States of *Hungary* aſſembled at *Altemburg*, where it was reſolved, that the Churches, which had been taken from the Proteſtants, ſhould be reſtored to them, and many other points remitted in their Favour, in hopes theſe conceſſions might oblige them to return to their Duty, and break thoſe Engagements they had entred into with the Infidels. But this paſſed no farther, for the Miniſters endeavoured to elude the ſaid Article, though the moſt important of all, and therefore the more inſiſted upon by the *Malecontents*. This gave the Deputies of the Diet ſubject to believe that though the Miniſters of the Emperour ſeemed to deſire an Accommodation, yet they did not ſearch the means to effect it. And now the *Malecontents*, inſtead of conforming to the Emperour's Intentions, reſolved to elect another King, and ſome of them propoſed one of the Houſe of *Frangipani*; though it did not take, being they could not agree upon the choice of their Sovereign.

The Truth is, the Palatines and great Men of the Kingdom, being weary to ſee the Crown as it were Hereditary in the Houſe of *Auſtria*, made uſe of the pretence of Religion to ſtir up the People, and oblige them to take Arms for defence of their Liberty, both Spiritual and Civil. And this averſion was the true Cauſe of the War.

The Emperour was no leſs diſſatisfied with the Turks; for General *Kops*, having ſent complaints to the Baſſa of *Waradin*, for that he had given Quarters to the *Hungarians* in Places which depended on his Government; the Baſſa told him, That he look'd upon them as Paſſengers, who paid for what they took for their ſubſiſtance, and that conſequently he could not look upon their Reception into his Territories as any violation of the Peace. 1678.

The Hoſtilities betwixt the Imperialiſts and the Turks did ſtill continue notwithſtanding their Negotiations. Five hundred Chriſtian Horſe, commanded by *Azos Benas*, advancing towards *Erlaw*, were cut in pieces by the Infidels. Another Party, commanded by Collonel *Wolping*, was likewiſe defeated by a Detachment from the Garriſon of *Newhauſel*, with the loſs of above 200, the Commander being alſo much hurt. A few days after, this Encounter the Baſſa of that City dyed, which occaſioned an Accident which did well-nigh make a rupture betwixt the Emperour and the Port. The Imperialiſts had unadviſedly attack'd the new Baſſa which the *Grand Seignior* did ſend to *Newhauſel*, and defeated his Convoy conſiſting of 200 Horſe, by way of Repriſal, as they gave out, for the Damages which had been done them by the Garriſon of that Place, without conſidering that this new Governour had had no ſhare in theſe Violences. The Baſſa of *Buda* ſent his complaints of this Affront to the Imperial General, with threats that he would acquaint his Maſter with it, and exact ſatisfaction by all the ways imaginable. And they did ſo, for, drawing out ſtrong Parties from the Garriſon of *Erlaw* and *Waradin*, they reſolved to revenge the Inſult done to the Baſſa of *Newhauſel*, and marching towards *Sando* near *Butrac*, which they pillaged, they returned with above 200 Priſoners. Count *Wourmb*, the Emperour's General, demanded Juſtice for this Violence from the Baſſa of *Buda*, but received no other anſwer, but that what was done was by way of Repriſal.

During theſe Traverſes Count *Paul Weſſelini* dyed, who had Commanded the Army of the *Malecontents* with great ſucceſs, but is ſucceeded by Count *Tekeley*, young, yet wary and brave; who, to this day heads the however broken diſcontented Party. The Emperour, who knew that the greateſt force of *Tekeley's* Army came from *Tranſilvania*, would divert *Abaſſi* by re-eſtabliſhing the Party of *Pedipold*, who had formerly conteſted for the Sovereignty of that Principality. To this end he obliged that Prince to ſend four Deputies to *Conſtantinople*, to implore the protection of the Grand Seignior, but the Viſier cauſed them to be put into the Caſtle of the ſeven Towers, which extremely ſurpriſed the Emperour's Reſident, who had orders to Negotiate that Affair joyntly with them. The Emperour being informed hereof, ſent *Monſieur Jullies* with ſecret Inſtructions to the Port, but he dyed by the way, which did not a little trouble his Imperial Majeſty, being all this Envoy's Papers fell into Count *Tekeley's* Hands, who drew no ſmall advantage from the lights he received by them. *Hoffman*, Secretary of State, returning from *Conſtantinople*, was ſtopped at *Belgrade*, being the Baſſa of that Place refuſed to furniſh him with neceſſaries for the continuation of his Journey. But the Emperour, having diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Baſſa of *Buda* to complain of this incivility, he obtained what he deſired. Being upon his departure from *Belgrade*, he was informed that the Great Viſier was arrived upon the Banks of the *Danube* with a great Army, and deſign to enter into the Province of *Ukraine* to fight the *Muſcovites*; he ſent to demand Audience of him, but this Miniſter returned him for anſwer, That he

1678 he should have it at *Constantinople*, when the Campaign was ended. Many and great were the Encounters betwixt the Imperialists and Malecontents, the latter being for the most part successful, who also ravaged *Moravia*, being assisted by 2000 *Tartars*, and *Austria* it self, under the Command of Collonel *Josua*, sometimes a Priest, known by the Name of Father *Joseph*, who turning Protestant, raised 6000 Men at his own Charges, and joyning with the Malecontents, grew formidable even to the Gates of *Vienna*. But the Imperialists had also their turn, and Count *Esterhasi*, Governour of *Papa*, attacked 2000 Janizaries and 500 Spahies, near *Vesprem*; He took several Prisoners, and amongst them some Agas. As this Action might cause a Rupture, if mis-represented betwixt the two Empires; his Imperial Majesty dispatch'd a Courier to the Port, to inform the Grand Seigniot with the particulars of this Combat.

1679. The constancy of the Malecontents, and their Intelligence with the Turks did not a little disquiet the Emperour, but he was more troubled when he heard that these Infidels were upon the point of agreeing with the *Muscovites*, which would put them into a Condition to turn all their power against him. He thought he could not do better than to divert them by obliging the King of *Persia* to break with them, and therefore sent the Baron of *Meierburg* to *Hispahan* to negotiate that Affair.

The Diet of *Transilvania* being held at *Clausenburg*, the Grand Seignior, as well to secure his own Interest, as being dissatisfied with Prince *Abaffi*'s Conduct, sent the Bassa of *Waradin* with a strong Army to preside at that Assembly. But things being accommodated betwixt them, to the satisfaction of the strongest; the *Transilvanian* and the Bassa's bordering upon his Principality, who had been at the Diet, had no other thoughts but of deliberating with the Deputies of the *Hungarians*, of the means how to assist them. The Emperour being advertised hereof, sent Doctor *Ferling* to *Constantinople*, to endeavour to penetrate into the Intentions of that Monarch, and hinder that the Bassaes should not succour the Rebels. There was also some under-hand dealing with the great ones of the Party, to make their particular Peace with the Court. Amongst others, the Proposition being made to *Palaffi Imbre*, he found so little security in it, that to shew his Companions he would never accommode himself with the Emperour, he treated with the Bassa of *Buda*, to deliver all the Places that were in his power, into his hand and possession, the which also he put in Execution, tho' his Castle of *Devin* was in the mean time invested by Count *Strasoldo*, before the Turks could enter it, and together with the City forced by him, 500 of the Garrison being made Prisoners.

The Grand Seignior, to shew the esteem and satisfaction he had of the Person of *Abaffi*, sent him a Sable as a token of his Favour; and gave Orders at the same time to all the Bassaes of *Hungary*, to send Troops and Forces as oft as he should require them, being absolutely resolved to assist the Malecontents, which he also effectively did.

There had happened a great Battel between the *Turks* and *Muscovites* near *Czecherin*, which the first had besieged. The Turks had been worsted at first, but rallying their Forces, they came before *Czecherin* again, where, after playing eight or nine Mines, they so furiously assaulted the Place, that they carried it, with the slaughter of the Garrison, which was great; for all that, after many Skirmishes, they were forced to retire for want of Provisions. Hereupon the Great Duke of *Muscovy*, knowing that the Emperour, not without reason, apprehended that the Turks would declare War against him, sent him a solemn Embassie, with offer of making a League Offensive and Defensive with him against the Infidels; but the Emperour, contrary to the advice of *Montecuculi*, who offered to Command the Army in Person, tho' his great Age might justly dispence with the Fatigues of War; did not think it advisable to break with the Port. The Bassa of *Buda*, being informed of the arrival of the Ambassadour, sent a Chaoux to *Vienna*, under colour of complaining of some Inroads which the Imperialists had made into the Grand Seignior's Territories, but indeed to observe the motions of the *Muscovites*. Nor were they the onely motives that exhorted the Emperour to Arm against the Turks. The King of *Poland* sent Prince *Radzivil* to assure his Imperial Majesty, that he would willingly enter into a League against the Infidels, if he could resolve to declare War against them: And however, two Nuntios of the Pope's, who were then at Court, did press this Prince to determine to prevent the Enemy, who would not fail to attack him, when a favourable Occasion presented it self; they could not perswade him to embrace a Proposition so favourable for the repose of *Hungary*. 1679

The Emperour, not finding himself in a Condition to reduce the Malecontents by force, resolved to grant what they demanded, provided they would permit him to levy in *Hungary* the same Contributions and Taxes which were exacted in the Hereditary Countrey. Count *Lesley* had several Conferences with Collonel *Josua* thereupon; and having discussed this Affair, the principal points were agreed upon, which being communicated to *Keski* and *Tekeley*, they promised to procure the consents of the other Chiefs to agree to them. Upon this favourable disposition, *Lesley* had orders to send his Troops into Winter Quarters; but the precipitate departure of the Emperour to *Mazianzel*, and thence to *Prague*, by reason of the Plague at *Vienna*, this Affair was interrupted, and all the measures taken in it changed.

The Plague spread also into the Turkish Countries, and constrained 500 Families to quit *Newhausel*. These were scarce got a League from the Town, but they were surprised by five hundred *Hussars* or *Haiducs*, who took from them all they had, of which the Turks made great complaints, which seemed the more reasonable, being they were so civil to Count *Lesley*'s Troops; for he being obliged by the Contagion to change Quarters, encamped betwixt *Chemnitz* and *Strigonium*, for the better subsistance of his Army. The Bassa of this last place, to shew the Count that the Grand Seignior did not approve of his Subjects joyning with the Malecontents; permitted him to buy such Provisions as he wanted in the Territories of his Jurisdiction, and also presented him with several refreshments himself.

The *Muscovites* pressed the King of *Poland* to conclude a League Offensive and Defensive with them against the Grand Seignior; this Prince being not averse to the proposition, commanded his Resident to represent to the Emperour, that being he would not engage in this Union, he ought at least to keep a standing Army in *Hungary* of 30000 Men, to oppose the 1680.

Male-

1681. Malecontents, and keep the Turks in ſuſpence on that ſide, and his Majeſty promiſed to do it; but the want of Monies hindered him to execute a Deſign ſo honourable for himſelf, and ſo advantageous for Chriſtendom.

However, he endeavoured by the Baron of *Kaunitz*, his Reſident at the Port, to negotiate a Continuation of the *Trevis*; but the Grand Seignior would not conſent to it but upon condition, that he ſhould be at liberty to aſſiſt the Malecontents at pleaſure; which indeed had been to augment the Evil, not heal it. This Prince was at the ſame time advertiſed, that the Port had concluded a Peace with the *Poles* and the *Muſcovites*; which gave him occaſion to judge that he had a Deſign to turn his Arms againſt him.

Many were the Treaties betwixt the Emperour and the Malecontents, and his Majeſty's conceſſions ſuch, that the Grand Seignior began to apprehend, that *Tekely* had ſome inclinations to return to his Obedience to his Sovereign; to prevent which, he ſent a Baſſa to divert him, by offering him the Principality of *Tranſilvania*, after the deceaſe of *Abaffi*. This Baſſa had ſeveral Conferences with him and with the other Chiefs of the Faction, and did ſo well manage them, with the pretended advantages that they would find by putting themſelves under the Protection of the Port, that eighty of them did promiſe, in the name of all the Kingdom, to pay to his *Ottoman* Highneſs a Tribute of eighty thouſand Crowns, provided he would powerfully aſſiſt them. This Intrigue being made known to the Emperour, he received it with much Indignation, commanding, that none of the contrivers of it ſhould appear at the Diet. In the mean time he ordered the Marqueſs of *Baden*, and the Count of *Staremburg*, to cauſe *Raab* and *Vienna*, whereof they were Governours, to be fortified, to prevent any Deſigns of the Turks upon thoſe Places. And now his Imperial Majeſty did no more queſtion but that the Infidels would tranſport the War into *Hungary*, eſpecially, being informed by his Reſident *Kaunitz* at *Conſtantinople*, that the Port, after many and long Diſputes, had at length concluded a Ceſſation with the *Muſcovites* for twenty years, upon Condition, that beſides *Kiovia*, they ſhould enjoy *Tripol*, *Staiki* and *Vaſilkow*, which had always been dependants upon *Kiovia*. The Grand Viſier received theſe Propoſitions with joy, and writ to the *Czar* thereupon, with very extraordinary Praiſes and Titles, aſſuring him in the name of the Grand Seignior, that he would ratifie the Conditions agreed upon, and that he might ſend his Ambaſſadour to finiſh the Treaty. In the mean time, the Viſier, to prevent the *Czar's* refuſal of ſending another Miniſter before his which reſided at the Port, (who had been kept under reſtraint for ſome time) was returned into *Muſcovy*, he forthwith diſmiſſed him, with magnificent Preſents for his Maſter. The Grand Seignior, who ſeemed reſolved to invade *Hungary*, ſtaying his removal to *Adrianople* but till the return of this Ambaſſadour, did emit a Manifeſt or Mandate directed to Prince *Abaffi*, in theſe following terms.

1681. *Foraſmuch as thoſe of* Hungary, *who have received the Emperour of the* Nazarien *Nation to be their Lord, have been ſpoiled of their Country and Caſtles by the* Germans, *and have therefore had recourſe to our Clemency for Protection; it is Our pleaſure, in regard of their long and piteous miſeries, and being thereunto moved by their reiterated Prayers and Supplications, graciouſly to affranchiſe them from the Yoke of that Nation. 'Tis therefore that We communicate this Deſign to you, as Our faithful Miniſter, by the Baſſa* Caput, *and the Aga* Starra, *with expreſs Command, that you make your ſelf forthwith ready to deliver the* Hungarians *from the Oppreſſion of their Enemies, with all the Forces of* Tranſilvania, *which ſhall be immediately reinforced with thoſe of* Valachia, *and of the Baſſa of* Siliſtria, 13003 *Janizaries, and* 20000 *Horſe; for We have promiſed them Our Imperial Protection in conſideration of the Fidelity which they have manifeſted to Us, which We have juſt had experience of. And therefore We Command you yet again to neglect nothing that may tend to the Execution of Our Pleaſure and good Will, to the end, that by the Aſſiſtance of the moſt High and moſt Mighty God, this People, ſo cruelly oppreſſed, may be forthwith delivered from the Bondage of the unmerciful* Germans. *In the mean time, you ſhall from time to time inform Our great* Ottoman *Mightineſs with what ſhall happen, and what you ſhall have done purſuant hereunto. And you are farther enjoyned to take heed that you do nothing that may be diſadvantageous to Our Incomparable Greatneſs.* 1681.

Abaffi, animated with this Mandate, and having received the Orders that were neceſſary, drew his Troops together, and joyned with *Tekeley*, with the *Turks*, the *Valachians* and the *Moldavians*, emitting withal a Declaration, That he did not Arm againſt the Intereſt of Chriſtendom, but only to deliver the Proteſtants of *Hungary* from the Oppreſſion they laboured under, by reſtoring them in their Poſſeſſions and their Churches, and re-eſtabliſhing them in their ancient Priviledges. He added, that the Grand Seignior had expreſly commiſſioned him for this Expedition, which he alſo undertook with the conſent of all the States of *Tranſilvania*. He had beſieged *Zatmar*, and preſſed the place vigorouſly, to ſhew the Defendants that he was in a Condition to force them if they would not voluntarily Surrender. A few days after, he received a recruit of 8000 Men, which the Baſſa of *Buda* ſent him, who had already aſſembled an Army of 40000 Men, which he incamped near the place of his Government.

Whilſt *Abaffi* was engaged in the aforeſaid Siege, 3000 Turks made an Inroad into *Styria* near *Gratz*, where they took a 1000 Priſoners, which they made Slaves, and very much Pillage. And now the Grand Seignior reſolves not only to aſſiſt the Malecontents, but joyntly with them to force the Places of *Hungary*, until they were in a condition to pay him the Tribute they were engaged to do. In the mean time, *Abaffi*, having made his Circumvallation about *Zatmar*, divided his Army into four Bodies: The firſt was compoſed of the *Tranſilvanians*, the ſecond of the *Moldavians*, the third of *Turks*, and the fourth of the *Malecontents*, and he forced the City, but could not take the Citadel, which obliged him to raiſe his Siege. Many were the Diſcourſes of this Action, and ſome gave out, that *Abaffi* had no mind to take the Place, upon a Surmiſe, that the Grand Seignior pretended it ſhould be delivered into his Hands upon Surrender. However it was, it is certain that the Baſſa which commanded the *Ottoman* at this Siege, ſent great Complaints to *Conſtantinople* againſt this Prince, which obliged him to return into his own Countrey, leſt his Enemies ſhould take advantage by his abſence. Thus this great Army vaniſhed, as well by the miſintelligence of the Chiefs, and the rigour of the Seaſon, the Winter approaching; as by the Vigilancy of Count *Caprara*, the Imperial General, who, tho' he was not able to fight the Enemy, did

1681. did notwithstanding perpetually incommode them with Parties and Detachments. *Tekely* hereupon having pillaged and burnt *Kalo*, except the Citadel, which he garrisoned, put his Troops into their Winter quarters. But the Turks, to finish their Campania would surprise the Castle of *Pettinia*, upon the Borders of *Croatia*, but their design being discovered, the *Militia* of the Country drawing into a body, forced them to retire.

On the side of the Christians, the Winter was spent in fruitless Treaties and Contestations betwixt the Ecclesiasticks and Seculars; save that the Empress was crowned Queen of *Hungary*, which was effected with great Magnificence and Pomp. On the other side, the Turks having agreed with the *Muscovites*, the Grand Seignior resolved by the Council of his great Visier, to carry his Arms into *Hungary*; in order to which, vast Magazins were made at *Belgrade* and other places of his Obedience. He sent such Bodies of Men thither, that the Souldiers were forced to lye in Tents and Baracks. *Hali Bassa*, being sent thither in the Spring with Monies to pay these Forces, behaved himself with so little Prudence, that he had well nigh occasioned a great Mutiny amongst them. In his review of them he caused the *Spahies* to pass before the *Janizaries*, who being extream jealous of their rank, mutinied, and threatned to kill him. To repair this fault, he would restore them to their Precedence, but the Spahies took also their turn to mutiny; nor did he appease them but by a considerable gratuity above their pay. Besides these, the preparations for War through all the extent of the *Ottoman* Empire were so vast, that they did not suffice only to protect the *Malecontents*, but to attack that of *Germany*, and now they lay a Bridge over the *Danube*, and another at *Zolnock*, over the *Teys* or *Tibiscus*, capable of bearing their great Cannon.

1682.

Tekely, however well informed of the Designs of the Port, did notwithstanding agree to a prolongation of the *Trevis* with Count *Caprara*, which was ended the last of *March*, to the first of *July*; but the *Malecontents* slighting the Treaty, did in the beginning of *May* seize upon all the Corn which the Emperour had bought upon the Frontiers of *Poland* to furnish his *Magazins* withal. The Turks also attacked and forced a Commissary who conducted many Wagons loaden with Cloths for the Imperial Army.

Tekely, being to act as soon as the Treaty was ended joyntly with the Turks, judged it proper for him to take his measures from the Bassa of *Buda*, in order to which he went to wait upon him with a Convoy of 3000 Horse; the Bassa being advertised of his arrival, gave his Son orders to go and receive him at the Gate of the City, at the Head of the *Spahies*, or Horse, to complement him in his Name, and to regale him with refreshments according to the Custom of that Nation. Being enter'd the City, he was received by the Bassa at the head of all his Janizaries, and after reciprocal Civilities, he assured him of the Protection of the Grand Seignior when ever he had need of it. His Troops in the mean time were lodged near *Pesth* along the River side in Tents. The Bassa, causing *Tekely's* Bonnet to be taken off, put another after the Turkish fashion upon his Head, enrich'd with pretious Stones and a Heron's Feather. He further made him a Present from his *Ottoman* Highness, of a Sable, a Pole-ax, and a Colours. He gave him also upon his own account, some Horses richly harnessed; some affirmed that his Civilities passed further, and that *Tekely* was declared King of *Hungary* by the Bassa, who put the Crown upon his Head, and cloathed him in Royal Habiliments, in presence of all the Officers of the Garrison, and several Bassaes, who had been expresly commanded thither to assist at the Ceremony. 1682.

Tekely having satisfied his Ambition, would now content his Love. He had sent his Secretary to *Vienna* to obtain the Emperours Permission to espouse the Princess *Rogotski*. His Imperial Majesty thinking he ought to manage this Count in a time wherein he endeavoured to make him break his Engagements with the Port; and further perceiving that it was but a Civility done him, and that if he did not consent, they would effect it without him, granted his Envoy what ever his Master had desired. *Tekely* gave immediately advice hereof to the Princess, and prayed she would not defer his Happiness any longer. She, who as she had not desired to see him a King, but to prevent her descent into a lower rank then that wherein Prince *Rogotsky* had placed her, sent him word that he might come to *Montcatz*, where, after his return from *Buda*, their Marriage was celebrated with great Pomp. This Lady was Sister to Count *Serin*, a Roman Catholick, but in some few Weeks after her espousals with Count *Tekely*, she turn'd Protestant, and thereupon discharged all her Catholick Servants. This gave so much suspition to the Imperial Court, that no more good was expected from that Alliance; nor were they deceived, his Attachments to the Port being too strict, and his jealousie of the *Germans* too great. He for all that treated still with Count *Saponara* the Emperours Envoy, but it was to amuze him, in expectation of the Turks taking the field to second his Designs. The Emperour did also employ Count *Serin* to his new Brother-in-Law, but he, instead of serving his Sovereign, enter'd into new Engagements, as shall be declared hereafter.

In the beginning of *July*, the *Tartars* made inrodes as far as *Trinchein*, from whence they brought more than 18000 Slaves, killing all the old men, from whom they could expect no Service. The Palatine would have raised the *Militia* of the Country to oppose them, but the Protestants refused to obey his Orders, until the Emperour would give them Satisfaction upon all the points that had been proposed in their Name the last Diet. About the end of the same Month his Imperial Majesty received Letters from Count *Albret Caprara*, which signified to him that he had received Audience from the Great Visier, and that he could not obtain a prolongation of the *Trevis*, but upon the following Terms, *viz.*

That Hungary *should be put into the same state that it was in the year* 1655;

That this Kingdom should pay his Ottoman *Highness a Tribute of* 50000 *Florins yearly*;

That the Fortresses of Leopolstat *and* Gratz *should be demolished*;

That Neutra, Schults, Eckof, *and the Isle of* Schults *near* Presburg, *with the Fort of* Muran, *should by a formal cession be delivered to Count* Tekely;

That a general Amnesty *or Act of Oblivion should be granted to the* Malecontents, *and that they should be re-established in all their Goods and Priviledges.*

These

1682. These Conditions ſeemed ſo harſh to the Emperour, that he rejected them, preferring a War before ſuch a ſordid accommodation.

The Ceſſation betwixt *Tekely* and the *Germans* being ended, he joyned Forces with the Turks near *Peſt*, conſiſting of 40000 Men. He paſſed near *Gaſchaw* or *Caſſovia*, and turning ſuddenly, ſurpriſed the Caſtle of *Zatmar*, and in a few days after took the City. *Caſſovia* and other conſiderable Places ran the ſame fate. And now the Turks act by themſelves, *Tokat* rendring it ſelf to them as ſoon as they appeared before it. The Emperour ſent to complain to the Baſſa of *Buda* of theſe Acts of Hoſtility; but he anſwered, that he did not pretend to break the Ceſſation in attacking theſe little places, which were but receptacles of Robbers, the Inhabitants thereof daily pillaging his Highneſſes quarters. Thus the ſtrongeſt ſeldom fail of pretences to oppreſs the weakeſt.

On the other ſide, the Baſſa of *Waradin* having beſieged *Filek*, preſſed it hard. He had already aſſaulted the place thrice, and though *Strazoldo*, *Caprara*, *Staremberg*, and the *Palatine* advanced with deſign to relieve it; yet all theſe Generals, however brave, durſt not attempt the Enemies Lines; and it might be ſaid, that they were come ſo far but to be witneſſes of the Victory, by the loſs of the place which ſurrendred it ſelf. The ſixteenth of *September*, the *Hungarians* entred into the Turkiſh Service, but the *Germans* and all the Officers were made Priſoners, becauſe they refuſed to ſign the Capitulation, and the Women were made ſlaves, the Turks loſt 2000 Janizaries in this ſiege, which obliged them to treat the Officers with ſo much Rigour, and perhaps the place which they demoliſhed was therefore razed, or rather to prevent the Malecontents (who demanded the poſſeſſion of it) from enjoying it.

The ſaid Baſſa, after the forcing of *Filek*, went with 40000 Men and inveſted *Lewentz* and *Neutra*, which ſurrendred to him upon demand: And *Tekeley*, taking advantage of the abſence of *Straſoldo*, rendred himſelf Maſter of the High-land Cities. The Baſſa of *Buda* advanced alſo towards *Gran*, with deſign to make a Bridge there over the *Danube*, to the end he might open a paſſage into upper *Hungary*.

Tekeley, ſeeing himſelf Maſter of the upper *Hungary*, eſpecially of the Cities thereof, which by their Mines of Gold made up a great part of the Revenues of the Crown, and now having refreſhed himſelf in theſe rich Quarters, he cauſed Moneys to be coined, repreſenting on one ſide his Effiges with this Inſcription: *Emericus Comes* Tekeley *Princeps* Hongariæ; and on the reverſe theſe words: *Pro Deo, pro Patria & pro Libertate.* The Winter being now advanced, he ſent his Secretary to *Vienna* to offer a Ceſſation of Arms. This propoſal was not diſagreeable to the Imperial Court, but they could not reſolve to leave the ſaid upper Cities in his poſſeſſion; his Deputies repreſented thereupon, That their Maſter could not part with them without the conſent of the Baſſa of *Buda*, but that he would favour the Imperial Work-men, and ſuffer them to labour for his Majeſties profit, provided he might be allowed a Compenſation for his Protection, if not, he threatned to deſtroy the ſaid Cities, worth 200000 Crowns yearly to his Imperial Majeſty; after ſome altercation the Ceſſation was again agreed upon, and the Directors of the Mines were obliged to pay *Tekeley* ſix hundred Crowns every Week; this *Trevis* did not hinder ſeveral Encounters betwixt the Chriſtians and Turks. A Party of *Huſſars* in *November* defeated a Detatchment of the Infidels, commanded by an *Aga*, who was kill'd there. There were found in his Pockets nineteen Letters of the Baſſa of *Buda's*, writ to Officers of that Nation, ordering them to cauſe the Grand Seignior's Subjects to pay the Extraordinary Tribute, which his Highneſs was not accuſtomed to exact, but when he undertook ſome great War. Thus the Emperour was aſcertained that the Turks deſign was to draw together all their Forces to attack him the next Summer. He was confirmed in this Opinion by Letters from his Ambaſſadour at the Port, who writ to him, that the Grand Seighior was gone from *Conſtantinople* on the twenty eighth of *October to Adrianople*; that the great Viſier followed him the next day; that Count *Tekeley* had complained at the Port of the Baſſa of *Buda*, accuſing him for having ſeparated his Troops too far from his; and ſo hindered him from making ſuch conſiderable progreſſes in *Hungary* as he might otherwiſe have done; and finally, that the ſaid Baſſa was ſummoned up by the Grand Seignior to anſwer this Accuſation. 1682.

The great Viſier, being expected at *Belgrade*, the Emperour ſent *Saponara* to meet him, to obtain more favourable Conditions than thoſe propoſed to Count *Albret Caprara*. He ſent alſo Count *Martinitz* to the *Pope*, and to the other Princes of *Italy* to ſollicite for Succours in this extremity. Count *Kaunitz* was likewiſe ſent to *Bavaria*, and many other principal Men to the other Electors and Princes of the Empire, to invite their aſſiſtance in ſo preſſing an Exigence. To theſe Count *Walleſtein*, a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, was deputed into *Poland*, to be preſent at the Diet of *Warſaw*, to negotiate a League with that Crown; and the Emperour commanded all his Regiments to be compleated and augmented, his Garriſons to be fortified, and his Magazins to be filled for the better oppoſing ſo powerful an Enemy.

Whilſt both parties are preparing for a War with great Vigour, it will be conducible enough to the deſign of our Hiſtory, to ſubjoyn an Accident which had like to have made an abſolute breach betwixt the *French* and the *Ottoman* Port. *Monſieur du Queſne*, having given chace to ſeven *Corſairs* of *Tripoly*, forced them into the Haven of *Chio*, placing themſelves under the Cannon of the Fortreſs, to cover themſelves from the Enemy, but to no purpoſe, although the Governour of the Place ſent the *French* Admiral word, that they were under the Protection of the Grand Seignior; for *Monſieur du Queſne*, in proſecution of his Deſign, when he was come up with them, fired upon them, the Governour did the ſame upon the *French*, but to no great purpoſe, being they were ſo ill treated, that three of their Veſſels were diſabled, and all of them forced under the very Walls of the Fortreſs, one of the Baſtions of the ſame being likewiſe almoſt ruined. *Du Queſne* not yet ſatisfied, blocked them up there, until the News thereof was come to *Conſtantinople*. The Alarm was great there, and they were upon the point of falling upon them of the *French* Nation, untill their Ambaſſadour there declared, that what was done, was in no wiſe acted againſt the *Ottoman* Port, but only againſt the aforeſaid *Corſairs*, who took the Veſſels belonging to his Maſters Subjects, and therefore ought not to be received into the Grand Seighiors Ports. Though this did for the preſent in ſome ſort appeaſe them, yet the *Capitain Baſſa* was ſent to *Chio* with eight and forty Gallies, to make a Peace betwixt the *French* and the *Tripolins*; much time was ſpent

The French force the Tripolins into the Haven of Chio.

1682. before it could be effected, which being concluded, they of *Tripoli* had liberty to repair their Veſſels.

The Grand Seignior highly offended thereat.

For all this the *Ottomans* were highly offended with the dammage *Du Queſne* had done at *Scio*, and demanded reparation from the Ambaſſador of *France* at *Conſtantinople*, who at firſt would give no hearing to ſuch frivolous Complaints, but fearing the *French* Merchants in *Turkey* might be incommoded by it, he ſince offered to make them a Preſent of his own accord, not by any order from the King his Maſter. The Turks judging the ſaid Preſent too ſmall, were in no wiſe ſatisfied with it; ſo that the Ambaſſador thought fit to make ſome addition to it, which did as little ſatisfie them. In the mean time *Du Queſne* being ſailed out of the *Archipelague*, there came an Officer to the Ambaſſador, telling him, that the Grand Seignior was in no wiſe ſatisfied with his Offer, as being in no wiſe proportionable to the dammage committed at *Scio*, adding, that the whole Empire was offended at it: But yet in conſideration of the ancient Amity betwixt the two Nations, they would paſs it by, provided the dammage were repaired, alledging by way of ſimilitude, that if our party ſued a Thief into a Friends Houſe, and that ſomething were broke in it; the Purſuer would be obliged to pay it. The Ambaſſador replyed, that the harm which was done at *Scio* might be repaired with leſs than what he had already offered of his own, which was more than he could well bear, and that the Grand Seignior and Great Viſier ought to be ſatisfied, that he ruined himſelf to conſerve the Peace betwixt the two Empires, becauſe he much feared, leſt the Preſent he had offered might not pleaſe the King his Maſter, to whom he never had made any mention of it. The Turkiſh Officer hereupon being angry, told him in the Name of the Grand Seignior and Great Viſier, that they were reſolved to put him into the *ſeven Towers*, and the *French* Merchants in Priſon; the *Port* knew very well that the *French* King did never diſapprove of what his Ambaſſadors did. The Grand Seignior and his Viſier were not to be mocked by a preſent of a few Clocks, Watches, Stuffs, and Diamonds of ſmall value, in compenſation of dammages of ſeven hundred *Purſes*, ariſing for the murther of 400 Turks, the ruine of a whole City, the deſtruction of many *Moſques*, and the Caſtle. The Ambaſſador replyed, that he was not at all ſurpriſed at his Choler, but that he ſhould have been afraid if he had ſpoke in theſe Terms to the Chiaux, whoſe ſubſtitute he was; that the lives of Turks had never been valued ſo high; that the number of the ſlain at *Scio* was not ſo great, and that there had not been one man killed, if they had not received the Pyrats there with the French Priſes; and finally, if they would put him into the ſeven Towers, he would not come out of it but by expreſs order from the King his Maſter, and that he was ready to follow him thither. The Officer being moved with the Reſolution of the Ambaſſador, aſſured him, he ſhould not fail to be conducted thither the next Morning, whereupon he replyed, he could not believe it, becauſe he knew the Sultan was juſt, the Viſier prudent, and his King a powerful Prince. The Turk interrupting him here, told him, that he talk'd as if he had 100000 men with him, to whom the other added, that his Maſter had 400000 men, and always victorious, and as for him, he ſpoke like one that would be as good as his Word. The Viſier, highly offended with the Ambaſſadors Diſcourſe, cauſed him to be told by a *Kiaia*, that he muſt add to his Preſent, or that he ſhould be obliged for his Reputation to ſend him to the ſeven Towers: but the Ambaſſador continued poſitive. Sometime after, it was ſignified to him, that the Viſier had obtained a conſiderable abatement of the 700 Purſes, and that he would be content, if beſides the Clocks and rarities, he would yet give 40000 Livers in Diamonds; but the Ambaſſador returned anſwer, that in complizance to the Great Viſier, he would yet add 1200 Crowns, and no more. Some time after, the Viſier let him know that he would ſpeak with him himſelf, which the Ambaſſador denied, becauſe he had already refuſed him the *Sofa*. However he did ſo far comply as to go to him about the end of *May*, where after many Conteſtations about increaſing the Preſent, the Turks deſcended to 350000, and afterwards to 100000 Crowns, to 10000, and finally agreed upon 15000 Livers. The Turkiſh Officers having had the moſt trouble in the World ſo to content the Grand Viſier that the *French* Ambaſſador ſhould not be diſpleaſed. A few days after, the Moneys, together with the Preſents, conſiſting of a ſmall thread of Diamonds, two ——— a *Venice* Looking-glaſs, five Chamber Clocks, one Carpet, ten embroidered Habits, ſome pieces of Cloth, Satins, and other Stuffs were exhibited, whereby this affair of *Scio* was accommodated, but not the difference about the *Sopha*, which continues ſtill.

1682.

But is appeaſed.

Fautevil.

The Emperour being ſufficiently ſatisfied of the Deſigns of the Mahometans upon *Hungary* and *Auſtria*, *order'd all his Collonels to compleat* their Regiments by the firſt of *May*, and gave out new Commiſſions for ſix Regiments of Horſe, and ſeveral of Foot to be raiſed with all imaginable ſpeed. Theſe Levies were not only deſigned to reinforce the Army of *Hungary*, but alſo to incamp near *Vienna*, to cover that City and the Neighbouring Countries from the Invaſion of the Turks. He further commanded the Peaſants of all the Neighbouring Villages to cut down Oaks to make Pallizadoes, and to carry them to *Vienna* for the repairing of the Fortifications of that City. The Inhabitants of the Suburbs had likewiſe order to empty their Cellars, that they might be filled with Earth, but deferred the pulling down of the Houſes until they were aſſured that the City ſhould be beſieged. Ambaſſadors being alſo ſent to the Electors, the Circles, and Princes of the Empire, to invite them to joyn with his Imperial Majeſty for the Preſervation of *Hungary*. *Conte Albret Caprara* received likewiſe order to return from his Embaſſie, unleſs he could obtain a Prolongation of the Trevis; but the Grand Seignior would not ſuffer him to depart, but obliged him to follow him to *Adrianople*, and thence to *Belgrade*, cauſing him to be obſerved with much exactneſs. In the mean time, as alſo the whole Winter, the Citizens of *Vienna* had been trained and exerciſed with great diligence, the better to enable them to reſiſt, in caſe of a Siege, which their fears and the Enemies braggings gave them juſt occaſion to apprehend. They alſo were commanded to lay up Proviſions for twelve Months; and not only they, but all the frontier Places were ſtored with Magazins, the Iſle of *Schut* was alſo fortified, where it was expoſed to the Enemies Surpriſes, and a Regiment of Foot added to defend the entry againſt the Infidels. There was alſo a great Redoubt made on the further ſide the *Danube* to cover the Bridge lately made, and to favour a retreat in caſe of neceſſity. At the ſame time there happened a Skirmiſh betwixt the *Huſſars* of the Gariſon of

1683.

Comorra,

1683. The Plague rages in *Hungary*.

Comorra, *Papa*, *Veſprin*, and *Raab*, againſt a Detachment of the Army of the Turks, who loſt 1200 men in the Encounter. But if the Wars cauſed great ruines in *Hungary*, the Plague laid it well nigh deſolate; it raged in *Caſſovia* about *Papa*, and in many places poſſeſſed by the Turks; inſomuch that *Tekely* was obliged to retire to *Montcatz* to his Wife, and to chuſe another Place than *Caſſovia* to convene the Diet which he had ſummoned. He had by Ceſſations and Treaties kept the Imperial Court in ſuſpenſe, propoſing his Mediation at the Port for a Prolongation of the twenty years *Trevis*, for which end he ſent *Schirmay* his Secretary with others thither. Nay, the Propoſitions he made were thought ſo reaſonable, that the Baron *Zaponara* was ſent with new inſtructions to carry on this Peace as well with *Tekely*, as with the Viſier of *Buda*; but whether *Tekely*, inſtead of advancing this Affair, did not retard it, or that the Turks would not conſent to any further Prolongation of Peace with the Emperour, this commerce vaniſhed. This laſt Obſtacle was ſooner believed than the other, by reaſon of the detention of *Caprara* in *Turky*, and the vaſt Preparations of the *Ottomans*, who would liſten to no Ceſſation but upon Terms ſo diſadvantageous that his Imperial Majeſty could in no ways aſſent to.

Zaponara, who had ſpent much time with *Tekely*, being returned the beginning of *January* to *Vienna*, reported, that the Count *Tekely* having been ſick at *Montcatz*, he had entertained many fruitleſs Conferences with him, and now he was well, and ſeeing no hopes of an accommodation with a man who was entirely engaged with the Turks, as was viſible by all his advances, he could continue there no longer. And this gained credit by the appearing of a certain project granted by the Grand Seignior to the *Hungarians*, which we will alſo inſert, to ſatisfie the curious, though we dare not aſſure them that it was exactly ſuch:

1. *That the Count* Emmeric Tekely *of* Ritsmark, *of the Illuſtrious Houſe of* Gabriel Bethelem, *ſhall be inſtalled King of* Hungary, *and in caſe he come to dye, the Grand Seignior will take the Queen his Wife, as well for her Perſon as Goods, into his Protection.*

2. *That after the Death of Count* Tekely *and his Children, the* Hungarians *ſhall chooſe ſuch a King as ſhall ſeem good to them, provided they acquaint the* Ottoman *Port with it.*

3. *That the Preſent, which the* Hungarians *have promiſed to give to the* Ottoman *Port, ſhall never be raiſed in any manner whatſoever.*

4. *That they ſhall entirely enjoy their Priviledges, Liberties, Immunities, and Franchiſes for ever, without any diminution.*

5. *That they ſhall be protected by the* Turks *from all their Enemies, who, or whatſoever.*

6. *That the Turks will religiouſly obſerve the Conditions of Peace made with the* Germans *at St.* Gothard, *ſo far as they concern* Hungary.

7. *That the Jeſuits, as diſturbers of the publick Repoſe, ſhall be driven out of* Hungary, *and never received there again.*

8. *That the Tributes of the ſurrendred Places ſhall never be raiſed; but that what they have contributed to the* Turks *and to the* Hungarians *hitherto, ſhall continue to perpetuity in the ſame ſtate.*

9. *That the Treaſurers of* Hungary *ſhall have free paſſage through all the parts of the* Ottoman *Dominion.*

10. *And when they carry to the Port the Preſent of Honour which they have promiſed, or ſhall come there upon any other occaſion, they ſhall be received magnificently.*

11. *And finally, the Preſent of* 40000 *Crowns, ſhall, as is already mentioned, never be augmented.* 1683.

Theſe and ſeveral other Paſſages fill'd the Imperial Court with diffidence, notwithſtanding *Tekely*'s fair words, and yet the Negotiations were ſtill continued, the Emperour having propoſed to an *Officer* that *Tekely* had ſent him, to grant to his Maſter the Soveraignty of all he poſſeſſed in upper *Hungary*, with ſeveral other Demeanes, ſo willing they were to have detached this ſubtile and brave Enemy from his intelligence with the Turks, who at length declared, that he could not ſeparate his Intereſts from the Port, which obliged *Hoffman* and *Saponara* to retire.

The 18 of *January*, 6000 Turks entred into *Caniſia*, moſt Janizaries, and the Gariſons of *Belgrade* and *Newhauſel* were alſo augmented with great numbers of this Militia. The 25*th of January*, 5000 *Tartars* arrived at *Buda*, who were ſent to *Newhauſel*, and 12000 Foot came in their place, who by reaſon they could not lodge in the City, encamped at the foot of the Walls.

Upon this News order was given to break the Ice round the Iſle of *Schults* to keep the River open, the better to oppoſe the irruptions of the *Turks* and *Malecontents*. The Ice, which was of an extraordinary thickneſs, broke the wooden Bridge at *Vienna*, with the loſs of three Charets loaden with Wine and Oates, which fell in. The Inhabitants of the aforeſaid Iſle of *Schults* were by reaſon of the oppreſſion of the Imperialiſts forc'd moſtly to abandon it; the noiſe whereof being ſpread through the Kingdom, had like to have cauſed a general Inſurrection.

The beginning of *February*, the Turks entred into the Iſle of *Serin* in *Croatia*, where they committed great diſorders. One of their parties defeated a Convoy with Munitions of War, and other proviſions deſigned for *Zendra*, *Loſſenbilts* who commanded the ſame, being ſlain.

The Turks, who provided all things neceſſary to attempt the ſiege of *Vienna*, laid in at *Buda* vaſt ſtores of Ammunition and Materials to make Bridges of; nor were they leſs vigilant on the other ſide, the Suburbs were demoliſhed round within a hundred paces of the City, and the great Iſland was fortified and put into a Condition to lodge a whole Army. Redoubts were built at both ends of the wooden Bridge, which is on the ſide neareſt the City, and the Bridge which traverſed the great Arm of the *Danube* was taken down to build another on the other ſide of the Favorites, with ſeveral other ſmall Forts for its ſecurity. Two hundred thouſand pallizadoes were ſent from *Newburg* to ſerve for the Fortifications of *Vienna*, whereof every Citizen undertook to maintain a Souldier well armed in caſe the City ſhould be beſieged. All Boats were alſo ſtopped at *Vienna*, being deſigned to tranſport Proviſions and Ammunition into *Hungary*.

However *Tekely* continued to block up the Places which remained in the Emperours Obedience in upper *Hungary*, and to ſhut up the Paſſages that no relief might be ſent to them; he did not ceaſe howſoever to teſtifie to the Deputies of the Loyal Countries, that he did deſire with Paſſion that his Imperial Majeſty would grant him reaſonable Conditions, that might reſtore him to the obedience which he owed him; and to make it appear to all the World, that he had not taken Arms againſt him out of any animoſity, he releaſed an hundred *German* Priſoners without Ranſom, and ſent to aſſure the Emperour, that he had diſpatched *Fagou* and *Sirmay*, his two chief Miniſters, to the Port to endeavour to ob-

1683. tain a prolongation of the Trevis. He ſpake to the ſame purpoſe at the Diet he had convened, and releaſed yet again eighty Priſoners which he had taken at *Tokay*, and gave Count *Herberſtein* his Liberty upon his parole.

The Turks, about the later end of *February*, made a new attempt upon the Iſle of *Schults* with 1000 men of the Garriſon of *Newhauſel*, conducted by an *Hungarian* Renegade; but the Ice, which was not ſtrong enough, breaking, a great number of them were drowned: the Imperialiſts took many Priſoners, and amongſt others the Sub-governour of *Newhauſel's* Son. A Turkiſh Officer that offered ten thouſand Dollars for his Life had his Head chopt off. At the ſame time ſeveral new Troops of the Infidels arrived, who lodged at *Eſſek*, and along the Rivers *Savus* and *Dravus*. They armed ſeveral *Brigantines*, which vogued upon the *Danube*, to hinder the Imperialiſts to ſend any Succours or Ammunition to their Garriſons. The Baſſa of *Belgrade* received orders to repair an ancient Palace ſeated upon a Hill near the Town, to lodge the Grand Seignior there, who deſigned to ſtay there during the Campania.

In *March*, *Tekely*, with a conſiderable body of the Turkiſh and his own Troops, endeavoured to Surpriſe *Tirnaw*, to cut off the Communication of the Fortreſs of *Leopolſtat*, with the River *Waagh*. But this Enterpriſe failing, this Count ſummoned a ſecond Diet in upper *Hungary*, though thoſe of the Loyal Counties were admoniſhed not to appear there. At the ſame time Colonel *Albert Caprara* advertiſed the Emperour, that the Grand Seignior offered to prolong the Ceſſation if he would ſurrender to him the Iſles of *Schults*, of *Serin*, and of *Raab*, with the Fortreſſes of *Raab* and *Comorra*; but his Imperial Majeſty did not think it expedient to accept of ſuch diſadvantageous Terms, which rendered the Turks entire Maſters of *Hungary*, and gave them an open paſſage to the very Walls of *Vienna*. After that, it was impoſſible for this Miniſter to write any more to his Maſter, for the Turks kept ſo ſtrict a Guard about him, that he was ſuffered to have no Communication with any, for fear of informing the Emperour with the vaſt preparations of War which were made in all the extent of the *Ottoman* Empire.

The Turks at the ſame time ſurpriſed a Quarter of the Dragoons, kill'd forty, and took many Priſoners; they lodged 15000 men in the Neighbourhood of *Eſſek*, to hinder the Imperialiſts from burning the Bridge, and by that means hinder their Paſſage into the lower *Hungary*. The Emperour on the other ſide cauſed all his Forces on the ſide of the *Rhine*, except four Regiments which he left for the Frontiers, to march towards *Vienna* and *Hungary*. His Troops alſo that were in *Bohemia* under the command of Count *Taff*, were commanded that way.

In the beginning of *April*, the Grand Seignior ſent the Baſſa *Zanko*, who, though he had but one hand, was one of the beſt Officers in the Turkiſh Army, to *Caſſovia*, to command under Count *Tekeley*. At the ſame time the Emperour made a great Detachment of all the Regiments that were in *Hungary*, to march toward *Treinſchin*, under the Command of the Count of *Schults*, to go meet a great Body of Succours which came out of *Poland* under the Conduct of *Zubomirski*. The Count *Herberſtein* had Orders to paſs into *Croatia* with all the Troops of the lower *Auſtria*, to oppoſe the Enemy, who pretended to make an Irruption into that Province.

The Grand Seignior ſhewed ſo much paſſion for the War of *Hungary*, that to complement him, all the Miniſters of the Court would particularly contribute to it. Every one offered to entertain a certain number of Souldiers at their proper charge, and did. The Great ——— himſelf raiſed 400 men. And the Ladies no leſs forward, raiſed great ſums for the Expedition, eſpecially the *Aſſeki* or Sultan Queen. His Highneſs being reſolved to march in the beginning of the Spring to *Belgrade*, ſent the Emperour according to the Practiſe of the Sultans, a —— to mark that he declared War againſt him. The Great Viſier being ready to move, ſent 1200 Camels loaden with Powder to *Belgrade* before him, together with Orders to the Baſſa of the ſaid place, to build a Bridge upon the *Savus*, which was immediately put in Execution.

1683. All the Miniſters of the Port contribute to the War of *Hungary*, as alſo the Ladies.

Maſſe d'armes.

The Emperour received at the ſame time an expreſs from Count *Walleſtin*, his Ambaſſador in *Poland*, which informed him that he had concluded with that King a League Offenſive and Defenſive againſt the Turks. This News did moſt ſenſibly affect the Imperial Court with Joy, becauſe they had doubted much of the Succeſs of this Negotiation, the King of *Poland* having ſhewed ſome Diſſatisfaction, in that the Emperour would never aſſiſt him, nor enter into any concert with him, whilſt he alone ſupported a War againſt the Turks; but Intereſt took place of Paſſion. The King of *Poland*, like a prudent Prince, foreſaw, that if the Turks conquered *Hungary* and the *German* Neighbouring States, he ſhould be ſcarce able to reſiſt ſo powerful a Neighbour; which made him reſolve to oppoſe his Deſigns, and to joyn his Arms with the Emperours. The Conditions of this mutual alliance briefly were, that the Alliance ſhould be not only defenſive, but alſo offenſive againſt the Turks, and laſt till both found their aſſured repoſe; neither ſhould make Peace without conſent of the other; his Imperial Majeſty ſhould entertain 60000 Men, whereof 40000 ſhould keep the Field, and the reſt be put in Gariſons; the King of *Poland* will lead 40000 under his own Conduct: he ſhall be alſo obliged to recover his Places in *Podolia*, *Wallachia*, and *Ukrania*, whilſt the Imperialiſts ſhall do the ſame by thoſe Places they left in *Hungary*; The *Poles* ſhall furniſh 6000 men to act againſt *Tekely*. Other Articles not immediately regarding the preſent War, are purpoſely omitted.

March 31. The Emperour and King of *Poland* make a League Offenſive and Defenſive.

There had been ill obſerved Treaties and Ceſſations continued betwixt the *Tekeliſts* and *Germans*, and now the firſt beſiege the Caſtle of *Donaviſth* in the County of *Sepuſa* in upper *Hungary*, *C. Caprara* having by meſſage repreſented to *Tekely*, that it was a violation of the Trevis; He anſwered, that he only did it becauſe *C. Joanelli*, to whom the Place belonged, had refuſed to come to the Diet of *Caſſovia*, ſo frivolous an excuſe made it apparent to the Emperours Miniſters, that they were not too much to confide in the Promiſes of this Count, and that he would take his advantages as often as occaſions preſented themſelves. Some few days after, he had News that his Princeſs was brought to bed of a Son at *Montcats*, whereupon he ſent one of his chief Officers to Prince *Abaffi*, to invite him to Chriſten the Babe, which he accepted of, and ſent one of the principal Lords in *Tranſilvania* to ſupply his Place.

Tekely breaks the Ceſſation.

In the beginning of *May*, the great Viſier came to *Belgrade* with the Van of the *Ottoman* Army, and more than 300 pieces of Cannon, beſides Mortars to throw Granadoes of a prodigious bigneſs. At the ſame time the Troops that were to compaſs the Imperial Army, began

May 3.

to

1683. to draw towards *Presburg*, where Count *Rabata* encamped them as they came, according to the orders he had received from his Imperial Majesty, who had chosen the great Plain of *Kirtzery* joyning to that City to take the general review of his Army, which being drawn into Batalia in two Lines, extended four Miles in length; seventy two pieces of Cannon, with the General of the Artillery, Count *Starenberg*, were placed at the head of the Infantry, which was ranged in Batalions, and in such order that they might be perceived on both sides; they were numbered 20000, and the Horse in two Wings amounted to 12000, besides 5000 *Hussars* drawn up on the Right of the *German* Horse with fourteen field pieces.

The Emperour arrived in the Camp about Ten of the Clock, preceded by his Guards, and riding between the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Lorrain* being followed by many other Princes and Lords, and saluted with three Vollies of all the Cannon and Musqueteers of the Army. After Mass, the Archbishop of *Strigonium* read with a loud Voice the Bull of Indulgence, accorded to such who should fight against Infidels, and having given his Benediction to their Imperial Majesties, who received it on their Knees, and consequently to all the Army, this Prince caused 500000 Livers to be distributed amongst the Souldiery, which was no less acceptable to them. The Command of the Forces being given to the Duke of *Lorrain* as Generalissimo, the Right wing was conducted by the Duke of *Sax-Lawenburg*, the Left by General *Caprara*, and the Infantry and Cannon by the Count of *Starenberg*. With this Army thus composed most of the Emperour's old and best Souldiery, and under so expert a General as the Duke of *Lorrain*; the Court hoped for somewhat extraordinary, though as it will appear they were disappointed in their Expectation. In the mean time a Council of War was held to see what might be done before the arrival of the Turks, and after what manner they should act upon the Defensive when the Enemy did appear. All agreed that for the Offensive there was nothing to be attempted but *Gran* or *Newhausel*, and that, as they ought to avoid those Enterprises which would cost much Blood, and weaken the Army, so they seemed to point at *Gran* as most easie, though others were for *Newhausel* for several Reasons. For the Defensive, it was concluded they must endeavour to defend the Passages of the Rivers *Raab* and *Waagh*. The result of this Council being referred to the Emperour, he judged, that for the Reputation of his Arms, and other important Reasons, not to suffer his Army to lye idle the space of two Months time, which they had before the Enemy could take the field, but left the choice to the Duke, whether he would attempt *Gran* or *Newhausel*? He only recommended to him, that when the Turks advanced he should take care for the security of the Garrisons, and oppose as much as in him lay the Enemies ravaging of the Hereditary Countries.

The Army being advanced near *Comorra*, the Duke having no certain Intelligence of the condition of *Gran*, resolved in person to take a view of the Place, which he did, but being upon the point to resolve its Siege, he was advertised that the Turks were forming a Camp at *Buda*, and judging that they might from thence relieve *Gran* by Water, (as the Bassa of *Newhausel* had already done upon the news of the Christians Design to attempt the place) and perhaps cut off the Communication betwixt him and *Comorra*, by posting themselves betwixt this Place and *Gran*, he quitted the thoughts of that Enterprise, 1683. resolving upon the Siege of *Newhausel* as the only choice left him.

This Resolution being taken, he sent some *June* 3. Foot towards *Gran*, and armed Boats down the River, as designing to burn the Bridge, to gain a belief of his intent to besiege that City, but wheeling about with his Horse, he marched all that Night and invested *Newhausel* the Day following. The Turks seeing this, set the Suburbs on fire to prevent the Christians approach, who notwithstanding planted their battery, and were advanced within an hundred paces of the body of the Place, with little loss save that of Count *Taxis*, and might probably have given a good account of the Siege, if the Court, which disapproved the Enterprise, had not sent orders for them to retire. This command was immediately obeyed, and not without some Precipitation, the Army returning to their old Camp betwixt *Raab* and *Comorra*. The sudden raising of the Siege seemed strange to some, being the Turkish Army was not yet ready to appear, and that the Christians were so forward in their approaches. But the more discerning thought otherwise, because this Town, being strong and well furnished with all things, the obstinacy of the Besieged might have wearied the Imperial Troops, and have reduced them to an Inability of being able to oppose the *Ottoman* Army when they came into *Hungary*, and that therefore it was better chusing the certain, than the hazard of that which was not so, as was the taking of *Newhausel*, and to keep upon the Defensive, the rather being the *Polish* Army was not ready, nor yet raised; and therefore the Imperial Army, upon whose Valour depended the Preservation of *Hungary* and *Austria*, was in no wise to be weakned or baffled.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, having refreshed his Army for some time, advanced with all his Forces on the side of *Raab*, having given orders to hasten the Works at *Leopolstat*, and repair the Fortifications of *Raab* and *Comorra*.

In the mean time, the Turkish Army, composed of all the Nations under their Obedience, consisting of 200000 Men, advanced into *Hungary* on the side of *Alba-Regalis*, sending 4000 Pioneers before them to dig Pits and Wells in their passage to furnish all the Army with Water; and the Grand Visier himself having passed the Bridge of *Essek* with the body of his Army, moved towards the Christian Camp by *Raab*, with a Resolution to attack it instantly, and oblige them to a general Battel; his Army was so numerous that they covered the whole Country from *Alba* even to the Mountains of *Raab*, and being come within a League of the Imperialists, he detached a great number of *Tartars* to spoil and ravage the Country out of which the Christians could receive any Subsistence or Forage, which extremely augmented their wants, which were already but too great.

The Grand Seignior arriving at *Belgrade* the Third of *June*, the Sultan Queen would not stay behind, but accompanied his Highness in his Voyage of *Hungary*. At *Belgrade* he received an Express from the *Caimacan*, of a great fire at *Constantinople*, which had intirely consumed one of the quarters of the City, and that the Grand Visier's Seraglio had been quite burnt if the neighbouring Houses had not been pulled down to save that sumptuous Building.

Tekely having taken his measures from the Grand Visier, upon whom he had waited, and concerted with him concerning the following Campania, being returned to *Cassovia*, published

a Ma-

1683. a Manifeſt in the Grand Seignior's and his own Name, that all the *Hungarians* that would embrace his Party, ſhould be maintained in their Priviledges, Liberties, Goods, Laws, and Religion; but that ſuch who refuſed to ſubmit, ſhould have no quarter. This Manifeſt had the deſired effect, for the Cities of *Papa*, *Tot*, and *Veſprin*, the moſt remote, immediately opened their Gates to the *Tekeliſts*. The Emperour, fearing that *Neutra* would follow the Example of theſe three Places, commanded Count *Schults* the Governour, to draw forth the great Guns, the Arms and Stores, and to quit the Place. The ſame Orders were given to the Hilly Cities, and to the Officers of the Silver Mines, who all obeyed; a Conduct ſo extraordinary alarmed all *Hungary*. The Cities and Counties declared to the Emperours Commiſſioners, that they would open their Gates to Count *Tekely*, to prevent Fire and Pillage, being there was no hopes of Succours. To all this, the *Hungarians*, under their Palatine *Eſterhaſi*'s Command, who guarded the Paſſages of the River *Waagh*, about 15000 in number deſerted likewiſe, putting themſelves under the Protection of *Tekeley*, and the *Turks*, ſo that this Palatine with ſcarce a competent Guard, was forced to retire to *Vienna*, becauſe he would not violate his Faith ſworn to the Emperour.

Whilſt the two Armies did nothing material, but obſerve each other, a great Body of *Tartars* under the Conduct of their Cham, who was there in Perſon, animated with the hopes of Pillage, having examined the Avenues and Fords of the River *Raab*, by following it towards its ſource, paſſed over by ſwimming their Horſes, and guided by ſome *Hungarians*, they came to *Kerment* and St. *Godthard*, a place famous for the memorable Victory which the Chriſtians gained from the Turks nineteen years paſt, far from finding any Obſtacles to hinder them, every thing ſeem'd to favour their Paſſage. Count *Badiani* abandoned his poſt upon the River, joyning with *Tekely* thoſe *Hungarians* he commanded; ſo that the Enemy entered the Country like a torrent, putting all to Fire and Sword; and paſſing the *Rabnitz*, continued their Devaſtations. The Duke of *Lorrain*, finding the Enemy on both ſides, and fearing leſt they might cut off his way to *Vienna* and the Hereditary Countries, having reinforced the Gariſons of *Raab* and *Comorra*, reſolved to retire with the reſt not exceeding 24000. And to the end the march of the Horſe might not be retarded by the Foot and Artillery, they were ſeparated, the Infantry and Canon marching along the Iſle of *Schut*, the way on the left ſide of the *Danube*, being expoſed to little Danger; from thence they came ſafe to *Presburg* and *Thebes*, and paſſing the River *Mark*, arrived happily at *Vienna*. The Duke, having paſſed the Bridge of *Raab* with the Cavalry, marched to *Altembourg*, where he reſted ſome time, expoſing this little Town to the Pillage of his Souldiers, as being loth to let their Cattel and Proviſions fall into the Enemies Hands, which would infallibly happen. The Inhabitants however ſeemed very diſſatisfied to be ſo uſed by their Friends, though the Cruelty of the Enemy, who ravaged all with Fire and Sword, effaced the other ill, as wholly diſproportionable: from thence having paſſed the Streight there, they marched towards the Plains of *Kitz* or *Kitzer*, where two Months before the general review of the Army was made.

Cara Muſtapha, the Great Viſier, attributing this retreat of the Chriſtians to their fear, called a Counſil, where it was deliberated whether he ſhould purſue them, or undertake the Siege of *Raab*? But judging, according to the appearances, that their retreat was no better than a running away, it was reſolved to purſue them; whereupon he preſently raiſed his Camp, and followed the way the Chriſtians were gone, leaving a body of 12000 near the ſaid *Raab*, to ſecure his Convoys and Proviſions. 1683.

The Duke perceiving their deſign, and not judging himſelf in aſſurance in the Plains of *Kitz* againſt ſo formidable a power, reſolved to march towards *Vienna*. He ſent Count *Æneas Caprara*, General of his Horſe, to acquaint the Emperour with it, and inform him of all things. The Duke following, had ſent his Baggage before, but it happened, that a Troop of *Tartars*, mingled with *Turks*, and conducted by *Hungarians*, to the number of 3000 in all, having ſwum over the River *Leithe*, and hid themſelves in a Wood betwixt the Villages of *Petronel* and *Elend*, fell ſuddenly upon them, and attacking ſome Regiments on the left Wing, which followed the Baggage, with dreadful cryes and howlings, did ſo ſurprize them with the terrour of ſo unexpected an irruption, that it brought them all into confuſion, and by reaſon of the Duſt, which was ſo thick, that they could not diſtinguiſh Friend from Foe, not knowing which way to turn, they broke their Ranks, and communicated their Diſorder to the very Regiments that followed. In the mean time theſe *Barbarians*, taking the ordinary Advantages of their impetuouſneſs, flew ſome of them upon the *Pedees*, Carters, and Servants, which they ſacrifice to their Cruelty and Fury, whilſt the reſt plunder the Chariots and Baggage. Many Officers loſt there their Equipages, and amongſt others the Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg*, the Prince of *Croy*, and *Æneas Caprara*, all General Officers, had all their Plate taken away.

This Accident put the Army into a prodigious Conſternation, it could not be comprehended, that the Duke having left the Enemy behind him, this ſame Enemy ſhould poſſibly have got before them, and by ways nearer and ſhorter intercept; and ſo boldly attack their Baggage, which was thought ſecure under the Convoy that guarded it. As ſoon as they had recollected themſelves, and that the Duke had conſidered the diſorder part of his Army was in, he ſent freſh Troops to ſecond the firſt, and to aſſiſt them to repell the *Barbarians*; yet ſo as to avoid a general Engagement, which he greatly apprehended. The *Tartars* ſeeing the *Chriſtians* rally, began likewiſe to draw to a head; but the fear to ſee themſelves deprived of their Prey, obliged them to retire, and to run away with no leſs precipitation and ſpeed than they uſed in their Onſet. The Duke cauſed them to be purſued by his Light-Horſe, who took ſome Standards, being unwilling to engage with the groſs of their Troops, as well being this Detachment was ſupported by the Avant-guard of the Army, as not to retard his march to *Vienna*, the which he continned afterwards without any Interruption. The *Chevalier* of *Savoy*, Brother to the Count of *Soiſſons*, was loſt in this Confuſion, for being too far advanced with his Dragoons that followed him, a *Tartar* knock'd him from his Horſe with his Sable, and thinking him dead, did alight, and heaving him croſs his Saddle, with his Breaſt upon the Pomel, preſt him ſo there, that he bruiſed his Stomach. A little after, this Prince being relieved and conducted to *Vienna*, and however his Wound in his Head was not mortal, his diſlocated Stomach could not be re-ſet, ſo that he died in a few days.

Prince

1683. Prince *Thomas* of *Aremberg*, and Count *Mellini* were ſlain in this ſcuffle, though the common loſs of either ſide was not great.

The Emperour, being informed of the preſent State of Affairs by Count *Caprara*, was greatly irreſolved, not knowing what to do upon ſo important and preſſing an Occaſion. He immediately cauſed his chief Miniſters to be ſummoned to know their Sentiments, and all unanimouſly counſelled his Majeſty to retire from *Vienna*. They now only deliberate what road or way he ought to take, ſome adviſed he ſhould go over the Mountains without paſſing the *Danube*, and ſo ſtrait to *Campilifium*, being the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt way to *Lintz*; but the Enemy being on the ſame ſide of the *River*, the other was preferable, as leſs ſubject to Danger, and the violent purſuits of the Enemies Cavalry, who would make more way in a day, winged with the hopes of ſuch a purchaſe, than the Court could make in four. This laſt advice being approved, was ordered to be put in Execution, and all things, as far as was poſſible in ſuch Confuſion, prepared for the Journey.

The Noiſe of this retreat was quickly made publick. The Waggons which arrived in Confuſion to carry the Baggage ſufficiently publiſhed it, and at the ſame time filled the City and Neighbourhood with ſo much Terror, that it might be thought no body would ſtay when the Emperour was gone. All the Horſes and Carts that could poſſibly be found, were hired to fly away with, many Ladies of Quality being forced to put themſelves into deſpicable Carriages, little conformable to their Condition. Houſes ſtored with rich moveables, and furniſhed with Wine, Corn, and all ſort of Proviſions, were abandoned, nothing but what was precious and moſt portative being ſaved. The Air was alſo filled with the Sighs, the Tears, the Lamentations and the Cryes of the Multitude, as if the Enemy had already rendered themſelves Maſters of the City.

The ſame day, being the ſeventh of *July*, about eight at Night, their Imperial Majeſties with the whole Court paſſing through the Palace Gate, went over the *Danube*, and lay that Night at *Cronenbourg*, a pleaſant Town two or three miles diſtant from *Vienna*, being guarded by 200 men, who returned to *Vienna* the next Morning. The next day there followed ſuch a prodigious number of Coaches, Carts, Chariots, Horſemen, Foot, *&c.* as if they had deſigned to render the City a Deſert. They were thought to amount to 60000, ſo preſſing they were to avoid the danger that ſo eminently threatned them. And yet it was computed, that no fewer ſtay'd behind fit to bear Arms, beſides the Garriſon, the Women and the Children. This flight continued ſeveral days, but thoſe that went laſt, fell for the moſt part into the danger they would avoid, the hands of the *Tartars*. Many others did ſo overload their Chariots, that they had ſcarce paſſed the Bridge over the *Danube*, but their Wheels or Axeltrees breaking, they were left in the way in the Night, not knowing whither to turn themſelves.

Count *Aversberg*, having been diſpatched by the Duke of *Lorrain* to the Emperour, to inform him of the ſucceſs of the Battel of *Petronel*, found him at *Cronenbourg*, and greatly rejoyced the whole Court. Upon the firſt News of the Regiments that had been baffled, they had publiſhed at *Vienna* that the General had been ſlain, the Horſe defeated, and the *Tartars* at the Gates of the City. Thus all were greatly revived, that the Evil was leſs than they had believed it to be. 1683.

Whilſt their Imperial Majeſties continued their Journey to *Lintz*, *Lorrain* entred *Vienna*, where his firſt care was to pacifie the Diſorders and Confuſion there. Count *Sterenberg* arrived there the ſame day, and immediately fell to work with the Counterſcharp, fortifying the whole Works, and to plant Palizadoes. As they had not apprehended a Siege, the Generals found the more to do. *Lorrain* endeavoured however to provide for all things before the arrival of the Enemy, who began ſince the 11*th* to ſhew their moſt advanced Troops near the City. The ſame day *Starenberg's* Regiment arrived, as alſo a thouſand commanded Men, who advancing ſwiftly before the reſt of the Army, entred the City. *July* 8.

And now they burn the Suburbs, which was continued the day following, the Citizens themſelves carrying Fire into their own Houſes; and in the Evening there was a great Skirmiſh near the Palace called the Favorite, where the Turks advanced to diſcover. All the Infantry arrived the 13*th*, and *Lorrain* made them all march into the Counterſcharp, except eight Batallions which he retained in the *Tabor*, the better to defend that Poſt where he reſolved to ſtay until the Powder and Bullets expected from *Lintz* were arrived; which being effected, and the Ammunition conducted into the Arſenal, he cauſed the reſt of the Foot to be removed into the Town, together with *Dupigni's* Regiment of Horſe, the whole compoſing a Body of twelve thouſand Men.

The *Tartars* had committed infinite Ravages and Cruelties in that vaſt extent of Countries round *Vienna* for ſeveral Leagues. It is their cuſtom to run before the Army, armed only with a Javelin, and to burn and ſack, and ſpread Terror over all where they find no reſiſtance. They kill ſuch as fall into their Hands, or traffick them away as Slaves with the Turks. No place eſcapes their Inhumanity, not the moſt retired Places of Forreſts, the impenetrable Dens of wild Beaſts, or the moſt obſcure retreats of Valleys. There is nothing theſe *Barbarians* do not diſcover by means of their Blood-hounds, the uſe whereof is common amongſt them.

But now the groſs of the Enemies Army approaching, a great number of Waggons, ſome with four Horſes, and others drawn with Oxen, and very many Camels laden with Baggage, began to range themſelves in form of a Croyſent or half Moon about the City, extending from the *Danube* behind St. *Mark*, along the Suburbs of *Leopolſtat*, and the neighbouring Villages, even to *Neudorf*. At the ſame time the Turks opened their Trenches on the ſide of the Imperial Gate, and lodged there in ſpight of the Cannon of the Town that endeavoured to hinder them.

The Duke of *Lorrain*, having ordered Affairs at *Vienna*, retired with his Horſe and Dragoons over the Bridges, and camp'd there; he would gladly have kept ſome Foot with him, but having conſidered the greatneſs of the Enemies Strength, the Works that were to be made, the diſtance of Supplies, and the diminution which the continuance of a Siege would make in the Garriſon, he reſolved to leave all his Infantry with the Governour, who moſt earneſtly deſired it.

The Duke, before he left *Vienna*, had deſigned to continue in the *Tabor*, (or Iſle of St. *Leopold*) and ſo conſerve the Communication with the City. *Tabor* is an Iſland of a League and a half long, environed with the *Danube*. This Iſle is

full

1683. full of Houſes of Pleaſure, Gardens, and Groves. But upon a true Survey of the Place, his Highneſs could not think it defenſible, the Waters being ſo low, that the Arm of the River which formed this Iſle was almoſt every where fordable, ſo that whole ſquadrons might paſs at once without breaking their Ranks: for this and other Reaſons, the Iſle being likewiſe expoſed to the Enemies Artillery, they were obliged to repaſs the *Danube*.

The Turks by this time had pitch'd an infinite number of Tents about the City, and making a lodgement in *Rottenhoffs* Garden, where they had firſt opened their Trenches, and raiſed a great Battery, they thundered without ceaſing to favour their Works, which they continued winding and turning. The beſieged on their ſide covered themſelves with Gabions and ſacks of Earth to hinder the effect of the Enemies Cannon; they alſo raiſed a good Battery on that ſide, and all the Engineers and moſt knowing Officers being diſtributed into the ſeveral Poſts, were continually employed to render their Cannon ſerviceable, and fortifie the Places the moſt expoſed to the Enemies Fire, which coſt many of them their Lives.

The Turks, moved to ſee that the Chriſtians were Maſters of the Bridges, made an attempt to force *Conte Schultz* who had the guard of them. This General ſeeing his forlorn and advanced Guards preſſed, he ſent other Troops to ſuſtain them; but the Infidels having already a great body in the Iſle of *Tabor*, the Chriſtians were forced to fly over the Bridge. The Enemy planted their Standards there, but the Cannon loaden with Cartrages flanking that place, and the ſwift firing of the Dragoons, ranged along that Arm of the *Danube*, conſtrained them to retire, though themſelves were expoſed to the Enemies great and ſmall ſhot. The Dragoons preſſed them with ſo much violence in their retreat, that they took their Colours. The Turks upon this occaſion loſt a Baſſa, and many of their Janizaries. General *Schultz* himſelf was wounded here, as alſo the *Conte* of *Salsburg*, and a *Poliſh* Major ſlain. In the mean time the Turks, having poſſeſſed themſelves of *St. Leopold's* Iſle, ſhut up the City on all ſides. They made Bridges upon that Arm of the *Danube* which runs next the City, not only to communicate with their Camp, but to hinder the deſcent of Boats. They burnt the *Favorite*, and reduced all the Palaces of the Grandees to Aſhes. As ſoon as the heat of firing began to ceaſe in the Suburbs, the Turks filled them with Janizaries, ſo that none could enter or go out of the City; which much troubled the Duke of *Lorrain*, who could no more give or receive Intelligence from the beſieged, though ſo near and in ſight of them.

The Camp of twelve thouſand Men which the Grand Viſier had left near *Raab* to favour the Convoys, continued there ſtill under the command of the Baſſa of *Buda*; but he was relieved by Prince *Abaffi*, being himſelf obliged to go to the Siege of *Vienna*. There was alſo a Camp almoſt always betwixt *Fickem* and *Altembourg*, upon the ſame account, that is, to keep open and aſſiſt the Paſſage of Convoys which came from *Buda*, and the Neighbouring Parts.

The Turks being poſted in St. *Ulrick's* Suburbs, run their Trenches within fifty paces of the Counterſcharp and Batteries. They alſo advanced their Cannon there, but before they diſcharged them, they cauſed a little Bag of Linnen, carried upon the Spur by two *Spahies*, to be thrown into the Counterſcharp. This contained a Letter from the Grand Vizier, written in the Latin and Turkiſh Languages, the Explication whereof follows. 1683.

TO You, Generals, Governours, and Noble Citizens of Vienna, *We make known by theſe Preſents, according to the Orders we have received from the moſt Serene, moſt Mighty, moſt Redoubted, and the Mightieſt Emperour of the Univerſe, our Maſter, the true Image of God upon Earth, who, by the Grace of the moſt High, in imitation of our holy Prophet* Mahomet Muſtapha, *to whom be Honour, Glory, and Benediction, hath render'd himſelf, by the multitude of his Miracles, the greateſt of all the Sovereigns of the one and th'other World, and moſt Auguſt of Emperours, who, having cauſed our innumerable Armies, protected always by Divine Providence, to come hither, We are reſolved to take* Vienna, *and eſtabliſh there the Cult of our Divine Religion; 'tis therefore, that before we draw our fatal Cymetars, as our chief End is the Propagation of the* Muſſelman Faith, *and that is expreſly commanded us by the Laws of our* Holy Prophet, *firſt and before all things, to exhort you to embrace our* Holy Religion, *we do hereby advertiſe you, that if you will cauſe your ſelves to be inſtructed in our Myſteries, you will find the Salvation of your Souls therein: If you will deliver up your City without fighting, whether you are young, or more advanced in years, Rich or Poor, we aſſure you that you may all live there peaceably. If any deſire to quit the place, and go live elſewhere, no harm ſhall be done him in his Perſon or Goods, and he ſhall be conducted with his Family and Children whither he pleaſes. For ſuch as will rather ſtay, they ſhall live in the City as they did before. But if you ſuffer us by your Obſtinacy to take the City by force, we ſhall then ſpare no Body; and we ſwear by the* Creator of Heaven *and* Earth, *who neither hath, nor never will have his equal, that we ſhall put all to the Sword, as is ordained by our Law. Your Goods will be pillaged, and your Wives and Children will be carried away Slaves. We ſhall pardon only ſuch who ſhall obey the Divine Orders.*

Given at the Emperours Camp before Vienna, *the 8th of the Moon* Regeb, *in the year of the tranſmigration of the* Prophet, 1094.

The Turks continued to deepen their Trenches to four foot, and ſhot many Bombs, but without any conſiderable effect, moſt of them burſting in the Air, except ſome few, which falling near the Walls, burnt an old Play-houſe, which being of Wood, it was feared leſt the Flames ſhould reach the Convent and Church of the *Auguſtines*, which occaſion'd its ſudden demoliſhing.

There happened alſo another Accident, but more dangerous. The Fire having ſeized upon the *Scots* Church, conſumed that ſtately Building, as alſo the Houſe of *Frendorf*, lately perfectioned by the Biſhop of *Heliopolis*, Suffragan to the Arch-biſhop of *Vienna*. The flame proceeded to the Arſenal, full of Powder and Munitions of War, which would have proved fatally ruinous, if *Conte Serin* had not cauſed the Gate, which they had in vain attempted to unlock, to be broken open, and immediately removed the Powder, which a few moments delay would have rendred impoſſible. But on the other ſide, they could not hinder the Fire to conſume the Palaces of *Aversberg*, *Traun*, and *Palfi*, which were reduced to Aſhes. A Boy of ſixteen years old, habited like a Girl, was accuſed as guilty of this burning, being found thereabouts, who was by the enraged People immediately pull'd in pieces, ſo that the truth by this precipitated death could not be made known. This Fire continued three days, which if it had ſeiſed the Powder in the Arſenal, as in the year 1620, the

Turks

1683. Turks might eaſily have entred that way into the City.

Since this Accident, the Infidels ſhot that way that they ſaw the flame appear, and endeavoured to ruine the Court and the Lyon Baſtions, with the Ravelin betwixt both; but the Beſieged bravely oppoſed them with their Sallies and Countermines. They wanted good Engineers in the City, inſomuch that *Haſner*, a Captain of the Garriſon, who from a private Souldier was by his Virtue come to that degree, being obſerved to note all the faults the Miners committed in their Works, the conduct of them was committed to him, wherein he acquitted himſelf with good Succeſs.

Count *Starenberg*, who was Governour General, was all this while buſie in repairing the Walls, deepning and palizadoing the Ditches, and in raiſing the Earth which was drawn out of the Ramparts and Retreats, to cover themſelves when the firſt Poſts and Parapets were thrown down, which afterwards contributed much to the defence of the Place.

The Turks advanced their Works on the Court and Lebel Baſtions ſide, carrying them on within thirty paces of the Counterſcharp, notwithſtanding the continued fire of the Beſieged. They alſo diſcharged their Cannon and Mortars without ceaſing, and intirely ruined the Emperour's Palace, the Houſes and neighbouring Churches.

Count *Starenberg*, who neglecting the danger, viſited every moment the Poſts, to ſee if his orders were faithfully executed; upon his going out of the Court-Bulwark was hurt in the Head with a Brick-bat, which a Cannon bullet had forced. He was immediately carried to his Lodging, and ſo happily cured, that in three days he found himſelf able to quit his Bed and his Chamber; during his hurt, the Count of *Daun* was alſo incapable of acting, being dangerouſly ſick of a violent Fever, which reduced him to extremity; ſo that he was not out of danger before the fourteenth Day of his Malady. But the Counts *Serin*, *Souches*, and *Schaffenberg*, Brigadiers of the Garriſon, applied themſelves with ſo much care for the defence of the Place, that the Enemy drew no advantage from this misfortune.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Lorrain*, finding himſelf obliged to remove farther from the City, his firſt care was to moleſt the Enemy. Count *Dunewald*, Lieut. Marſhal of the Field, was ſent to *Krembs* with his Regiment, the two Regiments of *Lodron*, and *Keri*, *Cravats*, *Kemeſegs* Regiment of *Poliſh* Dragoons, were likewiſe diſpatched thither, not only to keep the Bridge, which was of great Importance, but to hinder the Enemies Forragers, and oppoſe the Parties of *Tartars* which ravaged about. And here we may wonder at the Politicks of theſe Miſcreants, who burn and ruine all the Forrages, and all the Victuals, which ſhould make them ſubſiſt, and which would have very much accommoded their Army in the diſtreſſes they afterwards found themſelves.

Lorrain likewiſe ſent Orders to Count *Hermeſtein*, who was in *Styria*, to advance to the Frontiers on the ſide of the Mountains, to attempt the Enemies. He gave alſo the ſame Orders to the Garriſons of *Raab* and *Comorra*, and to *Caſtel*'s Dragoons who were at *Newſtat*. He ſent likewiſe to ſurvey *Cloſterneuhourg*, which is an Abbey upon the *Danube*. The Turkiſh Camp was but two Leagues off, and according to the report made to him of the Place, he judged it neceſſary to conſerve this Poſt, which he did, by putting Foot into it, the which might deſcend the *Danube* upon occaſion, if the Enemy came to attack them with Cannon. 1683. 17.

He diſpatch'd an Officer to *Raab*, for the Regiments of *Grana* and *Baden*, which the Duke of *Croy* brought him with ſo much diligence, that parting from *Raab* at Mid-night, they came in 24 hours to *Presburg*, and the next day to the Camp.

Count *Leſley* was ſent to *Krembs* to conduct the Artillery thither, and to expect the *Bavarians* Auxiliaries, thoſe of *Saxony* and *Franconia*, and ſome other looſe Regiments in the Empire.

After theſe firſt Diſpoſitions, which depended on the Duke's care, his thoughts more nearly regarded the Court, and the relief of *Vienna*. He judged the ſafety of this Place of ſuch Importance, that he thought it not fit it ſhould be preſſed, and reduced to Extremity, to ſearch the means of ſaving it. He knew that the tedioufneſs of Negotiations, and the diſtance from whence he was to expect things neceſſary for this grand Enterpriſe, would make him loſe much time, whence he concluded that he could not begin too ſoon. He was not of the Sentiment of others, who imagined that the Garriſon of *Vienna* was capable of defending it ſelf againſt ſuch extraordinary Troops, and cauſe the Grand Viſier's Army to periſh, without any Succour. But he knew that the want of Neceſſaries do ſometimes produce great Changes in the beſt Reſolutions, that no body could anſwer for the Governour's Life; nor for the principal Officers, nor for the conſtancy of the People, accuſtomed to an eaſie Life, and who had never ſeen the Wars but in paint. He knew that the Maladies inevitable in Sieges might occaſion untoward Accidents. He ſaw the Deſolation of the Emperour's Hereditary Countries, which did daily augment. He heard no other Diſcourſe but of Places ſacked, and People carried into ſlavery. In this Continuation of Cruelties and Violences, he judged it reaſonable to uſe all means to ſtop the Rapidity of this Torrent. He perſwaded himſelf, that being at the head of the Army, he ought not to deferr repreſenting all theſe Particulars to the Emperour by ſome Perſon of Merit and Truſt. He gave this Commiſſion to Count *Taff*, whom he diſpatch'd to *Haſſau*, and he continued the ſame Offices during the Siege, for all the Obſtacles and Oppoſitions which he Encountred, whether by the Difficulties of Paſſages, or the ſlender ſucceſs of his Negotiations.

The Beſiegers, who had drawn two parallel Lines, the one on the Court Baſtion, and the other on the Lebel ſide, joyned them with another of Communication, and placed above thirty pieces of Battery againſt them. And though *Vienna* was environed with eleven Baſtions, the Enemy attack'd and battered but three during the whole Siege, which obliged the Governour to uſe all his care for their defence.

The Grand Viſier took his Poſt on that ſide that regarded the Ravelin above-mentioned, with the Aga of the Janizaries, called as he was, *Cara Muſtapha*, his *Kiaia*, and the Baſſa of *Romelia*; this laſt was ſlain with a Cannon bullet. The Attack on the right ſide towards the Court Bulwark was committed to *Huſſan*, the Baſſa of *Damas*, who, though brave, had been beaten by Prince *Ragotzki* in *Tranſilvania*, by Count *Souches* at *Lowentz*, and by the King of *Poland* at *Coczin*. This Baſſa was ſeconded by the Seraſquier, Janiſary Aga, or Collonel of all the Foot.

Achmet, Baſſa of *Temiſwar*, commanded the left Attack towards the Lebel Bulwark. He had been *Teſterdar*, and died the Third of *September* of a Dyſſentery. *Huſſan* Baſſa, who had alſo been his Highneſſes Treaſurer, was put in his Place.

1683. I ſhall deſignedly pretermit the particulars of this Siege, as to the Approaches, Trenches, Batteries, Minings, Counterminings, Attacks, Sallies, and Conteſts, though carried on with admirable Valour and Conſtancy on both ſides, as being particularized in the Journals of that Siege in all Languages, and of little or no uſe to my Country-men: And yet I ſhall omit no great Action, nor any thing that may be required of a juſt Hiſtorian.

Great was the firing on both ſides, and a Granado falling on the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors Palace, reverſed all his Stables. It would have done yet more harm without the Governours Precaution, who had commanded 250 men, under their particular Officers, to march inceſſantly through the Streets to quench the artificial Fires occaſioned from their Bombs or otherwiſe.

Being, as we mentioned, cloſe ſhut up, *Count Starenberg* was the more deſirous to communicate Councils with the Duke of *Lorrain*; for which end he offered 100 Duckets to any that would but carry him a Letter, without the hazard of a return, but no man preſented himſelf upon this occaſion; and yet a Spy ſent by the Duke arrived happily in the City, having traverſed the four Branches of the *Danube* with his Letters hanged in a Bladder about his Neck, by theſe the Governour was informed, that he ſhould certainly be relieved, and that the Troops of the Circles of the Empire, and the Hereditary Countries with which the King of *Poland*, who was at *Olmitz*, was to joyn, did daily arrive. In the mean time ſome Deſerters brought News, and it was ſeen from the top of St. *Stevens* Steeple, that the Infidels were making a Bridge of Boats over the *Danube*, a League off, to the end they might paſs when they pleaſed into the Iſle of *Prater*. They knew alſo that this Commiſſion was given to the Vayvods of *Wallachia* and *Moldavia*, who employed 6000 of their Nation in the Work; but being the Turks ſuſpected them, as being Chriſtians, and that they were forced, the Viſier ordered *Achmet*, Baſſa of *Magneſia*, a City in *Natolia*, who was camped in this Iſle, and *Chider*, Baſſa of *Boſna*, who had been *Kiaia* to the Sultana *Aſſeki*, to attend their Actions, and ſecond them with ſix thouſand *Egyptians*.

The Baron of *Kunitz*, who was the Emperours Reſident with the Port, being then in the Camp, ſent one of his Domeſticks with a Letter to Count *Starenberg*, which was not very hard to do, though the Turks kept a very ſtrict Guard, by reaſon that the Officers and Servants of all the Miniſters which reſided with the Grand Seignior, are habited as Turks, and ſpeak the Language of the Country. The buſineſs was kept ſo little ſecret, that the News became the next day the ſubject of every Converſation. This Indiſcretion was the cauſe that they could no more profit by this Advantage, the Turks being advertiſed of this Commerce by their Spies. *Kunitz*'s Servant being ſeiſed upon in his return, was brought to the Viſier, and ſeen no more, but without his Letters, which being wrap'd in wax, he prudently let ſlip into a Ditch, when he ſaw the Turks come towards him.

An Order was publiſhed by ſound of Trumpet, commanding all Proprietors of Houſes, to keep every one a Man in his Cellar, to hearken if they could not diſcern any thumping or removing of Earth, becauſe it had been noiſed abroad, that ſome Traitors had promiſed to bring the Enemy through Subterranean Paſſages into the City. The ſame day the Turks paſſing ſome great Pieces into *Leopolſtat* upon Boats and Flotes, were diſcovered by the beſieged, who play'd upon them with their Cannon from the Ramparts ſo lukily, that they ſunk two of their largeſt, with a Mortar-piece, which yet did not hinder the reſt to arrive at *Neudorf* and *Erdorf*. 1683.

The Cannon on both ſides, together with the Mortars, play'd without ceaſing, and though they ruined the prime Buildings in the Town, they hurt or killed but very few. The 24*th*, *Nitiski*, one of the Engineers, came in great haſte to the Governour, to tell him, that he had ſeen in one of the Shores of the City, ſomewhat that had the Figure of a Man, and that it was to be feared, that the Turks had found a Paſſage, and were entered through this Vault, which diſgorges it ſelf in the *Danube*, and that they deſigned to ſurpriſe the City that way. The Governour, not being yet well recovered of his hurt, ſent *Nitski* back, with the Baron of *Wels*, his Son-in-Law, and Collonel *Rumblingen*, who was preſent, to examine the matter with care; but being they ſtayed ſomewhat long, the Governour, weak as he was, mounted on Horſeback. Being come to the place, he alighted, and entered himſelf, notwithſtanding the infectious ſmells, into the hole, having ſearched all about with Torches, he found that they were Carkaſſes that the Executioners men had ſtead. He very ſharply reproved the Authors of this Inhumanity, having accidentally met ſome of them, and returned to his Palace, pleaſantly rallying this Pannick fear with thoſe that accompanied him.

The Duke of *Lorrain* had continued in his Camp by the Bridges of *Vienna* to refreſh his haraſſed Cavalry, from the 16*th* to the 25*th* of *July*. He had there News of the defeat of 800 *Tartars* by a party of a Detachment which Count *Dunewald* Commanded, which render'd theſe *Barbarians* more reſerved.

The Count *de la Tour*, the Emperours Envoy in *Poland*, came to the ſame Poſt to him, to aſſure him, that that Prince p[romi]ſed to come to the relief of *Vienna*, but that he [co]uld not be there before the beginning of *Sept[em]br.*

At the ſame time the Duke of *Lorrain* was advertiſed that *Tekely* having aſſe[m]bled his Troops near *Tirnau*, deſigned to march to *Presburg*, that the Governour of that Ca[ſtle] wavered, and that the City was much ſolic[ited] to receive a Garriſon of the diſcontented *Hungarians*; which obliged him to march along the *Marck* to oppoſe this deſign, and in the interi[m] ſent 200 men with Major *Okelby*, to endeav[our] to put them into the ſaid Caſtle with a Convoy of 300 Horſe for his Security.

The Duke diſcamp'd from the Bridges of *Vienna*, having burnt them, leaving notwithſtanding the Regiments of *Savoy* and *Ricardi* to preſerve the Forts. Being arrived at the *Mark*, he was informed that *Okelby* with his Convoy were beaten by a party of the *Malecontents*; that the City had received a Garriſon; that they were by order of the Grand Viſier preparing a Bridge for the Communication of both Armies; that *Tekely* had 20000 *Hungarians*, and 8000 *Turks*, commanded by the Baſſa of *Waradin* and *Peſt*; and that he prepared to come and beſiege the Caſtle of *Presburg*. This deſign appeared to the Duke of that conſequence, that he believed himſelf obliged to march thither notwithſtanding all the Obſtacles that ſeemed to oppoſe him. This reſolve was however a great while conteſted. He conſidered the difficulty of the ways, the Enemies Forces much ſuperior to his; the danger of receiving a check, in a time when the Empe-

1683. Emperours Forces were to be preſerved for relief of *Vienna*. On the other ſide, he foreſaw that the Communication of the two Armies at *Presburg* did put the Enemies in a Condition to joyn their Forces to paſs where they pleaſed, and to hinder the Conjunction of the Arms of *Poland*, or oblige them to tedious Circuits. Theſe Conſiderations made him determine to oppoſe the Deſigns of *Tekely*. He traverſed the *Marck* the 28*th* of *July* with his Horſe and Dragoons, being in all eight thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand *Poles*, commanded by *Lubomirsky*. A party that appeared a League from the River, was forced back; the Imperialiſts continuing their march to the Lanes that deſcended to *Presburg*. Night being come on, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, and the Baron *Mercy* were detached with all the Dragoons to force the narrow Paſſages, and gain the tops of the Vineyards, which they did without any Oppoſition, having a ſight of the Enemy in the plain below. The General upon notice came ſpeedily thefe, from whence he obſerved two Camps poſted at ſome diſtance from each other. He cauſed his Horſe to advance, which he had left behind the narrow Paſſages, to be ready upon Occaſion, and in the mean time cauſed *Okelby* to enter the Caſtle with two hundred Men, commanded a-new for this Enterpriſe.

At break of day, the General commanded Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to inſpect the Suburbs, where ſome Malecontents did appear. Upon his advance, the Enemy retreated into the City, and abandoned the ſaid Suburbs without reſiſtance.

This happy Succeſs, and that in ſight of the Enemy, ſeemed an Argument of their Weakneſs, and occaſioned the ſummoning of the Town; which, in the Surpriſe it was, ſeeing the Imperial Army at their Gates, and the Garriſon of the Caſtle reinforced, immediately ſurrendred; deliberating no longer than was neceſſary to give means to the Garriſon of the Malecontents to retire to their Camp; which did not happen; for one part of them was cut in pieces when they were out, and the other made Priſoners in the Town.

After this advantage, the Duke was reſolved to attack the Enemy, who were advanced in Batalia within three quarters of an hour of the City. He gave Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* Orders to ſeiſe with his Dragoons the Vineyards and Gardens at the head of the Suburbs, and to extend on both hands from the *Danube* to the foot of the Mountain; whilſt the Horſe, commanded by Count *Caprara*, deſcended by the ſame Vineyards to embattel themſelves.

The Enemy on their ſide made ſome motions of coming up to the Imperialiſts, and detached ſome Parties to begin the Skirmiſh; but the Duke would not Engage them before all his Troops were in Battel-array. As ſoon as the ſecond Line was formed, they began to advance; which occaſioned the Malecontents to change their Countenance, for whereas they had appeared, as if deſigning to bring the buſineſs to a Battel, much Duſt appeared in the Rear of their right Wing, as alſo the left, and removed farther off, which ſeemed to be occaſioned by retiring Troops, which alſo proved ſo; all the Line which ſtood oppoſite to the Imperialiſts, wheeling and ſeparating into a perfect Retreat.

Thoſe who were on the *Lorrainers* right, and had a Party of *Polanders* in oppoſition to them, finding themſelves preſſed by their Avantguard were intirely routed, being chaſed with conſiderable loſs, until they had gained a Wood, and paſſed a Brook two miles off, they there rallied on the other ſide, and obliged the Troops that had preſſed them to a ſtand. On the left, another detachment of *Poles*, ſeconded by ſome *German* Squadrons, and the Regiment of *Palfi*, charged the Enemy with ſo much Vigour, that having broken them, they kill'd and took betwixt five and ſix hundred of them. They ſeiſed on above a thouſand Waggons with Baggage, and purſued them towards *Tirnau* with ſo much heat, that they forced ſome of them with great Confuſion into the Woods, and others into the *Danube*. The fear was ſuch, that they fled on all ſides until they had paſſed the *Waagh*. 1683.

Tekely, upon the Advice he had of the march of the Imperialiſts, by the Party he had beaten the Night before, he retired in the Night with the greateſt part of his Horſe and all his Foot, leaving but few of his Men with the Turks, who would retire as he did, reſolving to expect the *Germans*. This Action produced ſome miſunderſtanding betwixt the *Tekeliſts* and the *Infidels*, who ſeparated with little ſatisfaction from each other; but they re-united ſince by order of the Grand Viſier, as was found by their intercepted Letters. The Duke in the mean time cauſed the Timber, the Planks, and the Boats prepared for the Conſtruction of the deſigned Bridge to be deſtroyed; and afterwards returned to the *Marck*.

The Siege, in the mean time, as alſo the defence was bravely carried on; one Day the Turks divertiſed themſelves with a conſort of Flutes, Cymbals, and other Inſtruments of their Faſhion, and the terrible howlings of the Aſſiſtants, which they account Melodious, denoting, as was ſuppoſed by their joy, ſome extraordinary Feaſt. The Beſieged that were in the Counterſcharp, but ten Paces off, could not forbear rallying theſe *Barbarians*, and ask them in ſcorn to give them part in the Divertiſement of their Ball, being they had given them that of their Muſick. And the Ball did truly follow, but the Leapers were on the Chriſtians ſide; For theſe Infidels having ſprung a Mine, which they had newly dug, under the Poſts and Pallizadoes of the Counterſcharp, the Earth, with a good part of the Pallizado, and about 100 of the Defendants were blown up. The Turks taking advantage of the Opportunity, uſed all their might to render themſelves Maſters of the Counterſcharp, by the breach they had made in it. The Fight was hot, and the Slaughter great. The Confuſion and Diſorder grew high, but moſt amongſt the Chriſtians, which being perceived by Count *Serini*, and St. *Croix*, Lieutenant Collonel to *Dupigni*, they ran with a hundred Men to their Aid, and employing them to throw hand Granadoes, and other artificial Fires upon the Enemy, ſo encouraged their Friends, that they fell with revived Courage upon the Enemy, beat them back and kill'd a great number of them, planting the Heads of the ſlain in rows upon their Pallizadoes, letting theſe *Barbarians* know that Chriſtian Walls would not tumble with noiſe of Inſtruments and ſhowting, as the Walls of *Jerico* once did.

A Meſſenger being ſent to the Duke of *Lorrain* a ſecond time with Letters in Cyfer, was unhappily taken by the Turk, and his Letters being tyed to an Arrow, were ſhot again into the Town, with Latin lines affixed to them, intimating, that they ſent this Letter to the Beſieged, being it was to no purpoſe to ſend it to *Lorrain*; being aſſured, that in the ill Conditi-

1683. on the place was in, it would be taken before the Succours could arrive.

27. The Governour publiſhed an Ordinance, whereby all Perſons, of what Quality or Condition ſoever they were, being able to bear Arms, and had not yet liſted themſelves in the Companies of the Univerſity, or thoſe of the Magiſtrates, ſhould appear at the New-Market upon the noiſe of the Bells, to be inrolled, and form a fourth Body, which was done; In the mean time, many Chriſtians taken by the *Tartars*, being ſhaved, and in Turkiſh habits, found means to ſave themſelves, and eſcape into the City.

The Turks continued their Labours, and the Advancement of their Works; and to hinder the Effect of the Bombs which were continually thrown out of the City, they covered their Trenches with great Beams and Trees, upon which they threw Sacks of Earth in abundance, which not only cloſed the chinks, but rendred it proof againſt Granadoes, as alſo Musket ſhot. When this Work was finiſhed, not only the principal Baſſaes, but the Viſier himſelf came to view the Trenches, and lodged in them, having their ſeparate Apartments, pav'd with Brick, and divided into Chambers, with all the conveniencies of great Houſes.

There arrived an Expreſs in the Camp, which informed the Duke, that the King of *Poland* would not part from *Cracovia* till the *16th* Inſtant; that the Troops of *Saxony* would have their Rendezvous at *Dreſden* the *4th*, and that thoſe of *Frankonia*, would not begin to march before the *11th*: Theſe Succours appearing remote, and the duration of the Defence of *Vienna* incertain, his Highneſs reſolved to approach the Enemies Quarters. He thought that he ſhould be able by the Twentieth of *Auguſt*, with his Forces, as well *Imperialiſts* as *Bavarians*, and the Troops of *Polanders* which ſhould enter into *Sileſia*; to paſs the *Danube* at *Krembs*, and advance with that Body towards the Heights near the Camp of the Enemies, with deſign to maintain himſelf there till the arrival of the Allies. During this, he might weary out the Infidels, animate the Beſieged in their Defence, and hold himſelf in a Condition to force a Poſt for the relief of the Place, according to the neceſſity of Affairs. He ſent Count *Palfi* to Court, to acquaint his Imperial Majeſty with the Deſign, and preſs the march of the Troops, which might be got together by that time; and ſome other diſpoſal of Boats and Proviſions neceſſary for that Expedition.

After he had diſpatch'd the Count, he was informed, that Count *Tekely* had ſent Boats to the Turks, that he had paſſed the *Danube*, and that they were ſeen from *Entſerdorff*, a little Town ſeated upon that River where the Imperialiſts had ſome Magazins. The Duke marched thither with four Regiments, and thence to the Bridge of *Vienna*, where, having learned that the Enemy had poſſeſſed themſelves of a ſmall Iſland, and that they had taken Boats from the Peaſants, who had retired into the ſaid Iſle, he ordered the Baron of *Mercy* to diſlodge them thence, and returned to *Entſerdorff*. *Mercy* cauſed his Cannon to advance upon the oppoſite ſhoar to the Iſle, with the Dragoons of *Savoy* which guarded the Bridge, and having broken theſe Boats with his great Shot, he reduced the Turks to an Inability of being able to get out of the *Tabor* or *Leopold's* Iſle.

As ſoon as *Tekely* underſtood that the Imperialiſts were returned towards *Vienna*, he ſummoned *Moravia* to pay him Contribution. The Duke being advertiſed of it, returned to *Ancren* upon the *Mark*, to defend that Province againſt the *Malecontents*. He was informed upon his arrival there, that a party of them had repaſſed that River that day, and burnt ſome Villages. He detached preſently 500 *Polanders* to purſue them, ſeconding them with ſome Horſe and Dragoons, who encountering them two Leagues from *Ancren*, loaden with Spoyl, they attack'd them ſo briskly, though far inferior in number, that they killed 500, releaſed the Priſoners, recovered all the Booty, and took ten or twelve of their Standards. 1683.

The Siege was carried on with no leſs bravery than it was ſuſtained; and being ſeveral who were out of Employment were neceſſitous, an Ordinance was publiſhed, intimating that Monies and Proviſions ſhould be given to all ſuch who would inroll themſelves, with aſſurance they ſhould not be obliged to ſerve after the Siege. Many accepted of the Condition, received three Patacoons each advance Moneys, and were regalled with Bread and Wine, by the care of the Prince of *Swartzenberg*, and by the Liberality of the Religious and the Citizens. Wine never failed, nor indeed freſh Meat for the ſick, ſtore of Cattel having been twice brought in by ſally during the Siege. The Magiſtrates had by the Governours Order taxed the Eccleſiaſticks, the Cloyſters, the Citizens, and the Peaſants, who were refuged in the City, to furniſh for the uſe of the Souldiers the hundredth Pint, which was punctually executed, there being none that refuſed to pay this Impoſition: the greateſt Lords and the Emperours Officers not exempting themſelves upon this Occaſion.

St. Stephens Steeple, being very obnoxious to the Turks by reaſon of its height, and the great extent of its Diſcoveries, was much ſhot at by them, though *Solyman*, when he beſieged *Vienna*, had declined ruining ſo noble a Fabrick, upon no other Terms, but that they ſhould put a a Half Moon, the Arms of that Empire, upon the Spire of it, which was ſtill up. The Centinel that was there the *7th*, perceived betwixt the River *Mark* and *Moravia*, on the other ſide the *Danube*, Fire and Smoke, which laſted till eight a Clock; *C. Starenberg* judg'd they were *C. Tekely's* Troops, who in paſſing the *Waagh*, had skirmiſhed with the Imperialiſts, and it proved ſo, as he found by the return of one of his Spyes, which he had ſent to the Duke. The account he gave was, that the Turks having detatched 3000 Horſe to diſcover the Succors which were arrived in the Princes Army, out of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, and the Circles, theſe Infidels fell into an Ambuſcade which was laid for them, and where moſt of them were cut in pieces; that an Aga, Count *Tekely's* Secretary, and an *Hungarian* Count, ſince dead of his Wounds, were taken Priſoners; that the Imperialiſts had taken a great number of the Enemies Waggons with Baggage, and that ſince this Advantage, many of the chief of the Malecontents were come in to the Duke.

Collonel *Heiſter* having paſſed the *Danube* at *Cloſternewburg*, took four hundred of the Enemies Horſe. On the other ſide, the Malecontents continued to ſend ſmall parties into *Moravia*, who ſet fire by Night on the Houſes and Villages; and as it was a hard matter to remedy theſe Diſorders by force of Arms, the Duke judged that the beſt way to repreſs them was by that of Reprizals. He cauſed *Tekely* to be advertiſed, that he would ſend Orders to *Zatmar*, and to all the Emperours Garriſons, to burn the Palaces and Houſes of all them of his party. This threat-

1683 threatning put a ſtop to theſe Incendiaries; for he thereupon ſent a Perſon to *Chevalier Labormiski*, under pretext of an Envoy to the King of *Poland*, to the end he might inform the Duke of *Lorrain* that he had not commanded thoſe burnings, and that they ſhould hear no more of them.

About this time, Count *Albret Caprara*, the Emperours Envoy at *Conſtantinople*, had Permiſſion given him by the Grand Viſier, to return to his Maſter, and having paſſed by *Tuln*, he had in charge to propoſe to his Imperial Majeſty, that upon the Ceſſion of *Raab* he would abandon the Siege of *Vienna*.

Kotlinski, a Lieutenant, upon promiſe of the firſt vacant Company, had been diſpatched from *Vienna* to the Duke, one from the Deputies of the Council of State, and the reſt from the County *Caplier* and *Starenberg*. The firſt, for they were of ſeveral dates, marked the danger the Counterſcharp was in, others gave an account of the ſtate of the Siege, minding him of the Neceſſities of the place, and the Accidents that might happen; and praying him to haſten the Succours, and theſe were writ by the Governour. *Caplier's* Letters particulariz'd the ſlain and wounded, finiſhing with earneſtneſs for Relief, praying him to conſider the Officers, their want of Granados, their ſtock being near ſpent, and the Diſpoſition of the Citizens not to be relied upon. The laſt Letter marked, that *C. Starenberg* was ſick of a bloody Flux, and could anſwer for nothing, unleſs the Succours were great and quick.

The Duke, who was careful in informing the Emperour, the King of *Poland*, and the Elector of *Saxony*, of all he could learn of the ſtate of the beſieged, failed not to quicken the Auxiliaries, to communicate his Intelligence and Letters to them. He diſpatch'd Count *Caraffa* to the King of *Poland* with them, and haſten'd the march of General *Sinariski*, who was come into *Sileſia* ſix days ſince. This Count had alſo in charge, to pray his Majeſty of *Poland* to come with the firſt Troops, as well for the eſteem he had of his Merits, as becauſe he believed that upon the Kings advance the groſs of his Army would follow with more diligence. After he had diſpatched *C. Caraffa*, he ſent the Count *Schaffenberg* to the Elector of *Saxony*, to provide Waggons and Carriages for the Auxiliary Troops by the way as they ſhould paſs. As he did not doubt but that theſe preſſing Letters would quicken the advance of the Troops, he thought he was obliged to provide alſo for the paſſage of the *Danube*, and in order to it reſolved to go to *Krembs*, whereof he advertiſed the Emperour by an Expreſs. About the ſame time *C. Starenberg* had News from his Highneſs of the defeat of *C. Tekely* near *Presburg*, as alſo of the taking of a great Convoy that was going to the *Ottoman* Army, and that the King of *Poland* was upon his march to ſuccour the Place. This good News infuſed Joy into the whole City, and was welcomed with all the Artillery, and the ringing of all their Bells. As every little Succeſs encourages Souldiers at leaſt to hope, ſo it far'd here. A Scholar having killed a Janizary, and ripped open his Stomach, found ten Duckats in Gold in it; and a Souldier having after a ſtiff Combat diſarmed a Janizary, cut off his Head with his own Sable; Searching him afterwards, he found a Girdle about him full of Moneys, which he hid ſo well that his Comrades did not diſcover it: Being returned into the City, having unſtitch'd his purchaſe, he found an 100 Sequins of Gold. He was ſo tranſported at the ſight with Joy, that he ran like a Mad-man through the Streets, clapping his Hands, and ſhewing his Gold to every body, making it appear by his Extravagancies, that he thought himſelf happier than the Emperour. His good Fortune gave Courage to his Companions, upon hopes of the like Adventure, making them good Anatomiſts and diligent Waiters. 1683

The Duke of *Lorrain* left *Anneren* encampt at *Volgerdorp*. He there received Letters from the Count *Caplier* and *Starenberg*. The firſt preſſed ſtrongly for Relief, by reaſon of the Diminution of the Garriſon, and the Ammunitions of War. The Style of the ſecond Letter was upon the brave, and ſeemed of a Perſon not greatly concerned; but in the three laſt Lines, being in Cypher, he beſought the Duke for ſpeedy Succours, becauſe the Retrenchments and cuttings off in the Lebel Baſtion were very ſlight; that his Ammunitions and Officers failed him, and that he every day loſt many of his Men. His Highneſs return'd him anſwers full of comfort, advertiſing him of the ſtate of the advance of the *Auxiliaries*, and the certitude of his Relief. In order to it, he quits *Volgerdorp*, and marched to *Stokerau*, the better from thence to diſcover the Iſles of the *Danube*, and chuſe a place for making a Bridge for his Paſſage.

Some of the great ones were of Opinion, that *Vienna* ought to be relieved by the Plain, paſſing the *Danube* at *Presburg*, this Opinion found many partiſans, their reaſon was, that the Army poſting it ſelf above the City, would cut off the Communication of the Beſiegers with thoſe Countries from whence they drew their Proviſions, which being done, they judged the Turks would retire, without the Chriſtians hazarding of a Battel. This reaſoning did not want appearance, if it could be done before the Beſieged were too much preſſed; but the Enemies main force conſiſting in Horſe, that of the *Imperialiſts* in Foot, the Duke thought Incloſures preferrable to the Plains; beſides, the Allies not being able to meet at *Krembs* before the Month of *September*, many days would be ſpent in marching thence to *Presburg*, and laying a Bridge over the River there, in a time when the condition of the Siege demanded all their haſte. Moreover the Conſtruction of a Bridge in that place was difficult, eſpecially if the Enemy detached any ſtrong Parties to oppoſe them, as they might eaſily do; inſomuch that the Duke, who had in the beginning of the Siege looked upon the Mountains of *Kalemberg* as the ſureſt way for the Relief of *Vienna*, without any farther amuſing himſelf, reſolved to paſs the Army at *Tuln* and *Krembs*, diſpoſing all things accordingly for the Execution of this Deſign. He did not believe the Enemy would come thither to oppoſe him, not only becauſe part of his Army, and of that of the *Bavarians* was already on the other ſide of the *Danube*, and maintained themſelves there, without attempts of the *Turks* to diſlodge them; but alſo becauſe it would be dangerous for theſe Infidels to engage themſelves with a great Body of Horſe beyond the Streights or narrow Paſſages of the Foreſt of *Vienna*.

Many were the Meſſengers and Spies which paſt betwixt the Duke and Beſieged, his Highneſs being careful to encourage and inform them. He now again aſſures them, that the Army compoſed of *Bavarians*, *Saxons*, *Poles*, and the Imperial Troops approach'd *Krembs*; That the King of *Poland* Commanded it in Perſon, and that he was accompanied by the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*; That the Emperour

was

1683. was removed from *Paſſaw* to *Lintz*, to be nearer *Vienna*, ſo that now there was nothing more required for the ſaving of Chriſtendom, but a little more reſiſtance, being all the Troops were ready to march. He added, that he himſelf was going to *Krembs*, to prepare the Bridges and every other neceſſary thing, to the end that nothing ſhould retard the Succour of the Place, aſſuring moreover the Governour, that he would expoſe himſelf to all dangers to force the Enemy from the Siege. Fortune did begin now to favour them, being *Tekely* had been defeated at *Presburg*, and by the River of *Marcka* with great loſs. This News cauſed a ſenſible Joy in all the Inhabitants, and particularly the Eccleſiaſticks, whereof many were troubled with bloody Fluxes, and very many conſiderable Perſons had been dead of it. The cauſe of this Diſeaſe may well be attributed to the ill Diet, the richeſt ſort being forced to eat ſalt meats, differing from the Delicacies of their former feeding, beſides the Meal they made their Bread of was neither clean nor well ground.

The Duke in the mean time cauſed ſome Troops of the Regiments of *Granā* and *Baden* to ſecure *Tuln*, where there was a ſtone Wall and a Ditch, for he deſigned to preſerve that Town, and make it one of the heads of his Bridge: the next day he went to diſcover the Ilets of the *Danube*, and having found them uſeful for his Deſign, he commanded ways to be made in them, and Boats to be brought thither. Upon his return he found Count *Palfi* arrived from *Lintz*, with orders from the Emperour, that it was neceſſary he ſhould expect the arrival of all the Allies before he approached near the Enemies.

About this time a noiſe was ſpread in the City, that the Turks, who inceſſantly mined and moved the Earth, had made a Subterranean paſſage which ſhould open into the Emperours Cellars, by which they pretended to ſurpriſe the Town. The Governour, howbeit he believed nothing of it, ordered the Emperours Guards which were left for the Guard of the Palace, to keep watch and Centinels in the Cellars, which they did with no great regret. The ſame day there happened an accident, which for the rareneſs of it may well be recorded. *Kimpler*, an able Engineer, working in a Countermine under the Caſtle-Gate, encountered, deep in the Earth within a walled Vault, a Coffin of Tin, wherein he thought to have found a dead Corps, but opening it, he was dazzled with the luſtre of a great many pieces of Gold and Silver, wherewith this Coffin was filled; he ſaw moreover rich Jewels enriched with precious Stones. Having ſecured this Treaſure, he found in the bottom a Box of Tin, wherein was a Parchment where the following words were traced in ancient Characters.

GAUDEBIS
SI INVENERIS, VIDEBIS, TACEBIS,
SED
ORABIS, PUGNABIS, ÆDIFIÇABIS,
NON HODIE,
NEC CRAS, SED QUIA
UNIVERSUS EQUUS,
TURRIS ERECTA ET ARMATA,
DIVERSA ORDINATA ARMA
SUBSCRIPTIO
ROLLANDT HUNN. MOG. POSUIT.

Thoſe who would divine the Sentiments of *Rowland Hun* of *Mets*, who had depoſited this Treaſure in the Earth, pretended he had ſome Knowledge of the future, and that by this Inſcription he would manifeſt that he knew this 1683. Treaſure would be found during the Siege of *Vienna*, and that the Infidels ſhould be obliged to abandon it. Their Senſe of the words follows. *Rowland* ſpeaking to *Kimpler*, ſays to him. *Si inveneris*, If thou doſt find what I have hid from all others, *videbis*, *tacebis*, thou wilt conſider theſe words, and diſcover thy good Fortune to no body, *ſed orabis*, *pugnabis*, but thou ſhalt render thanks unto God for reſerving theſe Riches for thee, and, as obliged in gratitude, thou ſhalt fight againſt the Enemies of his Name; *ædificabis*, *non hodie nec cras*, Thou ſhalt imploy the Monies I deſigned for thee to build Churches; but it ſhall not be when thy Native Country is deſolated by War; it ſhall not be neither to day nor to morrow, *ſed quia univerſus equus*, thou would'ſt ill take thy time whilſt the *Ottoman* Cavalry ſurround the Walls of the City; *Turris erecta & armata*, but fear nothing, the Ramparts raiſed for the defence of the City, and the brave Souldiers that Garriſon it, will preſerve it from the vain attempts of the Enemy. *Diverſa ordinata Arma*, The Arms of the different Nations that thou ſeeſt arrayed in theſe Plains, ſhall only ſerve to render the Victories more glorious, their Triumph more ſplendid, and the flight of the Turks more infamous.

Count *Starenberg* received new aſſurance by A his Spies from the Duke, of being relieved in eight days, which cauſed an univerſal Joy, redoubled the Care, and augmented the Courage of all men. On the other ſide, the Infidels prepared for a general aſſault, whilſt the Governour on the contrary did every day invent new Engines, as *Freize* Horſes bearded with Iron, turn'd Pikes, and the like, to oppoſe in the Breaches. Five hundred Horſe of the Beſiegers paſſing the River, burnt ſome Villages, but they were encountered and defeated by a party of the Imperialiſts, commanded by Collonel *Heiſter*, who cut in pieces the greateſt part of them, the reſt endeavouring to ſave themſelves by ſwimming being drowned in the River.

We left the Duke of *Lorrain* marching towards *Tuln*, but upon advice that the *Malecontents* were deſigning to make Incurſions into *Moravia*, he detach'd *Lubomirski*, and two Regiments of the Emperours Horſe to march towards the Frontiers of that Province. This Report was grounded upon the Grand Viſiers Order, who upon the Knowledge he had that the Imperialiſts and Auxiliaries took the way of *Tuln* and *Krembs*, had commanded Count *Tekely* to enter into the Hereditary Countries with Fire and Sword, thereby to oblige the Imperialiſts to return back to their defence. But the *Malecontents* having no mind to engage with the Duke, *Tekely* was contented to encamp upon the *Mark*; however, in obedience to the Grand Viſiers Order, he cauſed the *Tartars* and *Turks* that were with him to enter into *Auſtria*, having promiſed to follow and ſecond them with his Army.

The Duke being advertiſed that the Infidels were burning the Villages towards *Eversdorf*, changed his march, having ſent orders to *Lubomiski*, who was in the Avant-guard to hault, and inſtead of marching towards *Tuln*, he went to meet the Turks, leaving his Baggage at *Stokareau* with the Regiment of *Rokondi*, leaving to Count *Leſley* the Care of the Execution of thoſe things which he had reſolved in order to the Paſſage of the *Danube*, and the Conjunction of the Auxiliary Forces. The Duke being come to the height of *Piſemberg* about two of the Clock, he could ſee the continuing of the Fires; he there-

1683. thereupon ſent Parties out, who made ſome Priſoners. They were queſtioned, and anſwered, that the preceeding Night they had paſſed the *Marck* with a Body of twenty five thouſand *Turks* and *Tartars*; that *Tekely* followed them, and their Camp was but half a League from the Bridges of *Vienna*.

The Duke hereupon immediately commanded Baron *Mercy*, with ſome Troops, to the top of the height to diſcover the Enemy. Upon his report he put the Army in Battalia, extending his right Wing towards the Wood, under the command of the Counts *Caprara* and *Rabotta*, poſting the Dragoons there, and ſome ſmall Field-pieces; and the left Wing was extended along the Plain under the Conduct of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*. He drew the whole into two Lines, and a reſerve, on the right whereof *Lubomirski's Poles* were placed. The Imperial Army was compoſed of thirteen Regiments of Horſe, and five of Dragoons, beſides *Lubomirski's* two thouſand *Poles*. Whilſt the Imperialiſts formed their Squadrons, the Turks likewiſe ranged theirs, leaving the groſs of their Troops in the bottom of the Plain. They began a line upon the heights extending to the left, as if deſigning to gain the flank of the Imperialiſts. As ſoon as they were approached each other, they began to skirmiſh, and as the Armies grew near, the Infidels detach'd two great Troops, the one of *Turks*, which moved eaſily, and the other of *Tartars*, who advanced towards the left. Some Volleys of Cannon which the Emperours Dragoons had on their right, did ſomewhat diſorder the Turks whilſt they advanced, but did not hinder them to charge the *Poles* with much firmneſs. They immediately routed two ſquadrons, and with a ſurpriſing Vigour, or rather Temerity, paſſed even to the ſecond Line, as well by the way they had made, as by the interval which the Imperial Horſe had left, receiving in their Paſſage the fire of all the Neighbour ſquadrons which flank'd them in this charge. Notwithſtanding that, ſome of them penetrated even to the Reſerves, and endeavoured to return by the ſame way they came, and after the ſame manner, but few of them came off.

On the left Wing, the *Tartars* having endeavoured by ſmall Troops to gain the flank of the Chriſtians, were not more luckey, for thoſe that paſt were cut in pieces by others that were ſent againſt them, or obliged to return to their main body; after which, the Imperialiſts advancing always in good order to attack the whole front of the Turks, the Enemy ſeparated before they could come up to them. One part took the way towards the *Marck*, and the other towards the Bridges of *Vienna*. They were followed ſome time without being overtaken. Thoſe that took on the *Danube* ſide, finding themſelves purſued, that the *Poles* were not far off, and that the whole Army marched that way, betook themſelves to the only expedient for their eſcape, which was to caſt themſelves into the River, and endeavour a Paſſage by the remaining Poſts and Pillars of the burnt Bridge, leaving their Arms, their Horſes, and their Equipage on the brink of the River; but moſt of theſe were drowned, and the reſt all kill'd or taken. The Night being come on, the Duke camped where he was. On the morrow he was preſented with ſeveral Standards, Timbals, and Drums, and ſome Priſoners of note were likewiſe brought to him. The Turks loſt, as was diſcovered by their own intercepted Letters, from a thouſand to twelve thouſand Men, many were killed upon the place, but many were drowned. The Chams Son was hurt, but ſaved himſelf by ſwimming upon his Horſe. The Baſſa of *Erlaw* was ſlain, with many Officers. The next Morning ſome Priſoners were taken, found hid in the Hedges and Buſhes. Their Army conſiſted of near fourteen thouſand *Turks* and *Tartars*, all Horſe, but that of the Malecontents ſtayed at the *Marck*. 1683.

The Duke came the ſame day to *Cronenberg*, to refreſh his Horſe which had been upon Service twenty four hours, with deſign to go and fight the Malecontents if they continued in their Poſt. He ſent, for this purpoſe, to General *Siemariski*, who was come to *Nekelburg* with a body of Horſe, being the King of *Polands* Avaunt-Guard, to meet him the next day upon the way to *Volgersdorff*; but being upon his March, he had News that the *Tekeliſts* were retired to *Tirnau*; that the King had ſent order to his General to attend him at *Nekelburg*, and that his Majeſty would be at *Krembs* the firſt of *September*. The Duke hereupon returned to his Camp at *Cronenburg*, to expect the arrival of the *Poliſh* Army.

They ſeemed in the Town in much diſtreſs, for the Governour had cauſed forty Rockets to be fir'd from the top of St. *Stephens* Steeple, to adverti'e the Duke of the ſtraits they were in, and the neceſſity of being ſuddenly relieved. The Grand Viſier ſeemed to ſcorn theſe ſigns, anſwering them with two hundred Cannon ſhot. And yet it was obſerved, that the Infidels ſent many Camels laden with Baggage and ſeveral Servants towards *Presburg*, probably to ſecure them in caſe they ſhould be forced to raiſe the Siege.

The ſame day, the Duke ſent the Chevalier *Lubormiski* to compliment the King of *Poland*, who had alſo orders to inform his Majeſty of the meaſures they had taken for the relief of *Vienna*: and that it ſeemed to require all their haſte, as the Counts *Capliers* and *Starenberg* ſignified by their Letters, the Place being reduced to Extremity, but writ in ſuch Terms which made it evident they would defend it with their Lives, but could anſwer for nothing elſe.

The Grand Viſier did in the mean time order the *Walachians* to endeavour to rebuild the Bridges of *Vienna*, to the end that they might, by a diverſion that way, retard the march of the Imperialiſts, or employ a conſiderable body by that means. As the Waters were grown extream low ſince the Bridges were ruined, inſomuch that the Pillars which had been then burnt level with the Water, appeared now three or four foot above Water which gave room for this Enterpriſe. They were furniſhed with Timber out of the Neighbouring Villages, and the Work was carried on by the *Walachians* and *Moldavians* with ſo much diligence, that near a third of the great Bridge was laid in two Nights.

The Duke having notice hereof, cauſed Boats to be prepared for the retaking of thoſe Poſts which he had quitted in the Iſles. The Count *Archinto* and Collonel *Heyſter* were employed herein, who on the Night of the 31*th* of *Auguſt* re-entered their old Retrenchments, planting there ſome Pieces of Cannon. Upon break of day they began to play upon the Turks, who were ſo greatly incommoded by the continual firing of great and ſmall ſhot, that they were obliged to quit their Enterpriſe. They afterwards applyed Pitch and Tar Barrels to the Pillars that remained, and ſo burnt them. The ſame day the Turks ſent away many Camels, Waggons loaden with Baggage, and part of their Artillery, which they conducted towards the Foreſt

1683. Foreſt of *Vienna*. After Noon, thoſe who were upon the Ramparts heard ſeveral Musket ſhots the way that theſe Infidels marched, which made them gueſs that they were skirmiſhing with the *Pickeerers* of the Chriſtian Army, and that conſequently the Succors were near hand.

At the ſame time, the Duke of *Lorrain* being advertiſed that the King of *Poland* lay at *Heilbron*, left the command of the Army to Count *Caprara*, and went to give this Prince a viſit. He met him at the Head of his *Huſſars*, and alighting from his Horſe, when he was come within twenty five paces of him, moved towards him, which his Majeſty perceiving, he likewiſe deſcended, met him and embraced him, and after ſome obliging diſcourſe, he preſented the Prince his Son to him, ſaying, he would have him to be his Servant, as he was, and that he had brought him with him to teach him betimes to ſerve the Emperour. The Senators, the Palatines, and the principal Officers of the Crown, did likewiſe complement the Duke. The King and Duke mounted on Horſeback, and having paſſed the Troops, continued their march, diſcourſing the whole time together. When they arrived in the Camp, they entered the Kings Tent, together with the Prince and the Grandees of *Poland*, where the Duke entertained his Majeſty with the main Diſcourſes that tended to the Affairs in hand.

The Prince of *Waldeck*, who had no Opportunity to ſpeak with the Duke in the Kings Tent, went to attend him at *Stokarcau*, where he communicated all his Thoughts; and agreed with him of the Manner and Method they were to uſe in relieving the Place.

The Duke dined that day with the King, ſitting at the upper end on the Right-Hand of the King, the Prince being ſeated on his left, all three in Chairs with backs. Some Palatines and Officers of the Imperial Army were alſo placed at the Table by the Kings Order. After this repaſt the Duke returned to his Camp very well ſatisfied with the Civilities done him by his Majeſty, who likewiſe approved of all what this Prince had propoſed to him, and upon his reiterated Inſtances he made to him for haſtening the Conjunction of his Forces, he ſent Orders to his Great General, who was ſtayed behind, to haſten his march. The King himſelf reſolved to be at *Krembs* the ſecond of *September*, where the Emperour was to come to agree about the Conjunction and Paſſage of the Armies.

In the mean time the Emperour, who ſhould have come to *Krembs*, not only to animate and authoriſe the Expedition by his Preſence, but alſo to allay the infinite Difficulties which the Competition of ſo many Princes would occaſion, was retained at *Lintz* by an Indiſpoſition of Health. Thus the Care of all was left to the Duke of *Lorrain*; as alſo to regulate the Pretenſions of the Auxiliary Armies. Having at length found Expedients for all theſe Difficulties, he went and acquainted the King of *Poland* with what he had deſigned, which being highly approved of, he went thence to *Otelſdorff*, where at his intreaty the Duke of *Saxony*, and all the Generals met him. After ſome Conteſtations, the Paſſage of the *Danube*, and the Conjunction of all the Auxiliaries was reſolved upon, which was to be *September* 5. in the Plains of *Tuln*. It was determined, that the *Poliſh* Army, with that of the Emperours, ſhould paſs where they were. That the *Saxons* ſhould traverſe the River upon the Bridge at *Krembs*, and whereas the *Bavarians* with ſome *German* Troops camped there under the Command of Count *Leſley*, they ſhould all march in body to *Tuln*, to joyn the Imperial Army, and that of *Poland*. 1683.

The Princes upon Conſultation deferred the Execution of this Deſign till the ſeventh. The King began to paſs the ſixth, in the Evening. The Duke of *Lorrain*, after having detached the Contes of *Lodrox*, *Riccardi* and *Herbermiller*, with their Regiments, and two Batalions of *Lorrain*, to joyn 3000 *Poles*, which the King ought to add to them to form a Body to cover *Moravia*; he ſent Collonel *Heyſter* with 600 Horſe to *Cloſterneuburg*, with orders to make Fires upon the heights of *Khalenberg*, to advertiſe the beſieged by this ſign, which was concerted betwixt them, of the approach of their relief.

The beſieged had been extreamly preſſed, for the Turks had finiſhed their Galleries, and attacked the two Baſtions of *Lebel* and the *Court*, ſo that the beſieged did daily by Meſſages and Rockets advertiſe their Friends of the extremity they were reduced to, the Enemy being now attacked to the very body of the place, having made a great breach in the Court Baſtion. The ſixth at Night they were greatly encouraged by the firing of five Fuſees or Rockets upon the Mountain of *Kalenberg*, which made them judge their help near hand, and which they anſwered by the like Signal.

The Grand Viſier, not ignorant of the Chriſtians motion, on the ſeventh commanded a review of his Troops to be made, which upon enquiry were repreſented to him by his Officers to amount to 168000 Men; a Liſt whereof was found in his Tent, as alſo in that of *Reiz Effendi*, or chief Secretary, the which we have omitted here, not to puzzle the courſe of Hiſtory with hard Names: but ſhall however, to ſatisfie the more curious, ſubjoyn not only that, but an exact account of the Chriſtian Army that raiſed this celebrious Siege, and alſo of thoſe Worthies who deſerve to have their Memories transferred to Poſterity, for defending their City with ſo ſignal Bravery and Conſtancy.

It did not ſeem that the Chriſtian Princes in the Turkiſh Army did ſerve them with any great good will. *Tekely*, who had been but once in the Camp to ſalute the Grand Viſier, left but a thouſand *Hungarians* with him upon his departure; and *Abaffi*, though often invited to the Port, excuſed his attendance by manifold Pretences. However the Viſier being entred *Hungary*, he could not diſpenſe with his waiting upon him at *Javarin*, though but with few Troops. He was notwithſtanding well received by this Miniſter, and ſent back to guard the Paſſages betwixt *Raab* and *Ramnitz*, and the Bridges which the Turks had built upon thoſe two Rivers, to ſecure a retreat in caſe Fortune proved their Enemy. The Vayvod of *Walachia*, already mentioned, cauſed a Croſs of Oak of a prodigious bigneſs to be planted before his Tent in the Camp at *Vienna*; it is ſeventeen foot in length, with this Inſcription in Latin upon it;

Crucis exaltatio eſt conſervatio Mundi. Crux decor Eccleſiæ. Crux cuſtodia Regum. Crux confirmatio Fidelium. Crux Gloria Angelorum, & vulnus Demonum.

Nos Dei Gratia ſervamus, Canthacuzenus, Valachiæ Tranſalpinæ Princeps, ejusdem perpetuus hæres & Dominus, &c. Ereximus Crucem hanc in loco quavis die devotione Populi, & ſacro honorato in perpetuam ſui ſuorumque Memoriam, Tempore obſidionis

Maho-

1683. Mahometanæ à *Vizirio* Kara Muſtapha *Baſſa* Viennenſis *inferioris* Auſtriæ. *Menſe* Sept. *die* 1. *Anno* 1683.

Viator Memento mori.

The Infidels, upon the approach of the Chriſtians, were in no little diſorder, their whole Camp being in a tumultuous Motion, their Horſe mov'd confuſedly, and the Servants were ſeen to load their Camels with Baggage, which made the Beſieged judge, that they deſign'd to march to meet the Succours; notwithſtanding this Diſorder, they did not diſcontinue their Approaches, and the following day redoubled the firing of their Cannon and Mortars. That Morning a Priſoner being taken, reported, That the Turks were in a great Conſternation, becauſe the Chriſtians were already upon the Mountain of *Kalemberg*. Thoſe who were upon the Rampart ſaw their Enemies pull down their Tents, and go and joyn their Companions, who were advanced to oppoſe the Paſſage of the Chriſtians, and about Noon they ſaw a great Body ranging themſelves in Battalia at the foot of the Mountain, whilſt others joyned them, carrying with them all their Baggage and Proviſions upon Waggons and Camels, as if they deſigned to change their Camp, where they alſo planted their Pavilions in the ſame manner, as if they intended a long ſtay there, probably to refreſh themſelves, to be more brisk, and in a condition to fight the Succours when they ſhould deſcend from the Hills. During all theſe motions, the attack was carried on with redoubled vigour, and though the defence was yet braver, yet at Night they fired many Rockets to advertiſe their friends that the place was reduced to the laſt extremity, and that they could hold out no longer.

But now the Chriſtians were ſeen to cover the Mountain of *Kalemberg*, and to ſalute their Enemies with ſeveral volleys of Cannon. To comprehend well the joy of the beſieged at ſo charming a ſpectacle, we need but repreſent to our ſelves, how they had been cloſe ſhut up the ſpace of nine Weeks, being every hour, indeed moment, in cruel apprehenſions for their goods, their lives, their Wives and their Children; and to ſee themſelves now upon the point to be delivered from theſe terrible alarms.

The Chriſtian Army being aſſembled, as is already ſaid, at *Tuln*, and that the Duke of *Lorrain* had put an end to ſeveral difficulties which were again ſtarted about the Rank, and the command of ſo many Princes and Generals, he brought it to a concluſion, that they ſhould march the next day, being the 9th, towards *Vienna*. As ſoon as this reſolution was taken, he ſent Baron *Mercy* to *Morbach* with 2000 Horſe, to obſerve the countenance and motions of the Turks. The 9th, at the point of day, he marched with all the *German* Army, and came and encamped betwixt St. *Andrew* and *Koningſeck*. In this Poſt he received advice of the Cities being reduced to its laſt extremity, and that they fired with nothing but Muskets. He ſent to advertiſe the King of *Poland*, who was yet at *Tuln*, with the news, and cauſed the Priſoners to be conducted to him, who confirmed the advice. He writ alſo to him, beſeeching him to advance and joyn with him.

The 10th, the Duke cauſed the *Germans* to enter the Mountains by three ſeveral Avenues, and left a fourth for the March of the *Poles*. He camped at *Willbleng*, and the *Poles* reſted an hour behind to the right. The King himſelf came to diſcover the heights where the Imperialiſts were camped. The Duke ſhewed him *Kalemberg* from thence, whither he would march next morning; and his Majeſty returned to his Camp. By favour of the night the Duke went in Perſon to diſcover the paſſage of *Kalemberg*, and to take poſſeſſion of thoſe Poſts he judged neceſſary to aſſure their march: He alſo ſeized the Chappel of St. *Leopold*, and having put 300 men into it to ſecure it, returned to his Camp, having ſent to inform the King of what was done; after this the Army was put in Battel-array to poſſeſs *Kalemberg* by five differing ways, according to the directions given by the Duke, and conſented to by the King. The way on the right was left to his Majeſty, as the day before.

1683.

The Prince of *Sax-Lawenburg*, General of the Horſe, took the next paſſage to the *Poles*, conducting by that way the Right Wing, conſiſting of eight Regiments of the Emperour's Horſe, two of Dragoons, and one of Crauats, of all the Horſe and all the Dragoons of *Bavaria* and *Francony*.

The Infantry of *Franconia* and *Bavaria* took the third way, which was the middle-moſt, being commanded by the Prince of *Waldeck*. The Elector of *Bavaria* placed himſelf with the ſaid Prince that day, and continued there all the day following, advancing with much firmneſs in places of moſt danger, but without any Fonction or command, he having declared at firſt, that he would only ſerve as a Voluntier.

All the Emperour's Infantry, and that of *Saxony*, took the other two paſſages to the left, whereof one was that of St. *Leopold*'s Chappel, being the high-way, and the other went along the *Danube*. Prince *Herman* of *Baden* and Count *Leſley* General of the Artillery were at the head of the Foot. Count *Caprara* General of the Horſe followed immediately by the ſame ways with the left Wing, which contained ſeven Regiments of the Emperour's, *Lubomirski*'s *Poles*, to which the King had joyned ſome Squadrons of his, and all the Cavalry and Dragoons of *Saxony*. The Elector of *Saxony* commanded the Auxiliary Troops, which, however of differing tempers and Bodies, marched in Battalia, in as much as the ground would permit it, and were computed to amount to 65000 men. About eleven of the clock, the firſt Squadrons had gained the tops of *Kalemberg*, without any oppoſition at all. They there extended the Front of the Army above a league and a half, camping on the declivity of the Mountain towards *Cloſterneuburg*, in three lines, and ſome places more, as the ground would permit them, ſeizing thereby ſeven or eight Avenues, by which they might deſcend and range themſelves for the combat.

They brought at the ſame time ſome ſmall Field-Pieces to St. *Leopold*, and to the Monaſtery of *Camaldoli*. The remainder alſo of the day and all the night was ſpent in advancing the Train, which was not effected without great trouble, the Mountain being ſo ſteep, that none but ſmall Field-Pieces could be brought up, nor they but in ſome time doubling and tripling the draught Horſes.

The Turks ſeeing the Chriſtians appear about the Chappel of St. *Leopold*, and the aforeſaid Monaſtery, drew out on their right, advanced to the foot of the Mountains and extending thence to the brink of the *Danube*, they ſeized the Hedges, hollow-ways and heights, from whence they might incommode the Enemy at the deſcent of the hills and firſt filings out of their ſtreights.

1683. The Cannon being arrived at St. *Leopold* and *Camaldoli*, they quickly obliged the Turks to quit the Poſts which they had taken, and remove out of their ſhot. The Troops which they had advanced, conſiſted in Horſe, and another ſort of Militia, which fights like our Dragoons on Horſe-back and on foot. Of theſe the number was great, and they had brought but few Foot out of the Camp, and without Cannon in all this detachment which they oppoſed againſt the Chriſtians.

The ſpace betwixt *Vienna* and the entry of the Wood is reckoned a League and a half, the Country being very difficult, trenched with Vineyards, Ravines and hollow ways. The Vineyard was encloſed by a great Dike which covered the Turks Camp on the ſide of *Helgſtat*. The Duke of *Lorrain* had choſen this march, to make uſe of the advantage of the heights, and judging that in a ſituation of this nature, he might ſecure his Flanks. His deſign was the next day to coaſt the *Danube*, and to attack the Turkiſh Camp on their right. It was for this reaſon, and becauſe of the cuts in the ground, that he placed a great Body of Foot to the left, this Wing being deſigned firſt to charge the Enemies.

The King of *Poland*, who ſtay'd an hour behind, having encamped, came to St. *Leopolds* Chappel, from whence the Duke ſhewed him the deſcent of the Mountain, the Camp of the Turks, and the Troops which were advanced to oppoſe the deſcent of the Chriſtians. Their Countenance made his Majeſty of opinion, that they would diſpute all the paſſages, and that the Duke ſhould do well if they could the next day ſeize the firſt heights at the entry of the Wood. He moreover deſired ſome *German* Foot to joyn with his in the deſcent of the Mountain. Having obtained four Battalions, he cauſed them to advance on that ſide, whereby the *Poles* were to deſcend. Towards the evening of that day, the Duke having ſurveyed the ground at the foot of *Camaldoli*, ordered Count *Leſley* to command ſome Troops to take poſt at night at the going out of the Wood, and to raiſe a Battery there, the better to ſecure the paſſage of the Army the next day. At firſt there were but two Battalions ſent Count *Leſley*, deferring to ſend any greater number till it was with the Artillery. They laboured all Night at this work, but the Turks being aware of it, before it was finiſhed, they ſent ſome Troops very early to hinder the Labourers, and poſted themſelves near them behind a Curtain, and behind Planks which well-nigh ſhut the deſcent from the Mountain before the Chriſtians Battery. Count *Fontaine*, who commanded the Poſt, was quick in oppoſing their effort, and having called the men from their work, and got his two Battalions together, he poſted them betwixt his Battery and their Barricado, yet ſo as not to be encompaſſed by them, who at the ſame time began to ſtretch to the right and left, to gain the Chriſtians Flanks.

The Duke, who obſerved from St. *Leopolds* Chappel the Turks motion, ſent ſome Battalions of the Regiments next hand to the relief of his men. Theſe being commanded by the Duke of *Croy*, arriving in time, the Imperialiſts extended their line, and took a reſolution to attack the Infidels in their Poſt behind their blind. This was executed with ſo much vigour, that the Enemy were forced to give way. They abandoned their Poſt, and retired to another, where the groſs of their Body remained. The Duke of *Croy* having his ſhoulder pierced with a Muſket-ſhot in this action, was obliged to retire, leaving the command to *C. Fontaine*, who diſpoſed all things for the defence of the Poſt, which the Enemy ſeemed forward to attack again, but they contented themſelves with ſhooting out of their own ſtation, the fire continuing brisk on both ſides. 1683.

The Duke perceiving that the Turks made all that Body move which had tamped beyond *Neuſtorff* to ſupport their advanced Troops, he firſt commanded all the left Wing to march, and preſently after he gave order to Prince *Waldeck*, and to the Duke of *Sax-Lawenburg*, to ruſh out of the Woods upon the Enemies, who were at the head of their Camp. He ſent to advertiſe the King of *Poland* of all this, and underſtanding that his Majeſty came to St. *Leopolds* Chappel, he went to meet him there, and ſhewing the motions the Armies were in, he acquainted him with all the orders that he had given upon this occaſion. After they had agreed upon all things, the King having performed his devotion at the Chappel, mounting on Horſe-back, he went from Rank to Rank, exhorting his Officers and Souldiers to do well, and ſpake to them after this manner.

Generous Poliſh Cavaliers, *It is not only to defend the glory which your Anceſtors, and your courage have acquired to you, of being eſteemed the invincible Bulwark of Chriſtendom againſt the* Ottoman *Power, It is not the defence only of your own Country, which the loſs of* Vienna *by an infallible conſequence will expoſe to the cruel Invaſion of thoſe againſt whom you are going to fight; but it is the cauſe of God, and to ſave the Empire of the Weſt which does us the honour to have recourſe to our Arms; an honour which our Anceſtors did never preſume to hope for, and which is reſerved for your valour. Think then of nothing but conquering, or to dye nobly in this occaſion, to which the glory of Martyrdom is concomitant. Think that your King fights in the head of you, to partake with you of your perils and your victories, and reſt aſſured that the God of Battels, whoſe cauſe we are going to defend, will not fail to fight for us.*

Whilſt this Prince endeavoured by his diſcourſes to inſpire his Troops with that generous ardour he was himſelf agitated; the Citizens of *Vienna*, who had been advertiſed of the approach of their relief, ſaw, with inexpreſſible content, the Army of the Chriſtians deſcend from the Mountains of *Kalemberg*, being aſcertained by the noiſe of the Cannon which was ſhot againſt the Turks, who had parapetted the Paſſages with earth and ſtone, though to no purpoſe, that their deliverance was near. And they would alſo contribute all they could to it, by the diſcharge of all their Artillery from the Baſtions and Curtains of the wall. There was alſo an infinity of ſmall ſhot diſcharged on both ſides, with many Granadoes. The Turks had not as yet ſhot ſo many Bombs ſince the beginning of the Siege, as they did this day, to retard the Chriſtians that deſcended into the Plain, and to annoy thoſe who crowded upon the heights of the City, to obſerve the deſcent of their friends and the combat.

Whilſt the King of *Poland* continued his march at the head of his Army, the Duke of *Lorraine* cauſed *Heiſters* Regiment of Dragoons, and another of *Saxony*, which Count *Caprara* poſts to the left at the foot of St. *Leopolds* Chappel, to deſcend. That of *Heiſter* received orders at eight of the clock to go and attack the Enemies, who had poſſeſſed a place to the left, from whence they troubled the Imperialiſts, and the Infantry had likewiſe order to advance upon the Turks, who were retired behind their courtains

and

1683. and hollow ways. This motion was made on both ſides at once. The Turks made ſome reſiſtance at firſt, but not with Vigour enough to hinder the Chriſtians advance, who obliged them to retire behind another blind.

Count *Leſley*, who had brought down ſome Cannon, planted it at the head of the Infantry. The Duke of *Croy* was alſo returned, for having uſed the firſt Applications to his hurt, he had force enough not to quit the fight the whole day. This advantage gave both time and room to extend the front of the left Wing, as it deſcended and iſſued out of the Streights. In the mean time, the firſt Line of Infantry, which in their march againſt the Infidels gave continual fire with their Muſquets, mingled with that of Field-pieces, beat them out of another Poſt, and a Line or Curtain which reach'd from the *Danube* Hill over againſt the *Carthuſians*. The Duke about ten a Clock made a halt, and whilſt the reſt of the left Wing filled the ground which the firſt Troops had taken, and that Count *Caprara* extended it to the Banks of the *Danube*; he ſent orders to the Prince of *Waldeck*, who began to appear upon the firſt heights to the right, and to the Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg*, who was alſo got out of the Wood, to continue their march until they were equal with the front of the Troops commanded by the Duke of *Croy*, and to advance extending to the right, until they came within ſhot of the *Poles*, upon their iſſuing out of their Avenues which were on the right hand of all.

Theſe Orders being given, the Duke returned to the head of the left Wing, to make the great Body of the *Germans* move at once. The Great Duke of *Saxony* came and joyned him, and continued always near him in the places the moſt expoſed. At Noon they ſaw the King at the Head of his Troops, who came and joyned the right Wing of the Imperialiſts. The Duke in the mean time took care that in marching to the Enemy, the Subaltern Generals ſhould rally and re-eſtabliſh any Diſorders which might have happened by the Difficulty of the Paſſages, and that all ſhould advance with equality, firing continually with their great and ſmall ſhot.

The march was in this order, though ſlowly, by reaſon of the roughneſs of the way, and the oppoſition of the Enemy. The left moving along the *Danube* as far as the Village of *Neudorff*, carryed it, after a conſiderable reſiſtance. To the right, upon the ſame Line, there was another Hill guarded by the Turks, at the attack whereof a Dutch Batallion being diſordered, was ſuccoured by *Stirums* Dragoons, ordered by Count *Dunewald*. This Batallion recovered, took the Poſt, and continued to advance.

The juſtneſs of this march, the Chriſtian Armies order of Battel, and the ſcituation of the Place, which made the Imperialiſts appear as in a kind of Amphitheater, preſented a great and formidable object to the ſight, which aſtoniſhed the Turks, and did not a little contribute to the Victory.

The King of *Poland* being yet behind, the Army halted near *Nemdorff*, until he was advanced upon the ſame Line, after which they continued their march. The Imperialiſts carried, without very great reſiſtance, the Poſt the Turks had at *Helgſtat*, and the Prince of *Waldeck* obliged thoſe that oppoſed him to retire.

In the mean time the Infidels, who were in Battalia in their Camp, moved as if they had deſigned upon the left Wing, but perceiving the Army of *Poland* upon the heights, they moved that way, ſo that the *Poles* and *Turks* faced each other almoſt in the ſame order, making more depth then front. The *Poles* ſeemed 1683. back'd by the Wood, and the *Turks* by their Camp.

The King, who was in the head of his Troops, detach'd ſome ſquadrons of his *Huſſars*, who charged the Turks, being all Lanciers, with great Vigour they bore before them thoſe that oppoſed them; but engaging themſelves too far, they drew ſo many Enemies upon them, that they were forced to run. The Turks followed them to a Place where Prince *Waldeck* had opportunely poſted two Batalions of *Bavarians*. The fire of theſe Foot cooled the purſuit of the Enemy, and gave the King of *Poland* time to cauſe his firſt Line to advance to re-eſtabliſh the Diſorder of his *Huſſars*. Count *Rabata*, at the Kings deſire, joyned the Emperours Dragoons with them. But this body of Turks detach'd from their Troops, did not dare to ſtand the ſhock of the Chriſtians, but retired to a height where they had Foot and Cannon, with more diligence then they were come.

After this advantage, the King continued to march with all his Army, and the Turks endeavoured to obſtruct their Paſſage from the ſeveral Poſts they had. The fire of their Artillery and Muſquets did ſome harm to the *Poles*, but did not break them, and ſo they advanced ſtill gaining Ground inſenſibly upon the Enemy.

In the mean time, the Duke being far advanced towards the left of the Enemies Camp, to divert their Endeavours upon the right, the Turks put themſelves in battalia upon the Ravine or —— before their Camp, and planting ſome great Guns againſt the Chriſtians, they made many ſhot, and ſeemed by their meen to reſolve to defend that Poſt which was the ſtrongeſt of all, and ſerved for a Retrenchment for their Camp, but their firmneſs did not laſt long. The Imperialiſts being advanced within Muſquet ſhot, they abandoned their Station about five in the Evening, and left them the convenience of paſſing it without diſorder, and entring into their Camp.

It was then that the Duke, making uſe of this Advantage, wheeled all his left Wing, and inſtead of continuing his way by the *Danube*, he cauſed it to march to the right, to enter into the Enemies Camp, no Souldier quitting his rank to pillage their Baggage which they had abandoned, and their Tents ſtanding. This motion being perceived by the Turks who were engaged againſt the *Poles* on the right Wing, quite diſmayed them, and they began to retire for fear of being charged in the Flank. The King thereupon paſſed the Ravine with his Troops, notwithſtanding the firing of ſome Janizaries that defended it, and purſued the Enemies. About ſeven a Clock he entred their Camp ſome little time after Prince *Waldeck*, who paſſed into it with his *Bavarians* and *Franconians*. Half an hour after, the Duke having gained the Suburbs and Counterſcharp, commanded Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to advance towards the Trenches of the Turks with ſome Troops that the Baron of *Mercy* conducted, but this Prince could not come there ſo ſoon, but that the Janizaries that were in guard there had leiſure to make their retreat by favour of the Night that came on. They had begun it as ſoon as they ſaw the Chriſtians approach their Camp. They retired with no great loſs, having had the bravery before they abandoned their Trenches to attempt another attack againſt the City, and to turn and fire the Cannon of their Batteries againſt the Army. The Night ſuſpended the Victory, and obliged the Troops to make halt in that part of

1683. the Camp which was betwixt the *Danube* and the City, the Turks being retreated on the other ſide of the River.

The Duke of *Lorraine* ſent to complement the King, upon the happy ſucceſs of that day, which was owing to his preſence. This Prince returned his complement, confeſſing that every body had a ſhare in it, but that all the honour was due to his Conduct, and to the valour of the *German* Troops, who firſt entred the Camp, and the Enemies works.

During the Night the Turks paſſed the River at *Schunket*, making their retreat by the Rear of their Front, and quitted their Camp with ſo much precipitation, that they left behind them in the great Viſier's Quarters the Standard of the *Ottoman* Empire, and the Horſe Tayle, the ordinary Enſigns of their dignity. They left alſo all their Tents, and the greateſt part of their Equipage, all their Ammunition and Proviſions, which they had in great abundance, all their Artillery, amounting to 180 pieces of Cannon and Mortars, and they haſtened their retreat with ſo much diligence, that their formoſt Troops had the next day paſſed the *Raab*.

The Chriſtians loſt no body of conſideration except Prince *Thomas* of *Croy*, the Count of *Tranſmandorff*, young *Poloski* Captain of a Company of *Huſſars*; and the wounded, beſides the Duke of *Croy*, the Counts *Fontaine*, *Tilly*, and *Schalemburg*, were inconſiderable.

The 13*th* early, the Duke having appointed his Army to be ready, went to wait on the King of *Poland* to regulate their march, and the immediate purſuit of the Victory. But finding him little diſpoſed to it, he omitted no inſtances to perſwade him to it, propoſing to him to march with all the Army, or with all the Horſe only, or elſe with a great detachment; but the King oppoſed the wearineſs of his Troops, and the neceſſity of refreſhing them ſome hours. The King thereunto being unwilling, the Duke entred into the City.

The Grand Viſier, before his flight, cauſed the Heads of five of the Women of his Seraglio to be cut off, for fear they ſhould fall into the hands of the Conquerors. The Baron of *Kaunitz*, the Emperors Reſident at the Port, who was at preſent in the Viſier's Quarters, was in danger of being killed by the Chriſtians in the heat of the Battel, as being habited after the Turkiſh faſhion. By day there was not a Turk left, though they were traced during the obſcurity of the Night by the Villages on fire, the Infidels having marked their retreat with this laſt cruelty, after they had firſt burnt their Camp, as far as the precipitation of their flight, and the fear which obliged them to be gone would permit them. They retired alſo out of the Iſle by favour of their lower Bridge, the upper Bridge which they had layed being poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians upon their arrival. The ſame evening many Cavaliers and Souldiers entered the City with great Droves of Cattel, which they found in the Camp and near it, which continuing the following days, Beef became ſo cheap that they were ſold for five and ſix Florins each.

The Duke of *Lorain* being now aſſured that he had no more Enemies to combat, diſpatcht the Count of *Aversberg*, Son to the Prince of that name, to the Emperor, to inform him with the happy ſucceſs of that day.

On the morrow of the fight, being the 13*th*, the fire took in the Powder which the Turks had left a League from the City, and conſumed an infinite number of Bombs, Granadoes, and other artificial fire-works. This accident was attributed to the negligence of ſome Chriſtian Souldiers, and yet there were prodigious quantities of Powder, Bullets, *&c.* left behind. It was obſervable that many of the Cannon which the Turks had abandoned were marked with the Arms of the Emperours *Ferdinand* the firſt, and *Rodolf* the ſecond. 1683.

After the Souldiery had pillaged the immenſe Riches of the Camp, which amounted to many Millions, the King of *Poland* entered into the City, accompanied with Count *Starenberg* the Governour, many Commanders, and a great number of the *Poliſh* Nobility, where *Te Deum* being ſung, he, the Duke of *Bavaria*, and ſeveral Grandees, were ſumptuouſly treated by the Governour, the People by their joyful acclamations ecchoing the praiſes of their Deliverers.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Lorraine* was employed in giving the neceſſary Orders for the Army, part of it beginning to diſcamp, and all together, with the *Poles*, deſigning to go in purſuit of the Enemy, which favourable conjuncture was omitted in expectation of the Emperour, who alſo arrived that evening at *Vienna*, where he was received coming out of his Boat, by the two Electors, and the principal Officers of War and Juſtice. Having taken a view of the Enemies works, He cauſed *Te Deum* to be ſung with all the ſolemnity poſſible in the Church of *St. Stephen*. That done, he cauſed the Creſcent and Star, the *Ottoman* Arms, to be taken down from the Spire of that Steeple, placed there ſince the time of *Solyman*, being theſe laſt Turks did not ceaſe ſhooting at it, and raiſed the Croſs in their place.

Wednesday being the 15*th*, the King of *Poland* ſent his Grand Chancellor to the Emperor with a numerous Train to complement him, and offer him a part of the booty which he had found in the Grand Viſier's Tent, and amongſt other things, the Standard which was always carried before him when he marched. It was made of Horſe-hair work'd with the Needle, and embroidered with flowers, the ſtaff of it was guilt, as alſo the Apple which was of braſs. They call it *Tugh* in their Language, which is to ſay *Horſe Tayle*. The Chancellor made a very elegant Latin Speech, and the Emperour anſwered it with Sentiments of eſteem and acknowledgment for his Majeſty of *Poland*. After a quarter of an hours converſation with this Envoy, and hearing Maſs in our Lady of *Loretto*'s Chappel, he took Horſe to ride to the Camp, where he was to viſit the King of *Poland*. There was ſome difficulty about the upper hand. This Prince pretended it, and there were examples contrary to this pretenſion. In the mean time what he had done deſerved particular conſideration. To conclude, it was reſolved, for the removing of theſe obſtacles, that the Emperor ſhould go ſee the Troops, that they ſhould be ranged in Battalia, and that theſe two Soveraigns ſhould advance within twenty ſteps of each other, which was performed in the manner following. The Emperour, having ſeen the *Bavarians* in Battalia, continued his way to *Ebersdorff*, where the firſt Squadrons of the left Wing were drawn up, and thence he went to *Swech* where the right Wing was poſted, and where the King of *Poland* expected him. Being within Piſtol-ſhot of each other, the King, with the Prince his Son, upon a little gallop moved forwards, and then both Princes uncovered at once, ſaluted and covered again in a moment. The Emperor ſpoke firſt, and told the King, 1683.

That

1683. *That he was extremely obliged to him, for leaving his Country, and undertaking a long and painful voyage, to come and combat his Enemies and deliver* Vienna; *that all Chriſtendom ſhar'd in the obligation, and that he had covered himſelf with glory by ſo generous an action.* The King of *Poland* anſwered him, *that it was to God alone that we ought to render our thanks for this Victory; that he had done nothing but what every Chriſtian Prince was obliged to do upon the like occaſion; and that he would endeavour for the future to do yet more for the Intereſt of Religion; that all his diſpleaſure was, that he was not in a condition to purſue the Enemy upon their defeat, but that his Troops after a march of three days required ſome reſt, eſpecially his Cavalry, the Horſe being extremely tired.* Prince *Alexander*, who by order of his Father was clothed that day after the *German* faſhion, kiſſed the Emperour's hand, who thereupon returned into the City, and the King further into his Camp. His Imperial Majeſty in his return obſerved that all the Villages and Palaces were burnt around, except the place where *Solyman* had formerly camped, when he beſieg'd *Vienna*; in memory whereof the Emperour *Rodolf* had cauſed a houſe of pleaſure to be built in that place, with Towers, which were covered with guilt Copper in the ſame ſymmetry or figure that the Sultans Tents were; ſo that the Turks being informed that this building had been made after the Model of *Solymans* Camp, would not ruine it during the Siege, but had made a Magazin of it, where was alſo found a great quantity of Bread and Biſquet.

The Emperour employed the reſt of the time that he ſtayed at *Vienna*, in viſiting the Retrenchments and Fortifications which Count *Starenberg* had made behind the Baſtions and the Walls, to defend the Ground foot by foot. The Prince Elector of *Saxony* parted the fifteenth with all his Troops. His retreat ſeemed precipitated, and ſuppoſed to be upon account of the Proteſtants of *Hungary*, thinking perhaps he had done enough in ſaving of *Vienna*, whereto he nobly contributed. The Emperour, willing to recompence Count *Starenberg*'s Services, made him Marſhal General of the Field, and of his Privy Council; he gave him 100000 Florins, and writ to the King of *Spain* to ſend him the Order of the *Golden Fleece*. He alſo conferred the ſame Employments and Honours upon Count *Capliers*, and having preſented Prince *Alexander*, the King of *Polands* Son, with a Sword richly adorned with Jewels of great value, He returned back to *Lintz*. The greateſt part of thoſe who fled upon the approach of the Turks, returned to the City when they knew the Siege was raiſed. They began to rebuild the Houſes that were ruined, and amongſt others the Emperours Palace and *Scots* Church.

During theſe Triumphs at *Vienna*, the Grand Viſier, ſenſible of his misfortune, and the malice of his Enemies, and knowing that the Baſſa of *Buda* would render him no good Offices at Court, upon the raiſing of the Siege of *Vienna*, reſolved to prevent him, and informed the Grand Seignior, by an expreſs he diſpatch'd to him to *Belgrade*, that he had diſpoſed all things to check the [illegible] of the Chriſtians, and engage them [illegible], which would undoubtedly have [illegible] accompanied with Succeſs; but that he was forced to change deſign, becauſe the Baſſa retired with his Army, the *Walachians*, the *Moldavians*, and the *Hungarians*, which did ſo mainly abate the Courage of his Troops, that it was afterwards impoſſible for him to bring them to fight; that ſo he had been obliged to retire to conſerve the reſt of the Army, and not to hazard the Perſon of his Highneſs. Nevertheleſs the Grand Viſier, having well examined the Conſequences which the ill Succeſs of his Enterprife might have, did ſcarce believe himſelf ſecure by this precaution, and he perſwaded himſelf that he muſt immolate the Baſſa of *Buda*'s Life to preſerve his own. He cauſed him immediately to be arreſted, together with the Baſſaes of *Erſeck* and *Poſſega*, who he knew were of Intelligence with the former, and cauſed them all three to be ſtrangled. Theſe proceedings furniſhed his Enemies with Pretexts to deſtroy him, chiefly the *Kiſſer-Agaſi*, a Creature of the Sultana *Valide*, to whom ſhe had recommended upon her Death-bed, to revenge her upon this chief Miniſter, which he alſo did. 1683.

After the Death of theſe three Baſſaes, the Grand Viſier continued his march, but in his Paſſage by *Raab*, that Garriſon fell upon his Rear-Guard, and kill'd near 600 of them. At *Gran* he was joyned by a body of 15000 Turks, who were going to *Belgrade*. The remains of the *Ottoman* Army were diſperſed ſome at *Gran*, ſome at *Newhauſel*, at *Buda* ſome, and the reſt entrenched near *Altemburg*.

On the other ſide, the Chriſtians diſcourſed of the reſt of the Campania; but as part of the Allies did think they had done enough in contributing to the relief of *Vienna*, thought of returning home, many Councils were held to examine by what means they might be ſtayed. The Duke of *Saxony* continued inflexible in his Reſolution, and was marched for his Country. The Elector of *Bavaria* conſented to leave his Troops with the Emperours, but the Prince of *Waldeck* gave them to underſtand, that he ſhould want new orders for the undertaking of new Enterprifes with the Troops of *Franconia*, which he commanded. But the Duke of *Lorrain* perſwaded himſelf that theſe Difficulties had not happned, if by a quick engagement they had hurried the Allies to purſue the Victory, and this was one of the chief reaſons that moved the Duke to preſs the King in it.

Several Projects were made to divide the Army for different Occaſions, many Conferences were had with the Allyes, and all the time was conſumed in Councils. In the mean time, the Duke, who thought of nothing but improving the reſt of the Summer, propoſed every thing that he thought favourable, either for the Reduction of *Hungary*, for the Siege of *Newhauſel*, or that of *Gran*, or to take the Poſts of *Barcam*, and that of *Peſt* for the ſetling of their Winter Quarters, and made it appear that nothing of all this could be done without great Forces, the Army of the Turks not being wholly defeated, however routed, and that the Rebels Army was ſtill entire.

He determined nothing, becauſe he knew not what meaſures the Turk would take. He only affirmed, that they ought to march forthwith into *Hungary* with all the Diſpoſitions neceſſary to act as the Enemies ſhould direct.

The Emperour having approved his Propoſitions, and the King of *Poland* conforming to them, they marched the 18*th* towards *Presburg*, and they encamped the ſame day with all the Imperial Troops near *Fichen*; from thence they went to *Heinburg*, and the 20*th* they approached *Presburg*, where the Duke expected the Boats from the Bridge of *Tuln* according to orders. However the Bridge could not be finiſhed till the 25*th*, by reaſon of the great Winds, and the Difficulty of getting Boats in a deſolate Country. The *Frantonians* continued camped near *Vienna*, and the *Bavarians* came the 19*th* to *Fichen*.

The

1683. The 22*th*, news came that Count *Budiani*, who upon the arrival of the Turks had abandoned the paſſages which he kept upon the *Raab*, and embraced the party of the Malecontents, after having warred againſt the Emperour's Troops with a Body of *Turks* and *Hungarians* of his Generality, burnt and pillaged a great number of Villages upon the frontier of *Styria*, had ſurpriſed and cut in pieces thoſe ſame Turks to which he was united, and had afterwards joyned with the Count of *Aſpremont*, to endeavour to incommode them of the great Army in their retreat towards *Buda*.

The Bridge upon the *Danube*, to paſs into the Iſle of *Schuts*, being finiſhed the 25*th*, the *Poles* began to file over the ſame day, and being followed by the Emperour's Army, they encamped the 27*th* at *Gersdorff*. The Marquis of *Barch*, who in the Prince of *Waldeck*'s abſence, now ſick at *Vienna*, commanded the Troops of *Franconia*, advertiſed the Duke that he could not follow him with the Troops of his *Circle*, and ſent him the copy of an Order from Prince *Waldeck*, dated the 26*th*. He received at the ſame time another Letter from the Elector of *Bavaria*, dated the day following, from his Camp at *Ort*, two Leagues from *Vienna*, which gave him notice that the *Franconians* would not leave their Camp before they had received Orders from the Princes of their *Circle*, which he judged would be rather to recall, than cauſe them to advance. He added, that his Infantry being extremely weaken'd and diminiſhed by bloudy Fluxes, and his Cavalry ruined, his Troops could not ſo ſoon follow the Army of the Emperour; And yet if they would undertake any great action, where they ſhould be neceſſary, he would cauſe ſuch as were in condition to ſerve immediately to march.

The Duke apprehending that this ſeparation might put him out of condition of undertaking any thing conſiderable, ſent Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to the Elector, who was gone to *Bin*, to change Ayr, by reaſon of ſome indiſpoſition of health; he was charged to perſwade him to let his Troops follow, remonſtrating to him, that it would be a great matter, now that the Forces of the Chriſtians were diminiſhed, to hinder the Turks to take heart to oblige part of *Hungary* to ſubmit themſelves, to take Poſt for Winter Quarters in the Enemies Country, and thereby encourage the *Franconians* to follow their example.

In the mean time the Seaſon advanced; theſe Negotiations conſuming much time, and the Duke could make no ſtay upon command of the Troops he was not ſure of, and willing not to loſe the ſeaſon, he perſwaded the King of *Poland* to continue the march of the Army towards *Komorra*, without the Allies. The King advancing always an hour before the Imperialiſts, they arrived near that City the ſecond of *October*; they camped at *Wiſmar*, and a Council of the Generals of the Army was held there, to know what the Imperialiſts might undertake, independent without the Allies, in caſe of delay or being abandoned.

Intelligence was brought, that *Tekely* with his Army encamped at *Lewentz*; that the groſs of the *Turkiſh* Army lay about *Buda*; that the Grand Viſier had ſent a Detachment towards *Gran*, that he had put 4000 men into *Newhauſel* to fortifie that Garriſon, but that there were in the Enemies Army a great many diſcontented Perſons at the conduct of the Grand Viſier, by ſo much the more diſſatisfied, becauſe that upon his return near *Raab*, he had cauſed the Viſier of *Buda* to be ſtrangled, as alſo ſome other Baſſa's, and more than fifty Subaltern Officers, whom he accuſed of not having done their duty in the late Battel; beſides that, he had alſo ſacrificed a great number of thoſe Run-aways, who had preceded his retreat. 1683.

After the Council held at *Wiſwar*, they were not of opinion to attempt the Siege of *Newhauſel* in a ſeaſon ſo advanced, and in a Country full of Marſhes, the Garriſon being ſtrong, and a great Army in the Neighbourhood; neither was it thought reaſonable to propound the King's going againſt the Enemy, becauſe the Troops of the Empire had not followed, and that they ſhould be oblig'd to paſs through a Country where Forrage would be wanting.

The attack of *Gran* ſeemed but little feaſible before they were Maſters of *Barcam*, that the communication might be cut off. This inclined the Duke to attempt the Fort of *Barcam*, which is the head of the Bridge of *Gran*, after which they would further deliberate to paſs to *Peſt*, or beſiege *Gran*, according to the countenance of the Enemy. The Duke acquainted the King of *Poland* with what had been reſolved, whereunto his Majeſty aſſented.

On the 3*d* of *October*, the King began to paſs that branch of the *Danube* at *Komorra*, called the *Waagh*. The Emperours Horſe followed, and all the Cavalry marched to *Moſe*, where the Count of *Starenberg* was to be on the 7*th* with the Infantry, the King having promiſed to ſtay for him there. The 7*th* day, which ſhould have been a day of repoſe, to give the Infantry time to joyn the reſt of the Army, the King ſent to tell the Duke of *Lorrain*, that he would march towards *Barcham*, deſiring him that he would do the ſame. The Duke, ſurpriſed with the change, having thereupon founded the Horſe, ſent Count *Dunewald* to his Majeſty, to repreſent to him the neceſſity of expecting the Foot, and the danger there was in ſeparating in the neighbourhood of the Armies of the Turks and Rebels, and in the middle of their Garriſons. The Count found the King already on Horſeback, who anſwered him, that having advice that the detachment of the Turks towards *Barcam* was not great, he ſaw no inconvenience to continue his march. They ſeeing the King's reſolution followed him, leaving but one Company of *Crawats* to accompany the Infantry, which that day were to be at *Moſe*.

The King being come within a League of *Barcam*, was advertiſed by his advanced Parties, that ſome Squadrons of the Enemy did appear. He ordered a detachment to charge them. They did not ſtand, but being relieved by a greater Body, the *Poles* who attacqued them were repelled.

The King commanded other Squadrons to ſecond them, which being engaged, he advanced himſelf with all his Horſe. The groſs of the *Turks* Cavalry, which had continued hitherto covered by a great hill, unexpectedly appeared ſix or 7000 ſtrong, and briskly charging the *Poles* in Flank and Front, put them to flight. The *Turks* charged them hotly in the diſorder they were, and killed above 2000 of them, and amongſt the reſt, the Palatine of *Pomerania*. They took Tymbals and Standards, and ſome Baggage, which by being intermingled with the march of the Troops, did ſomewhat contribute to their defeat.

The Count of *Dunewald*, who had marched all day with the King, ſeeing the encounters of the firſt Squadrons, ſent to tell the Duke, that the *Poles* and the Enemy were engaged, whereupon

1683. upon he marched ſwiftly, and filing through a narrow paſſage betwixt him and the Plain, he ſaw upon his arrival that the *Poliſh* Horſe was quite broke, and that the *Turks* were loſe in their purſuit. At this ſight, his firſt care was to put the Emperours moſt advanced Troops into Battalia, leaving room for the flying *Poles*, to avoid their running upon him. As ſoon as he had ſome Squadrons of his firſt Line formed, ſeeing the *Poles* ſtill in diſorder, he advanced upon the Enemy with his firſt Squadrons, leaving Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to embattel the reſt. This motion ſtopt the Enemies carreer, after which they retired with ſome ſpeed under *Barcam*, to avoid the Imperialiſts charge; whilſt the Duke advanced, the Queen of *Polands* Brother came to him, and told him, that he believed the King was loſt, becauſe his Majeſty was in the head of all in the places the moſt expoſed, to animate his Men by words, and inſpire courage into them by his example. The Duke ſeeing the Enemy retired, advanced towards the *Poles*. He found the King, who having advanced with the firſt, would be the laſt in retiring. He told the Duke how affairs had gone, and it being near Night, they thought of nothing but encamping.

Fear and Terror had ſeiſed upon the *Poles*, as is uſual in ſuch Encounters, they could ſcarce be perſwaded to keep the Right, becauſe of the Neighbourhood of *Barcam*, whither the Enemy was retired; inſomuch that the King, for the greater ſecurity of his Troops, made them take the Left, deſiring the Duke to march into the right with the Emperours Troops, which theſe laſt had always prerended to; before they diſcamped, the Duke ſent Orders to Count *Staremberg* to make haſte and come and joyn him with the foot. The next Morning he was adverſtiſed that the *Poles* continued diſquieted; that the loſs they had ſuffered was extreamly ſenſible to them, that they would perſwade the King not to advance any further, but to retire to the Places deſigned for their Quarters; that the principal Officers were much divided, and finally that many Difficulties were alledged to the King to hinder the Execution of the Reſolutions which had been taken.

The Duke, who knew the Conſequence of retaining the *Poliſh Army*, and in caſe it ſeparated, they ſhould loſe the Fruit and Honour of the Campania, the which he deſired to ſee finiſhed with ſome handſome Action, and not upon a loſs, went to the Kings Quarters, and having found things as they had been repreſented, he endeavoured to perſwade his Majeſty to continue in the Terms they had agreed upon. He demonſtrated to him and his Generals, the unlucky conſequences that were to be feared if they changed deſign, how eaſie it was to force this detachment if they did not delay to attack them, the importance of doing it ſuddenly, for fear all the Forces of the Enemy might rejoyn them, and he inſiſted that they ſhould advance and charge them as ſoon as the Foot were come up. The King explained this Diſcourſe to the Senators and Officers of the Army that did not underſtand the Language, and in order to it agreed to march the next Morning, irreſolute only upon the ordering of the Battel.

The Duke, who had been viſiting the Ground, made a Deſcription to the King of it, and the Condition of *Barcam*, and afterwards diſcourſed of ſeveral forms of embattelling. He propoſed that which they had held at *Vienna*, offering the right to his Majeſty, or to march as they were camped, and divided the *Poles* into the two Wings, which laſt propoſal was accepted of, and the Reſolution to march was taken. 1683.

The Army being put into Battalia with the Day, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* commanded the right Wing, and under him Count *Gondola* and Baron *Mercy*, Count *Dunewald* was in the left, and with him the Counts *Palfi* and *Taffi*. Count *Staremberg*, Marſhal of the Field, conducted the Infantry, with the Prince of *Croy* and Count *Serin*. This done, the Duke went to the King for the dividing of his Army. His Majeſty having been informed that the Enemies detachment had been augmented by ſeveral Troops conducted by *Haly* Baſſa of *Aleppo*, and by the Baſſaes of *Syliſtria* and *Caire*; and apprehending that theſe Troops were followed by the reſt, deliberated a-new upon the Enterpriſe; but the Duke repreſented to him many motives which made him believe the Army could not yet be come thither. He added, that if it were, he believed the Ground whereon they ſtood was ſo advantageous, that they ought not to change their Deſign, being the Imperial Army poſſeſſed all the Plain, the *Danube* on the right, and the Mountains on the left, and that the Ground growing narrower towards the Enemies, they could not make uſe of a great body, though they had it; theſe reaſons being approved, the *Poliſh* Army was divided. The King with a party of his *Huſſars*, of his Foot, and of his beſt Horſe, placed himſelf in the right, betwixt the Emperours Horſe and his Dragoons. The Great General *Jabloriski* did the ſame in the left, and the reſt of the *Poliſh* Army made a third Line; they marched for half an hour in this Order. About nine a Clock they ſaw the Turks drawn up in the Plain before them. They moved juſtly, and by their firmneſs their Forces were judged equal with thoſe of the Chriſtians. Being come near the Troops that appeared, made a motion, putting themſelves into three Lines, leaving only two great ſquadrons on their right. They then came and charged the left of the Chriſtian Army with much fierceneſs, and ſearching the *Poles*, they attack'd the *Huſſars*, which the Great General Commanded.

At the ſame time the groſs of the Turks, who were in the middle of the height, advanced towards the adverſe Foot, as if they would have charged them, and being come within half Muſquet-ſhot, they declined to the left of the Chriſtians, expoſing their Flank to relieve their own men. The Duke, who was gon towards his Infantry, ſeeing this motion, ran along the Line of the Horſe of the left Wing, and with all the party of the firſt Line, which had not yet charged, he himſelf advanced at the head of the Squadrons, and charged the Enemy in flank, which put them to a general rout, incapacitating them to make head again. He ordered *Dunewald* to purſue with the whole firſt Line, and with all the *Poles* of the ſame Wing, who followed them Pell-Mell to the very Gates of *Barkam*, and the Marſhes of *Gran*, where many of them were ſlain.

Whilſt Count *Dunewald* chaſed the Enemy, the Duke cauſed the Army to advance in Battalia towards *Barcam*. The King having ſeen the flight of the Turks, was come from the right Wing to the left, to compliment the Duke; the Generals and Senators who accompanied him, did the ſame. Amongſt the reſt *Jabloriſky*, the Grand General of *Poland*, in preſence of all, avowed, that his People refuſing to advance to ſuſtain the *Huſſars*, the readineſs of Count *Dunewald* to ſuccour him, and the Vigour of the Emperours Horſe had repaired that fault, and could

not

1683. not be ſufficiently commended. And now in the diſorder the Enemy was in, they reſolve to attack *Barcam*.

The King cauſed ſome of his *Coſſacks* to advance, and the Duke added five Battalions of *Starenberg*, of *Grana*, and *Baden*, all under the conduct of Count *Starenberg*. This detachment was ſcarce ordered, when the Duke, who was approached to the Fort to inſpect it, was adverſed, that the Bridge upon the *Danube* was broken by the precipitate flight of the firſt Runaways, and that the crowding in *Barkam*, and upon the ſide of the River, were ſo great, that they ſeemed to be packed upon each other. He haſted thither, and would loſe no time upon ſuch an occaſion. He gave Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* orders to diſmount the Regiments of Dragoons, of *Schults*, *Comfettein*, and *Caſtell*, and to march to the Fort on that ſide to make a ſecond Attack. The command was inſtantly executed, and having ſent ſome parties of Foot by Water, and five pieces of Cannon charged with Cartrages; he ordered that the Fort ſhould be aſſaulted, whilſt the great and ſmall ſhot plyed their Vollies upon the Banks of the River. The Turks ſeeing themſelves thus preſſed on all ſides, could not withſtand the Attack, the place being forced, the Foot and Dragoons entering at the ſame time by the ways they attempted it.

The ſlaughter was terrible, though moſt of the defendants, to ſave themſelves from the fury of the aſſailants, precipitated themſelves into the *Danube*, ſome leap'd in with their Horſes, others tried to paſs by ſwimming, holding by the Mane and tailes of their Horſes, or ſome plank or piece of the broken Bridge, and there were ſome who crept over the dead bodies which were held by the cordage and pieces of wood remaining where the breach was. This ſlaughter continuing long, the number of the dead was very great; all that part of the *Danube* near the ſhore, not being very rapid, being filled with them; all the ſurface of the River, where largeſt, being covered with cloaths, and the equipage of Men and Horſes, and there did not eſcape above ſeven or 800 of all this multitude, who found their preſervation in the kind of a Redoubt which was at *Barcam*, where they had put themſelves, and from whence they demanded quarter, and had it.

The Town being garriſoned with *Dutch* and *Poles*, Count *Staremberg*, ſeeing theſe two Nations were ready to murther each other for the booty, removed the Imperialiſts, having only the *Poles* there, who awhile after burnt *Barcam*, and all the Palliſado's that encloſed it, becauſe the Turks had placed the Heads of the *Poles* ſlain in the late Engagement upon the tops of them.

Count *Tekely*, who had orders from the Grand Viſier to joyn with the Baſſa of *Buda* at *Barkam*, was advanced upon the Mountains within two miles of it, but being informed by thoſe he ſent to diſcover what the Chriſtians did, of what was paſſed, he retired with much diligence.

By Letters from *Gran*, as alſo by the relation of Priſoners, there were not 3000 men of all this detachment of 14000 Horſe, and 1200 Janiſaries ſaved. They were the flower of their Army, commanded by the *Baſſa* of *Buda*, *Haly* Baſſa of *Aleppo*, the Baſſa of *Silliſtria*, and ſome Aga's. The booty was great, above ſix thouſand Horſes being taken, and the Tymbals and the Baggage which the *Poles* had left, were recovered.

This Victory did not only re-aſſure the *Poles*, but put the Male-contents into a deſpondency, and did ſo ſtrongly increaſe the diſorders in the *Turkiſh* Army, that the Grand Viſier, unable to maſter them, was obliged to retire. 1683.

The next thing the Chriſtians undertook, was the Siege of *Gran*, though the Duke had need of all his Reaſons and elocution to perſwade the King of *Poland* to it, but having at length conſented, and the *Bavarian* Forces being come up, three Batteries were forthwith raiſed; and ten great Guns were by force of men, as alſo eight Mortars drawn up the Mountains of *Martin* and *Thomas*, deſerted by the Enemy. The Caſtle was ſtrongly battered on the Gate, on the *Buda* ſide great quantity of Bombs were thrown in, and the ſhooting laſted all day. The Imperialiſts advanced to the Ditch, and lodged there on the ſide of the *Bavarian* approaches. They advanced to the foot of the Wall, which looks towards *Barcam*, and about five in the evening, ſome commanded Battalions of the Imperialiſts attack'd the City on the other extremity, and carried it without reſiſtance; for as much as the Enemy having retired, contented themſelves to defend it by their great firing from the Caſtle, from whence the very ſills of the Houſes are diſcovered.

The Imperialiſts being maſters of the City, the *Bavarians* in the Night gained the foot of the Caſtle, where they fell to Mining, whilſt the Imperialiſts leaped into the Mote, and lodged there. Several men were loſt there by the defendants Bombs, Granadoes, Stones, &c. which they continually threw amongſt them, whilſt they were covering themſelves. The Cannon beginning to make a breach about Ten a Clock, and the Miner at work, a Summons was ſent in by a *Turkiſh* Priſoner, with offer of goods and life, if they would ſurrender the place before the day was ended. The beſieged demanded till the morrow, which being refuſed, the firing of the Artillery, Musquets, and Bombs were redoubled. They paſſed the Moat, made two Lodgments, by favour whereof they attacked the Miner in a ſecond place on the *Martinberg* ſide. This advantage obliged the *Turks* to ſend an Officer about Eleven at Night to declare, that they accepted the offer which had been made them, demanding Hoſtages whilſt the Capitulations were a making, and offering theirs.

The *27th*, the Hoſtages being delivered, it was agreed, that the Garriſon ſhould march out with Arms and Baggage, and that it ſhould be conducted in ſafety to *Buda* and *Vicegrade*; that the Artillery and Munitions of War and Victuals ſhould remain in the place, and that the Turks ſhould deliver up their Chriſtian Priſoners.

The impreſſion that the battel of *Barcam* had made; the vigor and readineſs wherewith they had gained the foot of the Walls, the Grand Viſier's retreat, the Bombs which were thrown without ceaſing, into a place ſo full of People as this, had cauſed ſo much terror and ſo much confuſion, that though there were above 4000 effective men in the Garriſon, commanded by two Baſſa's, a Bey, and many Officers, we have ſeen a place reduced in five days, which in the two former Sieges had held out ſeveral Months, with weaker Garriſons, againſt more numerous Armies.

The ſeaſon being too far advanced for further action, the Allies returned home, and the *Poles*, together with the Imperialiſts marched into their Winter-Quarters.

In the mean time, the Grand Viſier being come to Court, told the Grand Seignior the ſame things he had writ to him againſt the Baſſa

of

1683. of *Buda*, and perſwaded him to approve of the rigor wherewith he had treated him. He alſo accuſed Count *Tekely* of having ill ſeconded him; and finally, he knew ſo well to juſtifie his conduct with his Maſter, that he hindered the Widdow of that Baſſa, who was his Highneſs's Siſter, to complain againſt him for ſo barbarous an action, and procured an Order to be ſent her from the *Sultan* to go immediately to *Adrianople* without ſeeing him. When this Princeſs arrived there, ſhe found the *Sultana Valide* dead, which cauſed her a ſenſible diſpleaſure; becauſe ſhe had relied much upon the credit of this Princeſs, who having a great averſion for *Cara Muſtafa*, would not have been wanting in countenancing the vengeance ſhe would take of this Miniſter; but ſhe learn'd from *Kiſler Agaſi*, or the chief of the black Eunukes, that *Sultana Valide* had charged him upon her Death-bed, to tell the Grand Seignior upon his return to *Adrianople*, that *Cara Muſtapha* had a deſign to make himſelf Emperour of the Weſt, grounded upon a Prediction told him, that he ſhould one day be Maſter of one of the greateſt Empires of the World. But whether this Prediction were true, or that the *Sultana Valide* had invented it to deſtroy the Viſier, the news of it did extremely comfort the Baſſa of *Buda*'s Widdow, who waited the return of the *Sultan* with impatience, to execute the deſign which ſhe had againſt this Miniſter, and revenge the loſs of her Husband by his death.

The ſeaſon being far advanced, the Grand Seignior, leaving *Kara Muſtapha* at *Belgrade* to take care of his Army, and the places in *Hungary*, during the Winter quarter, returned to *Adrianople*.

As the Chriſtians got every day ſome new advantages over the *Turks*, and that the Grand Viſier did nothing to repell them, his ſecret Enemies, and principally the *Kiſler Agaſi*, and the *Kaimacan*, who was jealous of his greatneſs, took occaſion hence to decry the conduct of the Grand Viſier unto their Maſter. At this time Count *Tekely*, who was accuſtomed to receive great Subſidies from the Port, and who had his Spies neat his Highneſs, by whom he was faithfully advertiſed of all that happened, knowing that he had been rendered ſuſpect to his Highneſs, and that there was no more mention of ſending him Supplies as uſual, did by his Letters omit nothing for his juſtification, but to no purpoſe. His Letters did not diſabuſe the Grand Seignior, who entirely believing what he had received from *Kara Muſtapha* at *Belgrade*, was perſwaded that this Count was of Intelligence with the Imperialiſts. *Tekely* ſeeing no middle betwixt his ruine and his juſtification, took the moſt dangerous Party. He went *Incognito* to *Adrianople*, and having by the credit of *Kiſler Agaſi*, who was his particular friend, found means of admiſſion to the *Sultans* preſence, before whom, proſtrated with his face upon the Earth, he declared to him that he brought him his Head, and that he would rather loſe it, than be expoſed to the calumny of his Enemies, and to the diſgrace of his Protector. *Tekely*'s boldneſs look'd well. The Grand Seignior gave ear to his reaſons, and judged by the relation that he made him, that all the misfortunes that happened at the Siege of *Vienna*, and ſince, ought to be imputed to the ill conduct of his Viſier. He permitted *Tekely* to return, aſſuring him of the protection he demanded, and engaged himſelf to ſend him ſuch powerful Succours, that he ſhould in a little time be in a condition to repair with advantage all the loſſes he had ſuffered.

And now they begin to make complaints againſt the Viſier, and the loſs of *Gran* did not a little contribute to his ruine. The Janizaries, that the Viſier's ſecret enemies had cauſed to aſſemble tumultuarily, and demand his Head, under pretence that he had abandoned their Companions in the Trenches at *Vienna*, and this was a killing blow, to that the death of *Kara Muſtapha* was reſolved in a Divan, which the Grand Seignior had cauſed to be aſſembled to that purpoſe. 1683.

This fatal Commiſſion was given, *Chiaous* Baſſa, and to *Kapighier Kiaia*, who immediately took Poſt for *Belgrade*. They arrived there the 25th of *December*, and addreſſing themſelves to the Aga of the Janizaries, they communicated the Emperours Orders to him, which, impoſed that he ſhould give them all neceſſary aſſiſtance. The Aga diſpoſed ſuch as depended on him to obey, and went with theſe two Officers into the Grand Viſier's houſe. *Cara Muſtapha*, who perceived them from his Chamber, did quickly ſuppoſe that his Enemies had taken advantage of his abſence to ruine him, and thoſe that he ſaw coming were to execute the Arreſt of his death. Some Officers who owed him their fortune, being then with him, and having heard him ſay what he thought, propoſed to him to refuſe the Door to the Aga, and them that accompanied him: they repreſented to him that he was beloved by the Souldiers, and if he appeared but in his defence, he would inſtantly ſee a number of brave men for his defence.

But this great Miniſter, whoſe life ſeemed odious to him after the affront which he received before *Vienna*, and who knew well, he could but defer his death for few days, being incircled with the Enemies of his Religion, who would not fail to profit by the diviſion of his Troops, believed that by his laſt ſubmiſſion to his Highneſs orders, he ought to diſabuſe thoſe who believed him little attach'd to the Law, or rather he found himſelf ſo irreſolute in ſo preſſing a danger, that the *Sultans* three Officers entered his Chamber before he had taken his laſt reſolution. He endeavoured to hide the diſorders of his Soul, and after he had returned them their civilities, he asked the cauſe of their coming. The Aga taking the word, told him that his Highneſs had ſent for the Seal of the Empire, which he had entruſted him with, and ſhewed him the order in Writing. At the ſame time the Viſier opening his boſom drew it out, which he preſented to him with reſpect, asking whether they had any thing elſe to require from him? he was obliged to render the Standard, which he did in the ſame fashion; and having yet again demanded, whether they would have any thing elſe, the three Officers anſwered him only with tears, letting him at the ſame time ſee in writing the *Buyurds* or Command, whereby the Grand Seignior would have his Head. *Kara Muſtapha* was not affrighted, being already prepared for it. He only asked, if he might not be permitted to ſay his Prayers. The Officers anſwered him, that they had no orders to refuſe him that conſolation. He ordered his People to retire, that he might pray with leſs diſtraction, and when he had finiſhed, they re-entered again. He then drew a Paper out of his boſom, which he gave to the Aga, to render it to his Highneſs. It is believed that it was a Billet, by which the *Sultan* promiſed him never to put him to death, which he would make no uſe of, judging it uſeleſs, being he was too far from the Grand Seignior to underſtand his intentions. He then ſat upon the brink of the Sofa,

1683. *ſa*, whereof he lift up the Carpet, to the end to be only upon the Plank, demanding he might be ſtrangled by his own Executioner, which was granted. After a few Moments to diſpoſe of himſelf, he called the Executioner, and told him he ſhould be quick, and not let him languiſh; he ſaid alſo, that the Grand Seignior would think on him after his Death. The Executioner having put the ſtring about his Neck, he himſelf diſentangled it, ſaying, it was not neceſſary they ſhould hold his hands. As ſoon as he was dead, the Executioner cut off his Head, and ſlead it, filling the Skin with hacked Straw, which was put into a Box, and carried to *Adrianople*, and given to the Sultan, who received it without any great Emotion, as he was coming from hunting.

The Viſiers Corps was carried out of his Chamber, and expoſed under a Pavilion to be ſeen of all Men. At the ſame time, they ſeiſed on his principal Officers, who were brought to *Adrianople*. Of theſe the *Reiz Effendi* was hang'd, *Mauro Cordato* his Interpreter put in the Caſtle of the ſeven Towers at *Conſtantinople*, having firſt been ſpoiled of his Money and Jewels.

There were found in the Treaſury of this Miniſter, ten or twelve Milions in Money, Moveables and Jewels, which is very conſiderable, if the prodigious Expences of Preſents be conſidered; theſe Spoils, and thoſe of ſome of the Viſiers Officers, and of the Teſterder, who was likewiſe ſtrangled, amounted to fourteen Millions, which came all into the Grand Seigniors Purſe. He refuſed to conſent that this Moneys ſhould be employed to pay the Troops, and reeſtabliſh the Affairs of *Hungary*, although all the Divan was of that Opinion. The Sultan would neither ſuffer them to open his Treaſury, which is the great reſource of the *Ottoman* Emperours, and replyed to them that repreſented to him the neceſſity of doing it, that they muſt make uſe of the accuſtomed Revenues, and if that did not ſuffice, it was for his Council to ſearch out other ways to ſupply it. And yet he was pleaſed to give all the Viſiers immoveables to his Children. This Humour of his Highneſs, and the Difficulties which were foreſeen to ſettle the Affairs of the Empire, diminiſhed the heat of ſuch who might pretend to the Employment of Grand Viſier. The *Kiſſer Agaſi*, who was always in great Credit, and who fancied, though without any ground, that the Grand Seignior had thoughts of placing him in this Poſt, declared before hand, that he would not accept of this Office, knowing that he had not Capacity enough to bear the weight of it.

Solyman Aga Selietar, who was his Highneſſes true Favorite, and who judg'd he ſhould be always powerful enough whilſt he had his Maſters Favour, ſignified to the Sultan, who offered to make him Grand Viſier, that all his Ambition was to pleaſe him, and that he eſteemed more the waiting upon his Perſon, than to divide his Cares betwixt his Prince and the State, as he ſhould be obliged to do, if he accepted the charge wherewith he would honour him. So obliging a denyal augmenting the eſteem and affection which the Grand Seignior had for him, diſpoſed him to name *Ibrahim Aga*, who was *Kaymacan*, and formerly called *Kara Kiaia*, for this high Employment.

The Chriſtians continuing their Progreſs in *Hungary*, obliged this new Grand Viſier to aſſemble the Divan very often, to find a way to re-eſtabliſh their Affairs. He propoſed the making of a Peace with the Emperour, and to continue the Trevis which *Kara Muſtapha* had violated without any lawful pretence, and to carry the War into *Poland*, to revenge themſelves on King *John*, for the ill ſucceſs of the Siege of *Vienna*. But the Sultan, who had promiſed Count *Tekely* that he would not abandon him, was of a contrary ſentiment. *Kara Kiaia* urging his Opinion with too much heat, the Sultan grew ſo angry with him, that he was judged loſt, which gave room to that falſe report that ran of him that he was ſtrangled, and that *Kara Houglon Camaikan* of *Conſtantinople* was put in his place. 1683.

Moſt of the Officers of the Garriſons being changed, the new Viſier employed all his diligence to raiſe ſuch Forces againſt Spring, as might ſalve the diſgraces of the laſt Campaign, which yet they could not compaſs, the People being dejected even to Conſternation at ſo many loſſes.

On the other ſide, the Chriſtians having happily finiſhed their Campaign, and taken their Quarters in *Hungary*, uſed great diligence to procure Moneys, to ſeparate the *Hungarians* from the Port, and to make new Alliances.

There was but the *Pope* that could travel effectually in the firſt of theſe things, ſeeing the other Princes of the Empire had enough to do for themſelves, as long as the differences with *France* were not accommodated, beſides the Proteſtants could obtain no advantage for their Religion.

To effect the ſecond point, a general Act of Oblivion was publiſhed by the Emperours command, with pardon to all that would return to their Obedience, and Commiſſioners being ſent to *Presburg* to receive their Submiſſions, very many of the Nobility, Counties, and Towns were reſtored to their Duty as at the beginning, though *Tekely* would not, and the chief Towns in upper *Hungary* for fear of him, did not as yet dare to declare themſelves.

But the third deſign had better Succeſs, for however the *Czars* of *Muſcovia* would not give ear to the Emperours Invitation and Propoſitions of Alliance made him by his Ambaſſador *Blomberg*, yet the *Venetians*, ſhewing a great Inclination to be revenged of the loſſes they had ſuffered by the Wars of *Candy*, eaſily conſented to the accompliſhment of the League between the Emperour, the King of *Poland*, and the *Venetians*.

This Alliance was to be offenſive; none of the concerned ſhould treat ſeparately upon any Conditions whatſoever; that this League ſhall tend to no other thing but to make War againſt the Turks; the Emperour and the King of *Poland* ſhall act by Land with all their Forces, and the Republick of *Venice* with a Naval Army at Sea, and a Land Army in *Dalmatia*; that the War be made by diverſion, the Emperour ſhall endeavour to recover *Hungary*, the *Poles Kaminiec*, and all the *Ukraine*, and *Venice* all ſhe has loſt, &c.

Whilſt this was in concluding, there came News to the Imperial Court, of a very great defeat the *Coſſacks* had given the *Turks* and *Tartars*, the Chieftains of the *Tartars* being both ſlain, and *Haly Beg*, who commanded the *Turks*, taken Priſoner, who, though he offered a hundred thouſand Crowns for his Ranſom, was ſlain by the quarrelling *Coſſack* in the heat of their conteſt about him.

But now the Seaſon did invite both ſides into the Field, where the Chriſtians were chiefly Aggreſſors. The Chriſtian Army in the beginning of *June* aſſembled at their general Rendevous betwixt *Schinta* and *Shella*, to the number

1683. ber of thirty thousand Men, from whence, after some stay, they passed the *Danube* near *Gran*; it was believed that the design was formed against *Newhausel*, and the rather, because it had been so greatly streightned by General *Mercy*, who had block'd it up all the Winter, and reduced it to the Condition, as was supposed, of a voluntary surrender. But it was at length discovered that *Buda* was at the bottom of the Design, as a thing of greater Consequence, being therefore to leave no Place behind them, the Army was transported to *Vicegrade*, a place scituate upon the *Danube*, having left their Baggage under the Cannon of *Gran*; and having without much labour rendred themselves Masters of the City, the Turks that were in the Castle surrendered the next day, marching out to the number of seven hundred and forty men. In the mean time, the Turks of *Alba Regalis*, and the Neighbour Garrisons, to the number of six thousand, unexpectedly attack'd the Baggage at *Gran*, but were so rudely received, that having lost two hundred of their Men, and four Colours, they were forced to give back. Major General *Hallowell* of the Imperialists was slain in this Fight.

But the Turks, sollicitous for *Newhausel*, and finding they could not sufficiently relieve it with small Parties, resolved to attempt it with an Army, and being advanced as far as *Vacia*, the Duke resolved to oppose them. To this purpose he set forwards, and found them drawn up in Battalia upon the heights near the Town. The place was of difficult access, having on the left the *Danube*, and a large Morass, and the right secured by a Wood. The Duke having embattelled his men, moved directly towards the Enemy, and about Eleven of the Clock passed the Morass, without any great opposition, till being come upon the heights, they were then charged with great fury, but the Turks not being able to break them the first time, they bravely attacked them the second, and third time; but with like success, still repelled, especially the third time with great loss, and forced to save themselves by flight. The Foot saved themselves in the Castle, but were forced to surrender at discretion, after three hours resistance. *Novigrade* was hereupon quitted by the Turks, and as soon possest by the Imperialists.

Jun. 27. This Victory animated the Christians to prosecute their march to *Pest*, whither being come, they cast a great number of Bombs into the Town, with that success, that the fire taking in several places of it, frightned the Garrison so, that taking their best moveables with them, they fled into *Buda*, after they had also reduced some Houses in the Town to ashes, and fired the Bridge behind them. But the Christians taking possession of *Pest*, quenched the fire, repaired the fortifications, and battered *Buda* with the Artillery they found in the place.

The Siege of *Buda*. Hitherto fortune had been so favourable to the Imperialists, that they began to think nothing insuperable to their courage. This opinion made them pass the *Danube* again, and undertake the Siege of *Offen*, or *Buda*, the Capital of the Kingdom, sometimes the Residence of the Kings of *Hungary*, and now of the Bassa's, that govern that wealthy Kingdom with no less authority. After some ruffling and skirmishes, the City was invested, and the Suburbs taken without any great opposition. The Turks likewise quitted St. *Gerards* Hill, and the besiegers began to batter the Walls with their Artillery.

The Turks abroad were not idle, for having got twenty thousand Men together, they were resolved to attempt the relief of *Buda*. But the Christians having left all their Foot, with what Horse was necessary to continue the Siege, they marched with the rest of the Cavalry, one thousand Foot under the command of Count *Aversberg*, and two thousand five hundred *Hussars* of Count *Esterhasis*. The Duke marched all Night to find out the Enemy, who, though well trenched, at sight of the Christians came out of their Camp, and embattell'd themselves for their defence. The dispute lasted near four hours, the Turks making several motions to gain the Flanks of the Enemy, which being perceived, the Christians used all possible diligence to prevent them, and engaging at length, after a sharp fight, the Infidels being disordered, were put to flight, and so closely pursued, that not only their Camp and Cannon were taken, but at least four thousand of them slain, and the great Standard, the badge of the Grand Visier's dignity also surprised. 1683.

After this Victory, the Duke returning to the Siege, summoned the place, but received for answer, that the Governour had in the presence of his Messengers caused forty Christian Slaves to be hewed in pieces, saying, he wished he could do as much to all the Christian Army. In revenge of this, the Christians assaulted the place, but in vain, though upon a second attempt they carried the lower Town, with their Swords in their hands, notwithstanding the opposition they found was great. They raised a Battery there of twenty four Cannon, and seventeen Mortars, from whence, as also St. *Gerards* hill, they battered the City. Nor were the besieged idle, who made a brave sally upon the Besiegers, wherein they slew some hundreds of them, with several considerable Officers, besides the wounded.

The Christian Army beginning to want Forrage, they made a Bridge to pass to the Isle of St. *Margaret*, from whence they might be the better provided with all things. Many were the attempts, the batteries, the sallies, and endeavours on both sides. The Christians endeavoured to hinder the Turks, though in vain, from watering at the *Danube*. The Christians sprung a Mine by the great Tower, which did indeed take effect, but it was found that the Turks were too well provided to hazard an assault. About mid-*August*, the Governour, or Visier of *Buda*, *Kara Mehemet*, was kill'd with a shot he received in his face, a Person very brave, and very knowing. *Ephraim* Bassa succeeded him in the Government, but did not enjoy it long, being likewise slain with a Cannon Bullet, so that the Chief command was devolved upon the Aga of the Janizaries.

As the attack was vigorous, so the defence was brave, the Turks continually vexing the Christians with their Alarms and Sallies, who on the other side continued their approaches with great resolution, but their Foot being much spent, it was judged advisable not to hazard a General assault, before the *Bavarian* Forces, which were daily expected, were come up.

In the mean time the Serasquier Bassa formed a design to make a diversion some other way, in order to which he marches towards the frontiers of *Croatia*, where General *Lesley* was camped, who had besieged *Virovitza* in *July*, beaten the relief designed for their succour, and thereupon had the place surrendered to him upon composition. Having now notice of the Serasquier's design, he went and posted himself within half a League off his Camp, near a Bridge that was lay'd over the *Danube* at *Turanowitz*. A while after the Turks approached, who charged

1683. with great fury eight hundred Croats, newly come to the Imperial Camp, but with their accuſtomed misfortune. They however returned immediately to the fight, and forced the Croats to retire, leaving them three Standards for priſe, ſo that being animated with this advantage, they would attempt more, and attacked the Imperialiſts in their *Poſt*; but they were ſo ill received, that they were obliged to retire with the loſs of five hundred men, which were killed upon the place. The Chriſtians loſt two hundred.

Though this Siege, for the Greatneſs and Fame of it, deſerves to be deſcribed in all its particulars, the Approaches, the Attacks, the Mines, the Battels, the Batteries, the Breaches of the Chriſtians being carried on with ſo much Valour and Conſtancy, that it amazed the wondering World; yet the Greatneſs of the Garriſon, the Scituation and Strength of the Place, the reiterated Succours that were brought in, a potent Army commanded by a *Seraskier*, within the noiſe of their Guns, yea, oft-times their view; a vigorous and intrepid Courage in the Defendants, frequent and furious Sallies, Countermines, and the advance of a wet Seaſon ſo favourable to them, rendred all the Endeavours of the Beſiegers fruitleſs, and forced them to a Retreat.

The Duke of *Bavaria* had indeed brought with his Perſon, a conſiderable recruit to the Imperialiſts, and they performed all that Courage could ſuggeſt; but being the fatal moment of the reducing of this Capital City of the Kingdom was not yet come, we will tranſmit the Hiſtory of it till then, when the ſame great Atchievements were in a manner acted over again, and indeed by the ſame Generals on the ſide of the Chriſtians, but with better fortune.

The Siege had laſted from the fourteenth of *July*, till the firſt of *November*, at which time the Chriſtians having tranſported their Baggage, their ſick, and ſome pieces of Artillery to the Iſle of St. *Andrew*; the Army ſending their great Cannon, their Ammunition, and the reſt of their Baggage by Water, for want of draught-Horſes, though well convoyed, followed themſelves in a Body uninterrupted, and marched to their Winter Quarters, the *Bavarians* into upper *Hungary*, and the Imperialiſts into both the upper and lower *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Sileſia*, *&c.* according to their Repartitions.

The Turks attempted nothing upon the Army in their retreat, but brought near a thouſand Priſoners, which were left in the Iſle of St. *Margaret*, into the City, not ſingly triumphing for ſo ſignal a deliverance.

Such was the end of this bloody Siege, where, following the common Opinion, the Emperour loſt twenty thouſand Men, and amongſt them a great number of Officers. Of thoſe of moſt note were the Counts of *Altheim*, two of the *Starembergs*, *James* and *Lewis*, *Carlowitz*, *Richtari*, *Hoken-Zollern*, *Furſtenburg*, *Naſſau*, *Durheim*, *Chriminz*, and the young Counts of *Harrah*, and great quantity of others.

The Turks recovered their Garriſons of *Peſt* and *Vacia*, without any great difficulty, but in exchange the Count of *Zober* took the Caſtle of *Suran* near *Newheuſel*.

The Venetians declare War againſt the Turks.

The Republick of *Venice* had a more fortunate Campaign. Their Doge or Prince being dead, *Marco Antonio Juſtiniano* being elected Duke in his place, the Senate ſent orders to their Secretary *Capello*, at the Ottoman *Port* immediately after the concluſion of the Alliance made with the Emperour and *Poland*, to declare War againſt the Turks, and to ſave himſelf as well as he could, which he did; for having ſcarce finiſhed his Declaration, he retired from *Conſtantinople* in the habit of a Sea-man, and embarked himſelf upon a *French* Ship. But two of his Domeſticks, and ſix other ſervants, had the misfortune to be taken, whilſt the Merchants of his Nation took Sanctuary in the *French* Embaſſadour's Palace. The *Kaimacan* of *Conſtantinople* would ſearch whether *Capello* was not there alſo, but the Ambaſſadour anſwered him, if he came to re-ſearch there without expreſs orders from the Grand Seignior, he ſhould repent it, which ſo diſcompoſed him, that after ſome excuſes, he proceeded no further. 1683.

The Council chooſing their great Officers, made *Moroſini* Captain General, *Mocenigo* Procurer General of *Dalmatia*, the Prince of *Parma* General of the Infantry, *&c.* General *Strozoldo* paſſed out of the Emperour's ſervice, to that of this Common-wealth.

The *Morlacks* did likewiſe, for the moſt part, embrace the Party of the *Venetians*, holding the Turks in perpetual Alarms, making oft-times very conſiderable Booty, perpetually peſtering them with their ravagings and excurſions.

The General Rendezvouz of the *Venetian* Fleet was at *Corfu*, where the Gallies of the Pope, of *Malta*, and of *Tuſcany* joyning with them, conſiſting in all of forty-ſix Gallies, ſix Galliaſſes, thirty-three Men of War, beſides other ſmaller Veſſels, manned with above twenty thouſand Foot, and five or ſix hundred Horſe. A General Council of War being held in preſence of all the Chief of the Auxiliary Squadrons, it was reſolved to attempt the Iſland of St. *Maure*, in purſuance whereof, arriving before the Iſland about the 20*th* of *July*, the Army entred the Port of *Dameta*, on the Eaſt ſide of the Iſland, where alſo they made their deſcent. Seignior *Monetta* landed firſt with one hundred and fifty Men, being followed by General *Strozoldo*, with two *Venetian* Regiments, the Popes, and the Infantry of *Malto*, the reſt of the *Venetian* and Duke of *Tuſcany*'s Forces landing on the Weſt ſide. Having taken their Poſts, the Generaliſſimo ſent a Summons to them in the Fort, to ſurrender it, which they with contempt refuſing, the Chriſtians began to batter the Town from their Gallies and Galliaſſes, whereby the houſes and fortifications of the City were greatly endamaged, as alſo a Moſque, which was ruined; and however the Turks were not wanting in their defence, yet they would hinder the Chriſtians to lodge in the Suburbs, and to raiſe Batteries, which did greatly prejudice the Walls, beſides that the Bombs did very great harm in the City. The firſt of *Auguſt*, a great Breach was made in the Wall, one of their Bulwarks being much ruined, and four of their Pieces of *Cannon* rendred uſeleſs to the Beſieged; beſides, the Town flamed in ſeveral parts, being fired by the Bombs; by favour of which advantages the *Venetians* advanced their approaches ſo well, that they began already to fill the Ditch, and making every thing ready for a general aſſault. Things being at this paſs, General *Moroſini*, by an unaccuſtomed kind of Clemency, ſent them a ſecond Summons, which they accepting off, hung out towards evening a white Flag, and about one in the Morning, ſent three Deputies, to notifie they were content to ſurrender, upon condition they might carry all their goods with them, but they could obtain no more, than to march out with their Families, and what they could carry. Hoſtages were next Morning delivered on both ſides, and all the Slaves were releaſed, ſave that they were

obliged

1683. obliged to ſerve as Sea-men in the Gallies of the Common-wealth for a year. The Garriſon with their Army, ſeven hundred in number, marched out that evening by the Weſt Port, and the *Venetians* entred by the breach into the City, where they found ſtore of Proviſion, and eighty Pieces of Ordinance, twenty whereof had the Arms of St. *Mark* upon them. During the time of the Siege, which laſted ſeventeen days, the Chriſtians loſt four-hundred men, and the Turks near three hundred.

St. Maura taken.

And thus this Neſt of Pirates, (the *Leucade* of the Ancients) about ſeventy miles round, and well peopled, and in the poſſeſſion of the Turks ever ſince *Mahomet* the ſecond's time, was re-taken in leſs than three Weeks, with ſo inconſiderable a loſs. The General cauſed the Moſques forthwith to be re-conſecrated, and *Te Deum* to be ſung in them for ſo happy a Victory, which was alſo celebrated in *Venice* with great magnificence.

After the fortifications of this place were repaired, and the Garriſon provided with all neceſſaries, the Government of it being given to *Laurence Venier*, as extraordinary Provider, and to *Phillip Paricz* in ordinary, both Gentlemen of *Venice*, the General choſe two thouſand *Venetians*, the remainder of thoſe which were in a condition to march, by reaſon of the manifold ſickneſſes that reigned amongſt the Souldiery, and diſpatched them with Collonel *Angelo*, to aſſemble all the *Grecians* he could get together, and tranſported himſelf to the haven of *Pettala*, in expectation of the ſaid Collonel's enterpriſe. He went thence, and ancred in the haven or Port of *Dragomeſtro*, where landing with two thouſand *Venetians*, and one thouſand of the Auxiliaries, he joyned himſelf with fifteen or ſixteen hundred *Grecians*. Theſe Troops ravaged the Country, chaſed the men which *Saban* Baſſa, Governour of *Prevezza*, had poſted to obſerve the Chriſtians. Having allured the ſaid Baſſa into the field, burnt ſome Villages, and pillaged the Country five days together, they re-imbark'd at *Pettala*, and ſailed thence to the Haven of *Dameta*. There, at a Council of War, the reſolution of attacking *Prevezza* was taken, it being the only place that covered the Iſland of St. *Maur*, being ſome twelve miles diſtant from it. In order to this deſign, the General ſent five Gallies, and ſix Gailiaſſes towards the Caſtles called the *Gomenizze*, within ſight of the Fortreſs, to oblige the Turks to divide their Forces, which alſo happened; for upon a ſuppoſition that the Chriſtians would attempt the Towers, they ſent moſt of their Men thither: The Army parted from *Dameta* the 20th of *September*, and came to anchor that evening at the mouth of the Gulph of *Arta* or *Ambracia*, that City being famous for the Reſidence of King *Pyrrhus*, and its Gulf, for the Victory of *Auguſtus* againſt *Marc Anthony*.

The next day the Captain *Monetta*, who was come with twenty four Barks and Brigantines, landed his Troops, being aſſiſted by the approach of the Gallies, which hindred the Turks from daring to appear upon the ſhore, before the *Venetians* were drawn up into Battalia by General *Strozoldo*, and had forced five hundred Spahis, who came to charge them, to retire. They took the Caſtle without difficulty, and poſted themſelves upon a height which commanded the City. The General thereupon ſummoned the place, but the Officer who commanded in chief in the abſence of *Saba* Baſſa, refuſed the Letter and Meſſenger, ſhooting at the later, upon confidence of being relieved by his Gouvernour. Several Mortars and Cannon were landed, and Batteries being raiſed, the place was ſorely canonado'd, in ſo much that all the Enemies Pieces but one were diſmounted. The twenty fourth, they carried their Approaches into the Moat, and by Favour of the Obſcurity of the Night, carried their Mine under the great Tower. The twenty eighth they made a Lodgment in the Ditch, and the Breach being very large, Order was given for the Aſſault as ſoon as the Mine had played; but the Turks, ſenſible of their Danger, prevented it by hanging out a Flag of Truce. They demanded the ſame Conditions with them at St. *Maur*, though but thirty of the principal were ſuffered to go out with Arms and Baggage, the reſt being only allowed what they could carry about them. There were found in this place forty ſix pieces of Cannon, and much Proviſion. The Winter advancing apace, the Auxiliaries returned to their ſeveral Homes, and the *Venetians* to their Iſles to paſs the Seaſon there.

1683.

As alſo Prevezza.

In *Dalmatia* the *Venetians* happily ended their Campania with the taking of *Narenta*.

And Narenta in Dalmatia.

The King of *Poland* did not take the Field this year before mid-*Auguſt*, after the Troops which had been laſt year in *Hungary*, and a party of *Brandenburgs* had joyned his Army. He took a review of his Army near *Buzac*, from whence he ſent a ſtrong detachment to inveſt *Jaſtowitz* but two miles off, whither he alſo came towards Evening with the reſt of his Army, and ſummoned the place; but the Commander having anſwered, that the place being intruſted to him by the Grand Seignior, he would keep it to the laſt Extremity; but he was not as good as his word, for after having been battered two days, the Turks demanded a Parley. Hoſtages were given on both ſides, and the Articles quickly ſigned, according to which the Garriſon marched out with their Arms, to the number of five hundred men. The King turned hence towards *Swaniec*, near the *Nieſter*, over which he cauſed a Bridge to be lay'd, and his Army to paſs it. But he quickly repaſſed it again, upon the advice he received, that thirty thouſand *Tartars* had paſſed this River, with deſign to make an irruption into *Poland*. His Majeſty going in queſt of them, had the luck to cut four hundred of them in pieces, but he could not ingage them in a formal battel, being they ſtayed no where, for this reaſon, and the ſeaſon being paſſed, he reſolved to ſend his Army into Winter-Quarters.

The Poles take the Field.

Go into Winter Quarters.

The ſucceſſes of the *Coſſacks* laſt year in *December*, which we have already mentioned, encouraged them with their General *Kunincky*, betimes in the Spring, to go in queſt of new Adventures, and being reinforced with *Moldavians* and *Walachians*, they marched towards *Stravico*, where the *Danube* diſgorges it ſelf into the black Sea, but being aſſailed by the *Hoſpodar Duka*, they were obliged to retire, and their General fled out of the Field with the Horſe, but the Infantry ſtanding firm, recovered the day, routed the *Turks* and *Tartars*, took *Jas*, the Hoſpodar's Reſidence, and himſelf Priſoner. But not being ſatisfied with their General *Kunicky*, they depoſed him, and put *Mohila* into his place; and however that afterwards the old General was reſtored by the interceſſion of the King of *Poland*, and that the new had but a ſubaltern command under him, yet the *Coſſacks* mortally hating him, they at length aſſaſſinated him, and gave the entire command to *Mohila*, after which they ſtill continued their excurſions, without ingaging before any ſtrong Place.

The Coſſacks aſſaſſinate their General.

The

1685. The state of the *Ottoman* Empire.

The *Ottoman* Empire had been in no small distraction before the relief of *Buda*, and that seeming in some sort to compensate their loss at *Vienna*, they at least made use of it as an incentive to raise the well-nigh desponding spirits of their People. It had been given out that the Grand Seignior himself would in Person come into the field, at least to *Belgrade*, to countenance his Armies, though he was pleased to remain at *Adrianople*; and being the Forces he had ordered from the several Provinces of the Empire were defective in the numbers he expected, he caused several of their Leaders to be strangled. The Troops of *Asia* did likewise mutiny, which so retarded his preparations, that the Christians got into the Field before him, and necessitated him to a defensive War. The Rendezvouz of his Forces was at *Belgrade*, from whence they passed by the Bridge of *Essieck* to *Buda*, whose fortifications they took care to repair, for fear lest the Enemy might attempt a second Siege, placing twelve thousand men there in Garrison, with Victuals and Ammunition for its defence. The numerous Hoards of the *Tartars*, which never failed to attend their Conquests, refused now to march, the *Cham* having sent the *Grand Seignior* word, that he could spare none of his Troops this Summer, having himself need of them, to secure his Country against the invasion of the *Cossacks*.

Newheusel had been block'd up all the Winter by the Christians, under the command of Collonel *Heusler*, so that most of the attempts for its relief from *Buda*, *Agria*, and other of their Garrisons, proved fruitless. The Turks seeing no good to be done with small Detachments, drew a great Body of Men together, betwixt *Pest* and *Vicegrade*, and having provided a great Convoy of Provisions, resolved to attempt the relief of the place, which occasioned Collonel *Heusler* to be daily re-inforced with new Troops; who, ten thousand strong, posted his Men along the River *Gran*, having taken care to secure all the Fords and passages of it. His numbers daily increasing, the *Ottomans* who were gathered together betwixt *Pest* and *Vacia*, having intelligence of it, retired, having sent the Provisions, designed for the relief of *Newheusel*, back to *Buda*, fearing they should be attack'd by the Imperialists, if they stay'd there.

The Christian Army, composed of the Imperial Troops, and their several Allies, being much more forward than the Turks, had rendezvouzed, and were now encamped betwixt *Newheusel* and *Barcan*, where, upon the Duke of *Lorrain*'s arrival, it was resolved at a Council of War to attack *Novigrade*, to cut off by that means the communication betwixt *Buda* and *Newheusel*, and afterwards formally to besiege *Newheusel*. But he afterwards altered his mind, being it might take up too much time to besiege *Novigrade*, by reason of the distance, and would but little contribute to the Siege of *Newheusel*. Besides, this last place was represented very defective, through their wants and distempers.

Newheusel besieged by the Christians.

Jul. 7th.

Newheusel the *Oywar* of the *Hungarians*, is a large Hexagon, well bulwork'd and moated, the Plain about being Moorish and Fenny. The River *Newtra* runs within Pistol-shot of it, furnishing the Town-Ditch with its Water, by a cut or trench, which conveys it into it. The resolution of attacking this important place being taken, it was invested by the Imperial Army, the lines of Circumvallation were made, and a resolution was taken to attack the place with vigour and conduct. Two lines of approaches were advanced towards two Bastions; that to the right by the Imperialists, and they of *Luxebourg*; and the other by the Imperialists, and the *Bavarian* Troops; the one commanded by the Princes of *Hanovre*, and *Croy*, by turns, and the other by Count *Serini*, with each three Master Generals to assist them. The same night the Trenches were opened by three thousand Foot, and the Approaches carried on seven hundred paces. Those on the *Bavarian* side towards the *Mosque* were enlarged and deepened, so that three Men might pass a-breast, and be covered. On the Imperialists side, the Duke caused two Batteries to be raised, both on the right of his Approaches, whereon they worked the whole Night; and though the Enemy continued to shoot their Cannon without ceasing, there were but very few killed or wounded. In short, the Approaches on both sides were carried on with such care, and industry, and courage, the Duke seldom leaving the Trenches till very far in the Night, but assisting and encouraging the Souldiery by his presence and authority, that maugre all the brave opposition of the Garrison, and their perpetual firing and sallies, the works were continued to the very Mote on both sides, strengthned not only with Lines of Communication, with Redoubts, and with multiplied Batteries, but the Water also began to be drained out of the Ditch, by a Canal made for the purpose. The Besieged seeing themselves so sorely pressed, amongst others made a Sally about three a Clock, with two hundred Men, and surprised a Redoubt, wherein there were three hundred of the *Suabian* Troops, who together with their Officers were all cut to pieces. The Turks were so joyed with this success, that they testified it by a consort of Musick, after their mode, that Night. The Besiegers had endeavoured to pass the Ditch in Boats, and so carry over their Minery, but the said Boats were sunk by the Defendants, and many slain; and now they begin to fill the said Moat with Faggots, and Sacks of Wool, and several Galleries were in making for the securer passage, but they were often burnt and broke by the Besieged, who omitted nothing in their defence. They set fire on the *Bavarians* Gallery with their Arrows, at the sharp ends whereof they had fastned a mixture of Sulphur and Pitch, which did not only burn it, but communicating its flames to the neighbouring Battery, burnt it quite down, with the Carriages of four of their battering Pieces, notwithstanding all the diligence and care to the contrary.

1685.

It was now the beginning of *August*, when the Besieged made a brisk Sally upon them that worked in the advanced Posts over against the Gate of *Gran*, killed fifty and hurt many, among which was *Gallenfels* Lieutenant Collonel, *Pugerelli* a Captain, and several other Officers. The disorder was so great, that the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Lorrain* ran thither, the latter wounding some of the Run-aways to stay them, and ill treating their Officers for their negligence. Collonel *Burgstorf* was killed the Night following in the Approaches, and Count *Souches* dangerously wounded in his Neck. The Besieged had filled up the Canal which the Christians had made to drain their Moat, but it was opened again. And now the Approaches, the Galleries, and filling the Ditch had been carried on with such violence, that the Cannon of the Town were well-nigh all dismounted, and the infinite numbers of Bombs and Carkasses which had been thrown into it, had well-nigh consumed it. The Besieged had indeed made new Retrenchments in the attack'd Bastions, where they had re-mounted

1685. ted their Cannon, and uſed them with ſucceſs: but,

The Breach which the Chriſtians had made was great, and the Gallery was carried over. The Moat was filled equal with the largeneſs of the Breach, and the Mines were a compleating, the Traverſes of the Ditch were much enlarged, ſo that the Souldiers might go in a large front to the aſſault. And yet they finiſh another Battery upon the brink of the Moat, where they planted twenty-four Pieces of Cantion of twenty four pound Ball, to make the Breach yet larger and eaſier. And now all things being prepared for the aſſault, they were hindred for two or three days by the great Rains.

In the beginning of this Month, the Baſſa had deſired a Parley, but demanded, in caſe of ſurrender, that he might march away, not only with their Arms, but all ſorts of Ammunition and Cannon, and take with him all the Chriſtian Slaves, *&c.* which conditions the Duke would not hearken to. The Baſſa was indeed animated by hopes of relief from the *Seraskier*, who, he knew, was preparing for it, and had already in order to a diverſion beſieged *Gran*, which obliged the Duke of *Lorrain* with the Elector of *Bavaria*, and forty thouſand men, to riſe and go and meet him; leaving eleven thouſand Foot and five thouſand Horſe, with fifty-eight Pieces of Cannon, and eighteen Mortars, to continue the Siege under the command of Count *Caprara*, Marſhal General of the Field, and the Prince of *Croy*, General of the Artillery.

But to return to *Newheuſel*, the fatal *10th.* of *Auguſt* being come, a reſolution was taken to aſſault the Town at Eleven of the Clock, to which end two Mines were ſprung that morning, one at the North Baſtion, and the other upon the neighbouring Curtain, which, though they had not their wiſhed effect, which was to ruine ſome retrenchments of the beſieged, yet they did much facilitate the paſſage, rendering the aſcent more eaſie, ſo that it was reſolved to aſſault the place at eight a clock, to this purpoſe three thouſand were ordered for the attack in two places, to each fifteen hundred, which were ſupported by a Reſerve of two thouſand. The Imperialiſts, had the Van on both ſides. Count *Sherffenberg* commanded the right, being followed by them of *Lunenberg* and *Suabia*, and Lieutenant Collonel *Samogaski* the left, with the Troops of *Colen*, *Bavaria* and *Franconia*. Being thus prepared, they fired from all their Batteries, and ſhowred in their Granado's and Bombs from nineteen Mortars, with that impetuouſneſs, that they put them within into ſuch a conſternation, that for ſome time they durſt ſcarce appear. During this Tempeſt, Count *Sherffenberg* firſt enter'd, and poſting himſelf upon the Baſtion, the Sieur *Rummel* about the ſame, puſhing at the new breach; the beſieged were forced to give way on all ſides, and retreating upon a Cavalier of their Retrenchments, did now the ſecond time lift up a white Flagg, demanding quarter, but in vain; for the Chriſtians ruſhing on, put all they met to the Sword; this rendred the reſt ſo deſperate, that four hundred of them precipitated themſelves into the Town-Diteh, who were all deſtroyed by the Horſe, ſo that of all the Garriſon which was yet twelve hundred at the beginning of the aſſault, ſcarce two hundred were ſaved. *Haſſan* Baſſa the Governour, deſperately wounded in the head and breaſt, was brought to the General, and ſome ten more of the chief Officers were ſaved; but the Governor dyed two days after of his wounds. This *Haſſan* was a Renegade, Native of *Bohemia*, though a man of extraordinary great parts and reſolution.

Is taken by Aſſault.

There were found in the place eighty Pieces of Ordnance, and a great quantity of Ammunition and Proviſion, ſo that the perpetual noiſe of their wants was a fable, the Governour having always a great Magazin of Victuals, as well as Ammunition, which he did not think fit to expoſe before the Siege. Of the Chriſtian Slaves there were but forty remaining, the Turks having conſumed the reſt in their works, expoſing them ſtill where the greateſt danger was. And although the Beſiegers did ſcarce loſe one hundred in the ſtorm; yet it is ſuppoſed, that during the whole Siege, the number of their ſlain did at leaſt equal, if not ſurmount that of their Enemies, yet with this difference, that the Turks loſt all, and they but an inconſiderable part of a potent Army: excepting the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, greatly lamented by the good and brave, and ſome other conſiderable Officers. 1685.

The *Seraskier*, not imagining the fate of *Newheuſel* ſo near, having with great induſtry gathered a conſiderable Army, eſtimated betwixt fifty and ſixty thouſand ſtrong, reſolved to attempt the relief of it, in order to which he would try the way of diverſion, as leſs hazardous, and upon that account marches to *Gran*, and though that very day of his arrival an additional reinforcement of five hundred men, ſent thither by the Duke of *Lorrain*, got into the Garriſon, yet he cauſed the Trenches to be opened, and began to attack the place with his Cannon and Mortars, from Batteries raiſed on *St. George* and *St. Thomas* hills. They alſo attackt the lower Town, but were repulſed with the loſs of two or three hundred men. Several other attempts were made upon the Out-works, but with loſs to the Undertakers, who underſtanding that the Enemy advanced, grew more remiſs, poſſeſſing themſelves of all the Hills by which the Chriſtians might attack them, and thereupon quitted the Siege.

Jul. 30. *Gran beſieged.*

On the *7th* of *Auguſt*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, with forty thouſand men, paſſed the *Danube*, upon a Bridge near *Comorra*, and arrived the *12th* at a Village that was burnt; where he found the Turks, who had abandoned the Siege of *Gran*, very advantageouſly poſted, having Mountains on each ſide, covered with thick Woods, and a Moraſs before them, which reached to the *Danube*. Upon the arrival of the Chriſtian Army, they ſkirmiſhed near the Moraſs, where ſeveral were killed and hurt on both ſides. The following Night the Chriſtian Army camped in Battalia, and continued ſo the *13th*, but the Turks alarm'd them about noon, and ſkirmiſhed all the day with the Chriſtians right Wing, where the *Hungarians* were, many being ſlain and wounded on both ſides. About noon the Duke commanded ſome Pieces of Cannon to be planted on a Hill behind his Men, from whence they ſhot, and the Turks did the ſame with two great Pieces, from a height where the Janizaries were. The *14th*, the Turks advanced their Camp to the very Moraſs, upon Mountains oppoſite to our advanced Guards, where they made three Batteries with great Cannon, ſhooting into our very Camp.

The *15th*, a *Poliſh* Slave eſcaped out of the Turkiſh Camp, and gave advice, that the *Seraskier*, *Ibrahim* Baſſa, was perſwaded, that the Chriſtian Army did not exceed twenty thouſand, and thought of a retreat, ſo that he might eaſily rout them, if he ſuddenly fell upon them with his, that was ſixty thouſand ſtrong. Upon this advice, the Duke and the other Generals reſolved to feign a Retreat, and then, by drawing the

1685. the Enemy beyond the Moraſs, find a place to fight with them in a pitch'd Battel.

The ſame day the Turks advanced towards a place in the Moraſs where they might paſs with the Horſe, and took Poſt alſo in another, where they might make a Bridge for the Foot. As the Chriſtians had already reſolved to march the day following very early, towards the Bridge of Boats at *Viſali*, they let flie ſome Guns only to amuſe the Enemy. In the mean time the Orders for the march of the Army were given in the following manner. Firſt, that the Baggage ſhould part that evening. The left Wing having the Avaunt-Guard, followed by that of the right. Secondly, that the Army ſhould be ranged in Battalia before day, and march as the place would permit; the two Wings each in two Lines, but if the way would oblige them to file, that then they ſhould begin by the left Wing, and enlarge themſelves as the ground did permit, into their firſt order of Battel.

That the ſecond line ſhould have the Avaunt-Guard commanded by Count *Dunewalt*, which was to be followed by the firſt line in the ſame manner. At the right of the firſt line Count *Styrum* was to march upon the Mountains (which he had viewed the day before) with his Regiment, the Dragoons of *Luneburg*, and all the *Huſſars*, except thoſe of *Zoborra*, with ſome Field-pieces. That the *Fauconets* ſhould march before the firſt line, and every Regiment with its Field-pieces, as uſual. And finally, that the Squadrons and the Battalions poſted on the little Mountain on this ſide the Moraſs, as alſo thoſe on the Mountain to the right, commanded by Major General *Tungen*, ſhould march at the ſound of the Tymbals.

The Battel of *Gran. Aug.* 15. About ten at Night they had News that the Turks were paſſing the Moraſs, whereupon all the Generals took Horſe, *Lorrain* in the right, and the Elector of *Bavaria* in the left, and all being in order, they began to march at the ſound of their Trumpets, Tymbals, and Drums, which was continued till the Turks by Favour of the Night charged their left Wing; whereupon the whole Army facing about, they marched to ſuccour their engaged Troops, which done, they continued advancing, notwithſtanding the cries and howlings of the Turks, and their continual Skirmiſhing till it was break of day, when a great Miſt covered the whole Field, that nothing could be diſcerned. Both ſides made uſe of this accident, ranging their Armies to their uttermoſt Advantage.

After ſeven in the Morning, the Sun having diſpell'd the Miſt, the Turks advanced upon the Chriſtians, with the noiſe of their Drums and horrible Cries, diſcharging ſome Cannon upon their right Wing, charged it with great fury, but they were repulſed; the ſame happened on the Mountain where *Tungen* commanded, who was hurt there. At the ſame time the Turks attacked with their greateſt force, and principally their Foot, the heights on the Chriſtians right where Count *Styrum* was, but he was ſo ſeaſonably ſuccoured by ſome Imperial Battalions and other Troops of the ſecond line, that the Turks were forced to retire, being indeed chaſed and repelled in all the parts of the Army. Being fled by the Moraſs, the way they came, they ſeemed to make head again in their Camp, but upon the advance of the Chriſtians, who paſſed the Moraſs with their Foot and Horſe, the terror and conſternation was ſo great amongſt the Turkiſh Souldiers, that it was impoſſible for the Seraſquier, notwithſtanding all his endeavour to perſwade his Men to oppoſe the paſſage of the Moraſs. They alſo abandoned their Camp, Arms, Cannon, and other Inſtruments of War to the Purſuers, beſides forty Enſigns and ſome two hundred Priſoners which were taken. The Seraſquier was hurt in his Leg, and having left five thouſand upon the place, ſecured the reſt by a timely retreat. The two Armies ſeparating after the fight, the Chriſtians went back to *Comorra*, in order to their proſecution of the Siege of *Newheuſel*: and the Seraſquier having rallied his Forces, and puniſhed with ſtrangling ſome of his chief Officers, who had not well behaved themſelves in the Battel of *Gran*, and paſſed the *Danube*, declaring he would relieve *Newheuſel* whatever it coſt, but ſoon after he received the news, as the Chriſtians had at *Comorra*, that the place was taken by aſſault. 1685.

Gained by the Chriſtians.

The Seraſquier however having formed a new train of Artillery of twenty Pieces, which he took out of *Buda*, and being reinforced with ſeveral freſh Troops, he marched towards *Vaccia*, incamping betwixt that place and *Peſt*, but hearing of the approach of the Chriſtian Army, he abandoned *Novigrade* and *Vaccia*, taking the Cannon and Ammunition with him that was there, demoliſhing the ſaid places, and ſetting fire to them when he left them. He alſo ruined the Country about *Peſt*, and having ſent a Detachment to re-inforce the Garriſon of *Agria*, he repaſſed the *Danube* with the reſt of his Army at *Buda*.

And now the Turks do not ſeem averſe from Peace, the Seraſquier having ſent an Aga to the Duke of *Lorrain* with a Letter, wherein he acquainted his Highneſs, that he had full power from the Grand Seignior to treat and conclude a Peace, which he conjures him to promote by offers of great advantage, as abandoning Count *Tekely*, and delivering of the three Hoſtages, which were in the Grand Seignior's hands. But the Duke anſwered him, that he had no Orders to treat of Peace, and that a Victorious Army was not to be amuſed with ſuch Propoſals, but that he would acquaint his Imperial Majeſty with the Seraſquier's deſire.

The Seraſquier having paſſed the *Danube*, the few Tartars he had, not exceeding ſix thouſand, left him, and returned home. The Baſſa's of *Agria*, *Temiſwar* and *Waradin* were ſent back, with the Troops under their command, and went home to their reſpective Governments, the Seraſquier with the reſt of his Army poſting himſelf betwixt *Buda* and *Alba-Regalis* to obſerve the Chriſtians motion.

The Imperial Army had advanced in queſt of the Turks as far as *Vaccia*, but hearing that the Ottoman Army was ſeparated in ſeveral Bodies, and marched as above, as alſo towards the Frontiers of *Styria* and *Croatia*; the Duke reſolved likewiſe to ſend four thouſand men to re-inforce Count *Leſley*, and being the Forrage was deſtroyed, to return, having ordered a Detachment of five Regiments of Foot, one of Cuiraſiers, and two of Dragoons and Croats, to march unto upper *Hungary*, where Count *Caprara* was to command in Chief.

The Seraſquier had made ſeveral other Attempts for Peace, but the Emperour refuſing paſports to his Aga, thoſe overtures vaniſhed. There had alſo been an *Armenian* ſent in the beginning of this year with overtures of Peace, but he was ſent back with this Anſwer; That the Emperour will not enter into any Negotiation of Peace, but joyntly with the King of *Poland*, and Republick of *Venice*; inſomuch that finding all his Endeavours for a Treaty fruitleſs, he repaſſed the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, ſending part of his Forces

1685. Forces towards *Zigeth*, and the reſt towards *Slavonia* and *Boſoria*, whereby he alſo defeated Count *Leſleys* Deſign upon *Poſſega*.

To all the Miſeries of War was added that of the Plague, which raged much at *Conſtantinople*, which, together with the accompt they had of the loſs of *Newheuſel*, and the other ill Succeſſes of the *Ottoman* Army in *Hungary*, *Morea*, and indeed every where, had filled not only that City, but the Empire with Conſternation and Tumult; for the Janizaries, as is uſual in all great Misfortunes, mutined, threatned not only the Grand Viſier, but the Grand Seignior himſelf, and were not to be appeaſed without conſiderable Diſtributions amongſt them; it being alſo given out, that his Highneſs would himſelf command the Army in Perſon next Summer.

The Principal Armies of theſe potent Adverſaries being in Winter Quarters, we will leave them ſtrugling there to enlarge their Accommodations, and transfer our Pen to ſuch Actions as have been remarkable in other Parts.

The Conteſts in upper *Hungary* were various betwixt the Imperialiſts and *Tekelites*, General *Schultz* commanded the former, who had order to attack *Ungwar*, and afterwards to beſiege *Eſperies* and *Caſſaw*. Count *Tekely* thereupon paſſes the *Tybiſcus*, aſſembling what Troops he could together, ſending to the Neighbour Countries to cauſe their Militia to march and to joyn him, which *Schultz* endeavoured to hinder, eſpecially his joyning againſt the Turks. And now he lays cloſe Siege to *Ungwar*, which was defended with no leſs Valour than Obſtinacy, inſomuch that after the loſs of ſeveral Officers, and a conſiderable number of Men, he was obliged to raiſe the Siege. Some time after he laid ſiege to the City of *Eſperies* with eight thouſand men, where he found no leſs Oppoſition than at *Ungwar*; the beſieged ſeeming reſolved to defend the Place to the laſt extremity, notwithſtanding the offer made to the Rebels of a general Pardon, which was intimated to the Magiſtrates and Citizens of *Eſperies* by an Officer ſent from the General, but they, inſtead of taking advantage of the Emperour's Clemency, barbarouſly killed the ſaid Officer, which the General reſented ſo highly, that he cauſed a general aſſault to be given the place, but in vain, being beaten off with the loſs of ſeveral hundreds of their Souldiers. The place had already held out ſix Weeks, but General *Caprara* being ordered to command in chief in upper *Hungary*, and a Detachment of ten thouſand men being ſent to reinforce the Siege, it made them ſtoop, and deſire a Parley, which produced a Treaty, and then a Surrender, ſuch of the Garriſon as would being entertained in the Emperours Service, *and the Magiſtrates and Citizens to enjoy their antient Priviledges, and the Places and Employments they at preſent poſſeſs.*

Eſperies ſurrendred.

General *Schultz* marched from *Eſperies* to *Caſchaw*, and beleagured it, and General *Caprara* towards *Tokay*, with a Reſolution to take that place what ever it coſt, being it opened a paſſage betwixt *Tranſilvania* and *Zatmar*, nor did it make any remarkable Oppoſition, but with other leſſer Places ſurrendered without reſiſtance upon Conditions.

October 6. Count *Caprara* being come in Perſon before *Caſchaw*, *Peterhaſi*, one of Count *Tekelies* chief Officers, being ſent with ſix hundred horſe to reinforce the Garriſon, made a ſhew of accepting the general Pardon, and entering into the Emperours Service; but being come near the Town, put himſelf into it, with the ſix hundred men he had with him, which mainly encouraged the beſieged to defend the Place. *Caprara* ſent to ſummon them, but in vain, ſo that he was forced to uſe all the Formalities of a Siege. The Garriſon conſiſted of four thouſand, commanded by Count *Tekeli's* beſt Officers, who defended themſelves with great bravery, making very many ſharp Sallies into the Enemies Quarters. The Imperialiſts notwithſtanding carried their Trenches to the Town Ditch, and began to thunder upon the place from three Batteries. One of the Attacks being commanded by the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, who was ſlain there by a Cannon Bullet. But this Siege did not laſt long, though the Capital of upper *Hungary*, and provided with all things neceſſary for a long defence. But the Reaſons of their ſurrender, which hapned by a very ſurpriſing accident, is very excuſable. Count *Tekely*, ſollicitous for this Capital of this part of the Kingdom, having writ to the Baſſa of *Waradin* of the Conſequence and Danger of the Place, and to preſs him for ſpeedy Succour in order to relieve it. The Baſſa, admitting of his Reaſons, aſſured him he would give him all the aſſiſtance he could, only he had received ſome Orders from the Grand Seignior of great Importance to the common Cauſe, which it was not convenient to communicate to him by Letter; therefore deſired he would repair to him to *Waradin*, that he might inform him of the ſecret by word of Mouth. And for his greater Security the Baſſa ſent him a paſport. Upon this Invitation he reſolved to go thither, accompanied with *Petroſſi*, and ſome others of his principal Adherents, and five hundred Horſe. The Baſſa met him without the Gate, and received him with all the appearance of Kindneſs and Eſteem, and conducted him into the Town with ſome few of his Attendants, cauſing all the Cannon of the Place to be diſcharged, with other marks of Reſpects, and entertained him at Supper; but that being ended, an Aga with his Janizaries entred the Room, and having told *Tekely* he had Orders from the Grand Seignior to ſeize him, and carry him to *Adrianople*, cauſed Irons to be put upon his Hands and Feet. At the ſame time, the Baſſa told *Petroſſi*, that the Grand Seignior gave him the Principality and Commands which *Tekely* had had, and that he would aſſiſt him with all his Forces. *Petroſſi*, who was next to *Tekely* in Power, ſeemingly accepted of the Honour, but being got out of the place and Danger, he informed *Tekelies* party of what had hapned, exhorting them to return with him to their Duty to the Emperour, which they conſenting to, *Petroſſi* marched directly to the Camp before *Caſchaw*. Being kindly received by General *Caprara*, he was ſent into the Town, where he eaſily perſwaded the Garriſon to accept with him of the General *Amneſtie*, ſo that the place was immediately delivered up upon Articles. After this the General ſent alſo to the Princeſs *Ragotzki*, Count *Tekely's* Wife, to ſurrender her ſtrong Caſtle of *Mongatz* to the Emperour's Service, which, contrary to expectation, ſhe abſolutely refuſed to do. And this put an end to the Campaign in thoſe parts, except their Excurſions, beating up of Quarters, and Surpriſes, which were frequent on both ſides.

1685. *Novem.* 25. Count *Tekely* betrayed by the Baſſa of *Waradin*. *Caſchaw* ſurrendred.

Nor were the Turks more fortunate on the ſide of *Croatia*, where Count *Leſley* commanded the Imperialiſts, for he burnt the Suburbs of *Caniſia*, and deſtroyed the Countrey four Miles round; and now underſtanding that the Turks had left but three or four thouſand men to guard the Bridge at *Eſſeck*, the Seraſquier having taken the reſt with him to fight the Imperialiſts, he decamped from the Place of his Rendezvous

July 28.

1685. near *the Drave*, with a Reſolution, if poſſible, to burn the ſaid Bridge of *Eſſeck*. In order to this he left his Baggage at *Turanowitz* with a Guard of two thouſand Men, diſcamping with four thouſand *Germans*, and two thouſand Croats, all choice Men, each one being ordered to carry Proviſion with him for ten days, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of Victuals by the way. *Michalovitz* being ſurpriſed, expecting no Enemy, ſurrendred to his *Avantcurrers* upon his further advance, the Country being alarm'd, ſome Turkiſh Horſe appearing, ſkirmiſhed with the Avant-guard of *Croats*, and had treated them ill, if they had not been ſuccourred by the *German* Dragoons and Cuiraſiers who had the Guard; they however left a Captain-Lieutenant with near thirty Souldiers. They marched on, but no Turks oppoſed, ſcarce appeared before they came to the Plains of *Eſſeck*. Then there appeared a thouſand Turkiſh Horſe with ſome Foot at a diſtance behind them, which obliged the Chriſtians to range themſelves in Battalia, and the Turks ſuffered them to advance till they came within Musquet ſhot; they then begun to ſtir, and being charged on both Wings by the *Croats*, they were wholly broke and routed, and many of them ſlain in the purſuit. The Infantry ſaved themſelves in the Town, and afterwards in the Caſtle. The Chriſtians advanced in order to the Suburbs, which they took at firſt onſet, and afterwards the City, both which they miſerably pillaged and plundred.

Aug. 9. Count *Leſley* burns part of the Bridge of *Eſſeck*.

The City of *Eſſeck* is great and populous, having at leaſt five hundred ſhops of Merchants of in it, many Moſques and Hacars, which are great Inns for Paſſengers. All was crowded with Rice, Flower, Bread, Biſquet, Salt &c. as alſo Barley, Oats, and Forrage in abundance, enough to furniſh an Army. As ſoon as they were Maſter of the City, they placed a Guard againſt the Caſtle, whilſt the General went to ſee the Bridge, the like whereof is not in the World. On this ſide the *Drave* from *Eſſeck* to the ſaid River, it is about eleven hundred paces long, and on the other ſide more than eight thouſand, all of Oak Wood. It is twelve paces broad. The Drave is not large in this place, the Bridge being ſupported by only ſixteen Boats. The Turks brake it the preceeding day, letting the materials vogue with the ſtream into the *Danube*. Count *Leſley* cauſed thirteen fair Mills upon the Drave to be burnt, and having in vain attempted to burn the Bridge on the other ſide, conſumed that on this with Fire in few hours. The Imperialiſts knowing that the Inhabitants had ſaved their beſt goods in the Caſtle, they would alſo attempt that, but having loſt ſeveral Captains and other Officers, they deſiſted, and *Leſley* returned back to his Camp at *Turanowitz*.

The Affairs of *Poland*.

The Wars againſt *Poland* were carried on with more Succeſs, at leaſt Equality, by the *Ottomans*, who, together with the *Tartars*, made perpetual Incurſions into the *Ukrain*, and the confining Provinces, burning and ravaging the Villages and Countrey, carrying the alarm to the very Gates of *Leopol*. Nor were the *Poles* forward in their Preparations, moving but very ſlowly to their general Rendezvous, ſo that the King not going to the Field in Perſon, it was very late in the year before they were come together, however, entertained in the mean time with a very ſad account from *Podolia*, *Volinia*, and the leſſer *Ruſſia*, of the miſerable Devaſtations of thoſe Countries by the continued Incurſions of the Infidels.

The Grand Seignior had appointed *Solyman* Baſſa, now Seraskier, to command his Army againſt the *Poles*, which he endeavoured to raiſe and form with all imaginable Induſtry, being ſollicitous for *Caminiec*, which he took care by reiterated Convoys, though ſome ſometimes miſcarried, to provide for. He hearing of the Chriſtians advance towards the *Nieſter*, the *Cham* of *Tartary* being joyned with him, and both near forty thouſand ſtrong, poſted himſelf near the River to hinder the *Poles* from paſſing it. 1685.

And now the Armies drawing near, it was ſuppoſed they would not ſeparate without a Battel. The *Poles* paſſed the *Nieſter* with theirs, conſiſting of betwixt twenty and thirty thouſand men, on a Bridge they had made for that purpoſe, advanced into *Moldavia*, where they encamped; and now the whole Army being come up, the Crown General having ſummoned a Council of War, it was determined to go and find the Enemy, and force him to fight. The Army marched accordingly, and were three days paſſing the Woods and Streights of *Boucovijia* without any Intelligence of the Enemy. Being come into a Plain, their Van-Guard was preſently charged by a Body of *Tartars*. Ten Troops of Horſe were ſent to ſupport the Chriſtians, but being over-power'd, were forced to give way. The Prince of *Courland* advancing with three Battalions, and ſome Field-pieces, gave the Chriſtians Opportunity to rally, and returning to the charge, obliged the *Tartars* to retire to the Hill from whence they came. The next Morning the two Armies ſtood in view of each other, only ſome ſlight Skirmiſhes paſſing betwixt them. The third, the *Seraskier* deſigning to fall upon the Enemies right Wing with his main force, charged it briskly, but finding it ſtrengthned from the main body, retired and fell upon the main body it ſelf, but with the like ſucceſs. The *Poles* left Wing was charged by the *Tartars* with ſome advantage at firſt, but in the Concluſion were forced to retire. That day the Turks had been incommoded by the oppoſite Artillery, compoſed of thirty pieces of Ordnance, and the following day, having received Cannon from *Camineck*, they repayed them in kind. The Chriſtians continued encamped the two following days, ſecuring themſelves with Trenches and Redoubts. On the ninth day, the Chriſtian General being informed that a great Detachment was ſent to fall in the rear of the Army, and ſhut up the Paſſages of the Forreſt, he reſolved to retire; and that he might do it with leſs trouble, he cauſed all their Waggons that were not abſolutely neceſſary, to be burnt. It was next Morning before the Turks were aware of their march, when, deſcending into the Plain, they charged three Battalions of foot which had not yet entered the Wood, but they being well covered with turn Pikes, and each two Field-pieces, they received the Enemy with ſo great a Fire, that they forced them to retire. And yet they eſcaped by their Courage and Reſolution the danger that threatned them, forcing their Paſſage back to the *Nieſter* by a very orderly retreat, which they likewiſe paſſed, tho' the Turks were much ſtronger than they, and ſo were diſperſed into their Winter Quarters. 1685.

Nor were the Turks very unſucceſful in *Dalmatia*. The Chriſtians had beſieged *Singn*, but were forced to retire by the joynt Forces of the Turks in thoſe quarters with loſs of ſome hundreds of their men, two pieces of Cannon, and moſt of their Baggage. But the Wars being rather defenſive in thoſe parts, on both ſides, than otherwiſe, nothing of any very great Conſequence, beſides Incurſions and mutual Ravages, worthy of Memory did happen.

The

1685. The traverſes at Sea were of more noiſe and conſequence. The Turkiſh Fleet was affirmed to conſiſt of ſixty Gallies, and twenty men of War, who were at Sea, though ſuppoſed not well manned. On the other ſide, the *Venetian* Fleet was ſtronger, full of Sea-men, beſides thirteen thouſand Land-Forces of ſeveral Nations, all commanded by their General *Moroſini*, who ſailing for the *Levant*, landed his Forces in the *Morea*, at the Fortreſs of *Calamata*, which he took, and afterwards ſate down before *Coron*, where, having made large Breaches, and extremely annoyed the place with their Bombs, the Baſſa hung out a white Flag, but all Conditions, except ſurrendring upon diſcretion, being refuſed him, he put out a black Colours, intimating he would defend it to extremity, which he alſo did.

The Baſſa of *Petraſſo* marched with eight thouſand Men to his relief, but upon conſideration of the ſtrength of the Chriſtians, he durſt not attempt it; but contenting himſelf to re-inforce the Garriſon of *Modon*, and with falling upon the *Greeks* (that favoured the *Venetians*) he made a great ſlaughter of them. The Viſier of *Morea*, *Kalil* Baſſa, having got together a competent Army of neat ten thouſand, would re-attempt the relief of *Coron*; in order to which, he ſent a Party to attack a Redoubt ſomewhat diſtant from the Line of the Beſiegers, but were repulſed, but aſſaulting it again, they took it at the ſecond ſtorm. Hereupon the Chevalier *de la Tour*, a Knight of *Malta*, haſtening thither with twelve hundred Men, recovered it from the Turks, with the loſs of his own life, and many of his Men. A while after, the *Viſier* made an attempt upon the main Camp, but was beaten off with mutual loſs. In the mean time, the Chriſtian General finding the neighbourhood of the Turks troubleſome, and foreſeeing that his Troops would not be able to ſubſiſt, unleſs they had the Country open, reſolved to attempt their removal; in order to which, drawing ten Men out of a Company, to which were joyned fifteen hundred Volunteers, with one of the Regiments of *Brunſwick*, and that of *Malta*, they, marching before day, ſurpriſed, and fell upon the Enemy on all ſides; the action was ſo ſudden, that the Turks before they could recollect themſelves were driven out of their ſeveral Poſts, purſued, and quite diſperſed. Of the Enemy there were near a thouſand killed in the action and purſuit, of which number was the Viſier *Kalil* and *Mehemet* Baſſa. All their Cannon and Baggage were taken, with nine pieces of braſs Cannon, ſeventeen Colours, and the great Standard, with three Horſe-tayles hanging at it. This Victory was ſome days after completed by the taking of *Coron*, where the Chriſtians, forcing the way into the Town, through
Aug. 11. their very large Breaches, put all they met to the Sword. There were above three thouſand of the Turks ſlain in this ſtorm, and four or five hundred of the Chriſtians, among which were two Knights of *Malta*, Prince *Phillip* of *Savoy*, the Prince of *Brunſwick*, the Marquiſs of *Courbon* and St. *Paul*, beſides thirty Knights of *Malta*, with ſeveral other Perſons of Quality wounded. There were ſeventy-ſix Pieces of Braſs Cannon, beſides great ſtore of Ammunition and Proviſion, with Plunder, reckoned at above two Millions, found in this place.

Theſe Succeſſes encouraged the Greeks to ſubmit to the *Venetians*, and the Province of *Maina* being alſo diſpoſed to caſt off the *Ottoman* Yoak, were greatly encouraged to it by *Moroſini*, who ſending a Detachment with ſuch *Maynots* as were entred into the Service of the Re-publick, gave them orders to attack *Zarnata*, a Fortreſs built to keep that People in awe. In the mean time the Chriſtian Fleet ſailed towards *Calamata*, near which place the Forces landed. 1685.

The Captain Baſſa, hearing of the ill ſucceſſes of his Country-men in *Morea*, came with his Fleet to *Napoli di Romania*, where ſecuring the Ports with great Chains, he landed what Men he poſſibly could, and joyning with a great Body of Horſe and Foot, he marched towards *Calamata*, to keep the *Mainotes* from revolting to the *Venetians*. *Zarnata* had been threatned into ſurrender, ſix hundred Men that garriſoned it marching out with their Arms and Baggage, though the Aga that commanded it, diſtruſting his conduct, ſtayed in the Chriſtian Camp.

The Captain Baſſa being advanced, *Moroſini* being re-inforced with three thouſand *Saxons* reſolved to fight him. Being met, the Turkiſh Horſe fell upon the Chriſtians left Wing, and at the ſame time a great Body of their Foot advanced towards their right; but found ſuch brave reſiſtance, that they were forced to retire. They returned to the charge again, but with the ſame ſucceſs, and being preſſed, fell into diſorder and were defeated, though the loſs was not very great on either ſide. The Garriſon of *Calamata* hearing of this rout, fired their Magazin and quitted the place, leaving eleven Pieces of Cannon behind them, which was immediately garriſoned by the victorious. The *Maynotes* thereupon beſieged *Porto Vitulo*, the which with *Chielifa* and *Paſſavia* are the only places of ſtrength that the Turks poſſeſs in that great Province, but theſe likewiſe, as alſo *Porto Vitulo*, being forced by the Inhabitants to ſurrender, came all under the dominion of the *Venetians*, from whence, General *Moroſini* having put good Gariſons into thoſe places, marched towards *Navazino*. But the ſeaſon being too far advanced, having razed *Calamata* and *Paſſava*, as not very defenſible, he diſperſed his Army into Winter Quarters, ſailing himſelf with his Gallies to *Santa Maura*.

A Fleet under the command of the Seigniors *Molino* and *Delfino*, had cruiſed the whole Summer in the *Archipelago*, putting thoſe Iſlands under contribution, though no material action at Sea had paſſed betwixt the two Fleets of the Chriſtians and Turks.

The Captain Baſſa, after theſe misfortunes, ſhewed a great inclination to peace, ſignifying his deſire to ſet a Treaty on foot for that purpoſe, to which end he ſignified the ſame to Ge-
Novemb. neral *Moroſini* by a particular Meſſenger, who referred him to his Superiours.

There had likewiſe been an Aga ſome time at *Comorra*, who declared, that the Grand Seignior did deſire to re-eſtabliſh a Peace or Truce betwixt the two Empires, deſiring that Commiſſioners might be appointed on both ſides for that purpoſe; that he had ordered the Baſſa of *Buda* to ceaſe from all Hoſtilities, and that he cauſed Count *Tekely*, the Author of the War, and the Evils that attended it, to be ſeized upon by his command. But all the anſwer he could get was, that the Emperour would enter into no Negotiation of Peace, without the participation of his Allies. And yet ſome Propoſitions were obliquely made in their names. The Emperour demanded reſtitution of all the Places that are poſſeſſed by the Turks in the Upper and Lower *Hungary*, and in *Croatia*. The *Poles* demanded *Caminiec*, and the whole Province of *Podolia*; and the *Venetians* the whole Country of *Morea*. To conclude, the *Aga* was ſent back

Attempts for Peace prove fruitleſs.

1685. with this anſwer, That the Emperour and his Allies will receive no Propoſals, but ſuch as come immediately from the Grand Seignior himſelf.

The *Cham* of *Tartary* had alſo offered the King of *Poland* his Mediation by an Embaſſy, and at the ſame time made Propoſals of Peace, but his Majeſty anſwered roundly, that he would hear of no Overtures of accomodation without his Allies, the Emperour of *Germany*, and the Commonwealth of *Venice*.

Jan. 1686. And now all thoughts of quiet being laid aſide, all the great Parties made all imaginable preparations, by Leagues, by Levies, by amaſſing of Moneys as well as Men for the future Campain.

Thus ended this year 1685, and the following was no leſs active or turbulent. The Imperialiſts, as a prelude to their future Succeſſes, beat a Party of the United Garriſons of the Turks, conſiſting of about ſix thouſand near *Arach*, which place they alſo took, with eleven Colours, and three Kettle Drums, beſides much ſpoil.

Feb. 12. This ſucceſs was followed by others, St. *Job* being ſurrendred to Count *Caraffa*, the ſix hundred Men which compoſed the Garriſon of it, being conducted to great *Waradin*, and a Party from *Comorra*, *Raab*, *Papa* and *Veſprin*, took the Caſtle of *Sehwar*, betwixt *Veſprin* and *Alba Regalis*, which had much incommoded thoſe Garriſons, upon as eaſie terms; the beſieged being only allowed what they could carry upon their backs.

Diſorders at *Conſtantinople*. *Jan.* 23. Great were the diſorders and conſternation at *Conſtantinople*, and throughout the whole *Ottoman* Empire, for the late ill Succeſſes of their Arms in *Hungary* and *Morea*; and being to be unfortunate, is to be criminal in that Court, *Cheitan Ibrahim*, *Seraskier*, was condemned to loſe his head, the defeat at *Gran*, the loſs of *Newheuſel*, and the burning of the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, being laid all to his account. His eminent ſervices in the former Wars againſt the Crown of *Poland*, and his valorous defending of *Buda* in 1684 againſt the united powers of the *German* Empire, could not obtain his pardon, being he was likewiſe blamed for having diſcontented the Souldiers in defrauding them of their pay. Several other of the Chief Officers being accuſed of not having done their duty at the Battel of *Gran*, were ſtrangled with him; and *Solyman* Baſſa, who had ſo ſucceſsfully commanded the Army laſt year againſt the *Poles*, was by the Grand Viſier recommended to the Grand Seignior, as a Perſon very fit for that Employment in *Hungary*, which his Highneſs alſo approved of, but the Baſſa being ſurpriſed at the choice was made of him, ſenſible of the fate of his Predeceſſors, and the danger of the Employment, taking his opportunity, threw himſelf at the Grand Seignior's feet, and humbly prayed to be excuſed from ſo difficult a Province, being the Campaign would not probably end, under the circumſtances he was to undertake it, but with the loſs of his Head, which he would rather now ſacrifice at his Majeſtie's command, than dye hereafter in his diſpleaſure. The Grand Seignior wondering at what he heard, and that he ſhould ſcruple at ſo eminent a command, demanded his reaſons: He replied, that the misfortunes of the laſt Campaign were occaſioned by the ill payment of the Troops, many other things of great importance to his ſervice having been likewiſe omitted, not obſcurely hinting at the Grand Viſier, he would notwithſtanding take the command upon him, if his Majeſty, according to the example of his Predeceſſours, would himſelf appear at the head of his Forces. The frankneſs of this diſcourſe wrought ſo much upon the *Grand Seignior*, that he immediately ſent to the *Viſier*, who was, or pretended to be indiſpoſed, and conſequently kept his bed, to know whether he was in a condition of health to attend him into *Hungary*, where he purpoſed to go himſelf? But the Viſier excuſing it, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition, his Majeſty ſent to him for his Seal, which being delivered, he immediately gave it to *Solyman* Baſſa, making him by that eminent mark of dignity Grand *Viſier* in the others room, who yet had his life granted him, and part of his Eſtate to ſubſiſt upon, being now in his Houſe on the *Canal* of the black Sea, near *Scutary*.

The Treaſure of the *Seraglio* was opened, Officers were ſent into all the extent of the Empire, and the utmoſt diligence was uſed to raiſe men, not only to recruit their ſhattered Armies, but to make new Levies, but with the uſual fate that attends unſucceſsful Arms. So that notwithſtanding all their endeavours, the Chriſtians were in the Field before them, not only with the Imperial Troops, but the united Forces of all the *German* Princes. The general Rendezvouz was appointed on the 30*th* of *May* in the Plains of *Barkam*, though the *Saxons*, the *Bavarians*, the *Brandenburgers*, and them of the *Circles* could not get thither ſo ſoon by reaſon of their diſtant Marches. The whole Empire ſeemed to move, and the *Danube* was ſo covered with Barks and Barges full of men, proviſions, and all ſorts of Warlike Inſtruments, that it yielded a proſpect of terror and pleaſure.

The Chriſtian Army Rendezvouz's at *Barkam*. *May* 30. 1686.

The Forces being come together, the Sentiments of the General Perſons that compoſed it were very differing. Some propoſed the Siege of *Alba Regalis*, as being a place that had much annoyed them, by protecting the *Seraskier* under the Cannon of the place, when they beſieged *Buda* two years ago. Others would have *Agria* and *Montgatz*, the remains of *Tekely's* rebellion in Upper *Hungary*, attempted, and the reſt were for marching directly to the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, for ſecuring that important paſſage, and then to beſiege *Buda*. Others were of opinion, that theſe three deſigns ſhould be enterpriſed at once, by dividing their Army into two parts, for the two firſt Enterpriſes, and that General *Schults* ſhould with the Army of *Croatia* attempt the Bridge of *Eſſeck*. But they were very few that concluded poſitively for the Siege of *Buda*, which had already been abſolutely reſolved upon by the Emperour and the Duke of *Lorrain*, upon a certainty that the taking of that place would vaſtly inlarge their Quarters, and a ſuppoſition (though not ſo well grounded) that all *Hungary* would follow the fate of their Capital City.

Jun. 10. But this deſign was kept very ſecret, nor was it diſcovered until the arrival of Count *Straatman*, Great Chancellor to the Emperour, who having in a Council of War prudently compoſed the punctilio's and differences between ſo many General Officers about their commands, to all their ſatisfactions; he ſhewed them the Emperour's Commiſſion and Orders to begin the Campaign with the Siege of *Buda*, exhorting them to do their duty in an enterpriſe of ſuch great importance, whereon depended not only the conſervation of his Highneſs's Conqueſts, the ſecurity of his Crown, and the good of Chriſtendom, but alſo the ruine of the *Ottoman* Empire, being the loſs of this conſiderable place would be attended on with the ſurrender

of

1686. of the other Cities and Fortreſſes of *Hungary*, which would return to the Obedience of their natural Sovereign.

The Generals, who expected to begin with the Siege of *Agria* or *Alb-Royal*, were overjoy'd to underſtand that the deſign was upon *Buda*; and this News being ſpread amongſt the Officers and Souldiers of the Armies, they all teſtified their Satisfaction by their forwardneſs, and their deſire to ſee themſelves before a Place where they might ſignalize their Valour, and revenge the Death of their Comrades, who had been interred in the Trenches of the former Siege.

The Voluntiers, to the number of ſix thouſand, of all Quality and Conditions, which were come thither out of *Germany*, *France*, *England*, *Spain*, the *Low-Countries*, and other parts of *Europe*, to ſeek Honour in ſo pious a War, ſhewed much Ardour and Zeal to ſignalize themſelves in ſo glorious an undertaking. The Troops of the Circles were not yet come, and they of *Brandenburg*, who marched through *Sileſia*, and the Straits of *Jabluncka*, advanced but ſlowly by reaſon of the difficulty of their way, and could not come ſo ſoon as deſired. But the Armies, to loſe no time, diſcamped on the twelfth of *June* by break of day, the Duke of *Lorrain* taking his way by the Bridge of *Oran*, had paſſed it the thirteenth, the Troops of *Saxony* having the Vaunt-guard. The Elector of *Bavaria* marched on this ſide the *Danube* to poſſeſs the City of *Peſt*. Whilſt the two Armies were thus marching on both ſides the River, Count *Rabatta*, who was Commiſſary General, had cauſed a prodigious quantity of Gabions and Fagots, which the Souldiers had made as they came to the general Randezvouz, to keep them from Idleneſs, to be imbark'd and ſent by Water towards *Buda*, together with the Artillery, Ammunitions, Proviſions, Forrage, and other neceſſary things for the ſubſiſtence of Armies. The next day the Armies advanced, the great one near *Vicegrade*, and the other by *Vaccia*.

The fifteenth, the Imperial Horſe, followed by the Foot, and their Cannon and Baggage, paſſed *Vicegrade*, ſome Priſoners having been made by a party that the Duke had ſent to make Diſcoveries. Theſe unanimouſly declared, that they of *Agria* and *Alba Regalis* fearing a Siege had refuged all their beſt Moveables in *Buda*, and that this Capital City was, as well as the other Places, furniſhed with Troops and neceſſary Proviſions to ſuſtain a long Siege, in expectation of Relief.

Being come within an hour of the Town without any encounter, the Horſe made halt, as well to repoſe themſelves, as to expect the coming up of their Infantry and Artillery, and now they begin to lay a Bridge of Boats at the Iſle of *St. Andrew* for the Communication of the two ſides of the *Danube*.

The Siege of *Buda*.

On the eighteenth, the Baron of *Diependal*, General *de Battalia*, inveſted the City of *Buda*, whilſt the Infantry were marching up, and taking up their Poſts half a League from the place, they began to break Ground, and work at their Line of Circumvallation. A great party of Horſe and Foot appeared out of the Garriſon at the *Vienna* Port, but they returned again upon the advance of a Detachment of Imperial Horſe, who had Orders to charge them, contented to welcome the Aſſailants with eight Volleys from their Cannon, though they kill'd but one Pioneer, by reaſon of the too great diſtance.

The nineteenth, the Duke advanced with the Army as far as the hot Baths, the Turks having abandoned that Poſt the day before. The general Quarters were taken up within a quarter of a League of the Town. The ſame day the Elector of *Bavaria* ſeized upon the City of *Peſt*, which the Turks had quitted, retiring with their Cannon, Ammunitions and Proviſions into *Buda*, after they had broken part of the Bridge behind them. The *Croats*, who ſcouted about the Country, took a Turkiſh *Chiaux*, with a Convoy of forty *Spahis*, who was ſent with Letters from the Port to the Viſier of *Buda*. Being brought to the Camp, his Letters were examined, which contained rigorous Orders to the Viſier, to be very careful of the Places which depended on his Government, and to aſſure him of a quick and powerful relief in caſe he were attack'd. 1686.

On the twentieth, the Bridge over the *Danube* was finiſhed. The ſame day a party of Horſe ſallied out of the Town with deſign to ſurpriſe the Chriſtians advanced Guard, but the Duke being advertiſed of it in time, ſent four ſquadrons, to which many Volunteers joyned themſelves, with orders to charge them; but they upon their approach retired without any engaging. The Artillery being arrived, two Batteries were raiſed againſt the lower Town, where the Duke of *Lorrains* Attack was, and at Night the Trenches were opened. A Janizary who deſerted, reported much after the ſame manner that the Priſoners already mentioned had done; that there were but eight thouſand men of formed Troops in the Town. The Viſier having ſome time before ſent two thouſand Souldiers to *Agria*, and as many to *Alba-Regalis*, upon a ſuppoſition that the Chriſtians would not think of beſieging *Buda*, which had been ſo fatal to them but two years ago. This Run-away affirmed further, that the Place was abundantly furniſhed with all manner of Proviſions and Ammunitions to ſuſtain a very long Siege, that the Viſier *Abdi* Baſſa was no great Warrior, and therefore the leſs conſidered by the Souldiery; that he had aſſembled all the Officers and Souldiers of the Garriſon together, had exhorted them to do their Duty, and to ſupport with Honour the Glory of the Turbant, adding, that he had Orders from the Grand Seignior to defend the City with his Life, which he was reſolved to do, and expect the Succours which the Grand Viſier would infallibly bring them. To this the *Janizaries* and *Spahis* replyed, that they were ready to ſacrifice their Lives in his Highneſs's Service, and for defence of their Laws, upon Condition however, that the Viſier would immediately give them ten Crowns a Man, that the Souldiers and Officers that were detained in Priſon for what Crime ſoever ſhould be ſet at Liberty, and that he would not ſuffer things to come to the laſt extremity, leſt the ſame misfortune might happen to them, as did to thoſe of *Newheuſel*, all which the Viſier promiſed them to obſerve exactly.

I muſt acknowledge I am entring into a tedious Narrative, and ſomewhat againſt my Humour, which affects lucid brevity; but the Hiſtory of this Siege, perhaps circumſtantially the greateſt upon Record, full of ſuch ſtrange Events; of Emulation in the purſuit of Glory; of ſucceſsful Temerity, and an invincible Reſolution on the one ſide; as alſo the Fidelity, the Conſtancy, and the unfortunate Valour of the other, hurries me on to a deſcription of it in all its particulars, which I will do with that Candor, that the very indifferent Reader ſhall find nothing that may juſtly ſhock him, and the curious wherewith to content him.

The

1686. The Elector of *Bavaria*, having left a Garriſon at *Peſt*, and paſſed the Bridge of Boats at the Iſle of St. *Andrew*, came with his Army before the place, and took his Poſt in the ſame place where he had commanded in the preceding Siege, that is, on the Caſtle ſide, and the upper Town, to form the ſecond attack, the third being reſerved for the *Brandenburgers*, who were expected in a few days, and were to be reinforced with the Troops of *Suabia* and *Franconia*. That Night the Turks fired mightily upon them that worked in the Approaches and Batteries, whereof ſeveral were killed and hurt in the *Lorrain* Attack.

The Duke ſent all the Imperial and *Bavarian* Horſe, under the command of the Generals *Palfi*, *Gondola*, and others, to camp in the Neighbourhood of *Alba Regalis*, on purpoſe to conſume the Forrage, and keep that Garriſon in continual alarms, there remaining in the Camp but three thouſand Imperial and fifteen hundred *Bavarian* Horſe to ſecure the Trenches and Pioneers. The Night paſſed, the Battery againſt the lower Town was brought to perfection, and twelve Pieces of Cannon mounted upon it, which played all the following day with the loſs of five men ſlain, and ſeveral wounded, from break of day the Cannon continued firing with ſuch ſucceſs, that they made a breach in the Wall of the lower Town, which was found to be twenty paces large. In the mean time the *Bavarians* on their ſide carried their Approaches on with great diligence, and had alſo ſome killed and wounded.

The day following, the breach being enlarged, was aſſaulted towards evening, the Walls being eaſily gained, for the Defendants retired into the upper Town after the firſt diſcharge. The Chriſtians loſt a Captain of Foot, a Lieutenant of Granadiers, ſome Souldiers, and ſix Voluntiers in this attempt, beſides ſeven or eight hurt; and from that time they began to attack the Town in form, it being reſolved, that the Trenches ſhould be relieved every day by a Lieutenant General, and a Major General, as well in the Duke of *Lorrain*'s attack, as in the Elector's. The 25*th* Count *Souches* and *Diependal* relieved the Trenches, but nothing was done beſides aſſuring the Lodgment upon the Wall of the lower Town, and opening the Gate which the Turks had ſhut up on the right, far enough from the breach where they took Poſt, and that the Labourers might be leſs incommoded, General *Souches* cauſed fire to be put in the neighbouring Houſes, where ſome Fuſeliers did lurk, who were burnt with them. The *Bavarians* finiſhed the ſame day a little Battery upon St. *Gerards* Hill, which the Turks had abandoned, from whence they threw ſome ſmall Bombs into the City to try experiments. They alſo finiſhed another great Battery to beat the great Rondel which joyns the Caſtle to the upper Town. The ſame day Count *Budiani* preſented ſome Standards to the Duke of *Lorrain*, taken from a party of Turkiſh Horſe, which convoyed fourteen or fifteen Barks loaden with the Wives and Children of the Officers of *Buda*, who retired with all their riches to *Belgrade*, and which his *Heyduques* and *Huſſars*, reinforced with ſome Imperial Dragoons, had ſurpriſed and beaten at the Iſland of St. *Margaret*. The booty was great, and ninety-two Women and Children taken, amongſt which was the *Viſier* of *Buda*'s Wife.

The 26*th*, they made ſeveral traverſe Lines, and laboured to compleat the Approaches to ſecure their Quarters in the lower Town, which was furniſhed with two thouſand Souldiers, and a good number of Pioneers. The Earth being rude and ſtony, did much obſtruct the Labourers. The great Maſter of the Teutonick Order, which commanded the Trenches, obſerving that the Pioneers in the lower Town might be eaſily inſulted and beaten by the Beſieged, had upon his demand ſix Battalions ſent him, which were poſted along the Wall to countenance them. Two fugitives, who ſaid they were *Hungarians*, rendered themſelves, and confirmed that the Garriſon was but eight thouſand Combatants, who by order of the Viſier had begun to untile the Houſes, and unpave the Streets, to hinder the effect of the Bombs. In the evening betwixt ſix and ſeven a Clock, the Turks ſallied out with great Cries, to intimidate them who were poſted in the Rondel by the Water ſide, but they were ſo well received, that they retreated confuſedly. Marſhal *Starenberg* haſtned thither ſeaſonably with two Battalions of them that had been poſted the day before behind the Wall, without which Succour the Turks would have made a great Slaughter amongſt the Labourers. The Enemy was purſued, and the Souldiers cut off ſome Heads, which they preſented to the Duke, who gave them a golden Ducket for each Head. A Captain was hurt in this ſcuffle, and ten or twelve Souldiers killed, and as many wounded.

The *Bavarians* raiſed two Batteries for Bombs on the two ſides of their great Battery. They carried on their Trench above one hundred paces, and ran three traverſe Lines, with a place of Arms for the defence of their Battery. The Turks fired much with their Artillery, but killed only two Souldiers.

The 27*th*, the Chriſtians compleated the works they had made in the Night, new traverſes were made, ſome Musketiers were placed in the Moſque of the old Town, a Poſt was taken on the right near the Gate which makes the Angle of the Upper Town, the Lines were enlarged, and deepned, and the great Battery was well-nigh finiſhed, with the loſs only of one Man, and ſome few wounded. This Morning the Enemy appear'd where they had been yeſterday, ſeemingly diſpoſed to skirmiſh, but ſeeing that the Chriſtians were ready to receive them, they retired without attempting any thing. About Eleven a Clock they ſallied out, Horſe and Foot, with deſign to diſlodge the Beſiegers poſted on the right, but having ſtood a Volley; and ſeeing Count *Hoffkirchen*, Lieutenant Collonel to *Dunewald*, advancing with the Guards of Horſe, they returned into the City, leaving twenty of their men dead behind them. Of the Chriſtians there were but two killed, and five or ſix hurt. Another Deſerter came out of Town, who reported, that the Governour was greatly perplexed, in that he ſaw the inevitable fall of the City, which the Grand Seignior had committed to his charge, and that he loſt in the Sallies his beſt Souldiers, without being able to ruine the Enemies works; but that he reſented nothing equally with the captivity of his Wife, and thoſe of the Principal Officers of the Place, taken when they thought them paſt danger. In the *Bavarian* attack they finiſhed a battery to play upon the Caſtle, and the Rondel that joyns it to the City.

The 28*th*, in the *Lorrain* attack, a Line of Communication four hundred paces long was drawn from the Poſt at the Angle on the right to the middle Gate, and another Line was made to go to the new battery, upon which they planted twelve pieces of Cannon. A little one was

like-

1686. likewiſe in hand for four Mortars which were carried thither that Night, with ſome Cart loads of Bombs. The beſieged began to ſhoot Bombs and Stones out of Town. A Captain and ſixteen Souldiers were wounded that Night, and ſome killed. The Duke of *Lorrain*, foreſeeing that Forrage would grow ſcarce in the Camp, ſent moſt of the baggage Horſes to the Meadows aſſigned them betwixt *Gran* and *Newheuſel*. General *Dunewald*, who commanded the Horſe, camped near *Alb-Royal*, advertiſed the Duke, that the Turks having abandoned the Caſtle of *Bathyan* upon the River of *Zarvis*, he had put men into it, and that he was going to make a tentative upon *Palotta*, a place of good ſtrength near *Alb-Royal*.

The twenty ninth, they continued to compleat their Works, and the Duke augmented the number of the Labourers with an addition of ſix hundred more. The beſieged made no Sallies theſe two days, but they plyed their Artillery more furiouſly than ordinary to ruine the Chriſtians great Battery. About five a Clock they ſallied upon the *Bavarian* attack, with two thouſand Horſe and Foot, with ſo much Succeſs, that they put the Beſiegers into much diſorder, and the Janizaries leaping into the Approaches, were buſie in throwing of them down, when Count *Hoffkirch* flying thither with the Guard of Horſe from the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Quarter, and the *Bavarian* Generals with their reſerves, the fight was rude on both ſides, till the Turks were forced to retreat, being purſued even to the Gates of their City, notwithſtanding the continued fire from their Cannon and Muſquets from the Walls. Prince *Eugenius* of *Savoy* had his Horſe killed under him. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, and the Generals *Fontaine* and *la Vargne* ſignalized themſelves in this Action, as alſo the Voluntiers, and particularly the Prince of *Commercy*. *Switterdael*, a *Bavarian* Lieutenant-Collonel was ſlain, as alſo ſix Voluntiers, with thirty ſeven Souldiers, beſides ſixty two wounded, one Captain, two Lieutenants, and an Enſign. The loſs on the Turks ſide was greater, being the Chriſtians brought away ſixty of their Heads, beſides what a fugitive *Raſcian* reported, that the Turks had had near two hundred kill'd and wounded. That Evening the four Mortars placed by the great Battery began to play into the beſieged Works. Six Culverins were alſo planted upon the old Battery, wherewith they deſign'd to ſhoot into the Town Gate, to incommode the Sallies of the beſieged.

The thirtieth, the Troops of *Suabia* and *Franconia* arrived in the Camp, and took the Poſts deſigned for them; all the Night and Day were employed to advance the Works, which are ſo numerous, that they are ſcarce diſtinguiſhable. Count *Souches*, who commanded the Trenches that day, having ſent three Granadeers to diſcover the diſtance betwixt the Approaches and the Rondel, they brought word that it was no more than three hundred paces, and that the Turks were making a Ditch at the foot of the ſaid Rondel. Every Night great ſtore of Gabions, Fagots, Munitions, and Proviſions, arrived in the Camp, by the care of the Commiſſary General, Count *Rabatta*. Count *Caprara* parted from the Camp with the *Suabian* Horſe, to joyn thoſe encamped near *Alb-Royal*, and to command the whole in chief. Five *Raſcian* Shepheards, feeding their Sheep without under the Walls, ſlipt inſenſibly into the *Bavarian* Quarters with at leaſt four hundred, where they were well received and gratified. All they could ſay was, that the Conſternation was great amongſt the beſieged, who were yet reſolved to defend themſelves, in expectation of the Succours they were in hope for. They added, that the Bombs and Carcaſſes had fired the Town in ſeveral Places, though it had been luckily enough extinguiſhed. 1686.

The firſt of *July*, Count *Starenberg* ſhewed General *Schoning*, who commanded the *Bradenburg* Auxiliaries, and arrived in the Camp the Night before, the Approaches and the Attacks which were reſerved for his Troops, which was on the Water ſide on the left of the Imperialiſts, after which he was magnificently treated by the Duke of *Lorrain*, from whence he went to joyn his Troops which were expected the next, or the following day. This Morning the Imperialiſts began to ſhoot out of their new Battery, out of four Pieces which ſhot twenty four pound Bullets. The five Mortars by the great Battery continued to play upon the Rondel on the right, with ſuch Succeſs that the Defendants durſt not ſhew themſelves there. The Works were compleating, and there were two Redoubts made to ſecure the Communication with the great Battery. This Night there were but five hurt, and one killed, and this Morning an Adjoutant General was hurt in the Head with a Muſquet-ſhot, as he was carrying Orders into the Approaches. There hapned nothing in the *Bavarian* Quarters, where they only continued their Labour and their Batteries, made a Breach in the outward Rampart. The reſt of the Troops of *Franconia*, conſiſting in fourteen hundred Foot, arrived there, who were placed near the reſt of the ſame Circle.

The ſecond, the *Lorrain* Attack advanced within two hundred Paces of the Walls of the City. The battery of twelve Guns of twenty four pound Balls was finiſhed, and four other Mortars that played without ceaſing all the laſt Night, fired the Town near the great Church, which laſted till Morning; the Cannon was plyed all this day againſt the two firſt Rondels, which are in a manner defenceleſs. Two Battalions more were ſent to reinforce thoſe who were camped under the Wall of the old Town. The beſieged threw again many Bombs and Stones, but with little prejudice to the Beſiegers, killing them not above three or four Souldiers. The Troops of *Suaben* began to work at their line of Circumvallation, and purpos'd the following Night to raiſe a Battery upon a height which they poſſeſs'd. The *Bavarians* thundred furiouſly againſt the Caſtle and upper Town, and had thrown many Bombs which had kindled a fire that was not yet extinguiſhed. The Duke apprehending that the Turks might when it was dark, put, by the help of ſmall barks, Men, and Ammunition into the Town, went in Perſon to diſcover the ſuſpected Places about *Peſt*, commanding the Prince of *Savoys* Regiment of Dragoons to poſt themſelves there, to aſſiſt the *Hungarians* who were already there, and had Orders to raiſe ſome Sconces along the River ſide for their Security.

On the third of *July*, the *Brandenburg* Troops were ſeen to march on the other ſide of the *Danube*. The Duke of *Lorrain* went to viſit them, where he was received by General *Schoning* with a triple *Salvo* of all the Foot, ranged in battalia, with their Cannon at the head of the Infantry. His Highneſs was treated there with much Gallantry, and afterwards returned to his Quarters extremely ſatisfied to ſee ſuch a fine body of Men, ſo briſk, ſo well diſciplin'd, and provided with ſuch a good Train of Artillery. The Imperialiſts finiſhed another line for to defend their Ap-

1686. Approaches. They made ſuch great fire with their Cannon and Mortars, that they did not only make a notable breach in the Wall, but ruined alſo the batteries upon the two firſt Rondels, ſo that there was no more ſhooting thence. The *Bavarians* carried their lines to the very Caſtle, and made a new battery on the right towards the *Danube*, upon which they placed nine Mortars with ſucceſs. They ſhot alſo three days together from another battery of ſeven Demy-Cannon upon the Rondel; whilſt they play'd from another with four Guns upon the Flanks. They moreover worked at another of eight Cannon to batter the left of the Rondel. In the *Lorrain* attack there were ſeven ſlain, and ſeveral hurt. Amongſt the reſt of the Deſerters, there was an Enſign of the Janizaries, who quitted the Town for having (as he ſaid) killed a Turkiſh Officer. He affirmed that there was but fifteen hundred real Janizaries in the place, but that counting the *Spahi*'s, Albamans, and other Troops, they amounted to ſeven thouſand Combatants; He added, that the Bombs and Carkaſſes had already ruined many buildings, and occaſioned a great loſs of Men and Cattel. He further ſaid, that the beſieged were buſie in making Mines behind the breach on the *Lorrain* ſide, and that no body had hitherto entered into the place. General *Dunewald* had deſiſted from his deſign upon *Pallotta*, becauſe the place was provided with a good Gariſon. The Turks there killed ſome of thoſe who were ſent to diſcover. Thoſe of *Alb-Royal* attacked and diſordered alſo ſome Foragers of Horſe quartered in their Neighbourhood, and amongſt others killed Count *Papenheim*, a Captain of Horſe in the Troops of *Bavaria*.

July 4th, The Approaches of the *Lorrain* attack were run within one hundred paces of the breach in the Rondel to the right. The beſieged began to run a Line out of the ſaid breach, which they lengthned till within fifty paces of the Chriſtians, to render their approach more difficult; and however, they fired continually with their ſmall ſhot, and threw a multitude of ſtones, yet they killed and wounded but thirteen men. The beſiegers had now fourteen Mortars mounted, out of which they perpetually toſſed Bombs and Carkaſſes. There was nothing done at the *Bavarian* attack, but ſecuring the works, and heightning the batteries. A *Pole*, who had ſerved amongſt the *Turks*, came over this morning, and reported that the beſieged were reſolved to ſurrender, if they were not relieved in a Months time. Another Run-away came this Afternoon, and declared, that five Turkiſh Cavaliers were by the means of a little Bark landed on *Peſt* ſide, who were by ſeveral ways to endeavour to arrive where the *Seraskier* was, and preſs the Succours which had been promiſed them. The Duke of *Lorrain* diſpatched ſome Horſe towards *Voitſar* to conſume the Forage there, and watch the Enemies motion. A party of *Tartars* fell upon the Foragers on the other ſide the *Danube*, and took ſome Horſes, and two Grooms belonging to the Prince of *Baden*, out of the Iſland of St. *Margaret*: the following Night, ſixty Granadiers with ſome Workmen were ſent to ruine the Line which the beſieged had begun before the breach of the Rondel, which luck'd ſo well, that they filled the Ditch with the loſs of two Soldiers only. The breaches were every day enlarged, as well on the *Lorrain* as the *Bavier* attack, and what the *Turks* repaired in the night, was thrown down by day. All the Troops of *Brandenburg* are at preſent arrived in their Quarters. The *Turks* made a ſally upon them in the Night, who, though they were well received, and purſued even to the Town Gate, yet they killed many brave men of the beſieged, and amongſt the reſt Field-Marſhal General *Dorfeling*'s Son, two Lieutenants, and twenty-ſeven Souldiers, with the like number wounded.

Jul. 6. A line of communication was made from the *Lorrain* attack to that of *Brandenburg*, which is but fifty paces from the Rondel of the middle Gate, and about ſixty from the breach on the right. This morning they ſhot the Cannon with that fury, that they quite threw down the two Rondels, and the Curtain, and at night throwing Bombs and Carkaſſes without ceaſing, they cauſed a fire to burn on the right of the Rondel, that could not be quenched in leſs than three hours time. The *Brandenburgers* advanced their works briskly, their Generals of Battalia's keeping alternatively in the Trenches. They had eight ſlain and ſix wounded, beſides a Captain of Granadeers, Lieutenant Collonel *Fonk* was alſo hurt in the Legg, and ſix more of the *Lorrain* attack, beſides two killed.

Jul. 7. The Night preceding, very many Bombs were thrown with ſucceſs, being they fired the Town in two places, but upon the arrival of the Engeneer *Gonzales*, it was preſumed the Town would be thundred with greater violence, he is expected in two or three days in the Camp, where the Cannon, Mortars, Bombs, Carkaſſes, and other artificial fire-works of his invention are already arrived: The beſieged made this morning a ſalley upon the *Brandenburgers* with Horſe and Foot, but to their prejudice, being beaten back with diſorder. Yeſterday the Miners began to work in the *Lorrain* attack to widen the breaches, and this Night the ſame will be done in that of *Bavaria*, where they have finiſhed two new Batteries, one of ten, and the other of ſeven Cannons, beſides a third on the Water ſide, to better the attack'd Rondel, and a Poſt by which the beſieged uſed to creep out into a covered way which they had made before the Rondel. Yeſterday the *Bavarians* had carried their approaches to the very foot of the Caſtle, ſo that they could come no nearer before the breach was enlarged. The works in the *Lorrain* attack were ſo near the Wall, that they could advance no further, but by lodging in the breach. There were about fifty killed and hurt in the three attacks. The beſieged ſhot a Bomb, which falling upon one of the out-Batteries into a Barrel of Powder, killed nine Cannoneers that attended there.

The *8th*, Two new Batteries, each of three Demy-Cannon, were raiſed in the *Lorrain* attack nearer the Walls, and on the left, where they were equally advanced with the right, the approaches were advanced to the Wall of the Rondel; and as theſe Works were ſo near, there were twenty-five hurt and wounded, moſt with Stones and Granadoes, amongſt whom Major General *Thungen* was one, Major *Biſchoſſhauſen* had his Arm broke with a Muſquet, and ſome other Officers wounded. The Miners which were attack'd to the right of the Rondel, had not yet encountered the Enemies Mines. At night they will plant others to the left of the middle Rondel. Some Peaſants having found means to eſcape out of Town, came to the Camp, affirming, that there were ſtill above three hundred men which worked continually at the Mines and Retrenchments which the beſieged made behind their Walls, for their retreat in caſe of neceſſity.

July

1686. *July* the ninth, the whole Night was ſpent in ſhooting of Bombs and Carcaſſes into the City, to keep the beſieged in Action, and take away their deſire of repoſe, but theſe perceiving at break of day that the Enemy had made a Gallery of Planks to paſs the Miners to the middle Rondel, they rolled down many Bombs, threw many Granados, and other artificial Fire, with combuſtible ſtuff in ſuch abundance, that the Planks were burnt, and the Gallery reduced to Aſhes. At five in the Morning the beſieged ſprung a Mine ſome Paces from the Wall, betwixt the middle Rondel, and that at the Gate with Succeſs, being it overturned one of the Chriſtians Mines, with the loſs of ſeven or eight of the Miners. They ſeconded this with a ſharp Sally, diſordered the Workmen, ruined their Labours, and poſted themſelves betwixt the *Imperialiſts* and *Brandenburgers*, but the reſerve coming to their Aid from their place of Arms, they forced them back into the Town. There were above eighty of the two Attacks killed and wounded in this Adventure, one of their chief Cannoneers ſlain, and ſeveral ſubaltern Officers. The beſieged loſt as many; Notwithſtanding this check, the Works were continued with the ſame Vigour in the Approaches, Lines, and Galleries. On the *Bavarian* ſide they ruined the little Port from their Battery with ten demy Cannons, and the breach there was very ſpacious.

July the tenth, At the *Lorrain* Attack they work'd all Night to repair the Batteries and the Approaches which the beſieged had ruined in the former Sally, and to redreſs the Gallery which they had burnt, and the Miners were again fired that Night. At the *Bavarian* Attack the Miners worked under the Palizade of the Rondel, and under the Wall, with hopes of compleating their Mines in three days; ſeveral were ſlain, amongſt whom was Lieutenent-Collonel *Wachtenheim*. The Chriſtians had Intelligence by their Spies, that the Turks, to the number of ſeven thouſand, reinforced with ſome *Tartars* who ravaged the Country, had a deſign to introduce a new Commander, with a recruit of Troops into *Buda*, which obliged the Duke of *Lorrain* to command ſome Foot to poſt themſelves on the other ſide of the *Danube*, and upon occaſion to joyn with the Horſe that were there already, and meet and fight the Enemies.

July the eleventh, This evening five demy Cannons were mounted on the two new Batteries in the *Lorrain* Attack, and two Mortars planted in a little Fort, with the loſs only of two killed, and five hurt. The *Brandenburgers* plated three pieces in battery, and would plant more the Night following to ſhoot glowing Bullets into the City. The *Bavarians* fortified their Attack by two Redoubts. Yeſterday in the Evening four hundred Foot were ordered to raiſe ſome Defences on *Peſt* ſide near the *Danube*, to hinder leſt any thing ſhould paſs that way into *Buda*.

July the twelfth, All the Batteries of *Lorrain* and *Brandenburg* were compleated, and the firſt lines of theſe two Attacks were ſo joyned, that men could paſs from the one to the other undiſcovered, by the Enemies Fire. And now they were ſo near the Walls, the beſieged did perpetually throw hand Granadoes and Stones to incommode the Workmen, but without any great harm. The Miner on the left found himſelf much advanced under the Wall, but they met with more difficulty on the right, and ſo they would inlarge the breach by force of their Cannon. The Count *de Souches* inſpected the breach by order of the Field Marſhal *Starenberg*, and it was found ſpacious enough to be aſſaulted. 1686.
The *Brandenburgers* began to ſhoot their inflamed Bullets and Bombs out of twenty two Cannons, and two Mortars, but with no great Succeſs, being the Beſieged had uncoveted all their Houſes. The Bombs and Carcaſſes invented by the *Franciſcan* Frier were highly eſteemed. They now only plained and inlarged the Breaches, and prepared themſelves for the aſſault. There were nine hurt and three ſlain with Granadoes and Stones. The Breach in the great Rondel on the *Bavarian* ſide was large enough, and the Miner was at work under the Pallizade of the Ditch. The Duke having Intelligence that the Seraskier was advanced with ſome thouſands of Turks near *Hatwan*, commanded 3000 Horſe, and ſix Battalions of Foot, *Imperialiſts*, *Brandenburgers*, and *Bavarians*, under the Conduct of General *Mercy*, to paſs the *Danube*, and poſt themſelves on the other ſide of the Bridge, to hinder the Turks to put a recruit of Troops into the City, with the new deſigned Commander, *Achmet* Baſſa, who had the Reputation of being one of the beſt Officers that the Grand Seignior had in his Service.

July the thirteenth, This morning the beſieged ſprung a Mine under the middle Rondel near the Chriſtians Mine, which was already finiſhed, which Mine did what the beſiegers deſigned, by throwing down part of the Rondel, where they had no breach as yet. There were two hundred Turks ready to fly into the adverſe Works as ſoon as the Mine took, but ſeeing it had a contrary effect to what they deſigned, they retired. All things being diſpoſed for an aſſault, thereby to make a lodgment upon the Wall, Count *Starenburg* directed the attack in the manner following. Count *Guydo Starenburg* commanded on the right of the Rondel, Count *Herberſtein* the middle of the Curtain, and Count *Aversberg*, all three field Officers, on the left. They had each of them two hundred and eighty Souldiers; the Engineers, Granadeers, Fuſeliers, Carpenters, and Pioneers, were poſted betwixt two, and the reſt, to the number of two thouſand, were divided into three bodies of Reſerves to ſupport the Aſſailants: the Voluntiers who had demanded the point, mingled themſelves with the firſt. Betwixt ſeven and eight a Clock the ſignal for the Aſſault was given, by a diſcharge from all the Batteries, and a ſhower of Bombs and Carcaſſes which were diſcharged upon the City, and the Retrenchments which the beſieged had made behind the breach; and notwithſtanding all the reſiſtance of the beſieged, the Chriſtians mounted the breach, where the Combat was very rude and obſtinate on both ſides for three quarters of an hour, with all poſſible bravery. The beſieged ſprung a Mine under the Aſſailants firſt line, which buried Captain *Kalkretter*, and ſome Souldiers. But ſeeing they could not take poſt for want of Earth, that they could not force the Pallizado'd Retrenchment behind the breach, and that the chief Officers were already all hurt or ſlain, by the continual fire of the beſieged; it was thought expedient to make a retreat; five or ſix leap'd over the Turks Retrenchment, but being ill followed, got off with the reſt. The Regiments of *Souches* and *Mansfeld* ſuffered moſt in this Action, and that of *Starenburg* was alſo ill treated. There were more than four hundred kill'd and wounded, but the loſs of ſo many brave Officers and Voluntiers who loſt their Lives there, were particularly deplored: but few that were hurt eſcaped, which begot a belief that the Turks ſhot with envenomed Bullets. Amongſt the dead were Count *Herberſtein*,

1686. *berſtein*, Count *Kuffſtein*, and another Captain of the ſame Regiment, the Baron *Rolle*, three Captains more, and eight Lieutenants and Enſigns. Of Volunteers that were ſlain there, or died of their Wounds, the Duke of *Vexar*, a Grandee of *Spain*, who was one of the firſt upon the breach, was one, a Son of Prince *Roberts*, with another Engliſh Lord, the Baron of *Scheyffer*, the young Count of *Coarmaillon*, a Conte of *Dona*, and ſeven or eight more of Quality. Amongſt the wounded, as well Officers as Voluntiers, were reckoned Count *Guydo Starenburg*, Count *Averſperg*, the Prince of *Veldens* of the Houſe of the Palatinat, Prince *Picolomini*, two Engliſh Lords, the Duke of *Eſcalona*, a Grandee of *Spain*, the Marqueſs of *Valero*, Brother to the Duke of *Vexar*; the Prince of *Commercy*, and more than thirty other Perſons of mark. The *Spaniards* and the *Engliſh* diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a noble Emulation, oppoſing the greateſt Fury of the Turks. The *Engliſh* were ſo ill treated, that of twenty of them, all Perſons of Quality, there were but ſix of them that were not ſlain or wounded. The loſs of the beſieged was alſo great, for they had two hundred of their braveſt men wounded and killed. The Duke of *Lorrain*, and Marſhal Count *Starenburg* were preſent in this Action, giving Orders every where as occaſion required. It was believed that the *Brandenburgers* would have attempted ſomewhat on their ſide, but they excuſed it becauſe their breach was not large enough. On the *Bavarian* ſide there was a notable breach made in the Rondel and in the Wall that covers the Caſtle, which the beſieged repaired by Night with Gabions, Pallizadoes, and Fagots.

July the fourteenth, The whole Night and Day were imployed in inhuming the Dead, and repairing the Approaches, in planting more Cannon upon the Batteries, and in advancing the Mines. Two Galleries were likewiſe framed betwixt the ſecond and third Rondel. The Duke of *Lorrain* having alſo ſent for three Regiments of Horſe from *Alba-Regalis* to reinforce General *Mercy*, they paſſed the Bridge this Morning to go on *Peſt* ſide. The beſieged ſprung a Mine in the *Bavarian* Attack on the left of the Caſtle *Rondel*, which ſucceeded ill. His Electoral Highneſs having cauſed eight Parapets of thick Oaken Planks to be made, ſhod with Iron, of a new Invention, each capable of ſecuring a hundred armed Men, they were thought proper to be uſed in Attacks and Aſſaults. The ſame day the *Bavarians* diſcovered and diſappointed two Mines of the Enemies.

July 15*th*, They continued to work in their Lines, and being lodged cloſe to the Wall, the Beſieged were heard to work under the Breach. *Gonzales* the *Spaniſh* Engineer being now come, Bombs and Carcaſſes were thrown into the Town, which did great Execution. Upon the Advice that the Duke of *Lorrain* had, that the Turks that had paſſed the *Tibiſcus* near *Segedin* were ſtill encamped under the Cannon of *Hatwan*, he cauſed two Regiments of Horſe more to joyn *Mercy* to oblige the Enemy to repaſs the *Tibiſcus*.

July 16*th*, A new Battery was raiſed in the *Lorrain* Attack without the Wall of the lower Town to the right againſt the great Rondel, the which was alſo batter'd on the other ſide to render the Breach larger, and themſelves Maſters of it. A *Raſcian*, with Letters which the Governour of the Place had entruſted him to carry to him of *Alb-Royal*, came and delivered them to the Duke; but they being writ in the *Armenian* Language, and no Interpreter in the Camp, they were ſent to *Vienna* to be decyphered. Some Peaſants got out of the Town reported, that the Janizaries had begun to murmur againſt the Baſſa, as deſigning to hold out to the laſt extremity, but that he had by the Puniſhment of the moſt mutinous, by his Liberality, and the aſſurance he had given them of ſpeedy relief, reaſſured them to that degree, that they promiſed to hold out with their Lives. This Evening the Elector of *Bavaria* commanded 150 men, ſeconded by a greater number to go and attack the Palizado which was in the Ditch at the foot of the Rondel of the Caſtle. Lieutenant-General Count *Fountain* was on the right of the Attack, and General Count *Aſpremont* at the left. They uſed three of the above mentioned wooden Parapets for the firſt time with Succeſs, and they attack'd this Poſt ſo vigorouſly, that they carried it with their Swords in their Hands, cutting in pieces all them that defended it, but they ſold their Lives dearly, being the Aſſailants loſt Count *Fountaine* and 35 Souldiers, and Voluntiers. Count *Aſpermont* received a Contuſion in his Head by the ſtroke of a Muſquet which knock'd off his Steel Cap. The Captains *Gottalinsky* and *Vaubon* were dangerouſly hurt, with divers others. This Poſt gave acceſs to the Rondel.

July 17*th*, Yeſterday the Beſieged began to fire from a new Battery of four great Guns, which they had raiſed upon the inward Wall; but General *Starenberg* having commanded all the Cannon that could bear to ſhoot that way, they were quickly ſilenced and diſabled. About Noon twenty or thirty Janizaries appeared upon the Breach of the Rondel to the right, as if they had deſigned a Sally, but thoſe in the Trenches having given them a Volly, they quickly retired. The *Brandenburgers* and *Bavarians* did nothing but compleat their Works, beſides their continual firing from their Batteries.

July 18*th*, A new line was advanced to the right, the better to cover the Miners, and be of uſe in the ſubſequent Aſſault. The *Brandenburgers* augmented their great Battery with three pieces of Cannon. Nor were the *Bavarians* idle, their Miners working under the Wall behind the Pallizado Moat, of which they were in poſſeſſion. The Beſieged did not much appear by day, but in the Night time kept continual firing, killing a great many of the Beſiegers with their Stones and Granadoes, which they threw into their Works.

July 19. The Cannon was mounted upon the new Battery, and the Line was ſtrengthned with two ſmall Forts. Laſt night the Beſieged ſprung a Mine behind our Miners, who worked under the Wall, which endammaged our Mine, into which a new entry was to be made to make it ſerviceable. Some of the Chriſtian Miners were covered with earth, moſt of which were pulled out again, except *Libert* their Captain, who could not be found. Mr. *Kerry*, a *Scotch* Gentleman, with ſeven or eight Souldiers were killed in the approaches, beſides others wounded. The Duke of *Lorrain*, aſſiſted by the General perſons of his Army, held a Council of War this morning, but the reſult was kept ſecret. Some Deſerters aſſured the Duke, that the Beſieged reſolved to make no compoſition, but to expect the Relief which the Grand *Viſier* would bring them.

Jul. 20. The new Line in the *Lorrain* attack was compleated. There were three falſe alarms given to haraſs the Beſieged, by cauſing ſome Granadeers to run up the Breach, and throw their Granado's into the place, upon which the Turks haſtening to the defence, they were ſaluted

1686. ted with Volleys of Cannon, Bombs, and Carkaſſes, not without execution. Theſe kind of attacks were frequently uſed to keep the Enemy in continual alarms, and in ignorance of the time of the real Aſſault. In the mean time the Mines were vigorouſly carried on, and a certain *German* undertook a new one, which he undertook to finiſh in two or three days. In the attacks of *Brandenburg* and *Bavaria*, the Miners hoped to be the following Night under the Rondels, continuing to batter the Walls with great fury, and to ſhoot glowing Bullets, Bombs and Carkaſſes into the City, which produced much diſorder. Upon advice that the Turks diſpoſed themſelves to attempt to put relief into the Town, the Ditch of the Circumvallation was deepened, and fortified with certain Redoubts, the better to ſecure the Beſiegers, to which purpoſe 200 *Heyducks* were added to the number of Pioneers.

Jul. 21. The principal working was now at the Mines, which were made in three ſeveral places, and would ſuddenly be ready. Captain *Libert*, notwithſtanding all the diligence that had been uſed to dig and remove the earth to ſeek him, had not been found. He was a *Walloon* by Nation, and was regretted by all the Generals, and ſuch who had skill of his knowledge in conducting of Mines. The Miners were now within hearing of each other. A Battery was alſo raiſed for four Mortars, near the three *Spaniſh* Pieces which beat upon the Rondel on the right, and they reſolved to approach all the Cannon and Mortars nearer the Breaches, to batter them with more force, that they might inlarge them with more eaſe, and ruine the Enemies Defences, which were behind the ſaid Breaches. There were twenty-ſeven ſlain and wounded only at the *Lorrain* attack; amongſt the dead were Major *Bacneburg* a *Dane*, and Captain *Lerneux* the 5*th* of *Starenberg*'s Regiment. *Gonzales*'s Bombs and Carcaſſes had the Succeſs expected, and by report of a Fugitive, one of thoſe Bombs ſunck into a Houſe where a hundred Perſons of both Sexes were retired, who all miſerably periſhed in the Ruines of it. The *Bavarians* finiſhed their Battery near the Rondel, and began another on the Water ſide, to canonade the Flancks of the City on that ſide. At preſent, being the three Attacks were advanced as far as the Breaches, which were large enough, all things were diſpoſed for a general Aſſault, two thouſand Ladders being got ready for falſe and ſeeming Attacks by ſcaling the Walls, whilſt others mounted the Breaches.

July 22*th*, There hapned nothing at the *Lorrain* or *Brandenburg* Attack, the Turks ſprung two Mines this Morning, which did nothing but ruine a part of the Curtain, where there was no Breach. The new Battery of four Guns upon the brink of the Ditch of the Rondel in the *Bavarian* Attack being finiſhed, the Turks came there at break of day, and gave them a bloody Serenade, for a ſtrong party of them having ſlipped out by the Bridge on the right, they crept into the Ditch along the Paliſade, and being come to the Battery, before they were diſcovered, by favour of the Darkneſs, they began to howl and make terrible cries, nailing up three Cannon, and a Mortar, and ruining part of the Battery: The *Saxons* of the neighbouring Poſts ran to the noiſe, but were diſordered. The Regiment of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, which was upon the Reſerve, arrived ſeaſonably, and repulſed the Turks with the loſs of thirty men, which was but a ſorry compenſation conſidering the loſs on the other ſide, where above one hundred were killed and wounded, the moſt *Saxons* and *Bavarians*. Amongſt the ſlain, Collonel *Lebel*, a *Saxon* was one, beſides ſeveral Subalternes, and *Geſchwint*, Collonel of the Artillery, was dangerouſly wounded with a Cymitar. The Turks got no great advantage by this Sally, for the Nailes being eaſily drawn, they began in a very little time to play again, as if they never had been nailed. And the revenge which was returned was ſudden and fatal, for a Bomb of the *Bavarians* falling into the Magazine of Powder in the Caſtle, blew it up with ſuch a terrible deſtruction and noiſe, that the whole City did not only tremble with the blow, but alſo the whole Camp, and, as was afterward reported by ſome fugitives, more than one thouſand perſons of all ages were buried in the ruines, the ſtones being thrown up with the violence of the Powder in ſuch abundance, that they fell like Hail into the approaches, that many of the Beſiegers were hurt by them. The Caſtle is blown up. 1686.

Jul. 23. The Duke of *Lorrain*, his Mines being now all ready, and all things ready for an aſſault, ſent the Count of *Koningſec* with an Interpreter to the Beſieged to ſummon them to ſurrender. In this interval there was a ceſſation of Arms on both ſides, which was employed in burying the ſlain. The ſaid Count, after two hours ſtay, returned into the Camp with a Letter from *Abdi Baſſa*, in a Purſe of Crimſon Damask, which he delivered the Duke. The anſwer was fierce and arrogant, implying, that not being neceſſitated to ſurrender, he could not be capable of ſo abject a thought, that he fought for the glory of his *Prophet*, and the honour of the *Muſſelmen*; that he and his Garriſon were reſolved to try the utmoſt extremity, and to defend the place with their lateſt breath. That the Government had been intruſted to his care by the Grand Seignior, which he would preſerve for him, or loſe his life; that when the Duke ſhould come to wreſt it from him, he ſhould find him upon the Breach to diſpute his entrance, and that he might order the aſſault when he pleaſed, he would expect him there without ſtirring a foot. The Duke having read this brave anſwer, cauſed all the Batteries to fire with more fury than formerly, and all the preparatives for a general Aſſault to be made ready, for which purpoſe he ſent for ſome thouſands of *Hungarian* Foot, who had voluntarily offered to be the firſt that ſhould mount the Breaches.

So fierce an anſwer, and ſo brave a defence, makes it apparent, that the impreſſions which the Run-aways had at the beginning of the Siege given of *Abdi Baſſa*'s conduct, were very falſe, affirming he was deſpiſed by the Souldiery, as being more a Merchant than a Man of War; and the *Seraſquier* was in the wrong in deſigning to remove him, for it is to be preſumed that ſcarce any other would have eluded the efforts of ſo great an Army ſo long time. A *Pole* was obſerved by the Guards in ſecret conference with two Turks, but upon his return to the Camp was ſeiſed upon, viſited and examined, and being found to be a Spy, he was immediately hanged. This evening a *Bavarian* Gunner was apprehended, as he was going over to the Enemy.

Jul. 24*th*, This morning about eight a Clock a great Mine was ſprung in the *Lorrain* attack, and 300 men were commanded to lodge upon the Breach, together with ſome hundreds of *Hungarians*, but the Mine had a contrary effect to what was deſigned, for it ruined and overthrew part of their own Approaches, and filled their Lines with Earth, beſides the ſlaughters of 100 men killed and wounded. The Duke upon this ill ſucceſs, cauſed the firings of the Batteries

1683. to be redoubled to enlarge the Breaches, to render them in a Condition to be mounted without any new Mines. The new Battery which the *Bavarians* rais'd by the Water ſide would be ready at Night, and that which they had already raiſed upon the brink of the Ditch, had made a great gap in the Wall on the right. By intercepted Letters he was alſo informed, that the Great Viſier highly encouraged the Beſieged to defend themſelves, aſſuring them that by the eighth or tenth of *Auguſt* he would come to their relief with a formidable Army. General *Caraffa* who commanded the Imperial Troops upon the River *Tibiſcus*, ſent an Officer to the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the Elector of *Bavaria*, with an acccount of a great Advantage which he had had over the Garriſon of *Agria* by the means of two Ambuſhes which he had laid for the Turks, which luck'd ſo well, that having drawn ſix hundred of the Garriſon into them, he quite defeated them, killed three hundred upon the Place, with *Oſman* Baſſa the Commander of *Agria*, and took forty Priſoners, together with the *Vice* Baſſa, who was dangerouſly wounded.

July 25*th*, The whole Night was ſpent in repairing the Works ruined by the Mine, which had been ſprung with ſo much diſadvantage. The Duke preſſed forward the Preparatives for the General Aſſault with all poſſible Vigour, having ordered the making of Places of Arms, or Parades, as were neceſſary, within the Lines and Approaches. Betwixt four and five the Beſieged put fire to a Mine on the right of the Rondel, in purſuance whereof they ſallied with two hundred Men, but were repulſed by the Guard that were in readineſs with the loſs of fourteen men. A little after, they ſallied again in greater numbers to the left, where the *Brandenburgers* were, who likewiſe repulſed them. They returned yet the third time with more Troops, and put the *Brandenburgers* Guards into diſorder, which obliged the Duke of *Lorrain* to order the Reſerve which was poſted at the Wall of the lower Town to advance, which General *Souches*, who commanded the Trenches, had divided into three parts, whereof one was placed to the left on the Water ſide, another in the Approaches, and the third was commanded to keep by the Moſque. The Duke moreover cauſed the Battalions of *Mansfelt*, *Salm*, *Souches*, and *Lorrain*, to advance to the right. The Skirmiſhing laſted a good time, the Turks retiring often, and as ſoon returning with great fury and out-cryes. The *Hayducks* after the firſt diſcharge did alſo charge the Turks, but gave way, occaſioning much confuſion amongſt them upon the left of the Moſque, from whence the Beſieged gave briſk fire with their Cannon, though without any great harm, ſo that ſeeing they could profit nothing by a longer ſtay, they retired into the Town. Count *Starenberg*, who had ſignalized himſelf, luck'd better than his Adjoutant, who had both his Legs ſhot off. The Battalions of *Souches* and *Mansfelt* were ill treated, and had moſt dead. The Baron of *Aſthi* was hurt in the Foot, and the Baron of *Hoghenworth* ſlain, and ſeveral ſubaltern Officers killed and hurt, beſides above a hundred private Souldiers. But the loſs on the Enemies ſide was much greater, as was reported by a Dutch Boy who run out of Town, where he had been ſince the Siege of *Vienna*, having been ſold by a *Tartar* to a Citizen of *Buda*. This Boy ſaid further, that the Turks made great Retrenchments within the Place, and that the Garriſon conſiſted ſtill of at leaſt five thouſand fighting men.

July 26*th*, Never was more Diligence uſed ſince the Siege began in carrying on the Lines and Approaches, than laſt Night, and all this Day to make the Places of Arms, which are finiſhed, and at preſent every thing is diſpoſed of for the general Aſſault, and poſting themſelves upon the Breaches, the Rondels, and the Walls, and conſequently to render themſelves Maſters of this important Place, which had coſt the Chriſtians ſo much Blood. The Beſieged made a little ſally on the *Bavarian* Attack, but having ſtood the firſt diſcharge, were forced to retreat as faſt as they came.

July 27*th*, Every thing being diſpoſed for the general Aſſault, and the Troops that were to be employed in it at their Rendezvouzes in all the three Attacks, it was reſolved that the Onſet ſhould be given at five a Clock in the Evening, to which end the Duke had diſtributed his Orders to all the Officers high and low, how they were to act. The Faggots, Gabions, Spades, Mattocks, Hatchets, and Sacks with Earth, were there in great abundance, as well to break the Enemies Retrenchments, as to cover the Aſſailants when they ſhould be Maſters of the Breaches. The ſignal was given from *Peſt* by ſome Cannon ſhot, and the Aſſault was carried on in manner following. Forty Granadeers under the command of a Captain, one Lieutenant, and one Serjeant, were at the head of the Rondel to the right hand, they were followed by fifty Fuſeliers and Souldiers, with Hatchets, commanded alſo by a Captain-Lieutenant, and a Serjeant, with a hundred men carrying Spades and Mattocks, ſupported by two Captains, two Lieutenants, two Serjeants, and two hundred Muſqueteers, all under the Conduct of the Prince of *Newburg*, Great Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order, who had the Direction of this Attack. That of the middle toward the Curtain was directed by Lieutenant General *Souches*; there were fifty Granadeers under a Captain, Lieutenant and Serjeant, a hundred Fuſeliers, two hundred men with Hatchets, and to ſecond them two hundred Muſqueteers, divided into two ſquadrons, which were followed with a hundred and fifty more, with Shovels and Mattocks: The Attack on the left of the little Rondel was ordered by the *Brandenburgers* after the ſame manner. Behind the Sacks filled with Earth, Wooll, and the like, in the ſecond line were poſted a party of choice Harquebuſiers, who were not to ſtir thence, but fire continually upon the Turks, who ſtood there themſelves in the Breaches. The *Heyducks*, commanded by the Lieutenant Governour of *Raab*, were poſted on the Water ſide, where a great part of the Wall had been thrown down by the fire of the Magazin already mentioned; they were only to make a falſe Attack, being ſeconded by a Major with ſome ſelect Companies. The chief Officers were diſperſed into ſeveral Poſts to execute the functions of their Employments; and thus *Nigrelli*, General of Battalia, Collonel *Keth*, Lieutenant Collonel *Rederer*, and the Major of *Staremberg* aſſiſted the grand Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order. General *Souches* had for Aſſiſtants *Diependal*, Count *Oettingen*, Lieutenant Collonel *Jorger*, and the Major of *Crop's* Regiment. There were above 1200 men of reſerves in the covered way, commanded by General *Thungen*, under twelve Captains, twelve Lieutenants, and other ſubaltern Officers, with all the other Lieutenant Colloneis and Majors, to ſucceed in the place of thoſe that ſhould be ſlain or wounded. The 1200 Muſqueteers were to advance in ſmall parties in the Lines as the other gained ground; the reſt of the Foot were at their Arms ready to engage,

and

1686. and all the Generals in the Trenches. In this order the Souldiers full of Hopes and Courage went to the Aſſault, and mounted the Breaches. They found great Oppoſition, particularly at the great Rondel where the Breach was high, and the Defendants very numerous and reſolute. The Chriſtians were beat back two or three times, but returning ſtill to the Aſſault, they at length took poſſeſſion of the Breach, and poſted themſelves in it. The *Brandenburgers* took the Wall of the little Rondel. The Combat laſted from five till nine a Clock with great effuſion of Blood, not ſo much by the Turks Arms as their Mines, and Powder which they had ſtrewed in great quantities in ſeveral places, which they ſucceſſively fired as they were forced from their Poſts. There could be nothing more lamentable than to ſee two or three hundred men at once toſſed up by force of the Mines, which were moſt killed, or grievouſly wounded. And yet the Beſieged could not terrifie the Chriſtians, nor hinder them by their obſtinate reſiſtance to lodge upon the Rondels and the Curtain. The *Hayducks* apprehending the fire, failed in their falſe alarming on the Water ſide. The Duke and General *Staremberg* were near the Great Maſter with their Swords in their Hands, encouraging the Officers and Souldiers to do well, and the Prince of *Croy* was in the middle near the Curtain, where he was hurt. The Night being come put an end to the fight, and it was ſpent in ſecuring their Lodgments with two Lines of Communication from the Approaches to the poſſeſſed Rondels, and the Miners were faſtned to the inner Wall or Retrenchment, where the Turks fortified themſelves. This Aſſault was one of the bloodieſt, the moſt hardy, and beſt diſputed that ever was ſeen, whether we conſider the bravery and intrepidneſs of the Aſſailants, or the obſtinate Valour of the Defendants. The number of the ſlain, amongſt whom was Adjoutant General *Attein*, was not very great, but that of the wounded very ſurpriſing, of which Catalogue were the Prince of *Croy*, the Prince of *Commercy*, General *Diependael*, General *Thungen*, the Baron of *Aſti*, the Major of *Starenberg*, Lieutenant Collonel *Redere*, Major *Pini*, Conte *Schlick*, Baron *Gera*, and many other Captains and ſubalterne Officers. On the *Brandenburg* ſide, Count *Dona*, Collonel of Foot was ſlain, Major *Marwitz*, and the Prince of *Curland* grievouſly wounded, with very many others.

At the *Bavarian* Attack the Elector had ordered the Aſſault in this manner. The Palizades upon the Breach having been burnt the day before by forty choice Souldiers, the Elector commanded a Lieutenant with 20 Fuſeliers, a Serjeant, ſix Voluntiers, and ten Granadeers, and a Corporal, with ſix Carpenters to cut the Palizadoes, an 100 Muſqueteers with their Officers were ordered to poſt themſelves at the Enemies Palizade, and to ſhoot without ceaſing to favoriſe the Pioneers to make the Lodgment upon the Rondel, amongſt which there were twenty five with Spades and Pickaxes and 75 with Hatchets commanded by a Captain, and ſeconded by a Lieutenant-Collonel, a Major and a Captain, with fifty men armed with half Pikes, Halberds, and Partizans, by a Lieutenant with thirty Granadeers, and by 200 Muſqueteers under two Captains and two Lieutenants. Things being thus diſpoſed as well on the right as the left, the two Neighbouring Redoubts were furniſhed each with thirty Harquebuſiers, and three Battalions of *Imperialiſts*, *Bavarians* and *Saxons*, were to ſecond the Aſſailants. The Gunners had order to fire from all the Batteries, and to throw Bombs and Carcaſſes without ceaſing into the Caſtle, and betwixt the two Walls on the Water ſide, as alſo to point their Cannon againſt the high Walls and Windows of the Caſtle. All things being thus ordered, and the ſignal given from *Weſt*, they advanced towards the Breach, however difficult to mount on the right and left of the Rondel, as alſo the Curtain, and that with ſo much Vigour, that they became Maſters of the Poſt, driving out the Beſieged for all their inceſſant firing, and a ſhower of Stones which they threw from their Caſtle Windows. They alſo took the *Swingher*, which is a great Place in form of a retreat betwixt the Walls and the Houſes, but this Place being commanded by the ſaid Walls, whence the Turks annoyed the Aggreſſors with Granadoes, Stones, and Bombs which they rolled down; the Elector cauſed thoſe that were there to retire, being content to ſecure the Lodgments upon the Rondel, and the Wall of the Caſtle by a Line of Communication from the Gate of the Bridge to that of the *Swingher*, ſo that the Bridge remained in their Power, which was further ſecured by traverſe Lines, and two Redoubts. The Elector eminently appeared in all this Action, and the Generals ſignalized their Courage, as did alſo the Voluntiers, Officers and Souldiers, who fought with all the bravery that was to be expected from men of Courage. Nor were the Turks leſs commendable for their Conſtancy and Fidelity, doing every thing that oppreſſed Valour could be capable of. They who defended the Rondel and the Swinger were for the moſt part killed and hurt. There were eight pieces of Cannon found there, and two Mortars turned now againſt the Beſiegeds ſecond Wall and Retrenchments. In this Aſſault, of the *Bavarians* there were ſlain two Majors, two Captains, four Lieutenants, one Enſign, but the wounded were many; one Collonel, two Lieutenant-Collonels, two Majors, 25 Captains, 16 Lieutenants, thirteen Enſigns. The Generals *Lavergne*, *Rummel*, and *Aſpremont* were of the number of the wounded, as alſo the Duke of *Eſcalona*, a Grandee of *Spain*, and ſome other Voluntiers of Quality, making up with the Officers and Souldiers the number of 117 ſlain, and 972 wounded. Of the Troops of *Saxony*, a Lieutenant-Collonel, and ſome under Officers were killed; one Lieutenant-Collonel, two Majors, two Captains, one Captain-Lieutenant, and three Enſigns were hurt; of the Souldiers there were ſeventy ſlain, and a hundred ninety nine wounded; ſo that the number of the ſlain and wounded in this Aſſault amounted to above three thouſand men.

July 28, In the three Attacks they were only employed in burying their dead, and ſecuring their Lodgments upon the Breaches. The Duke of *Lorrain* did alſo apply the Miner to the ſecond Wall, which was done in three ſeveral Places, as did alſo they of *Bavaria* and *Brandenburg*.

July 29. The three Mines in the ſecond Wall were ſprung with that Succeſs that they made a new Breach there, and filled part of the Ditch with the Ruins. The *Bavarians* advanced to the right of the Rondel, and ſeized two Mortars there, which they turned againſt the Beſieged. The great Cannon was advanced, and they pretended to batter the City with an 100 pieces of Ordnance, and forty Mortars, if the Turks continued in their Obſtinacy. The Beſieged howſoever made ſeveral Cuts and Retrenchments behind the ſecond Wall. The Duke ſeeing that well nigh all the Generals of the Infantry were hurt and in no Condition to act, order'd for the future that the Generals of the Horſe ſhould ſerve in the Approaches, to wit, the Count of *Stirum*, and the Conte of *Lodron*, and ſo the firſt mounted the Guard,

1686. Guard that Night with General *Souches*, and was to be relieved on the morrow by the grand Maſter of the Teutonick Order, and the Count *de Lodron*. A Battery of three Demy-Cannon, and another of four were finiſhed. Some *Raſcians* come out of the place, reported, that the beſieged were reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, but that ſome began to waver, ſaying, the further effuſion of bloud ought to be prevented. A Council of War was held thereupon, and the reſult was, that the Duke ſhould ſend a ſecond Summons to the Commander of the place, *to ſurrender whilſt it was time, and that he might do it upon honourable conditions, which if neglected he would not be anſwerable for the bloud that ſhould be ſpilt, if they came to the laſt extremity, being in that caſe they ſhould ſpare neither Sex nor Age. Abdi Baſſa* civilly received his Highneſs's Letters, and demanded a Day to conſult with the other Officers of his Garriſon, which was granted him, with a ceſſation of Arms. The Deſerters, who eſcaped in great numbers, affirm'd that the Beſieged loſt in the laſt Aſſault, in the *Bavarian* attack, only 300 ſlain, and 700 hurt. They had that Night notice that 4000 Turkiſh Horſe were ſeen within four Leagues of the Camp, to enquire into the ſtate of the place, but fearing a ſurpriſe they preſently retired.

Jul. 31. At nine in the Morning the Count of *Launberg*, Adjoutant General, was commanded by the Duke of *Lorrain* to go with an Interpreter, and receive the Beſieged's anſwer, which was to this purpoſe, *That he neither could nor would ſo eaſily ſurrender the City, it being the Key of the Ottoman Empire; but if they would make a general peace, they would give another equivalent.* After noon the Beſieged demanded a ſuſpenſion of Arms at the *Bavarian* attack, and ſent two *Aga's* in Hoſtage to the Elector, who ſent the Baron of *Creux* Lieutenant Collonel of *Baden*'s Regiment with an Interpreter. The Turks received them with great ceremony, and all imaginable civilities. He was not immediately conducted before the Baſſa, but to another Houſe, the ſtreets as he paſſed along were lined with Souldiers in very good order, though no great number. Being entered into the Houſe, he was preſented with Rice, a roſted Pullet, little Pyes, Coffee and Wine. The Baſſa excuſed himſelf, *That he could not yet ſpeak with him, being he conſulted the other chief Officers upon the propoſitions he was to make to him.* In this interval of time many Turkiſh Officers came to ſalute the Baron: half an hour after the Baſſa ſent him word, *That he would take it for a favour if he would come over to him.* Which he immediately did, accompanied with a great number of Turks, being taken by the arms by the two chiefeſt of them, according to the cuſtom of the *Ottomans*, who led him thus before the Baſſa, who was in a Lodge of Wood over-againſt his Houſe, very well furniſhed and hung with rich Tapiſtries. Having cauſed the Baron to ſit down, he uſed this diſcourſe to him, *That he was ſorry to find himſelf in a place of that importance, that had been ſo often beſieged without ſucceſs, and was now ſo long abandoned without relief. On the contrary, that he found himſelf preſſed by the Emperour's Son-in-law, and the grand Viſier, that he wiſhed he were able to give his reſolution concerning the ſurrender, but that being an affair of the laſt importance, and as much as his life was worth, it was impoſſible for him to reſolve upon a ſurrender.* Adding however, *That if they would demand any other place in Hungary, he would cauſe it immediately to be evacuated for them:* The Baron replied, *That he had no Commiſſion to diſcourſe of conditions, but only to know from the Baſſa himſelf whether he would ſurrender or no. That he might pleaſe to conſider that the Chriſtians were already Maſters of the Walls of the City, that it would be too late to capitulate, if he ſtayed till another aſſault, that it would not be in the power of the Generals to reſtrain the fury of the Souldiers, or prevent this Siege from being as Tragical as that of Newheuſel.* At this diſcourſe the Baſſa only lift up his ſhoulders, but the Baron being upon the point to take his leave, he deſired him to enter with him into his Cabinet, where, calling the *Muſii* and three other Turks of the firſt rank, he remonſtrated to him again, *That he could not upon any conſideration do ſo great a prejudice to the* Grand Seignior, *as to ſurrender a place upon which depended* two hundred Leagues of Country, *and which is the* Key of Turky, *but offered again any Town in Hungary with its Appendances and Dependencies.* Yet declaring finally, *That if they would give him aſſurances of a general peace with the Port, he would yet reſolve to ſurrender Buda.* The Baron having no Orders to treat, took leave of the Baſſa, telling him he would make report to the Elector and Duke of *Lorrain*, of the Declaration he had communicated to him, but that he could not aſſure him that things would be ſo concluded. The Baſſa deſired this Declaration might be publiſhed in Writing through the Camp, and invited him to ſtay all Night in the City: But the Baron excuſed the later, deſiring to be reconducted to the place from whence he came, which was done with great ceremony, he being accompanied with many *Turkiſh* Officers to the Gate. Nor the Baron, nor his Interpreter could ſufficiently demonſtrate the ruines occaſioned in the City by the Bombs and Carkaſſes which had beaten down the greateſt part of the Buildings. The Ceſſation which had been obſerved during this Parley was broke towards Evening, the Cannon beginning to fire with more fury than formerly. The Beſieged ſprang a Counter-mine in the *Lorrain* attack, to ruine the Chriſtians Mine made under their Battery, oppoſite to the great Rondel, but without ſucceſs. A while after, two of the Beſiegers Mines, which were deſigned to fill the Ditch, were fired with execution. Count *Starenberg* looking betwixt two Gabions was hurt with a Musket-ſhot, but without danger, 20 or 30 more were hurt and killed in this and the *Brandenburg* attack.

Aug. 1. A Battery was finiſhed in the *Lorrain* attack upon the Rondel, upon which two pieces of Cannon were planted. A Mine was ſprung in the Morning near this Rondel, and though it ſucceeded well, there was no other attempt made, becauſe the Moat was not ſufficiently filled, and ſo it was reſolved to fill it with Faggots, with Sacks of Earth, and the like Materials, which were carried in abundance upon the place. The Workmen perceived ſo great a ſtink in this Mine, that they could ſcarce endure it, two of them, who were ſuffocated with it, being carried out of it. About Noon, intelligence came that 7000 *Turks* were poſted at *Sexaritwan* thirteen Leagues from *Buda*, and that the *Grand Viſier* had begun to paſs the Bridge of *Eſſeck* with the Army that he had formed out of the Garriſons of *Hungary*, and the Neighbouring places, and with other Troops which he had got together, amongſt which there were 7000 men drawn out of *Boſſina*. It was further aſſured that the defection amongſt the Turks was very great, and that of 8000 Janizaries, which the *Grand Viſier* had brought from the middle of Turky, 3000 had deſerted upon the march: and yet he pretended his Army conſiſted of 50000 Combatants, reſolving to attempt the relief of *Buda*. General *Dunewald* returned this afternoon to the Camp, with the Regiments of Horſe with which he had been on the ſide of the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, to inform himſelf

1686. himſelf of the march of the Enemy. The Generals *Caraffa* and *Heuſler* arrived alſo from *Zolnock* in two days, with 5000 Horſe and ſome *Hungarians*.

All things were diſpoſed for to aſſault the ſecond Wall. The *Bavarians* had thrown down a great part of the Wall with their Cannon, and a Mine, rendering themſelves Maſters of the ſecond *Zwinger*, where they at the ſame time ſeiſed upon the Enemies Cannon and Mortars, which they turned againſt the City.

Aug. 2*d.* They continued to fill the Ditch: every thing was ready for the aſſault, which was deferred, becauſe of the continual rains. Upon the reiterated news brought in by Scouts of the *Grand Viſier* having paſſed the Bridge at *Eſſeck*, all neceſſary preparations were made to receive him well, in caſe he attempted to relieve the Town.

Aug. 3. A Run-away, who pretended to be a Domeſtick of one of the moſt conſiderable Officers in the Town, declared, that the Beſieged had prepared a Mine, and begun a ſecond in the *Brandenburg* attack: That they expected with great impatience their Succours, and that of all thoſe which the Baſſa had ſent out, not one had returned, which rendered him very uneaſie and chagrin, and that the number of ſerviceable *Soldiers* exceeded not 2000 beſides the Inhabitants. The Beſiegers could not finiſh their great Mine becauſe of a Rock they met. Some ſmall Banks and Parapets were made upon the Breach to ſecure the Souldiers firing during the aſſault, which was ordered in the manner following. At noon the Trenches were relieved, and thoſe that went off were appointed for reſerves. The firſt attack was to the right of the Rondel. Fifty Granadeers with a Captain, and Lieutenant, and a Serjeant followed by 20 men preceded, theſe were followed by 50 Fuſeliers Officer'd as the firſt, and 50 men which followed them with Hatchets. The ſame method was held by the *Brandenburgers* on the left, and the *Hungarians* fell upon the Curtain in the middle, preceded by 30 *Germans*, and followed by 60 with their neceſſary Officers. The aſſault began betwixt 5 and 6 a clock in preſence of all the Generals, the Great Maſter of the Teutonick Order commanding the Trenches. The deſign, by reaſon the Mine had not the deſired effect, was but feigned, but the Duke of *Lorrain* being advertiſed by an Adjoutant, that the Elector of *Bavaria* had already effectively began the aſſault, did alſo command the falſe attack to be converted into a real one. The Fight laſted two hours. There were 1000 Troopers on foot, 300 whereof were employed in the aſſault, who behaved themſelves well, as the *Hungarians* alſo did; but the Breach being of difficult aſcent, the Beſieged very well covered with Paliſado's, and defending themſelves like deſperate men, the Duke would not riſque more of his people, contenting himſelf to make a Lodgment at the right of the angular Rondel, where 40 men immediately intrenched themſelves. There were not many killed by the Beſieged's fire, but about 200 wounded by Stones and Arrows, which were ſhot in ſuch abundance that it reſembled a ſhower of Hail. Count *Leopold* of *Herberſteyn*, a Lieutenant Colonel, Major *Biſchophamſen*, *&c.* were of the number of the hurt. The *Bavarians* were not exempt from the ſame Artillery of Arrows and Stones, beſides Bombs which were rolled upon planks out of the windows of the Caſtle. The Prince of *Savoy* was hurt in the hand with an arrow, together with 3 Captains, ſome ſubaltern Officers, 7 or 8 Volunteers, and 90 Souldiers as well killed as wounded. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* going in the morning to view the approaches, was ſhot with a Muſket-bullet which burnt his Coat, and made a great contuſion upon his Breſt, but his Arms being of proof ſaved his life. 1686.

Aug. 4. The firing from the Batteries was redoubled from the three Attacks to enlarge the breaches, and ruine the Defences of the Beſieged. The Line of Circumvallation was ſtrengthened, being furniſhed with many Redoubts and Forts to flank the whole work. All the heights and eminences about the place were intrenched and poſſeſſed by the Beſiegers. The *Heyducks* took their Poſt along the inner Wall of the lower Town, and ſo the attacks were continued with the ſame vigour as before. The *Bavarians* raiſed a Battery of nine Guns of 24 ball upon the Rondel of the Caſtle, wherewith they beat the Flanks and widened the Breach, but the Earth being very narrow and ſtreight, ſo that but few could paſs a breſt, the Beſieged might the better diſpute the acceſs of the Aſſailants.

The Scouts brought advice that the *Grand Viſier* had effectively paſſed the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, and that he had 20000 men with him, which with the Troops by *Alba Regalis* amounted to 40 or 50000, moſt old Soldiers, taken out of their Garriſons and Fortreſſes, into whoſe places they had put their new Levies. There came alſo advice, that the Baſſa of *Agria*, having aſſembled ſome thouſands of Turks out of the Garriſons of upper *Hungary*, was advanced near *Hatzman*, where he had commanded a great many Charets out of the Neighbourhood, to carry Pontoons to the *Danube* ſide, by means whereof he pretended to put relief into the Town, at the ſame time that the *Grand Viſier* ſhould attack the Lines on the other ſide. This advertiſement obliged the Chriſtian Generals to uſe ſuch neceſſary precautions which might ſecure them on *Peſt* ſide.

Aug. 5. In the *Lorrain* attack the approaches were advanced from the great Rondel towards the ſecond Wall, where they had poſted themſelves in the aſſault of the 3*d.* inſtant. The Miners were buſie at the right of the Breach, the better to attack the Enemy in flank, as alſo under the Curtain, to blow up the Beſieged's Retrenchments behind the Breach. A Gallery was begun on the right of the Battery, to go into the inward Ditch and the better to aſſure the attack the Flanks were paliſado'd. The beſieged ſpent the whole Night in throwing of Bombs, Granado's, and Stones, to incommode the contrary Workmen, but without much harm, ſave the killing of 3 *Heyducks*, and wounding 5, or 6 other Soldiers. This afternoon one of their Bombs falling into a Barrel of Powder upon the Beſiegers Battery, killed five, and hurt three.

Aug. 6. A new Battery of two Demy-Cannon was raiſed in the *Lorrain* Attack behind the great Rondel, by means whereof the Defence of the little Rondel was ruined, which the beſieged had hitherto uſed with great advantage. The Chriſtians continued to fill the inward Moat with Fagots, Tuns, Sacks with earth, and the like, and made a Redoubt behind the great battery to ſecure the Workmen. The *Brandenburgers* and *Bavarians* continued their attacks with vigour, nothing elſe conſiderable intervening.

Aug. 7. Laſt Night ſeveral falſe alarms were given, as if the Turks were come to attempt ſuccouring the place. The Chriſtians continued to deepen the Ditch about their Lines, and to fortifie their Poſts to make the Enemy deſpair of forcing their Camp. The Mines were alſo carried on with great induſtry, and would in 3 or 4 days be ready for execution. The *Heyducks* undertook to fill the Ditch of the ſecond Wall in 48

hours

1686. hours time, upon the aſſurance of a recompence of 4000 livers, which was promiſed them by the Generals. The breach which was made in the ſecond Wall was very ſpacious, and as ſoon as the Mines were finiſht, they will again aſſault the ſecond wall. They found much difficulty in the *Bavarian* attack to render themſelves maſters of the Caſtles, by reaſon of the various Walls and Defences which were to be forced, and of the obſtinacy of the Defendants. This obliged the Elector to redouble the fire of his Cannon to throw down theſe Walls, and in effect they did little elſe, beſides beating the Caſtle from their ſeveral batteries, which plai'd upon the Flanks and Curtains with ſo much fury, that they hop'd in a few days to ſee them quite down. Thirty *Huſſars* meeting with as many of the *Turks*, killed one of them, and took 4 Priſoners, which they brought with them to the Camp. Amongſt theſe was an *Aga*, who four years ſince was ranſomed out of *Raab*, where he had been Priſoner, for 8000 Crowns. Theſe reported that the *6th* inſtant the *Seraſquier* ſhould arrive at *Alb-Royal* with 26000 Horſe, and was to be followed by the *Grand Viſier*, who aſſembled his Army about *Eſſeck*, which was not to be inferiour in number to that which was laſt year imployed at the Siege of *Gran*. They added, that the Seraskier had expreſs Orders not to hazard a battel with the Chriſtians, for fear of loſing the City and Army at once, but to endeavour to put Supplies of Troops in the Beſieged Town one way or other, or to periſh in the attempt.

Aug. 8. Four thouſand *Turkiſh* and *Tartarian* Horſe appeared upon a Hill near the *Bavarian* quarter, and retired after ſome light Skirmiſhes with Count *Budiani's Huſſars*, reinforced by ſome commanded Men and Voluntiers. The Priſoners taken there depoſed, that the *Seraskier* was camped under the Cannon of *Alba-Regalis* with 20000 Combatants, and that the Grand Viſier with the Grand Army was expected there; but the Duke, by the report of his Spies and Scouts knew that the *Grand Viſier* was uncertain whether he ought to proceed with all the Army, or continue about the bridge of *Eſſeck*, with a great part of his Forces, capable to oppoſe the *Croats*, which might ruine the ſaid bridge, if he abandoned it, and ſo cut off his retreat. The mines in the *Lorrain* attack would be ready in two days. The fortification of the Camp was continued, as alſo the perpetual diſcharge of the Cannon and Mortars againſt the beſieged.

Aug. 9. Some thouſands of *Turks* poſted themſelves not far from the Camp, in an advantageous place, as if they deſigned to prepare themſelves there for ſome attempt; but the Generals had taken ſuch good meaſures, they apprehended nothing, and the Souldiers ſeemed full of courage. All the retrenchments about the Camp were near finiſhed, but being the *Turks* did frequently alarm them, the Duke ordered, that all the Foot that were not in the Approaches, ſhould be placed in the Lines, and particularly in the Spurs. This morning, a Bomb from the Town falling unhappily into a reſerve of Granado's, fired them, killing 3, and wounding 13. This evening ſome *Turks* did again appear upon an eminence to the right behind the *Bavarian* Camp, towards which two Squadrons of them did move in good order, to brave the Beſiegers, but ſome Voluntiers riding out to pickeer with them, they retired with the loſs only of one man ſlain.

Aug. 10. The Imperialiſts continued the finiſhing of their Mine, the two others of the two other Attacks being ready. The Duke cauſed the *Hungarian* Foot to be poſted along the Wall of the lower Town, from the Water Rondel to the very quarters of the *Germans*, where they intrenched themſelves with a Ditch and a good Parapet to ſecure them againſt ſurpriſes; and as the *Danube* is deep there, they ſunk two Barks full of ſtones, and made ſeveral Spurs of Paliſado's along the brink of the River, to take away all hopes of the *Turks* relieving of the Town that way. This morning the Infidels gave another alarm on the *Bavarian* quarters, whereupon all the Cavalry was commanded to Horſe, but the Enemy retired at the ſame time. It ſeems that their deſign was to make a paſſage that way, but the *Bavarians* were ſufficiently intrenched to hinder them. The Prince of *Croy* being recovered of his wounds, did reaſſume the exerciſe of his charge in the approaches. Four *Huſſars* very well mounted, advancing againſt ſome *Turkiſh* Horſe of the place, made as if they would charge them, but being come up with them they diſcourſed them and ſhook hands together, which being obſerved by the Musketiers of a neighbouring Redoubt, they ſallied out and gave fire upon the *Huſſars*, who ran away, hurt one, which they took, as alſo another of them, the third got away, and the fourth entered into the City. The Priſoners were examined, who ſaid they did nothing but enquire of the *Turks*, if they would not yet ſurrender the place, but they were to be interrogated more ſtrictly.

Aug. 11. Some *Turkiſh* Troops did again ſhew themſelves upon the Mountains on the *Bavarian* ſide towards the way of *Alb-Royal*. The preciſe number of the *Turks* is not yet known, ſome Spies certifie that there are 40000 *Ottomans*, and 20000 *Tartars*. In the mean time every neceſſary prevention is put in practice to receive them, if they will attempt to force the Camp. Preparations are made for a vigorous aſſault upon the ſecond wall, if the Mines will anſwer expectation.

Aug. 12. All things being ready for the aſſault, the three Mines on the *Lorrain* attack were fired, which had no other ſucceſs than the turning up of a few Paliſades, the Miners not having pierced deep enough under the Wall of the ſecond Rampart, which made it evident that they did not well underſtand their trade, although they had been ſent for from all quarters, to have good ones, for they were the Mines that contributed the moſt to the reducing of this important place. The aſſault that was deſigned if the Mines had taken, was deferred, and new ones were gone in hand with, in hopes of more favourable ſucceſs. In the skirmiſhes of this day, there was an Officer of the *Turks* killed, who doubtleſs had engaged himſelf to enter into the place, being they found Letters about him to the Baſſa of *Buda*, marking the order the Turks were to obſerve to relieve the beſieged; by which it appeared, that the Grand Viſier's deſign was to force a quarter, and ſo put in a Supply into the place without hazarding a battel; and that 8000 *Tartars* ſhould haraſs the Country as far as *Gran*, to cut off proviſions from the Beſiegers, and inteſt them with continual courſes. Upon this advice the Duke called a Council of War, where it was reſolved, to leave part of the Army in guard againſt the Town, and to march with the reſt of the Imperial and Auxiliary Forces againſt the Enemy, who according to the ſaid Letters were above 60000 ſtrong, although they had it from good hands, that they did not exceed 40000 Combatants.

Aug. 13. The whole Army marched out of the Lines the night paſt, except 20000 left there for the Guard of the Works, and to hinder the Enemy from putting Supplies into the Place. Oats and Forage were diſtributed for three days for the Horſe, and the *Volunteers* were formed into a

fine

1686 one Body under good Officers. The Duke of *Lorrain* poſted himſelf out of the Camp in ſight of the Enemies, 4000 *Huſſars* and *Heyducks* having the Avant-guard. This night the *Spies* and ſome Deſerters aſſured them, that the following night they would be attacked in Battel-array upon break of day, which obliged the Chriſtians to diſpoſe of all things for the Battel.

Aug. 14. The *Turks* before Sun-riſing formed a Body of more than 8000 *Janizaries* and *Spahi's*, the moſt brave and moſt reſolute of the Army, who being divided into divers Troops, marched from 6 in the Morning till 8 a clock, curvetting behind the Mountains on the ſide of *Alba Regalis*, and entered into a Plain the better to approach the Camp by the favour of a Valley. The Duke of *Lorrain* having obſerved the Enemies countenance, commanded Count *Dunewald*, General of the Horſe, to take poſſeſſion of the ground to the left with nine Imperial Regiments, Cuiraſiers, Dragoons, and Croats, to which he added ſome Companies of *Huſſars*; and General *Heuſler* had order to poſt himſelf with his Detachment upon the height on the right. The *Huſſars* who were with General *Dunewald* charg'd firſt, and tho' they fought with all imaginable bravery, they were notwithſtanding forced to give way, but ſeeing themſelves ſupported by the *Germans*, they took heart and returned to the Charge again. The *Turks* ſeeing they had routed the *Huſſars*, thought to have had the others as good cheap; upon theſe hopes, they advanced with great fury and horrible cries againſt the Chriſtians, who received them without moving. *Heuſler*, who had placed himſelf upon the height mentioned, charged them ſmartly; ſo that the fight was rude and bloudy, and however the *Turks* ſaw themſelves charged in their Flanks and Front, they did not deſiſt to make uſe of ſeveral efforts to break through the Enemy, and have room to execute their deſign, but all was in vain, being every time repulſed, until they were at length broke and forced to fly. The execution was bloudy. The Janizaries being abandoned by the *Spahi's*, and environed by their Enemies, throwing away their Arms, ſought to ſave themſelves by flight, but were moſt of them ſlain. The *Turks* had above 3000 dead, moſt of them Janizaries, all choſen men, who had undertaken to force a quarter, and enter into the City, or periſh. The *Grand Viſier* had promiſed 20 Ducats to every one that ſhould enter into the City, whereof he gave each undertaker 5 in hand: every one carried beſides his ordinary arms 3 Hand-Granado's, a Mattock and Spade, to break the Retrenchments and fill the Ditches. The Priſoners were 500, there being alſo taken 30 Enſigns and Standards, 11 Pieces of Cannon, and 10 Waggons loaden with Ammunition. This great action coſt the *Chriſtians* but little, the ſlain not exceeding 60, and the wounded but 33. After this fight the *Turks* made ſeveral movements, and drew up in a Plain which lookt towards the *Bavarian* quarter, and keeping their Wings upon heights, they made meen as if they would come to a deciſive battel, or relieve the Place with all their Forces. Hereupon a Council of War was called, where it was reſolved to follow the Enemy; which was done by the Elector of *Bavaria* in the head of his Army, but the *Turks* apprehending an Engagement, retired. The Generals *Dunewald* and *Heuſler* purſued them beyond the Mountains, and the *Huſſars* had another skirmiſh with a great Party of *Turks* which ſtayed behind to amuſe the Chriſtians, and favour the retreat of their Army. The booty the Chriſtians got was conſiderable, for they had all the ſpoil of the Enemy, whereof there was not one that had not the 5 Duckets which the *Grand Viſier* had given him beſides his own moneys. The Beſieged thinking they were already relieved, made great fire upon them that kept the Approaches, and ſuppoſed they might ruine ſome of the Enemies works, but in vain, for they were ſo briskly received, that they loſt the deſire of risking further. They however made a very furious ſally on the *Bavarian* attack, which was fatal to them, for they were not only repelled by the Regiments of *Baden* and *Aſpremont*, but the retreat being cut off, there was great ſlaughter made of them. The *Turks* being retired without coming to a deciſive battel, the Army returned into their Lines, and immediately diſpatched young Count *Palfi* to the *Emperour* with the news of this great advantage, and to lay 28 Colours and Standards at his feet, that were taken in the late engagement. The reſt, for ſome were taken in the purſuit, were planted upon the great Rondel, to make the Beſieged comprehend the defeat of thoſe Succours that they had expected with ſo much impatience. 1686

Aug. 15. The *Germans* and *Huſſars* ſcouting abroad brought ſome Priſoners in, who all agreed in this, that the Grand Viſier notwithſtanding this check, would not deſiſt making other attempts to put relief into the Town, tho' with the hazard of his whole Army. And in effect, however he was retired, he did not ceaſe to alarm the Camp every night. This Afternoon a ſignal was made to the Beſieged for a Parley, to inform them by the Janizaries Priſoners of the rout of their Succours; but whether they perceived this within or not, they anſwered by the fire of their great and ſmall ſhot.

Aug. 16. The works of the three Attacks were purſued with vigour, and in the Morning the Beſieged's Palizadoes and Defences of Wood upon the Breach were fired in the *Lorrain* Attack, and partly conſumed by the Flames, notwithſtanding all the diligence of the Turks to extinguiſh them. In this Action they threw a prodigious quantity of Stones, Granadoes, Sacks with Powder, and other combuſtible matters upon the Aſſailants, inſomuch that four of them who fired them were burnt, twelve Crowns a man being given to each of thoſe who engaged themſelves in this Service as a recompence, and yet they could not clear the way for an Aſſault, the Beſieged having taken their time in the Night to plant other Palizadoes and repair their Defences. In the *Bavarian* Attack, the Caſtle and the great Tower were inceſſantly beaten, which were as it were overturn'd by the force of the Cannon.

Aug. 17. All things were ready for the Aſſault in the *Lorrain* Attack, but the Beſieged having repaired their Defences, and planted double rows of Palizadoes behind thoſe that were burnt yeſterday, they were obliged to defer it. The Priſoners that the *Huſſars* brought to the Camp reported, that the Grand Viſier was extreamly in choler againſt the Commander of the *Spahi's*, for not having done his duty in the fight on the 14*th* inſtant, by abandoning the *Janizaries*, and added, that of the ten thouſand men which were appointed for that enterpriſe, but very few returned to the Camp.

Aug. 18. The two great Mines in the *Lorrain* Attack were fired, but neither with that Succeſs that the Miners had promiſed, which extremely retarded the Reduction of this important Place. The Duke ſeeing they advanced but little by Mining, reſolved on Sapping, for which end, preparation of Faggots and Sacks of Earth were made to fill the Ditch, and certain Engines were deviſed to approach the Enemies with leſs peril, and drive them from their Poſt. A new Battery was raiſed on the right to beat down the Beſiegeds flanks of Palizadoes on the Breach; and to do it more effectually they were to ſhoot from the Battery on the Curtain with chained Bullets. A Fugitive from the Turkiſh Army reported amongſt other things, that the Grand Viſier was encamped at preſent at *Ertſchin*, 4 Leagues from the City, but that he would not deſiſt from attempting the relief of the Place, being only removed to that diſtance for want of Forrage. The *Bavarians* ſeized a Country Fellow who had ſwum the *Danube*, having Letters from the Governour to the Grand Viſier and the Aga of the *Janizaries*, in which he *conjures them by the*

1686 *Law of* Mahomet *to ſucrour him, adding he would expect the laſt extremity.*

Aug. 19. The Beſieged defending themſelves with obſtinate Valour, ſpent this whole day in thundring with their Artillery upon the new *Lorrain* Battery, which had been raiſed to beat upon the flanks of the Palizadoes, and whereon they had mounted 4 great Guns, which they ſo ruined that it was rendred uſeleſs for the preſent. The Detachments from the Grand Viſiers Army continued to alarm the Chriſtians Camp every Night, who to prevent Surprizes, were continually upon their Guard. General *Scherfenberg* was expected in few days with thoſe Troops he commanded in *Tranſilvania*. As ſoon as this body was arriv'd, they pretended to go and attack the Grand Viſier in his Camp, who by report of Priſoners and Run-aways, did not exceed 40000 men, whereof half were new raw Fellows without Diſcipline or Order. Strong parties were every day ſent out to obſerve the Enemies Countenance, who often ſhock with theirs, but always with Advantage.

Aug. 20. The Grand Viſier reſolved to make another attempt to introduce Supplies into *Buda*, would do it with fewer Troops than before, the better to paſs undiſcover'd, and be able to approach the Chriſtian Camp. He choſe for this purpoſe the braveſt Officers in his Army, who promiſed to execute his order or periſh. They began their march in the Night with 2000 *Spahis*, and the like number of *Janizaries*, who were mounted for the greater Expedition, and this Morning at break of day they appear'd in the Valley of St. *Paul*, where having been put in order without being perceived, ruſhed, as their manner is, with great Cryes upon the firſt Guard, which they defeated eaſie enough, and forced upon two ſquadrons of Horſe of *Caprara* and *Heuſlers*, who received them courageouſly, giving others time to haſten to their aſſiſtance, and chaſe the Turks, who fled. The *Janizaries*, whereof part had quitted their Horſes with deſign to traverſe the Trenches, and get into the City, were ill treated, they were purſued by General *Heuſler* to the very Gate, and met by the Guard of *Bavarian* Horſe, who haſtned to the allarm, ſo that their ſlaughter was there very great, and few had the fortune to enter into the City; and though ſome make them amount to 150, they were ſcarce 100 that got in, which may be eaſily judged by the abandoned Horſes, which did not ſurpaſs the ſaid number, ſo that this feeble ſupply was of no great uſe to the Beſieged, and if thoſe of the advanced Guard had done their duty, not one of them had paſſed the Trenches. The Turks had 400 ſlain, and the Chriſtians not above 15; and 26 hurt. General *Heuſler*, who behaved himſelf with his accuſtomed Gallantry, was hurt in the foot, but not dangerouſly. General *Maigret* was handled worſe, being ſeverely ſabled, and Marquis *Santini*, a Knight of *Malta*, was taken Priſoner in the firſt heat of the fight. The Beſieged, to teſtifie their Joy for the arrival of theſe Succours, flouriſhed three red Colours in token of Victory, and fired three *Salvos* with all their Artillery and ſmall ſhot, which gave the Beſiegers a gueſs at the ſmallneſs of their number, which the Renegadoes yet affirm ſurpaſs the number of 2000 ſerviceable men. During the late ſhock, ſome ſquadrons of thoſe of the Grand Viſier, who had followed the other to ſecond them, appear'd in Battalia towards the *Bavarian* Attack, as if deſigning to try their fortune that way, but they retired without engaging: and yet they returned about ten at night to the ſame place they had attempted the paſſage that morning, but they were repelled, and retreated in diſorder. In the *Bavarian* attack there was a new Battery raiſed of four Pieces: and the beſieged mounted a great Gun upon the high wall of the *Caſtle*, with which they beat all the covered way, as alſo the Battery of the *Bavarians* upon the great Rondel.

Aug. 21. Notwithſtanding the *Grand Viſier* cauſed 5000 *Tartars* to paſs the *Danube*, who ravag'd the other ſide of the River, and incommoded the adverſe [illegible] ragers by their courſes; All things are in abun[illegible] in the Camp, and the Convoys arrive there [illegible] by Water. General *Scherfenberg* is expected in 7 or 8 days with 10000 men, having orders to mount his Foot in Charets, for fear of tiring them with ſo long a march. Twelve hundred *Swediſh* Foot are likewiſe expected, being the remainder of the Troops which the *King of Sweden* is obliged to ſend, to aſſiſt the *Emperour* againſt the *Infidels*, upon account of his *quota* for thoſe Fiefs which he poſſeſſes in *Germany*. This morning a Redoubt was built in that place which the *Turks* forced yeſterday; it was further fortified with two pieces of Cannon, and Troops capable to defend the paſſage. There was alſo another Redoubt built on the Mountain on the left, where the Regiment of *Lodron* was camped. This day the Beſieged did yet give ſome Volleys of rejoycing, whereof the reaſon is not known, unleſs it be ſome particular feaſt. The *Sieur Rummel*, General of the *Bavarian* Troops, being in the approaches, was ſlain there with a Muſquet bullet. He is much regretted, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in all the occaſions where he might acquire glory.

Aug. 22. The Elector of *Bavaria* cauſed the great Tower to be aſſaulted, which is in the middle of the Caſtle, and for the moſt part ruined by his Cannon. He took it with the loſs of 73 Soldiers, and the like number wounded, amongſt which, the Duke of *Saxe-Mersburg* was hurt in two places. Whilſt this aſſault laſted, there was a falſe alarm given on the *Lorrain* ſide to divert the enemy, and much firing there was with Cannon to ruine the Defences which they had made upon the breaches of the inner Wall. This evening about 10 a clock, a Turk, who had ſwum the River, was taken near the Iſle of *St. Margaret*, he had thrown his Letters into the water, and yet confeſſed that he had been ſent by the Baſſa, to give advice to the Grand Seignior of the ſtate of the place, and preſs for relief: adding, that another was alſo gone with the ſame condition.

Aug. 23. The beſieged made an attempt upon the *Bavarian* Attack, to recover the great Tower of the Caſtle, which they had yeſterday loſt by aſſault, but they were repelled and beat back to their Retrenchments. At the *Lorrain* Attack four pieces were planted upon the great old Battery, wherewith they began to batter the new Paliſades upon the Breach of the inner Wall. The Night paſt the Beſieged ſallied upon the *Saxon's* quarter, but they were ſo well received and repulſed by Lieutenant Collonel *Pleitze*, who was upon the Guard with 100 horſe, that they had much to do to recover their ſecond Wall, where this Officer was ſlain with two Musket-ſhot, and the *Turks* had yet the leiſure to drag his Corps into the City.

Aug. 24. The *Turks* appeared in two ſeparate Bodies, the one at the *Lorrain*, and the other at the *Bavarian* attack, but without attempting any thing, and retired about noon into their Camp, which they had advanced a League nearer the Chriſtians than they were before. A Renegado out of Town reported, that the Beſieged began to ſpeak with more licentiouſneſs againſt the Baſſa, who endeavoured to keep them to their duty, telling them, that the *Grand Viſier* expected one of the firſt Miniſters of State from the Port, with full power from the *Grand Seignior*, to treat and conclude a Peace with the Generals of the Chriſtians; and that upon his arrival there would be a ſuſpenſion of Arms; exhorting them not to degenerate from the bravery and vertue of true *Muſſelmen*, whoſe glory they had hitherto ſo generouſly ſupported, but to expect yet ſome few days before they talked of ſurrendring.

Aug. 25. The Duke of *Lorrain* being advertiſed, that the *Turks* might contrive a paſſage on the *Danube* ſide, behind the hot Baths, to put Succours into the Town, ordered ſome Squadrons of Horſe to ſecond the

1686 the Guards, which were at the ſame time reinforced, and to the end the acceſs might be rendred the more difficult for the *Turks*, he cauſed Paliſado's to be planted in the moſt weak places, and cauſed ſome Squadrons and Battalions of *Germans* and *Hungarians* to be poſted in ſuch manner, that if the *Turks* would make ſome other attempt, they might eaſily be tranſported and haſten to the Alarm. Some change was alſo made in two Batteries, the better to incommode the Beſieged, and deſtroy their Parapets, Paliſado's, and other defences which they had rais'd upon the breach of the inner Wall. In the *Bavarian* attack they got ground foot by foot, ſo that they will in a little time be Maſters of all the Caſtle, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the braveſt Enemy imaginable, who never loſe an inch of ground without diſputing it, and endeavour to recover it by often repriſals, making uſe for this purpoſe of Bombs, Granado's, Stones, Sacks with Powder, Stink-Pots, and other arts which courage and deſpair are capable of inventing to break the meaſures of the Agreſſors, and obſtruct their violence; and as they have made divers holes and caverns under the places, in poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians, by which they play theſe ſorts of inventions, the other were conſtrained to fill them with earth, ſtones, and the very ruines of the Caſtle, to damp and hinder their operation, without which they could not maintain themſelves, but with great difficulty.

Aug. 26. The Priſoners brought in the Camp by Parties, and the Deſerters which ran away reported, that one of thoſe which was ſent to the *Grand Viſier* by the Baſſa of *Buda* with Diſpatches, in which he gave him an account of the ſtate of the place, which he can no more defend at preſent, that the Caſtle is well-nigh all in the hands of the Chriſtians, who on the firſt aſſault cannot fail to carry the place. That in the laſt aſſault of the Caſtle he had loſt more than 100 of his beſt Soldiers, that the Recruits that were ſent him were but little conſiderable, not mounting to 200 men, amongſt which, more than half were wounded, and conſequently unſerviceable. That for his part he had acquitted himſelf of his duty, by letting the Chriſtians ſee, that after a defence ſo obſtinate, during ſo long a Siege, puſhed on with ſo much fury and bravery both on the one ſide and the other, that the *Muſſelmen* knew well how to ſupport the cauſe of their *Sultan*, in doing whereof he pretended to his ſhare of glory, profeſſing finally that the *Grand Viſier* ought to give an account of the ill ſucceſs of the Siege, and be reſponſible for a loſs ſo conſiderable, which he could not avoid, if the Imperialiſts attempted another aſſault, no more than the bloud of his valorous Soldiers, and his own, if he delayed their relief any longer. The Baſſa did further mark the places in his Letter, which appear'd to him the moſt proper to attempt the relief by, and if he took his meaſures well, that he would ſucceed in his enterpriſe. Upon this advice the Duke viſited in perſon the place marked to the *Grand Viſier*, and gave orders for every thing to hinder the introducing of ſupplies. The Spies which were ſent to the Enemies Camp, reported, that the *Grand Viſier* had again promiſed 40 Crowns a man to all them who would undertake to put themſelves into the place, promiſing moreover that they ſhould be exempt from the War during their lives, and enjoy their ordinary pay without the obligation of any ſervice. At noon advice was given that the *Turks* advanced with 12 great pieces of Cannon, and a while after they were perceived in ſight of the Camp ranged in order of Battel, but as the Duke of *Lorrain* diſpoſed his Army to fight, they retired.

Aug. 27. The *Lorrainers* having finiſhed their work in form of a Bridg, it was extended to the adverſe Paliſades to be made uſe of in the aſſault. It was covered with earth to ſecure it from the fire, as had been done the day before in the *Bavarian* attack, which had obliged the ſaid *Bavarians* to retire, but this morning they recovered their Poſt again, and to ſecure them from the fire, they made uſe of Planks covered with Tin, and yet when they thought themſelves ſafe from this devouring Element, the Beſieged, who want no induſtry to their valour, threw towards evening an immenſe quantity of artificial and combuſtible matters with that ſucceſs, that they piereed even to the ſaid Planks, and reduced them to aſhes; they alſo flung ſuch a vaſt quantity of Granado's, Stones and Arrows upon the *Bavarians*, that they forced them to abandon this Poſt with the loſs of twenty Souldiers. 1686

Aug. 28. In the *Lorrain* attack, they thundred with extreme violence from their Cannon upon the Flanks of the great Breach, as did alſo the *Brandenburgers* to overthrow the Beſieged's defences. The *Bavarians* regained their Poſt, and covered themſelves ſo well in it, that the Enemy would be much troubled to dislodg them. Major *Staben*, who commanded the Aſſailants, was killed there, the ſlain and wounded not otherwiſe exceeding 20. Upon the Report of ſome Renegado's that the *Grand Viſier* was reſolved to come this Night with all his Forces, the Duke ordered all things for his reception, and all the Army ſtood in Battalia, but to no purpoſe, for no Enemy did appear.

Aug. 29. Being the Decollation of St. *John Baptiſt*, and a day which the *Turks* have always ſuperſtitiouſly obſerv'd as fortunate to their Empire, 1000 *Spahi's* and 2000 *Janizaries* commanded by two Baſſa's, and ſeconded by 1500 *Tartars*, came at break of day to make another trial on the Water ſide, but ſeeing the Poſt too well provided on that quarter, having received a diſcharge from the Muskettcers that kept the Walls, they retreated, and judged it eaſier to try the paſſage by the ſame way that the laſt Supplies entred; they went by the Valley of St. *Paul*, and charged fiercely with their accuſtomed ſhouts upon the Regiments of *Marcy*, *Heuſſer*, and *Newburg*, who received them with ſo much bravery, that they killed a great number of them, whereof ſome of the moſt determined were raſh enough to puſh through to the very Lines, where they were all ſlain except 4, who were lucky enough to get into the City. The number of the dead in this action amounted to 600, beſides the Priſoners, which were not many; and there were taken 25 Standards and Colours which were red, intimating thereby, that they would enter the City or periſh. On the other ſide ſome 30 were killed and wounded, *Mercy* was of the number of the laſt, but without danger, and his Adjoutant of the firſt. During this Tentative the Beſieged made a ſally upon the *Bavarians*, but the *Heyducks* attacking them in Flank, they had much a-do to retire, leaving 17 dead upon the place. The *Grand Viſier* ſhewed himſelf with his Army all day on the *Bavarian* ſide, ready to engage, but ſeeing 3 Regiments of Cuiraſiers, and two of Dragoons, being the Avant-Guard of General *Scherfenberg's* Army, he quickly retreated back to his Camp.

Aug. 30. *Scherfenberg* arrived this day with the reſt of his Body, proper men, who ſeem'd eager to ſignalize themſelvs. The Deſerters reported, that the want was great in the *Grand Viſier's* Army, and that the famiſhed Soldiers had plundered ſome Barks which had brought Proviſions, the Officers not being able to hinder them.

Aug. 31. The *Lorrainers* took a new Poſt in the Ditch before the Breach in the inner Wall, but 3 fadom diſtant from the Paliſade, and the place being very deep; the Turks could not much hurt them, where they had but 2 Soldiers wounded. This Morning the Duke of *Lorrain* went, accompanied with moſt of the Generals, to the Elector's quarters, where they held a Council of War, and having dined there, the Duke returned to his Quarters, after which the Works were ordered to be enlarged and deepned for the eaſier aſcent to the Aſſault, which was reſolved upon in a day or two.

Sept. 1. Three thouſand *Turks* appeared before day by Moon-light on the *Bavarian* ſide, but ſeeing the Chriſtians in good order and ready to receive them,

1686 they retired without any Engagement. The Great Chancellor, Count *Straatman*, being arrived yeſterday at the Camp with a ſecret Commiſſion, called a Council of War, in which the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Elector of *Bavaria*, and all the Imperial and Auxiliary Generals did meet. The Chancellor expoſed his Commiſſion, which contained his *Imperial Majeſtie's* deſires to put an end to this bloody Siege, and that they ſhould conſult on the means the moſt proper and expedient for the terminating of it. Two points were chiefly deliberated upon; whether they ſhould go with the greateſt part of the Army, leaving a ſufficient number to guard the Lines, to force the *Grand Viſier*, or ſhould make a General aſſault upon the place, and that with more Forces than had hitherto been employed. The latter was approved by moſt of the Generals, and it was reſolved to aſſault the place the next day, for which purpoſe every thing that was neceſſary was prepared, that the enterpriſe might not fail: and leſt the Enemy might know it, it was given out, that they would the next day go and fight the *Grand Viſier*, which cauſed great joy amongſt the Officers and Souldiers, deſirous of ſignalizing themſelves. The Cannon of all the attacks were in the mean time imployed to inlarge the Breaches, and caſt down the Enemies fences.

Sept. 2. All the Generals mounted on Horſeback, and the Troops put themſelves in order to quit the Lines, and go to their place of Arms, and march towards the *Grand Viſier*, making as if they would go and attack them in their Camp. The Duke of *Lorrain*, and the Elector of *Bavaria*, viſited their Quarters, encouragaing the Officers and Souldiers to maintain the cauſe of God, and the Glory of the Emperour. The Infantry was rayged into Battalions whilſt the firing in the three attacks was redoubled, and a vaſt quantity of Bombs and chained Bullets were ſhot againſt the beſiegeds defences, which were for the moſt part thrown down; and as the Troops were put in order to march towards the *Grand Viſier*, the motion of the Vanguard was inſtantly changed, and at three in the Afternoon the Infantry that compoſed the Rear-guard was commanded to mount to the aſſault, which was done in the three differing attacks of *Lorrain*, *Brandenburg*, and *Bavaria*, beſides which there were two falſe attacks to divert the Enemy. And however that all imaginary precautions were put in uſe to render the aſſault eaſie, they encountred ſo brave a defence in the beſieged, that they had much ado to ſurmount them; they defended themſelves for three quarters of an hour with Halbirds, Half-Pikes, Partizans, and threw ſuch a vaſt number of Stones, Arrows, and Granades, that they repulſed the Aſſailants more than once, until the Chriſtians, encouraged by the preſence of their Generals, returning with greater force, rendred themſelves at length Maſters of the Breach in all the three attacks. The *Turks* defended themſelves by retiring from Retrenchment to Retrenchment, ſo that the ſlaughter was very bloody; and to conclude, the beſieged being beaten from all their fences, the Aſſailants entred by force into the City, ran thro' the ſtreets, killed all they met with, ſparing neither Sex nor Age, ſo that all was filled with the dead bodies of theſe Infidels. The *Bavarians*, in purſuit of their point, attack'd 1000 *Turks*, who retired into a Redoubt at the foot of the Caſtle, where they defended themſelves with extream Obſtinacy, until deſpairing of their ſafety, they hung out a white Flag, and demanded quarter; but as they had ſlain many of the Aggreſſors, and had reſiſted two whole hours without ſubmitting, the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the Elector of *Bavaria* were of Opinion they ſhould have no quarter given them; but conſidering their number, that they might yet do much harm, that the Night was coming on, and that the Souldiers were wearied, and ought to reſt, that the *Grand Viſier* was not far off with a formidable Army, and that the fire was in ſeveral parts of the City, reducing all to Aſhes; it was reſolved they ſhould have their Lives given them; which being notified to them, they, miſerable [illegible] Bravos, threw down their Arms. There were about 1000 more, who being retired into Cellars and Caverns obtained the ſame grace. The number of the ſlain amounted to 3000, beſides the wounded, who were but few, ſo that the Garriſon was ſtronger than it had been reported by the fugitives to have been.

Abdi Baſſa died bravely in the Breach, where he fought valiantly with his Sable in his hand, without giving back or demanding quarter, not to degenerate from the glory and heroick Vertue of the antient *Ottomans*, nor falſifie the Oath which he made to the *Grand Seignior* to preſerve him the place, or to end his days glorioufly in it. The *Vice* Baſſa is alſo an Officer of great reputation, he had defended the Caſtle, and ſeeing that all was loſt, retired fighting into the already mentioned Redoubt at the foot of the Caſtle, where he thought to hold it out, and give the *Grand Viſier* leiſure to come and relieve him; but ſeeing that all was deſperate, he choſe rather to implore the Clemency of the Conquerours, than ſuffer himſelf and thoſe that were with him to be maſſacred without any advantage to his party, and ſo he was made a Priſoner with thoſe with him, by the *Bavarians*. The *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, and ſome chief Officers fell to the Duke of *Lorrains* ſhare, ſo that the number of Priſoners did not exceed 2000, of 13000 brave expert Souldiers, and the very Nerves of the *Ottoman* Empire, which were in the place at the beginning of the Siege. The Chriſtians loſs in this aſſault was inconſiderable, not above 400 ſlain, and halt as many wounded, in which number were many Voluntiers, but few Officers. Colonel *Spinola*, an Officer of good merit, was killed at the head of the Aſſailants, and Baron *Aſti*, who had been twice already hurt during the Siege, received now a third, which was feared would prove fatal.

The plunder which the Souldiers got was extraordinary, the riches of this City were vaſtly great, which thoſe of the other Cities of *Hungary* under the domination of the *Turks* brought thither, as to a place of refuge and impregnable. There were found Ammunition and Proviſions ſufficient for two Months longer. The Arſenal was full of all ſorts of offenſive and defenſive Arms to arm 30000 men, Harneſſes, Saddles, Boots, and other equipage for Horſes, beſides 400 pieces of Cannon and Mortars, whereof 170 were mounted, and no way prejudiced. It is impoſſible to particularize every thing, it may ſuffice to ſay, that a City could not be better furniſhed to ſupport a Siege vigorouſly than this was, nor defended by a more brave Garriſon. But if the oppoſition hath been ſurpriſing, ſo much greater is the glory of thoſe brave Officers, Voluntiers, and Souldiers, that ſignalized themſelves there in the forcing of it.

The Duke of *Lorrain* having put a ſtop to the ſlaughter, and ordered the Soldiers to return to their Colours, commanded the fire to be extinguiſhed, gave the command of the place to Baron *Beck*, till the Emperor's pleaſure was known, with a Garriſon of 5000 Foot and 1000 Horſe; He farther commanded 10000 Horſe and Dragoons with *Badiani's Huſſars* to purſue the *Grand Viſier*, who having ſeen the taking of *Buda*, diſcamped inſtantly with all his Army, to go cover the reſt of the Turkiſh Fortreſſes, put good Garriſons into them, and ſo ſecure the Bridge of *Eiſeck*, where it was reſolved to go and attack him, if they could not overtake him, for which end the Infantry was imbarked upon the *Danube* for their eaſier tranſport, whilſt the Cavalry marched by Land.

And thus this great and ſtrong City, after 145 years of Bondage under the Turkiſh Yoak, was now at length, after having been ſix times beſieged in vain, taken, and reſtored to the dominion of the Emperor. It had been of great ſervice to the *Ottomans*, as being their principal place of Arms, from whence they ſent their Forces and Munitions of War into the other Cities and Fortreſſes of their obedience, for they ſtill kept there a numerous Garriſon of 8 or 10000 Janizaries

1686 zaries and Spahi's, as in a Nurſery, and ready upon all occaſions.

BVDa SeXto IneXpVgnabILIs Sept IMo FIt CæſarIs.

A Detachment, as we ſaid, of 10000 Horſe being ſent in purſuit of the *Grand Viſier* by Land, and 10000 Foot, with 30 Cannon, Mortars, Ammunition, and all ſort of Proviſions, were ſent down the *Danube* in large Boats, with order to fortifie themſelves in ſome convenient Poſt near the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, whilſt orders were ſent to the Forces in *Croatia* to joyn them, in order to cut off the Enemies retreat. The main Army did alſo follow, but the want of Forrage in a waſted Country forced them to ſeparate, and to paſs the River ſome 12 Miles below *Buda*, with deſign to beſiege *Segedin*, whilſt the reſt continued their march towards *Eſſeck*, and joyn with the *Croatian* Forces, a Party of which had inſulted and burnt the Town of *Quinque Eccleſiæ*, or five Churches, forcing the *Turks* into the Caſtle.

The Duke of *Lorrain* having cauſed a Bridge of Boats to be laid over the *Danube* at *Paxi*, ſeveral Parties of Horſe were ſent out, who met with no Enemy, the Turks having abandoned the ſmall places they were poſſeſſed of on both ſides the River, after having removed their Cannon and ſtore, and laid theſe places in aſhes. Count *Caprara* is deſigned to beſiege *Segedin*, but the deſign upon the Bridge of *Eſſeck* could not be executed at this time, the Countrey being ſo extremely ruined, that the Troops were not able to ſubſiſt in their march thither. The *Turks* had likewiſe abandoned *Tuln* and *Hatwan*, the Garriſon of the laſt being removed to *Erlaw* or *Agria*, after it had been moſt miſerably deſtroyed. The Duke, upon freſh advice that the *Grand Viſier* had not paſſed the *Bridge of Eſſeck* as was reported, but had poſted himſelf very ſtrongly and advantageouſly on this ſide, with 20000 men, ſeemed to alter his mind, and to go and beat up his Quarters, before he were further recruited from *Belgrade*. He had put 8000 of his beſt men into *Alba Regalis*, having given a Horſe to every Janizary, the better to make excurſions upon the Chriſtians in the Winter. Prince *Lewis of Baden* was detached from the main Army, with 12 Regiments of Horſe and Foot, to go and beſiege *Five-Churches*, but the meaſures were ſo taken, that he might joyn his Forces to the Duke's in caſe it were requiſite, or that the *Grand Viſier* might be brought to a battel. He was encamped near the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, having the Fortreſs of *Darda* behind him, the *Danube* on his right, and the Hills on his left, and his Front covered with the River *Sarwitz*, over which the Duke of *Lorrain* had cauſed Bridges to be laid, to oblige the *Turks* to repaſs the Bridge of *Eſſeck*, or to ſtand a Battel. But the ſeaſon being too far advanced, he encamped at *Tuln*, and paſſing no farther, leaving part of the Army under *Caprara*, to paſs the *Danube* in order to the Siege of *Segedin*, he returned towards *Buda*, and being encamped with 10 Regiments not far from *Peſt*, ſent a Party to poſſeſs themſelves of *Hatwan*, intirely ruined, tho' the *Turks* had left 17 Pieces of Cannon, which they wanted time and conveniencies to carry away. The reſidue of the Foot were put into *Buda* to reinforce that place, weakened by the departure of the *Brandenburg* and *Saxon* Troops, whilſt the Duke himſelf after ſo glorious a Campain returned into *Germany*. The remaining Horſe and Dragoons were ſent under General *Veterani* to reinforce the *Imperial* Forces before *Segedin*, upon advice that *Achmet Baſſa* was marching with a Body of *Turks* and *Tartars* to relieve it. General *Wallis*, who commanded the *Imperialiſts*, hearing the Infidels advanced towards him, ordered Major General *Veterani* to march towards night with 7 Regiments of Horſe, the *Croats* of *Lodron*, and the Dragoons of *Caſtelli* and *Magnè*, which they did, and at break of day ſurpriſing the *Tartars*, eaſily routed them; nor did the *Turks* make any conſiderable reſiſtance, the ſpirit of that People formerly ſo martial, being actuated by

Oct. 20. 1686.

ſuch a current of misfortunes into deſpondency. The Chriſtians, being upon their return to their Camp with their ſpoil, were attacked by the *Grand Viſier* himſelf at the head of above 12000 *Turks*, but with equal ſucceſs, theſe being likewiſe utterly defeated, without any extraordinary combating. Twelve pieces of Cannon, and all their Baggage, with 3000 Horſes were taken. The ſlain were eſtimated above 2000. *Segedin*, ſeeing their relief defeated, capitulated, being admitted to march with what they could carry, except their Arms, to *Temeſwar*. 1686

But the ſtrong Caſtle of *Five Churches* had not ſo good quarters. They had quitted the Town upon the arrival of the Chriſtians, and retired into the Caſtle, but after 4 days battery, ſurrendred it at diſcretion, the Women only and Children being conducted to *Valpo*, whilſt the *Baſſa*, 600 Janizaries, and 2000 others fit to bear arms, were made Priſoners of War. The Prince of *Baden*, having put a good Garriſon into the place, divided his Army into two Bodies, one marched with General *Scherffenberg* towards *Syclos*, deſigning, after having made himſelf Maſter of that place, to march towards the Bridge of *Eſſeck*. Nor did they of *Syclos* defend themſelves much better than the reſt, they only burnt the Town, not to keep the Caſtle ſcarce to terms of diſcretion. The Prince marched thence to *Darda*, which he, although it were ſtrong, being ſeated upon the *Danube*, and covering the Bridg on one ſide, found abandoned, the *Turks* being retired into *Eſſeck*, leaving only a few Horſe to obſerve the Enemy, who, upon their advance, fled immediately. The Prince, having taken poſſeſſion of *Darda*, ſent Parties out to burn the Bridg of *Eſſeck* with artificial fires, which they ſo happily executed, notwithſtanding the Turks played upon them all the time with their Cannon from *Eſſeck*, that they quite deſtroyed the Bridge from *Darda* to the *Drave*, as likewiſe the Bridg of Boats which the *Turks* had over that River. Oct. 22.

The Prince of *Baden*, after this exploit, marched back towards *Capeſwar*, with 1200 Priſoners of both Sexes and Ages, which place he purpoſed to poſſeſs, and had delivered upon demand, after which he reſolved for his Winter Quarters. The *Croats* alſo that had hitherto joyned him, did likewiſe return home with Booty, and ſtore of Priſoners. N:

And this was the end of this famous Campain in *Hungary*, ſo glorious to the *Chriſtians*, and ſo unfortunate to the *Ottomans*, ſo that theſe who uſed to give and ſell Peace at pleaſure formerly, became now earneſt Sollicitors themſelves for it, thinking themſelves in ſuch a condition, that nothing but a ſpeedy Peace could reſtore them. The *Grand Viſier*, being ſenſible of this, made ſeveral efforts to effectuate it. He had lately made Overtures to General *Caraffa*, who commanded the Imperial Forces in upper *Hungary*, but now Letters are ſent to Prince *Herman of Baden*, Preſident of the Council of War, telling him how deſirous the *Port* was of Peace, and with what advantage to the Emperour it might be concluded in this Conjuncture, propoſing further, that a Place might be appointed for Plenipotentiaries on both ſides to meet, and that Paſſports might be diſpatched for that purpoſe.

And 'tis no wonder the Turks were ſo earneſt for Peace, having been ſo unſucceſsful in War, and the diſorders it produced. 'Tis ſcarce imaginable what confuſion and terror the taking of *Buda*, and the ſlaughter of that Garriſon did produce through the whole Empire, eſpecially *Conſtantinople*. The People began to murmur, and the Chief of them to *Cabal*, which ſo ſtartled the *Grand Seignior*, that after having doubled his Guards, he ſent to them to know the meaning of their unuſual meeting; they anſwered, that ſeeing him and his Empire in ſuch danger, they thought it their duty to conſult together how they might preſerve both. They blamed the *Mufti* as an ill man, who had fomented the War, not without ſome reflection upon his Highneſs himſelf, as too Diſorders at *Conſtantinople*.

intent

1686 intent upon his ſports, and too little mindful of this his chief City. The *Grand Seignior* thought it beſt to comply with theſe Reformers, in order to which he immediately depoſes and baniſhes the *Mufti*, chuſing *Huſſin Effendi Codiliskr* in his Place; and putting off a general hunting which he had appointed, cauſed all his Grey-hounds, the beſt his Empire afforded, to be turned looſe, a Prey to any that pleaſed; he daily now frequents the *Moſques* inſtead of the Campain, giving out that he will himſelf take the field next Spring againſt the *Germans*. This change, and the certainty of the *Viſier Azems* coming to aſſiſt at the great Council for regulating the next Campaign, did at preſent quiet the diſcontents of the People, tho' their fears ſeem'd incurable. There was alſo a great Reform made in the Seraglio, with a Retrenchment of the ſalaries and perquiſites of the principal Officers of it. There was alſo an extraordinary Council held in the preſence of the *Grand Seignior* to conſider of the way to put the *Ottoman* Forces, which are now extreamly broken, into a condition to oppoſe the further progreſs of the Chriſtian Arms. And being Mony is the principal ingredient, the *Grand Seignior* made offer of all his Treaſure to be imployed in the War. The *Sultana* Queen gave 4000 Purſes of 500 Crowns each, and the chief Officers of the *Seraglio* preſented great ſums. And yet all this cannot cure their fears, nor remove the Plague, ſweeping away 1000 a day in *Conſtantinople* and *Galata*, to which Calamities the ſcarcity of Proviſions may be added, occaſioned by the *Coſſacks* diſturbing the Commerce of the black Sea, and the Chriſtians that of the *Alexandria* and the Arches.

Nor was it with theſe hardſhips only that the *Turks* were to contend, they had yet no leſs powerful Enemies, the *Poles* and the *Venetians*, whoſe Hiſtories we have for method ſake referred to their proper Claſſes. What they did the laſt year, is diſtinctly related, and we ſhall be no leſs particular in the actions of this, which are of more noiſe, and no leſs lugubrious conſequence to the *Ottoman* Empire, eſpecially the latter.

The Affairs of *Poland.*

The *Poles* were much earlier in the field this year, and ſtronger than the laſt. Their Forces conſiſted of 20000 *Poles* 15000 *Lituanians*, and 10000 *Coſſacks*, with a great train of Artillery, and being met at their general *Rendezvouz* at *Trembowla*, marched toward the *Nieſter* with the King at the head of them. The *Turks* being inferior in their Preparations, had abandon'd *Barr* and *Miedzibos*, ſending thoſe Garriſons with all their ſtores to ſtrengthen *Caminiec*, where the *Tartars* had likewiſe lately conducted a Convoy.

July 14.

The King being come to the frontier of *Moldavia*, expected that the *Hoſpodars* of that Country and *Walachia* ſhould, as they had promiſed, joyn their Forces to the Army of the Crown, which they were inclin'd enough to do, but that they dreaded the *Turkiſh* Power. The *Poles* having paſt the River, they advanced to the Forreſt of *Bucovina*, where they had been engaged with the *Turks* laſt year; but to ſecure their paſſages now, the King cauſed ſeveral Redoubts to be built to guard the avenues of the Foreſt, and conſequently ſecure his retreat. Theſe being finiſhed, he marched towards *Jaſſi*, the Capital City of *Moldavia*, to give the *Hoſpodar* an opportunity to joyn his Forces with him, as he had promiſed. But this Prince, thinking it too ſoon as yet to declare, retired upon the News he had of the *Kings* approaching, notwithſtanding the aſſurances his Majeſty had given him of his Friendſhip and Protection. The King being come as far as *Pererit* in *Moldavia*, cauſed a Royal Fort to be built on the ſide of the River *Prutti*, to ſecure a Retreat, and the paſſage of Convoy, for it was very difficult to ſubſiſt in thoſe harraſſed Countries, which the *Turks* and *Tartars* had near ruin'd. Whilſt the Army was upon its march, the *Hoſpodar* ſent Deputies to the King to excuſe his retiring from *Jaſſi*, and his not joyning Forces with thoſe of his Majeſty, ſeeing he could not now openly declare without expoſing his Children to certain deſtruction, having been forc'd to deliver them as Hoſtages to the *Turks*. The King replyed, that he could never meet with a more favourable conjuncture to ſhake off the *Ottoman* Yoak than now, being he was come in Perſon to deliver him from it; he expected now the performance of his reiterated Promiſes, which if he did not make good, he ſhould be neceſſitated to treat him as a declared Enemy. The King continuing his march, came to *Jaſſi*, which he found not only abandoned by the Prince, but alſo the Garriſon and principal Inhabitants. Thoſe that remained opened their Gates to the Troops his Majeſty ſent thither, and furniſhed them with ſome Proviſions.

1686 Aug. 21

Some *Tartars* taken by a party, reported, that the *Serauskier* had paſſed the *Danube* near *Axiopolis*, with 15 or 16000 men, that he expected 6000 more, which when come up, he intended to march towards *Beſſarabia* to joyn the *Tartars* commanded by Sultan *Nuraden*, reported to be 30000 ſtrong. The Armies approaching each other occaſioned many encounters. The King continued his march on this ſide the River *Prutti* as far as *Falſyn*. The Court Marſhal, who commanded the Vauntguard of the Army, encountring with a party of *Tartars* of 8000, engaged them, both fighting with great Courage, but the *Tartars* being ſtronger, preſſed hard upon the *Poles*, and had worſted them if they had not been ſuccour'd by ſome freſh Troops, who adding new Vigour to their Companions, turned the Scales, forcing the *Tartars* to a diſorderly retreat, ſome hundreds of them were killed, and amongſt others a near Relation of Sultan *Nuradons*, for whoſe body he offered the liberty of 3 *Poliſh* Gentlemen; ſome Priſoners were likewiſe taken, and one of the *Chams* Standards, nor was this ſucceſs bloodleſs, divers of the *Poliſh* Officers and Souldiers being killed and wounded.

The King having cauſed a Bridge near that Place to be laid over the River, paſſed it with his Army, advancing into a great Plain with a Reſolution to enter into the Country of *Budriac*. But the Troops ſuffer'd much by exceſſive heat, which had cauſed a great drought, and burnt up all the Graſs, ſo that the Horſes were in great want of forrage. *Chevalier Lubormiſki* had likewiſe an advantageous onſet againſt the *Tartars*, but the News of the *Moldavians* having contrary to their promiſe joyned the *Tartars*, did not pleaſe. Theſe were alſo reinforced with further Detachments of *Turks* which had paſſed the *Danube* at *Ken* and *Smil*. Theſe *Tartars* had likewiſe taken a Convoy of 200 Waggons that were going to the Army, and together with the *Turks* made an attempt upon the Chriſtian Camp it ſelf, but finding the Troops in a condition to receive them, they made what haſte they could to retire, tho' not without ſome loſs.

Octob. 4. The *Poles* obtained a Victory againſt the *Turks* and *Tartars*, of whom ſome thouſands were ſaid to be killed upon the place, and 300 taken, with ſeveral of their principal Officers, for which ſucceſs *Te Deum* was ſung at *Lemberg*. The *Poles* alſo had 1500 ſlain, and amongſt them divers Perſons of Quality. After this, the King, weary of *Moldavia*, moſt commonly fatal to the *Poles*, repaſſed the Forreſt of *Bucovina*, in order to put his Troops into Winter-Quarters. He had not only quitted *Jaſſi*, which had been in part deſtroyed by an accidental fire, but had alſo cauſed the ſeveral Forts which he had built to ſecure the Paſſages of the Forreſt to be demoliſhed; from whence People concluded, that the King had no deſign to return in haſte that way again, but rather attempt *Caminiec*, ſo ruinous to that ſide of his Kingdom, and into which the *Turks* had newly put 500 Waggons laden with Proviſions, the Detachment of Horſe that was ſent to obſtruct their Paſſage coming too late. The Chriſtians being gon to quarters, the main body of the *Tartars* did ſo too, but ſome parties of them had lately made an incurſion into the *Ukrain* and *Podolia*, where they did much miſchief. The *Turks* who ſerved this Campaign againſt the

Poles

1686 *Poles*, repaſſed the *Danube* and the *Hoſpodar* of *Moldavia* returned to *Jaſſi*, from whence he had fled.

The *Poles* had been highly animated with the League Offenſive and Defenſive which they had made the beginning of this laſt Campaign with the *Muſcovites*, which, though it had been publiſhed with great ſolemnity on both ſides, the *Muſcovites* have not yet performed any one thing that was ſtipulated on their ſide. The Great Dukes were obliged by this Treaty to employ their Forces this laſt Summer againſt the *Tartars*, to divert them from joyning with the *Turks*; nor did they advance a ſtep in it, though they now (the Campaign being paſt) ſend Ambaſſadors to aſſure the King of their firm Reſolution to obſerve the Treaty of Confederacy ſo lately concluded at *Moſcho*, and yet they ſtart new points which do ſo far perplex the Court, that they begin to have a great Jealouſie that the *Czars* do not ſeriouſly mean to enter into the War.

The Wars of *Venice*. *March* 26.

Great were the Preparations the *Venetians* had made to carry on the War this Summer againſt the *Ottomans*, which they had been ſo ſucceſsful in the laſt; and the fleet being now ready, ſailed from *Corfu* under the Command of General *Moroſini* towards the *Levant*. In the mean time the *Turks* having got an Army together compoſed of 10000 foot and 1500 Horſe, ſat down before *Chielefa*, a Fortreſs of importance, tho' tamely delivered by them laſt year to the menaces of the Chriſtians. They now batter it with ſix great Guns, and had lain 10 days before it when the Army of the *Venetians* haſtning to its relief landed at *Porto Vitulo*, not far from it, and ſending a Detachment of 3000 Men, with 2000 Maynotes, the Garriſon which conſiſted of 1200 having orders at the ſame time to ſally in their favour; the Enemy, intimidated with the report of their advance, raiſed the Siege and marched ſilently away in the Night, yet not ſo, but that being purſued by the Chriſtians, they left their Cannon behind them, the 500 men that conducted them being alſo moſt ſlain and taken Priſoners. After this Defeat General *Moroſini* reimbarked his Porces at *Porto Vitulo*, and ſailed towards the Gulf of *Calamata*, and thence to *Porto Clinno*, where he was to joyn with General *Koningſmark*, Commander of the Land Forces, lately arrived there with a great Convoy that went from *Venice*. They had expected the arrival of the Auxiliary Gallies to open the Campaign, which being at length come, and a review of the Forces taken by General *Moroſini*, which were eſtimated at 25000 men, they ſailed the 25 of *May* from *Porto Trepana* with a fleet of above 100 ſail, conſiſting in 80 Ships, 14 Galeaſſes, and ſeveral Gallies and Galliots, taking their courſe towards *Lepanto*, feigning a deſign to attack that Fortreſs, near which the General cauſed 1000 men to be landed to allarm the Country, and leaving ſome Ships there to countenance the feint, ſailed the Night following towards *Modon*, then ill manned, the Turks having drawn moſt of their Forces towards *Lepanto*. But the Captain General thought fit to attack old *Navarin*, the *Pylus of Ptolomy* firſt, which he did, 12000 foot, and 1500 Horſe being landed for that purpoſe. This Town is built upon a height, at the foot whereof the Haven is capable of any number of Ships. The Garriſon of this place was weak, not exceeding 200, ſo that affrighted with the Fleet, the numbers, and the ſummons of the Chriſtians, they immediately ſurrendred, capitulating to march out with their Arms and Baggage, which they did, leaving behind them 20 pieces of Braſs Cannon, 23 of Iron, and 7 Mortars, beſides 200 Chriſtian ſlaves, who obtained their liberty.

Count *Coningſmark* marched from thence to New *Navarino*, ſeated on a Rock, and of very difficult acceſs. He circled it by Land as well as the place would permit, whilſt it was beaten from Sea with 20 pieces of Cannon and 18 Mortas. The *Seraskier* of *Morea*, being ſollicitous for this place, advanced with 10000 men for its relief, deſtroying all the Countries as he paſſed. The Chriſtians, to prevent his advance, leaving a body of men behind them to maintain the Works, marched to meet him, and endeavoured ſeveral times to engage him to a Battel, which he avoided by paſſing a River, and retiring to a very advantageous Ground. Count *Koningſmark* being reinforced thereupon to 14000, it was reſolved they ſhould paſs the River in two Places, and charge the Turks in Front and Flank, which was performed accordingly. The Victory was obſtinately conteſted for at leaſt two hours, but then the Turks being diſordered fled, leaving 1000 of their men ſlain, wounded, and Priſoners, with all their Tents, Cannon, and Baggage. The Chriſtians had ſcarce 100 killed and wounded. Triumphing with this Victory they returned to the Siege, where, upon a ſecond ſummons, the Beſieged ſeeing their hopes of Succour defeated, and their Baſſa ſlain, being blown up, with 150 of the Garriſon by a Bomb falling amongſt Powder, they likewiſe being 1200 Foot, and 200 Horſe, ſurrendred upon Conditions to march away with their Arms, Bag, and Baggage, which they did, leaving behind them 64 pieces of Cantion, and thirteen Mortars, with great ſtore of Proviſions. *June* 17. *Navarino* ſurrendred.

After the taking of *Navarin*, the General reſolved to beſiege *Modon*, tho' he knew the *Seraskier* had reinforced the Garriſon, and provided it with all things neceſſary for a juſt defence, with promiſe of certain Succours by a day. *Modon* is ſeated upon a Promontory of the Sea of *Sapienza*, Art and Nature having concurred to make it ſtrong, tho' it held out but a Siege of 13 days. It was indeed miſerably torn with Bombs and Carcaſſes, and the relief not appearing at the day appointed, the Baſſa thought fit to capitulate, and marched out with near 3000 men, which were to be tranſported to *Alexandria*. There were taken in the Caſtle and Town 90 Braſs Guns, 8 Iron ones, with 13 Mortars, and a great quantity of Ammunition and Proviſions. *Jul.* 7.

Moroſini having ſtayed ſome time at *Modon*, as well to repair the Fortifications as to refreſh his wearied Troops, having held a great Council of War, it was reſolved to beſiege *Napoli di Romania*, the better to ſecure the conqueſts which the Republick had already made in *Morea*. All things being made ready for ſo important an Enterpriſe, the Captain General ſailed from *Modon* with the *Venetian* Fleet and the Auxiliary Gallies, and at the ſame time ſent orders to the Captain Extraordinary of the Ships to approach towards that Coaſt with the Squadron under his command, that he may joyn the Fleet if there be occaſion. As a prelude to this enterpriſe, 8 Turkiſh Ships that had carried Men and Proviſions to *Napoli de Romania*, endeavouring to eſcape by night out of Port *Malvaſia*, were taken. In the mean time the General landed his Army at *Ciara*, ſix miles from *Napoli*, the *Nauplia* of the Antients, and poſſeſſed himſelf the next day of the Hill *Palemada*, within Muſquet ſhot of the Town. The *Seraskier* of *Morea* being encamped not far off with 8 or 10000 men, did put 300 Souldiers into the Town, the Garriſon before conſiſting of 2000 under the Command of *Muſtapha Baſſa*, and advanced himſelf towards the Chriſtians Camp; upon notice whereof, General *Coningſmark* marched with his Forces to meet him, leaving ſome to guard the works againſt the Town; After ſome light Skirmiſhes the Bodies engaged. The Turks ſcarce ſtanding their Ground, retired in much diſorder, leaving 400 of their men behind them. The loſs on the Chriſtians ſide was inconſiderable, not exceeding 50 men. General *Koningſmark* returning to the Siege, ſent ſome Troops to force the Caſtle of *Argas* which they found abandoned, and had that of *Tenioni* delivered upon demand. In the mean time the Siege was vigorouſly carried on, the Bombs and Carcaſſes occaſioning great Confuſion in the Town. But the *Seraskier* being reinforced with 3000 freſh men, raiſed their dejected minds, *July* 30. *Aug.* 6.

who

1686 who at the same time that the Seraskier approached the Christian Camp, made a great Sally upon the Besiegers, though they were beaten back with loss, and the Seraskier so warmly received by the Cannon from the Hill of *Polameda*, that he retired without making any attempt upon the Lines. The Besiegers by this were lodg'd in the Town-Moat, so that the Seraskier being reinforced out of the neighbouring Garrisons to 12000, resolved to make another attempt to relieve the place, by forcing the Camp. At the same time 1500 of their best men sallied out of the City, so that the Christians being hardly put to it, the *Slavonians* being overpower'd, were forced to give way, but General *Koningsmark* coming opportunely to their assistance with a strong Party, rallied them, and beat back the *Turks*. In that instant of time, General *Morosini* having landed 3500 men, charged the Enemy so seasonably in Front and Flank, that they disordered them, and forced them to retire, but they being much stronger in Horse, were not pursued far. The *Turks* lost in this action 1500 of their best men, besides 120 that were taken Prisoners, and on the Christians side near 400. The Garrison upon this defeat, upon consideration of the Mines and Breaches, and danger of standing out an Assault, surrendred upon the same terms as had been given to *Navarino* and *Modon*.

Napoli di Romania surrendered. *Aug.* 31

The Christians lost a great many Men by a Flux contracted by the heat, and eating too much fruit, and among others, a Nephew of General *Koningsmark*, the Captain of his Guards, and Count *Bernabo Visconti* a *Milaneze* Collonel.

The Bassa of *Napoli di Romania*, whether out of a consciousness of not having done his duty in defence of the City, or out of a resentment that to be unhappy is to be criminal, thought it securer to put himself into the protection of his Vanquishers, than to expose himself to the candor of his Compurgators at home. He therefore, with about eighty *Turks* more, having obtained leave of the General, were shipt for *Venice*, where they were honourably received by the *Senate*, presented, and permitted to take two fine Houses, with very fine Gardens belonging to them, where they and their Families live at present. After the taking of *Napoli*, above sixty small Towns and Burghs put themselves under the protection of the *Venetians*; and the General having setled affairs there, and dismissed the Auxiliary Gallies with their shares of the Booty to return home, sailed himself with the Gallies of *Venice* towards the *Archipelag* to put those Islands, which he also in a great measure did, under contribution. The Garrison and Inhabitants of *Napoli* being numerous, exceeding 10000, besides the *Jews* and *Greeks* who were made Tributaries, were by Articles to be transported to the Isle of *Tenedos*, which was also done in 12 Ships, commanded by Seignior *Venier*. This Fleet did not only alarm those parts, but *Constantinople* it self, affrighted with the report of a *Venetian* Armada so near the *Dardanels*: But upon their return they were met, and fought by the Captain Bassa, who had 20 Gallies and 10 Ships, but seeing he could do no good upon them, was obliged to quit the fight. The Seraskier, in the mean time, was retired to *Corinth*, from whence he sent some Troops to reinforce the Garrison of *Petrassa*, and very strong Parties, who by their incursions, keep the *Greeks* in continual alarms, and hinder them from openly declaring for the *Republick*. To this end, he hath seized upon divers of the Principal of them, keeping them as Hostages, but exercises all kinds of cruelty against such as he suspects to have any correspondence with the Christians. 1686

Cara Ibrahim, the late Visier, being stript of his Estate, was sent to *Rhodes*, where, within the compass of the year, he was strangled, by command of the *Sultan*, the *Caimacan* of *Constantinople* being at the same time put into the seven Towers, to satisfie the People. *Mar.* 18. *Apr.* 28.

Nor was the *Venetian* War confined only to *Morea*, and the *Sea*, though nothing extraordinary happened in the later, that wise *Republick* having sent *Cornaro* to command in *Dalmatia*, with such Forces as might endeavour to divert the *Turks* from sending Succours either to *Hungary* or *Morea*, which they also in some measure did. And yet scarce any thing worthy a place in History, which is only pleased with great events, did intervene, the Forces indeed of neither side being sufficient for great undertakings. Some inconsiderable Places were intercepted on both sides, and the incursions of Parties into each others Quarters were frequent; wherein the *Morlaques*, like the *Tartars* on the Frontiers of *Poland*, did signalize themselves. The Bassa of *Scutari* had drawn together 7 or 8000 Men, with a Resolution to attack the City of *Budua*, but they were ordered to march towards *Hungary*, so that that design vanished. But General *Cornaro*, and the Prince of *Parma*, who was Lieutenant General of the Foot, having drawn together 1000 Horse, and 3000 Foot, and 5000 *Morlaques*, commanded by the Chevalier *Janco*, with the Artillery and Ammunition necessary for a Siege, resolved to attack *Sign*, scituated upon a Rock, and fortified with a good Wall and strong Castle, but the Cannon opening a Breach, it was assaulted and carried by force, the Garrison which consisted but of 250 *Turks*, being cut in pieces. By taking of this place, the *Venetians* are become Masters of the fertile Province of *Zettina*. *Sept.* 23.

The *Grand Visier*, upon his repassing the Bridge of *Essek*, had sent home the Troops of *Bossina*, so that the Bassa of the said Province, thinking himself with this reinforcement, in a condition to make some attempt upon the Enemy, was accordingly preparing for it, tho' watched narrowly by *Cornaro*. The Bassa of *Erzegovina* had likewise got a competent Army together, and having burnt some Villages, retired towards *Clin*, to put a Convoy of Provisions into that place, *Cornaro* at the same time having taken his march towards *Zsbenico* and *Sardona*, to cover those places. And thus this year, and the Campain, were finished, except the usual excursions, both here, in *Morea*, in *Poland*, and in *Hungary*, where the Parties are always busie, and infest each other according to their power.

The desires of the *Port* for Peace were great. It was against their Maxims to wage War with so many powerful Adversaries at once, nor could they tell how to extricate themselves out of it. They had often attempted separate Treaties, but the *Allies* were not to be disjoyned, they therefore offer'd them Concessions they durst not have hoped for at the beginning of the War. They would yield to the Emperor all *Hungary*, as far as the *Drave*, to the King of *Poland*, *Caminiec* and all *Podolia*, and restore to the *Venetians* the Kingdom of *Candia*, on condition they would part with what they had gained in *Morea*.

FINIS.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE Ottoman Empire.

CONTAINING THE

MAXIMS OF THE Turkish Polity;

The most Material POINTS of the MAHOMETAN RELIGION;
Their SECTS and HERESIES;
Their Convents and Religious Votaries;
Their MILITARY DISCIPLINE:
With an exact Computation of their Forces both by Sea and Land.

In Three Books.

By Sir *PAUL RYCAUT*, late Consul of *Smyrna*, and Fellow of the Royal Society.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. D.* Anno, MDCLXXXVII.

To the Right Honourable

HENRY
Lord Arlington

His Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State.

MY LORD,

AFTER five Years reſidence at *Conſtantinople*, in Service of the Embaſſie of the Earl of *Winchelſea*, (my ever honoured Lord) and this my ſecond Journey from thence by Land into my own Country, I judged it a Point of my Duty, and of my Religion too, to dedicate this following Treatiſe, as the Fruits of my Travels, Negotiations, and Leiſure in thoſe remote Parts, to the Noble Perſon of your Lordſhip; as that *Votiva Tabula*, which many both in Ancient and Modern Times, after ſome ſignal Deliverance, or happy Arrival at their deſired Port, uſe to offer to their Gods, their Saints, or their Patrons. And truly, my Lord, this Diſcourſe treating chiefly of the *Turkiſh Polity*, *Government*, and *Maxims of State*, ſeems naturally to appertain to the Patronage of your Lordſhip, whoſe Faculties of Wiſdom and Vertue have given you the Bleſſing of your Prince's Favour, and the Reputation, as well Abroad as at Home, of an Eminent and Dexterous Miniſter of State.

It were a great preſumption in me to offer any Obſervations of my own in the Courts of Chriſtian Princes, to the Teſt of your Lordſhip's Experience and Judgment; who not only is acquainted with the Cuſtoms and Manners, but penetrates into the Deſigns, and knows the Cabinet-Councils of Neighbouring Principalities, with whom our divided World may poſſibly be concerned; but perhaps, without diſparagement to your Lordſhip's profound Wiſdom, or over-value of my own Abilities, I may confidently draw a rude Scheme before your Lordſhip, of the *Turkiſh Government*, *Policies*, and *Cuſtoms*; a Subject which Travellers have rather repreſented to their Country-men, to ſupply them with Diſcourſe and Admiration, than as a Matter worthy the Conſideration or Concernment of our Kings, or our Governors.

It hath been the happy Fortune of the *Turk* to be accounted Barbarous and Ignorant; for upon this Perſwaſion, Chriſtian Princes have laid themſelves open and unguarded, to their greateſt Danger; contending together for one Palm of Land, whilſt this Puiſſant Enemy hath made himſelf Maſter of whole Provinces, and largely ſhared in the rich and pleaſant Poſſeſſions of *Europe*.

This Contempt of the *Turk* on one ſide, cauſed the Emperor to be ſo backward in oppoſing that Torrent of the *Ottoman* Force, which in the firſt Year of the late War broke in upon him; and the ſuſpicion of Deſigns from *France* on the other, altered the Reſolutions and Councils of the Emperor for proſecution of the War; which then running favourably on the Chriſtians part, was no leſs than with the aſtoniſhment of the whole World, and of the *Turks* themſelves, on a ſudden underſtood to be clapt up with Articles of a diſadvantagious Peace; admiring to ſee the Emperor give a ſtop to the Current of his Victories, and relinquiſh the Game with a lucky Hand.

But this will ſeem no Riddle to thoſe who penetrate Affairs with the ſame Judgment that your Lordſhip doth, and conſider the unfirm Condition the Houſe of *Auſtria* was in, by a daily expectation of the Death or fall of ſo main a Baſis of it, as the King of *Spain*, and the Diviſion amongſt the Princes of the Empire; the League of the *Rhine*; the *Freneh* Practices to make the Duke of *Enguyen* King of *Poland*; and the extravagant Demands of the *French* and *Rhiniſh* League for Winter-quarters, and places of Strength, not only in *Hungary*, but alſo in *Styria*, and the adjacent Places; and at the ſame time look on the Factions in *Hungary*, and a conſiderable Army of *French* in the Bowels of *Germany*, who were ſuppoſed in thoſe Parts to have rather come with Deſign to overawe the next Diet, and force the *German* Princes to elect the *French* King for King of the *Romans*, than with ſincere and ſimple Intentions of oppoſing themſelves to the Enemy of the Faith: For then it will appear, that the beſt uſe the Emperor could make of his good Succeſs, was Moderation in Victory, and Reconciliation with his powerful Enemy. And hereupon Earl *Liſle* being diſpatched for Extraordinary Ambaſſador from his Imperial Majeſty to the Grand Signior; though the *Turk* was elevated with the thoughts of the Neceſſity the Chriſtians had of a Peace, did yet ſo happily manage his Charge and Employment, as created in the *Turks* an extraordinary Reverence towards his Perſon, and obtained ſuch Honours and Treatments from them, as the *Turkiſh* Court never beſtowed before on the Emperor's, or an other Chriſtian Ambaſſador; extorting this Complement from the Great Vizier, *That he was more ſatisfied the Emperor had ſent ſo brave and illuſtrious a Perſon, than if he had ſought to reconcile his Affections with an hundred thouſand Dollars more of Preſent.* And to do juſtice to this worthy Perſon, he hath brought a Reputation to the *Britiſh* Nation, above any in our Age, whoſe Vertues and Induſtry have acquired the higheſt Truſts and Preferments in Foreign Parts; and done the ſame Honour to his King, under whom he was born a Subject, as to the preſent Emperor and his Anceſtors, under whom he is, and hath always been a faithful Miniſter; having deſerved ſo eminently for ſaving the whole *German* Empire from the Treaſon of *Walleſtein*, by his own ſingle Act of Bravery, (a Story notoriouſly known to all the World) as can never in gratitude be forgot by that Nation, nor want its due Record and Place in the Hiſtory of that Country.

The Speculation of what is contained in this following Diſcourſe, may ſeem unworthy of your Lordſhip's precious Hours, in regard of that Notion of Barbarity with which this Empire is ſtiled; yet the knowledg hereof will be like a *Turquoiſe*, or ſome other Jewels ſet within the Roſe of thoſe many Gems of your Lordſhip's Wiſdom and Vertues.

This Preſent, which I humbly conſecrate to your Lordſhip, may be termed Barbarous, as all things are which are differenced from us by diverſity of Manners and Cuſtom, and are not dreſſed in the Mode and Faſhion of our Times and Countries; for we contract Prejudice from Ignorance and want of Familiarity. But your Lordſhip, who exactly ponderates the Weight of Humane Actions, acknowledges Reaſon in all its Habits, and draws not the Meaſures of Oeconomy, or Policy, from Eternal Appearances or Effects, but from the Fundamental and Original Conſtitutions; ſo that your Lorſhip will conclude, that a People, as the *Turks* are, Men of the ſame Compoſition with us, cannot be ſo Savage and Rude as they are generally deſcribed; for Ignorance and Groſſneſs is the Effect of Poverty, not Incident to happy Men, whoſe Spirits are elevated with Spoils and Trophies of ſo many Nations.

Knowing

Knowing (my Lord), that this Work which I have undertaken is liable to common Cenſure, I have choſen to ſhrowd my Name under the Patronage of your Lordſhip, to protect me from the ill-underſtanding and miſ-conceptions of our Country-men, both at Home and Abroad: againſt which I doubt not but to be ſufficiently armed in all parts where I travel, when the Countenance your Lordſhip affords me, is joined to the Authority of his Excellency the Earl of *Winchelſea*, His Majeſty's Ambaſſador Extraordinary, now actually Reſident at *Conſtantinople*, my ever honoured Lord; to whom I read, a long time before publiſhed to the World, the greateſt part of this following Treatiſe; and as I received his favourable Approbation and Aſſent to the Verity of moſt Matters herein contained; ſo I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs to have been beholden to that quick and refin'd Genius of his, who often rectified my Miſtakes, ſupplied me with Matter, and remembred me of many material Points, which I might otherwiſe have moſt unadviſedly omitted: And his Excellency knowing that in his abſence this Book might want a favourable Patron, left me to my ſelf to ſeek out one, who might concur with him in the ſame Innocent Defence. And as, my Lord, you are a Publick Perſon, and under our Gracious Sovereign, are one of thoſe Generous Spirits which have eſpouſed the common Intereſt of the Nation; ſo I preſume, on this preſent Occaſion, not to want your Protection alſo in a ſingle Capacity: For which exceſs of Favours, I ſhall ever pray for the Exaltation of the greater Glory of your Lordſhip, and for ever acknowledg my ſelf,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble,

moſt Faithful, and

moſt devoted Servant,

PAUL RICAUT.

TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader,

I Preſent thee here with a true Syſtem or Model of the Turkiſh Government and Religion; not in the ſame manner as certain ingenious Travellers have done, who have ſet down their Obſervations as they have obviouſly occured in their Journeys; which being collected, for the moſt part, from Relations, and Diſcourſes of ſuch who caſually intervene in Company of Paſſengers, are conſequently ſubject to many Errors and Miſtakes: But having been an Inhabitant my ſelf, at the Imperial City, for the ſpace of five Years, and aſſiſted by the advantage of conſiderable Journeys I have made through divers parts of Turky, and qualified by the Office I hold of Secretary to the Earl of Winchelſea, *Lord Ambaſſador, I had opportunity, by the conſtant acceſs and practice with the chief Miniſters of State, and variety of Negotations which paſſed through my hands in the Turkiſh Court, to penetrate farther into the Myſteries of this Polity, which appear ſo ſtrange and barbarous to us, than haſty Travellers could do, who are forced to content themſelves with a Superficial Knowledg.*

The Computations I have made of the Value of their Offices, of the Strength and Number of their Souldiery, according as every City and Country is rated, are deduced from their own Regiſters and Records. The Obſervations I have made of their Polity, are either, Maxims received from the Mouth and Argument of conſiderable Miniſters, or Concluſions ariſing from my own Experience and Conſiderations. The Articles of their Faith, and Conſtitutions of Religion, I have ſet down as pronounced from the Mouth of ſome of the moſt learned Doctors and Preachers of their Law, with whom, for Mony, or Preſents, I gained a familiarity and appearance of friendſhip. The Relation of the Seraglio, and Education of their Youth, with divers other matters of Cuſtom and Rule, where tranſmitted to me by ſeveral ſober Perſons, trained up in the beſt Education of the Turkiſh Learning; and particularly, by an underſtanding Polonian, *who had ſpent nineteen Years in the Ottoman Court.*

If (Reader) the Superſtition, Vanity and ill foundation of the Mahometan Religion ſeem fabulous, as a Dream, or the Fancies of a diſtracted and wild Brain, thank God that thou wert born a Chriſtian, and within the Pale of an Holy and an Orthodox Church. If the Tyranny, Oppreſſion and Cruelty of that State, wherein Reaſon ſtands in no competition with the Pride and Luſt of an unreaſonable Miniſter, ſeem ſtrange to thy Liberty and Happineſs, thank God that thou art born in a Country the moſt free and juſt in all the World; and a Subject to the moſt indulgent, the moſt gratious of all the Princes of the Univerſe; That thy Wife, thy Children, and the Fruits of thy Labour, can be called thine own, and protected by the valiant Arm of thy fortunate King: And thus learn to know and prize thy own freedom, by compariſon with Foreign Servitude, that thou mayſt ever bleſs God and thy King, and make thy Happineſs breed thy Content, without degenerating into Wantonneſs, or deſire of Revolution. Farewel.

THE

THE MAXIMS OF THE Turkiſh Polity.

BOOK. I.

CHAP. I.

The Conſtitution of the Turkiſh Government, *being different from moſt others in the World, hath need of peculiar Maxims and Rules whereon to eſtabliſh and confirm it ſelf.*

Navis referent in mare te novi fluctus. Hor. 14. *Od. Lib.* 1.

I *Have begun a Work which ſeems very full of* Difficulty and Labour: for to trace the Footſteps of *Government* in the beſt formed and moulded *Common-Wealths*, (ſuch as are ſupported with *Reaſon* and with *Religion*) is no leſs than to unriddle and reſolve a Myſtery. For as a Common-Wealth, by many Authors, hath not been unaptly compared to a Ship, in divers reſpects, and proper Allegories; ſo principally the ſmall Impreſſion or Sign of Track, the floating Habitation leaves behind it on the Sea, in all the Traverſes it makes, according to the different Winds, to attain its Port, is a lively Emblem of the various Motions of good Government, which by reaſon of Circumſtances, Times, and multiplicity of Changes and Events, leaves little or no Path in all the Ocean of Humane Affairs.

But there muſt be yet certain Rules in every Government, which are the Foundations and Pillars of it; not ſubject to the Alteration of Time, or any other Accident; and ſo eſſential to it, that they admit of no change, until the whole Model of Polity ſuffer a Convulſion, and be ſhaken into ſome other Form; which is either effected by the new Laws of a Conqueror, or by inteſtine and civil Revolutions. Of ſuch Maxims as theſe, (obvious to all who have had any practice in the *Ottoman Court*) I have made a Collection, ſubjoining to every Head ſome Reflexions and Conſiderations of my own, which at my leiſure Hours I have weighed and examined, bringing them (according to the proportion of my weak Judgment and Ability) to the Meaſure and Teſt of Reaſon and Vertue; as alſo to a Similitude and Congruity with the Maxims of other Empires, to which God hath given the largeſt extent of Dominion.

But indeed, when I have conſidered ſeriouſly the Contexture of the *Turkiſh* Government, the abſoluteneſs of an Emperor, without Reaſon, without Vertue, whoſe Speeches may be Irrational, and yet muſt be Laws; whoſe Actions Irregular, and yet Examples; whoſe Sentence and Judgment, if in Matters of the Imperial Concernment, are moſt commonly corrupt, and yet Decrees irreſiſtible: When I conſider what little rewards there are for Vertue, and no Puniſhment for profitable and thriving Vice; how Men are raiſed at once by Adulation, Chance, and the ſole Favour of the Prince, without any Title of Noble Blood, or the Motives of Previous Deſerts, or former Teſtimonies and Experience of Parts and Abilities, to the weightieſt, the richeſt, and moſt honourable Charges of the Empire; when I conſider how ſhort their continuance is in them, how with one Frown of their Prince they are cut off; with what greedineſs, above all people in the World, they thirſt and haſte to be Rich, and yet know their Treaſure is but their Snare; what they labour for, is but as Slaves for their great Patron and Maſter, and what will inevitably effect their Ruin and Deſtruction, though they have all the Arguments of Faithfulneſs, Vertue, and moral Honeſty (which are rare in a *Turk*) to be their Advocates, and plead for them.

When I conſider many other things of like Nature, (which may more at large hereafter be diſcourſed of) one might admire the long continuance of this great and vaſt Empire, and attribute the ſtability thereof without change within it ſelf, and the increaſe of Dominions and conſtant progreſs of its Arms, rather to ſome ſupernatural Cauſe, than to the ordinary Maxims of State, or Wiſdom of the Governors; as if the Divine Will of the All-knowing Creator, had choſen for the good of his Church, and chaſtiſement of the Sins and Vices of Chriſtians, to raiſe and ſupport this mighty People. *Mihi quanto plura*

Tacit. l. 3. An. *plura recentium ſeu veterum revolvo, tanto magis ludibria rerum mortalium cunctis in negotiis obſervantur.*

But that which cements all Breaches, and cures all thoſe Wounds in this Body Politick, is the quickneſs and ſeverity of their Juſtice, which not conſidering much the ſtrict diviſion and parts of *diſtributive* and *commutative*, makes almoſt every Crime equal, and puniſhes it with the laſt and extreameſt chaſtiſement, which is Death; I mean thoſe which have relation to the Government, and are of common and publick Intereſt. Without this Remedy, which I lay down as a principal Prevention of the greateſt Diſorders, this mighty Body would burſt with the Poiſon of its own ill Humors, and ſoon divide it ſelf into ſeveral Signories, as the Ambition and Power of the Governors, moſt remote from the Imperial Seat, adminiſtred them hopes and ſecurity of becoming Abſolute.

In this Government, Severity, Violence and Cruelty are natural to it, and it were as great an Error to begin to looſe the Reins, and eaſe the People of that Oppreſſion to which they and their Fore-fathers have, ſince their firſt original, been accuſtomed, as it would be in a Nation free-born, and uſed to live under the Protection of good Laws, and the Clemency of a vertuous and Chriſtian Prince, to exerciſe a Tyrannical Power over their Eſtates and Lives, and change their Liberty into Servitude and Slavery. The *Turks* had the original of their Civil Government founded in the time of the War: for when they firſt came out of *Scythia*, and took Arms in their Hands, and ſubmitted unto one General, it is to be ſuppoſed, that they had no Laws but what were Arbitrary and Martial, and moſt agreeable to the enterpriſe and Deſign they had then in hand, when *Tangrolipix* overthrew the *Perſian* Sultan, poſſeſſed himſelf of his Dominions and Power, and called and opened the way for his Companions out of *Armenia*; when *Cutlumuſes* revolted from him, and made a diſtinct Kingdom in *Arabia*: when other Princes of the *Seleucian* Family in the infancy of the Turkiſh Power had by Wars among themſelves, or by Teſtament made diviſion of their Poſſeſſions; when (*Anno* 1300.) *Ottoman*, by ſtrange Fortunes, and from ſmall beginnings ſwallowed up all the other Governments into the *Oguſian* Tribe, and united them under one Head, until at laſt it arrived to that greatneſs and power it now enjoys. The whole condition of this People was but a continued ſtate of War; wherefore it is not ſtrange, if their Laws are ſevere, and in moſt things arbitrary; that the Emperor ſhould be Abſolute and above Law, and that moſt of their Cuſtoms ſhould run in a certain Chanel and Courſe moſt anſwerable to the height and unlimited Power of the Governor, and conſequently to the Oppreſſion and Subjection of the People, and that they ſhould thrive moſt by ſervitude, be moſt happy, proſperous and contented under Tyranny, is as natural to them, as to a Body to be nouriſhed with that Diet which it had from its Infancy or Birth been acquainted with. But not only is Tyranny requiſite for this People, and a ſtiff reign to curb them, leſt by an unknown Liberty they grow mutinous and unruly, but likewiſe the large Territories and remote parts of the Empire require ſpeedy preventions, without Proceſſes of Law, or formal Indictment: jealouſie and ſuſpicion of Miſ-government being Licence and Authority enough for the Emperor to inflict his ſevereſt Puniſhments; all which depends upon the Abſoluteneſs of the Prince; which becauſe it is that whereby the *Turks* are principally ſupported in their Greatneſs, and is the prime Maxim and Foundation of their State, we ſhall make it the Diſcourſe and Subject of the following Chapter.

Ma Eſperati che gli hanno, eche cominciano ad eſſere in venerationne, &c. Machi. c. 6. *del Prencipe.*

CHAP. II.

The Abſoluteneſs of the Emperor is a great ſupport of the Turkiſh *Empire.*

THE *Turks* having (as is before declared) laid the firſt foundation of their Government with the Principles moſt agreeable to Militay Diſcipline, their Generals or Princes, whoſe Will and Luſts they ſerved, became abſolute Maſters of their Lives and Eſtates; ſo that what they gained and acquired by the Sword, with Labours, Perils and Sufferings, was appropriated to the uſe and benefit of their Great Maſter. All the delightful Fields of *Aſia*, the pleaſant Plains of *Tempe* and *Thrace*, all the Plenty of *Egypt*, and Fruitfulneſs of the *Nile*, the Luxury of *Corinth*, the Subſtance of *Peloponneſus*, *Athens*, *Lemnos*, *Scio* and *Mutylene*, with other Iſles of the *Ægean Sea*, the Spices of *Arabia*, and the Riches of a great part of *Perſia*, all *Armenia*, the Provinces of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Bythinia*, *Phrygia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paleſtine*, *Cœloſyria* and *Phœnicia*, *Colchis*, and great part of *Georgia*, the Tributary Principalities of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, *Romania*, *Bulgaria*, and *Servia*, and the beſt part of *Hungary*, concur all together to ſatiſie the Appetite of one ſingle Perſon; all the extent of this vaſt Territory, the Lands and Houſes, as well as the Caſtles and Arms, are the proper Goods of the Grand Signior, in his ſole Diſpoſal and Gift they remain, whoſe Poſſeſſion and Right they are; only to Lands dedicated to Religious uſes, the Grand Signior diſclaims all Right or Claim; and this he ſo piouſly obſerves (to the ſhame of our Sectaries in *England*, who violate the *penetralia* of the Sanctuary) that when a Baſhaw, though afterwards convicted of Treaſon, beſtows any Lands or Rents on any certain Moſch or Temple, that Grant or Gift is good and exempted from any Diſpoſal or Power of the Grand Signior. The Lands being thus originally in the Grand Signior, after the Conqueſts were made, and the Country ſecured, and in condition to be diſtributed, Diviſions were made of the Houſes, Manors and Farms among the Souldiery, whom they call *Timars*, as the Reward and Recompence of their Valour and Labour; in conſideration of which, every one proportionably to his Revenue and Poſſeſſion, is obliged to maintain Horſe and Men to be always ready when the Grand Signior ſhall call him forth to ſerve him in the Wars; by which means the whole Country being in the hands of the Souldiery, all places are the better ſtrengthened, and the conquered People more eaſily kept from Mutiny and Rebellion; not much unlike our Tenure of Knights-ſervice in *England*, and Lands held of the Crown, but with this difference, that we enjoy them by the Title of a fixed and ſettled Law, never to be forfeited but upon Treaſon and Rebellion; they enjoy them alſo by Inheritance derived from the Father to the Son, but yet as uſufructuary during the pleaſure of the Emperor, in whom the Propriety is always reſerved, and who doth often, as his Humor and Fancy leads him to pleaſe and gratifie

The largeneſs of the Turkiſh Empire.

gratifie a Stranger, diſpoſſeſs an ancient Poſſeſſor, whoſe Family hath for many generations enjoyed that Inheritance. Sometimes I have heard, with the Sighs of ſome, and the Curſe of others, how the Grand Signior, heated in his Hunting, and pleaſed with the refreſhment of a little cool and cryſtal Water, preſented him by a poor Paiſant, hath in recompence thereof freed the Tenant from the Rent of his Landlord, and by his ſole Word confirmed to him the Cottage he lived in, the Woods, Gardens and Fields he manured, with as ſound a Title, as our long Deeds and Conveyances ſecure our Purchaſes and Inheritances in *England*; and this the former Maſter dares not name Injuſtice, becauſe this Tenant is now made Proprietor by the Will of the Grand Signior, which was the ſame Title and Claim with his; Preſcription, Tenant-right, and Cuſtom availing nothing in this Caſe. For if the inheritance hath been anciently derived from Father to the Son, the more is the Goodneſs and Bounty of the Emperor to be acknowledged, that hath permitted ſo long a Succeſſion of his Favours to run in one Family, in whoſe Power it was to transfer it to others.

The abſolute and unlimited Power of this Prince is more evident by the Titles they give, as *God on Earth, the Shadow of God, Brother to the Sun and Moon, the Giver of all Earthly Crowns*, &c. And though they do not build and erect Altars to him, as was done to the Roman Emperors, when that People degenerated into a faſhion of deformed Adulation, wherein *Italy* is at preſent corrupted; yet the Conception they have of his Power, the Ray they conceive to be in him of Divine Illumination, is a kind of imagery and idolatrous Fancy they frame of his Divinity. It is an ordinary ſaying among the Turkiſh Cadees and Lawyers, That *the Grand Signior is above the Law*; that is, whatſoever Law is written, is controllable, and may be contradicted by him: his Mouth is the Law it ſelf, and the Power of an Infallible Interpretation is in him; and though the Mufti is many times, for cuſtom, formality, and ſatisfaction of the People conſulted with, yet when his Sentences have not been agreeable to the Deſigns intended, I have known him, in an inſtant, thrown from his Office to make room for another Oracle better prepared for the purpoſe of his Maſter.

Some maintain that the very Oaths and Promiſes of the Grand Signior are always revocable, when the performance of his Vow is a reſtriction to the abſolute Power of the Empire. And I remember when my Lord Ambaſſador hath ſometimes complained of the Breach of our Capitulations, and pleaded that the Grand Signior had no Power by ſingle Commands to infringe Articles of Peace, to which he had obliged himſelf by ſolemn Oaths and Vows; the Interpreters have gently touched that Point, and been as nice to queſtion how far the Power of the Grand Signior extended, as we ought to be in the ſubtile Points of the Divine Omnipotence, but rather in contemplation of the Grand Signior's Juſtice, Wiſdom, Faith and Clemency, inſinuated Arguments of Honour, Convenience and Juſtice in maintaining the League inviolate with the King of *England*. It was *Juſtinian*'s Rule concerning the Prerogative of Princes, *Etſi legibus ſoluti ſumus, tamen legibus vivimus*: That is, although the Majeſty of Princes, and the neceſſity of having a Supreme Head in all Governments, did free and privilege them from all Puniſhment, and exempt them from the Cenſure and Correction of the Law, that no earthly Power could call them to account for their Errors or Diſorders in this World; yet it is neceſſary to the being of an abſolute Monarch, to be a ſevere Executioner of the Laws of his Country; and it is more his Intereſt and Security, than to act without Rule, and always to make uſe of the Power of Abſolute Dominion, which is to be applied like Phyſick, when the ordinary force of Nature cannot remove the malignancy of ſome peccant Humours.

The Grand Signior himſelf is alſo reſtrained by Laws, but without impeachment to his Abſolute Juriſdiction. For when there is a new Emperor, it is the cuſtom to conduct him with great Pomp and Triumph to a place in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople* called *Job*, where is an ancient Monument of ſome certain Prophet, or Holy Man, whom the Turks, for want of knowledg in Antiquity and Hiſtory, ſtyle that *Job*, who was recorded for the mirror of Conſtancy and Patience. For they confound all Hiſtory in Chronology, ſaying, That *Job* was *Solomon*'s Judg of the Court, and *Alexander* the Great, Captain of his Army. At this Place ſolemn Prayers are made, that God would proſper, and infuſe Wiſdom into him, who is to manage ſo great a Charge. Then the Mufti embracing him, beſtows his Benediction, and the Grand Signior ſwears and promiſes ſolemnly to maintain the Muſleman Faith, and Laws of the Prophet *Mahomet*; and then the Viziers of the Bench, and other Baſhaws, with profound reverence and humility, kiſſing the Ground firſt, and then the Hemm of his Veſt, acknowledg him their lawful and undoubted Emperor: And after this Form of Inauguration, he returns with the like Solemnity and Magnificence to the Seraglio (which is always the Seat of the *Ottoman* Emperors.) And thus the Grand Signior retains, and obliges himſelf to govern within the compaſs of Laws; but they give him ſo large a latitude, that he can no more be ſaid to be Bound or Limited, than a Man who hath the World to rove in can be termed a Priſoner, becauſe he cannot exceed the Incloſure of the Univerſe. For though he be obliged to the execution of the *Mahometan Law*, yet that *Law* calls the Emperor the Mouth and Interpreter of it, and endues him with power to alter and annul the moſt ſettled and fixed Rules, at leaſt to wave and diſpenſe with them when they are an Obſtacle to his Government, and contradict (as we ſaid before) any great Deſign of the Empire. But the learned Doctors among the *Turks* more clearly reſtrain the Imperial Power only to the obſervation of that which is Religious in the *Mahometan* Law, ſaying, That in Matters which are Civil, his Law is Arbitrary, and needs no other Judg or Legiſlator than his own Will. Hence it is that they ſay, the Grand Signior can never be depoſed or made accountable to any for his Crimes, whilſt he deſtroys carelefly of his Subjects under the number of an hundred a day. And in like manner hence it is, that though the *Mahometan* Law determines the Teſtimony of two Witneſſes of that Faith to be valid for the determation of all Caſes of Difference, yet by our Capitulation it is provided, that no *Turkiſh* Witneſſes, of what number or quality ſoever, can avail any of the *Engliſh* Nation, by reaſon that the Caſe being Civil, is diſpenſible by the Imperial Power; but I doubt, were any Matter in queſtion Criminal (as we have never, God be praiſed, had occaſion to put it to trial) the Capitulations would be forced to yield to the *Mahometan* Law, as being both Religious and Di-

vine, with which the Sultan hath no power to diſpenſe.

Of what Conſequence and Benefit this Abſolute Power hath been to the *Turks*, is evident by the extent of their Empire, and ſucceſs of their Arms. For if the Sultan pleaſes the Souldiery, no matter how the People in this conſtitution is contented; and this was the concluſion of *Machiavil* upon this Government, in the 19th Chapter of his Book *del Pincipe*. And it muſt needs be a great advantage to a Commander, when the *Utile* and *Juſtum* are reconciled and made the ſame, and that he meets no contradiction or oppoſition at Home, which may retard or croſs the great Deſigns Abroad. The Emperor of *Germany* had doubtleſs ſooner encountred the *Turks*, and given a ſtop to his free entrance the firſt Year of the late War into *Hungary*, had he been Abſolute of the whole Empire, and not neceſſitated to expect the conſent of his ſeveral Princes, and the reſult of a Diet, when the *Turks* were even ready to enter *Germany*. For when many Heads or Hands are required, all Buſineſs moves ſlowly, and more Time is ſpent in agreement of the manner of Action, in Arguments and Debates (which are moſt commonly carried on by Faction) than in the moſt difficult Point of execution. It would ſeem a great Clog to the Grand Signior to be obliged to depend on the Bounty of his Subjects, when he would make a War, or on the Judgment of a Lawyer that ſhould contradict and cenſure the Actions of his Prince as irregular, and exceeding the Priviledges of his Prerogative. It is very difficult to underſtand how it is poſſible with theſe Fetters for any Country or City ever to arrive to that height, as to be termed the Miſtreſs of a great Empire, or a Prince be ſaid to have a long Arm, or embrace a large Compaſs of the Globe, who is pinion'd with the Bands of his own Laws. But I confeſs it is a Bleſſing, and wonderful Happineſs of a People, to be Subjects of a gracious Prince, who hath preſcribed his Power within the compaſs of wholſome Laws, acknowledged a right of Poſſeſſion and Propriety of Eſtate as well in his Subjects as himſelf, who doth not puniſh the Innocent with the Guilty, nor oppreſs without diſtinction, nor act the part of that King whom God gives in his Wrath. But then they muſt content themſelves with their own Borders, or ſome neighbouring Conqueſt, and this is better, and a greater Glory and Content, than the Honour of being Slaves to the Luſt of a Monarch, whoſe Titles comprehend the greateſt part of the World.

CHAP. III.

The Leſſon of Obedience to the Emperor is taught by the Turks, as a Principle of Religion rather than of State.

THE abſolute Power in the Prince implies an exact Obedience in the Subjects; and to inſtil and confirm that Principle, no Art or Induſtry is wanting in the education of thoſe who are placed in the Seraglio, with deſign of preferment to Offices and great Charges; ſo that even the Oath of Obedience, which Friars and other Religious Men vow to their Superiors at their firſt initiation into Eccleſiaſtial Orders, is not more exactly or devoutly obſerved or profeſſed by them, than this Doctrine of Submiſſion to the Will of their great Maſter, is carefully taught to his Young Scholars who ſtand Probationers and Candidates for all the Government of the Empire. To die by the hand or command of the Grand Signior, when the blow is ſubmitted to, with entire reſignation, is taught to be the higheſt point of Martyrdom; and whoſe good Fortune it is ſo to ſuffer, is immediately tranſported to Paradiſe. *Kara Muſtapha Paſſaw* (a great Viſier) after he had been ſo ſucceſsful in all Matters of his Charge, and proved ſo excellent an Inſtrument of Victories and Services to his Maſter, that he was applauded by all to be a moſt happy and fortunate Miniſter, was ſo ſenſible of his own Condition, and the favour of his Prince, that he confeſſed he was now arrived to the greateſt Glory and Perfection he could in this Life aſpire to, and only wanted the Holy Martyrdom, to die by the Order and Sentence of the Grand Signior, as the Reward of his Faithfulneſs, and the Conſummation of all his Honours.

Such as receive any Wages or pay, coming from the Exchequer, or any Office depending on the Crown, have the title of *Kul*, which is, the Grand Signior's *Slave*: ſuch is the great Vizier and all the Baſhaws of the Empire, and it is more honourable than the Condition and Name of *Subject*; for they have a priviledg over theſe, and can revile, beat and abuſe them with Authority; but the *Subject* cannot offer the leaſt injury to the *Slave*, without danger of ſevere puniſhment. *Slavery* amongſt the Turks denotes a condition of entire reſignation to the Will and Command of the Emperor, to perform whatſoever he ſignifies; or, if poſſible, what he conceives: though he command whole Armies of them to precipitate themſelves from a Rock, or build a Bridg with Piles of their Bodies for him to paſs Rivers, or to kill one another to afford him paſtime and pleaſure. They that have been where they have ſeen and known the manner of this blind Obedience, may well cry out, *O homines ad ſervitutem paratos!* And doubtleſs the flattery uſed in the Seraglio towards the Prince, by thoſe that are near his Perſon, is proportionable to this condition of ſlavery they profeſs, and cannot but fanſie a ſtrange kind of projected baſeneſs in all the deportment within the Walls of the Seraglio, when there appears ſo much condeſcenſion Abroad to all the luſts and evil inclinations of their Maſter; ſo that a generous Prince (as ſome have been found among the *Ottoman* Emperors) though he deſired not the publick Liberty, would yet be weary of this ſlaviſh compliance, and ſeek other counſel and means to inform himſelf of the true ſtate of his own and other Kings Dominions, than ſuch as proceed from Men unexperienced in any other Court or Country than that they live in. This flattery and immoderate ſubjection hath doubtleſs been the cauſe of the decay of the Turkiſh Diſcipline in the Time of Sultan *Ibrahim*, when Women governed, and now in this preſent Age of Sultan Mahomet, whoſe Counſels are given chiefly by his Mother, Negroes, Eunuchs, and ſome handſome young Moſayp or Favourite; ſeldom any from without being permitted, or have their Spirits emboldened to declare a Truth, or are called to give their counſel in Matters of greateſt importance. So that this Obedience which brave and wiſe Emperors have made uſe of in the advancement of noble Exploits, and enlargement of their Empire, is with effeminate Princes (delighted with flattery) the Snare of their

Qui libertatem publicam nollet, eum projecta ſervientium patientiæ tedebat. Tac.

their own Greatneſs, and occaſion of weak Counſels and Means in the management of great Deſigns. If a Man ſeriouſly conſider the whole compoſition of the Turkiſh Court, he will find it to be a Priſon and Banniard of Slaves, differing from that where the Galley-ſlaves are immured, only by the Ornaments and glittering out-ſide and appearances: here their Chains are made of Iron, and there of Gold and the difference is only in a painted ſhining ſervitude, from that which is a ſqualid, ſordid and a noiſome ſlavery. For the Youths educated in the Seraglio (which we ſhall have occaſion to diſcourſe of in the next Chapter) are kept as it were within a Priſon, under a ſtrange ſeverity of Diſcipline, ſome for twenty, thirty, others forty Years, others the whole time of the Age of Man, and grow gray under the correction of their *Hogiaes* or Tutors. The two Brothers of this preſent Grand Signior are alſo impriſoned here, reſtrained with a faithfull and carefull Guard, and perhaps are ſometimes permitted, out of Grace and Favour, into the preſence of their Brother, to kiſs his Veſt, and to perform the offices of Duty and Humility before their Prince. The Ladies alſo of the Seraglio have their faithful Keepers of the Black Guard to attend them, and can only have the liberty of enjoying the Air, which paſſes through Grates and Lattices, unleſs ſometime they obtain licence to ſport and recreate themſelves in the Garden, ſeparated from the ſight of Men, by Walls higher than thoſe of any Nunnery.

Nay, if a Man conſiders the Contexture of the whole Turkiſh Government, he will find it ſuch a Fabrick of ſlavery, that it is a wonder if any amongſt them ſhould be born of a free ingenuous Spirit. The Grand Signior is born of a Slave, the Mother of the preſent being a *Circaſian*, taken perhaps by the Tartars in their incurſions into that Country. The Viſiers themſelves are not always free-born by Father or Mother; for the Turks get more Children by their Slaves than by their Wives, and the continual ſupply of Slaves ſent in by the Tartars, taken from different Nations, by way of the Black Sea, (as hereafter we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully) fills *Conſtantinople* with ſuch a ſtrange Race, Mixture, and Medly of different ſorts of Blood, that it is hard to find many that can derive a clear Line from ingenuous Parents: So that it is no wonder that amongſt the Turks a diſpoſition be found fitted and diſpoſed for Servitude, and that is better governed with a ſevere and tyrannous Hand, than with ſweetneſs and Lenity, unknown to them and their Forefathers: as *Grotius* takes this Maxim out of *Ariſtotle*, *Quoſdam homines naturâ eſſe ſervos*; i. e. *ad ſervitutem aptos*; *& ita populi quidem, eo ſunt ingenio, ut regi quam regere norint rectius.* But ſince it appears that Submiſſion and Subjection are ſo incident to the Nature of the Turks, and Obedience taught, and ſo carefully inſtilled into them with their firſt Rudiments; it may be a pertinent queſtion, How it comes to paſs, that there are ſo many Mutinies and Rebellions as are ſeen and known amongſt the Turks, and thoſe commonly the moſt inſolent, violent and deſperate that we read of in Story. To let paſs the Mutinies of former Times in the Ottoman Camp, and the uſual, though ſhort Rebellions of ancient Days: I ſhall inſtance in the Cauſes and Beginnings of two notorious Diſturbances, or rather Madneſſes of the Souldiery, not mentioned in any Hiſtory, which being paſſages of our Age, deſerve greatly to be recorded.

This Obedience then that is ſo diligently taught and inſtilled into the Turkiſh Militia (as to the Spahees in their Seraglios, or Seminaries; the Janiſaries in their Chambers) ſometimes is forgot, when the Paſſions & Animoſities of the Court (by which inferior Affections are moſt commonly regulated) corrupt that Diſcipline, which its Reaſon and Sobriety inſtituted. For the affections of Princes are endued with a general Influence, when two powerful Parties aſpiring both to Greatneſs and Authority, allure the Souldiers to their reſpective Factions, and engage them in a Civil War amongſt themſelves; and hence proceed Seditions, deſtruction of Empires, the Overthrow of Common-Wealths, and the violent Death of great Miniſters of State. *Spahees the Turkiſh Horſe.*

And ſo it happened, when ill Government, and unproſperous Succeſſes of War, cauſed Diſobedience in the Souldiery, which ſome emulous of the Greatneſs of thoſe that were in Power, nouriſhed and raiſed to make place for themſelves or their Party. For in the time of Sultan *Mahomet*, the preſent Grand Signior, when the whole Government of the Empire reſted in the hands of one *Mulki Kadin*, a young audacious Woman, by the extraordinary Favour and Love of the Queen-Mother, (who, as it was divulged, exerciſed an unnatural kind of Carnality with the ſaid Queen) ſo that nothing was left to the Counſel and Order of the Vizier and grave Seniors, but was firſt to receive Approbation and Authority from her; the black Eunuchs and Negroes gave Laws to all, and the Cabinet-Councils were held in the ſecret Apartments of the Women; and there were Proſcriptions made, Officers diſcharged, or ordained as were moſt proper to advance the Intereſt of this Feminine Government. But at length the Souldiery (not uſed to the Tyranny of Women) no longer ſupporting this kind of Servitude, in a moment reſolved on a Remedy, and in great Tumults came to the Seraglio, where commanding the Grand Signior himſelf to the Kioſch, or Banquetting-houſe, they demanded, without farther Prologue, the Heads of the Favourite Eunuchs; there was no Argument or Rhetorick to be propoſed to this unreaſonable Multitude, nor Time given for delays, or conſultation; but every one of the accuſed, as he was entred into the Souldiers Roll or Catalogue, and required, being firſt ſtrangled, was afterwards thrown headlong from the Wall of the Garden, and committed to the farther ſatisfaction of their Enemies Revenge, by whom from thence they were dragged to the *Hippodromo*, and before the new Moſque cut into ſmall pieces, and their Fleſh roaſted and eaten by them. The day following, they apprehended *Mulki*, and her Husband *Schaban Kalfa*, both whom they put to Death; nor ended this Tumult here, until by means of diſſention between the Spahees and Janiſaries, the principal Miniſters found means and opportunity to interpoſe their Power; and having executed ſeveral of the Spahees, and performed other exemplary parts of Juſtice, reduced Matters to ſome kind of quietneſs and compoſure; and thus Order reſults often from Confuſion, and Tumults in corrupted Common-Wealths have operated good Effects to the redreſs of ſeveral Evils. But beſides this Inſurrection or Mutiny of the Janiſaries, have ſucceeded divers other; but becauſe there hath been no diſorder amongſt them ſo notorious and memorable, as that which occaſioned the Death of *Kioſem*, Grandmother to the preſent Sultan, we have thought fit to record the certain Particulars of it to all Poſterity.

CHAP. IV.

A True Relation of the Deſigns managed by the old Queen, Wife of Sultan Ahmet, *and Mother of Sultan* Morat, *and Sultan* Ibrahim, *againſt her Grand-Child Sultan* Mahomet, *who now Reigns; and of the Death of the ſaid Queen and her Complices.*

After the murther of Sultan *Ibrahim*, by conſpiracy of the Janiſaries, Sultan *Mahomet*, (eldeſt Son of the late deceaſed Emperor, a Child of nine Years old) ſucceeded in the Throne of his Father; and the Tuition of him, and Adminiſtration of the Government (during his minority) was committed to the old Queen, the Grandmother, called *Kioſem*; a Lady, who through her long experience, and practice in Affairs, was able, and proper for ſo conſiderable an Office; and ſo the young Sultan was conducted to the *Moſch* of *Eiub*, where with the accuſtomed Ceremonies, his Sword was girt to his Side, and he proclaimed Emperor through all the Kingdoms and Provinces of his Dominions.

For ſome time this old Queen governed all things according to her pleaſure, until the Mother of this young Sultan, as yet trembling with the thoughts of the horrid Death of her Lord; and fearing leſt the ſubtile and old Politician the Grandmother (who had compaſſed the Death of her Husband) ſhould likewiſe contrive the Murther of her Son, grew hourly more jealous of his Life and Safety; which ſuſpicion of hers was augmented by the knowledg ſhe had of the ambitious and haughty Spirit of the Grandmother, and the private Treaties, and ſecret Correſpondence ſhe held with the Janiſaries, which compelled her to a reſolution of making a Faction likewiſe with the Spahees, and Paſhaws, and Beyes, who had received their Education in the Seraglio, being a party always oppoſite to the Janiſaries. Theſe ſhe courted by Letters and Meſſages, complaining of the Death and Murther of the Sultan her Husband, the Pride and Inſolence of the Janizaries; and ſmall eſteem was had of her Son, their undoubted Prince; adding, that if they provided not for their own Safety, the old Queen would aboliſh both the Name and Order of Spahees. The Aſiatick Spahees awakened hereat, with a conſiderable Army, marched to *Scutari*, under the conduct of *Gurgi Nebi*, and demanded the Heads of thoſe who had been the Traytors and Conſpirators againſt the ſacred Life of their late Sovereign; all which were then under the protection of the Janiſaries, and ſupported by the powerful Authority of the Queen Regent. Upon this Alarm the Grand Viſier, (called *Morat* Paſhaw) who had had his Education among the Janiſaries, being adored by them as an Oracle, and engaged with them in the late Treaſon againſt the Sultan, ſpeedily paſſed over from *Conſtantinople* to *Scutari*, with an Army of Janiſaries, and others of his Favourites and Followers, tranſporting likewiſe Artillery and all neceſſaries for entrenchment; ſome Skirmiſhes paſſed between the Vanguard of the Spahees and the Deli (which are the Viſier's Guard) and thereby had engaged both the Armies; but that the two Chief Juſtices of *Anatolia* and *Greece* interpoſing with their grave and religious Countenances, preached to them of the Danger and Impiety there was in the effuſion of Muſſelmens or Believers Blood; and that, had they any juſt Pretences, their Plea ſhould be heard, and all Differences decided by the Law. Theſe, and ſuch like Perſuaſions made impreſſion on *Gurgi Nebi* and other Spahees: and the poſture they found their Adverſaries in, to give them battel, made them inclinable to hearken to Propoſals for accommodation; but eſpecially their Courages were abated by what the Juſtices had declared, that in caſe they repaired not to their own Homes, the Vizier was reſolved to burn all the Rolls, and proclaim a general *Neſiraum* through the whole Empire: which is an Edict of the King and Mufti, commanding all the Turks of his Kingdoms, from ſeven Years old and upward, to arm and follow him to the War.

The Spahees hereupon diſperſed themſelves; and from their Retreat, encreaſed the Pride of the Janiſaries Faction, and of their chief Commanders, *viz. Bectas Aga*, highly favoured by the Queen Regent; *Kul Kiahia* Lieutenant of the Janiſaries, and *Kara Chiaus* a follower of *Bectas*, who now eſteemed themſelves abſolute Maſters of the Empire. Theſe three now governed all Matters, contriving in their ſecret Councils the deſtruction of the Spahees; eſpecially thoſe famed for Riches and Valour; and as one of the firſt Rank, gave order to the Paſha of *Anatolia*, to take away the Life of *Gurgi Nebi*; whom accordingly he one day aſſaulted in his Quarters, and being abandoned by his Souldiers, ſhot him with a Piſtol, and ſent his head to *Conſtantinople*.

The Spahees, exaſperated hereat, entred into private Councils and Conſpiracies in *Anatolia* againſt the Janiſaries, drawing to their party ſeveral Beyes and Paſhaws of *Aſia* (and particularly one *Ipſir* a *Circaſian* born, but educated in the Seraglio, a Perſon of a courageous Spirit, and powerful in Men and Treaſure) aſſaulted many Quarters of the Janiſaries in *Aſia*, and cutting off their Arms and Noſes, miſerably ſlaughtered as many as fell into their hands.

On the other party *Bectas Aga*, ſecure in his condition, amaſſed Wealth with both hands, by new Impoſitions, Rapine, and other Arts; cauſing to be coined at *Belgrade* three hundred thouſand Aſpers, one third Silver, and two of Tin; theſe Aſpers he diſperſed amongſt the Tradeſmen and Artiſans, forcing others to exchange his falſe Metal for Gold, at the value of 160 Aſpers for the Hungarian Ducat. The people ſenſible of the Cheat, began a Mutiny in the Quarter of the Sadlers at *Conſtantinople*, which encreaſed ſo faſt, that the whole City was immediately in a general Uproar: This Tumult was violently carried to the place of the Mufti, whom they forced with the *Seigh* (who is the Grand Signior's Preacher) and the *Nakib Eſrif*, a Primate of the Mahometan Race, to accompany them to the Seraglio; where at the inward Gate of the Royal Lodgings, with Clamours and Out-cries, they made their Complaint. In this Danger the Grand Signior was adviſed by the *Capi Agaſi*, and *Solyman Aga*, the *Kuzlir Aga* or chief Eunuch of the Women, that this happy Conjuncture was to be embraced for the deſtruction of *Bectas* and his Complices; but fear, and too much caution hindred that Deſign for the preſent; only it was judged fit, for ſatisfaction of the Multitude, that *Melek Ahmet Paſhaw* (then Prime Vizier, and yet a Slave to the Luſts of the Janiſaries) ſhould be deprived of his Office; which was immediately effected;

and

and the Seal taken from him, was delivered to *Siaus Paſhaw*, a ſtout and valiant Perſon. This Vizier being jealous of his own Honour, and jealous for the ſafety of the Empire, caſt about all ways to ſuppreſs the arrogance of *Bectas* and his Adherents; leſt the like ſhame and misfortune ſhould befal him, as did to *Murad Paſham* one of his late Predeceſſors in the Office of Vizier; who for diſſenting from *Bectas* in Opinion, had loſt his Life; had he not eſcaped his Fury by flying into *Greece*.

The times were alſo troubleſome, and full of danger; the Janiſaries kept Guard in the Streets, not ſuffering ſo much as two Citizens to walk together, for prevention of ſecret Conſultations: many Artiſans, or Handy-craftſmen, were impriſoned, as principally in the late Tumult, againſt the Conſent and Order of the new Vizier; the Court was alſo divided; The Sultan's Party contrived to ſurprize and kill the rebellious Commanders of the Janiſaries, and that the day following, the Lieutenant of the *Baltagees*, or Hatchetmen, ſhould encounter *Kulchiachia* as he came according to cuſtom to the Divan, and ſlay him; but the Old Queen being of a contrary Faction, with Threats and Menaces frighted that Officer from his deſign. The two Queens were exaſperated highly againſt each other; one to maintain the Authority of her Son, and the other her own: in the City the confuſion grew greater; the Janiſaries were not pleaſed with the election of *Siaus Paſſa*, knowing him to be averſe to their Faction; but yet conſidering the ſtate of the Times, they endeavoured, with fair Promiſes, to allure him to their Party. The old Queen, by Letters, adviſed *Bectas* of all Matters that were diſcourſed in the Seraglio, intimating that the young Queen was Author of all theſe Diſturbances, and that therefore, as a remedy of all theſe Evils, it was neceſſary that Sultan *Mahomet* ſhould be depoſed, and his younger Brother *Solyman* placed in his ſtead, who having a Mother, would be abſolutely ſubject to her Tuition: ſhe added likewiſe that *Solyman* was a luſty Youth, corpulent and Majeſtical, whereas Sultan *Mahomet* was lean, weakly and unable for the Crown. *Bectas* having received this Meſſage from the Queen Regent, aſſembled a Council at *Orta-giami* (that is the Janiſaries Moſch) where was a great and ſolemn appearance both of the Souldiery and Lawyers, (which latter are of the Spiritual Function amongſt them) ſome out of friendſhip to their Party, and others for fear of their Power; only the Vizier was wanting, whom they ſent to invite, out of an Opinion that he might be drawn to their ſide; and in caſe they found him oppoſite, then not to ſuffer him to eſcape alive from their Councils. It was then two hours in the Night, when this Meſſage came to the Vizier; and though it was againſt the State and Gravity of a Vizier to go to any, but his Maſter; yet he thought it now time to diſſemble, and overcome the greatneſs of his Mind; and ſo with a private Retinue went to the Moſch, where the firſt he encountred, was a Guard of Ten thouſand Janiſaries, armed with their Muskets and Matches lighted, which at firſt ſo diſmayed him, that he had ſome thoughts of returning, but afterwards recovering himſelf, and taking Courage, reſolved to proceed; and coming to the Moſch, *Bectas* vouchſafed not to meet him, but ſent another to perform that Ceremony; at which neglect, though the greatneſs of his Spirit could ſcarce contain it ſelf, yet ſuppreſſing his choler, he addreſſed himſelf to the Feet of *Bectas*, who ſcarce ariſing, gave him a faint welcome; and ſetting him on his left hand (which is the upper hand with the Turkiſh Souldiery) began to propound to him his new Deſigns; and firſt, That it was neceſſary, that the preſent King ſhould be depoſed, and *Solyman* Crowned in his place. That the Canons of the Imperial Seraglio ſhould be reformed; and that whereas the Children of divers Nations were yearly collected for the Service of the Grand Signior, none ſhould for the future have admiſſion there, but the Sons of Janiſaries. The Vizier conſented to all that was propoſed, profeſſing a ſincere affection and reality to them and their Party, ſwearing upon the *Alchoran*, with the moſt horrid Imprecations on himſelf, and his Family, if he were not faithful to Him and his Deſigns; which gave *Bectas* that ſatisfaction, that he began to perſuade himſelf that the Vizier was really a confiding Perſon, and one affectionate to their Intereſt; and ſo partly from this conſideration, and partly out of a confidence of his own ſtrength, and inability of the Vizier to hurt him, fairly took his leave of him, and ſo diſmiſſed his *Kalaba Divan*, or his confuſed Council.

But the *Chiachia Bei* (or Lieutenant-General of the Janiſaries) and *Kara-Chiaus* reproved very much *Bectas* for permitting the Vizier to eſcape with his Life, ſaying, he had done ill in ſuffering the Bird to eſcape out of the Cage; that he had releaſed one, and permitted him to carry his Head on his Shoulders, who would ſhortly take off theirs; with many words of the like effect. But *Bectas* ſlighted their Reproof, as proceeding from want of Courage, and the Ignorance of their own Power; and that the time until morning was ſo ſhort, that ſhould the Vizier intend to countermine them, he was wholly unable, being unprovided both of Power and Council. The Vizier being got free, went apace to the Seraglio, with two Men only, thanked God as he walked, that he was freed from the Hands of thoſe Tyrants and Villains; and coming to the Iron-gate, intending to paſs through the Garden, he found it open, contrary to the cuſtom; and enquiring of the Boſtangees, or Gardiners, the reaſon, he could learn nothing farther from them, than that it was the order of the old Queen: who (as it appeared afterwards) expected her Confidents who might withdraw her that Night into ſome retirement where ſhe might remain ſecure from the Dangers of the enſuing Day. The Vizier being entred, went ſoftly to the Sultan's Apartments, and in his way, by good chance, met with the *Kuzlir Agaſi*, *Solyman Aga*, the chief Eunuch of the Women, who in the dark was making his rounds about the old Queen's Lodgings; by the Vizier's voice *Solyman* knew who he was, but was amazed at his unſeaſonable viſit; yet underſtanding the Buſineſs, thanked him for his Vigilance; adding, that he had alſo obſerved that the old Queen, contrary to her cuſtom, was not yet gone to Bed, who did at other times at two hours in the Night diſpoſe her ſelf to reſt, only this Evening ſhe had entertained her ſelf in company of her Eunuchs, and Favourites, with Muſick, Singing, and other unuſual Delights. Wherefore, after ſome ſhort deliberation, the Vizier, *Solyman Aga*, and others of the King's Eunuchs, went to the quarters of the old Queen, and offering to enter forcibly, were repulſed by the Queen's Eunuchs; but *Solyman Aga* being a ſtout Man, drew his Dagger and ſtruck the chief Chamberlain *Baſh Kapa Oglar* on the Face; upon which the other Eunuchs who accompanied *Solyman* entred

tred furiouſly with their Daggers, at which the Eunuchs of the Queen flying, ſhe remained alone in the Chamber, where ſhe was committed to the cuſtody of the King's Eunuchs. The fugitive Eunuchs would immediately have eſcaped out of the Seraglio, but the Gates were firſt ſhut by order of *Solyman Aga*, ſo that they, with all other Favourites of the ſaid Queen, were taken and ſecured in ſafe hands. This Victory was ſo ſecretly obtained, that they received no Alarm in the Royal Lodgings, though near adjoining; ſo that the Vizier and *Solyman Aga* went to the Chamber where the King ſlept, and lifting up the Antiport, made a ſign of ſilence to the Ladies of the Guard, commanding, by dumb motions, that the young Queen ſhould be awakened (for it is the cuſtom in the Grand Signior's Court to ſpeak by ſigns, to prevent noiſe, and as if there were ſome point in it of Majeſty and Decency, they have practiſed this mute Language ſo fully, that they are able to recount Stories in it.) The Ladies hereupon gently rubbing the Queen's Feet, raiſed her out of her ſleep, and gave her to underſtand the *Solyman Aga* would ſpeak with her; whereat the Queen ſurprized, leapt from her Bed to ſpeak with him, and was ſcarce informed of the Buſineſs, before ſhe became ſo affrighted, that ſhe could not contain her ſelf within the Bounds of Moderation or Silence, but with great Cry ran to take her Son as one diſtracted, and catching him up in her Arms, cried out, *O Son! thou and I are dead*; the Grand Signior likewiſe as a Child bewailed himſelf, and falling at the feet of *Solyman Aga*, ſaid, *Lala, Lala Kurtar-beni*, which is, Tutor, Tutor ſave me: He not without Tears took his Lord into his Arms, and with the Vizier encouraged the Child and his Mother, proteſting that they would rather die, than live to behold ſo horrid a ruine; and ſo accompanied him, (ſome Ladies carrying before Torches lighted in their hands) to the *Hozoda*, which is the Preſence Chamber, or place where the principal Officers of the Court attend. Upon the approach of the Torches, the Guard which watched in this Chamber was amazed, and walking towards the light to diſcover what there was, perceived that the Grand Signior was coming thither, and thereupon returned again with all haſte to awaken their Companions, and calling them immediately to repair to their due ſervice.

The Grand Signior being ſeated on a Throne, which is always remaining in the Preſence Chamber; the Officers hereof (which are in number forty) preſented themſelves before him, deſiring to know if his Majeſty had any thing wherein to employ their Fidelity and Service. Hereat *Solyman Aga* ſaid, *He that eats the King's Bread, ſhould apply himſelf to the King's Service; we ſuffered the Traitors to deſtroy Sultan* Ibrahim, *and now they would alſo take this out of our hands; To you it belongs, who are his Majeſty's Principal Servitors, to afford him your utmoſt aſſiſtance. Eiguſi Muſſapha Paſſa*, Sword-bearer to the Grand Signior, and chief of the Preſence Chamber, a Man of a Lion's Heart, and undaunted Reſolution, underſtanding ſomething formerly of the Bad inclinations of the old Queen towards the King, readily replied, *Great Maſter, be not troubled, to morrow you ſhall ſee (God willing) the Heads of your Enemies at your Feet.* The Vizier and others in the mean time after a ſhort Conſult fell to act, the exigency of their Affairs admitting no delays; and in the firſt place, Pen and Ink being brought, an Order was preſented to the Grand Signior, to be ſubſcribed for the arreſting the *Boſſangi-Paſha* as a Traitor, for having, againſt the rule of the night, kept open the Gate of the King's Garden. This was done in an inſtant, he removed from his Office, and another conſtituted in his place; and at the ſame time the Oath of Allegiance was adminiſtred to him, who calling together the Gardiners, in number, about 500, cauſed them alſo all to ſwear faithful Obedience to the Grand Signior, and to remain all that Night, keeping good Guard at the Gates and Walls of the Gardens. In the next place the Ichoglans were called up (who are the Grand Signior's Pages) and to proceed with the more privacy and leaſt confuſion, they went firſt to the Chamber of the *Capa Agaſi* (who by his Office is over all the Youth of the Seraglio) and knocking gently at the Window, the Guards came at the noiſe, and demanded what the matter was? they anſwered, Awake the *Capa Aga*, and let him ſpeak to us at the Window. But the *Capa Aga* would firſt know who they were that would ſpeak with him: and when it was told him that it was the Vizier and the *Kuſlir Aga*, he anſwered, *I am indiſpoſed and cannot riſe*, but utter what you have to ſay at the Window; ſo they ſaid, *By his Majeſty's Order, go and raiſe all the Ichoglans in the Seraglio, upon an important occaſion*; and yet the *Capa Agaſi* would not ſtir, ſo that ſome believed him confederate in the Conſpiracy; but the truth was, he was an ancient Man of 90 Years, and unhealthful in his Body. Wherefore *Solyman Aga* cried out with a loud voice, *Aga raiſe the Ichoglans, our King is ready to be taken out of our hands*; but the *Capa Aga* perſiſted that he would not raiſe the Ichoglans or Pages, unleſs he brought a Command in writing from the King. In the interim the Servants of the *Capa Aga* awakened, and hearing this diſcourſe, could not contain themſelves, but with without farther Order ran to both the greater and leſſer Chamber of the Pages; the Butler came to that which is called the greater Chamber; it was then five hours in the night when he entred in, and running to the middle of the Chamber, which was 80 Paces in length, he made a ſtop and clapped his hands together; (To make ſuch a noiſe in the Seraglio at night was a high Miſdemeanor) at which ſome being awakened, raiſed up their Heads, and ſtartled at ſuch an unuſual Alarm, enquired the reaſon of it; at which he again clapping his hands, and crying out, Ariſe the Grand Signior is like to be taken out of our hands, the whole Chamber was raiſed; ſo that you might have ſeen all the Ichoglans in number above 800 to ariſe and run in a confuſed manner, ſome without Cloaths, ſome without Arms to fight, ſome ſuppoſing the Janiſaries were already entred the Seraglio. In this amaze came a Guard of Black and White Eunuchs to the Door, adviſing them to arm themſelves with what Weapons were next at hand, and there to remain until they received farther Orders. All the other Chambers of the Pages and Officers were in the ſame confuſion, and were commanded in the like manner to arm themſelves.

The Grand Signior fearing all this while he ſhould be put to death as his Father was, could not be pacified untill *Muſtapha Paſha* his Sword-bearer taking him by the hand ſhewed him his Attendants all armed, and ready at his command; and paſſing by one of the Windows of the Lodgings, was deſcried by a young Man, who cried out with a loud voice (*God grant our King Ten thouſand Years of Life*) at which all the Chamber ſhouted, * *Allah, Allah*; this Acclamation

* A Shout uſed by the

clamation rang through all the Seraglio, ſo that it reached the more remote quarters of the Drogiſts, Cooks, Pole-axe-men, Faulconers, and others; who being ready and armed as the others, anſwered with the like ſhout.

Theſe Preparations were not only in the Seraglio, but likewiſe without; for the Vizier had given order to all the Paſhaws and Beglerbegs, and other his Friends, that without delay they ſhould repair to the Seraglio with all the force they could make, bringing with them three days Proviſion, obliging them, under pain of Death, to this Duty. In a ſhort ſpace ſo great was this concourſe, that all the Gardens of the Seraglio, the outward Courts, and all the adjoining Streets, were filled with armed Men: from *Galata* and *Tophana* came Boats and Barges loaden with Powder and Ammunition, and other Neceſſaries; ſo that in the morning, by break of day, appeared ſuch an Army of Horſe and Foot in the Streets, and Ships and Gallies on the Sea, as adminiſtred no ſmall terrour to the Janiſaries; of which being adviſed, and ſeeing the concourſe of the People run to the aſſiſtance of the King, they thought it high time to beſtir themſelves; and therefore armed a great company of *Albaneſes*, *Greeks*, and other Chriſtians, to whom they offered Mony, and the Title and Privileges of Janiſaries, promiſing to free them from *Harach*, or Impoſitions paid by the Chriſtians; which Arguments were ſo prevalent, that moſt taking Arms, you might ſee the Court and City divided, and ready to enter into a moſt dreadful confuſion of a Civil War.

In the Seraglio all things were in good order, the Morning Devotions being finiſhed, the Baltagees, (who are a guard that carry Poleaxes) called to the Pages to join with them, and accompany them to the Preſence Chamber. Theſe Baltagees were in number about 200, ſtrong, of large ſtature, and of admirable agility; at whoſe beck the Pages ran with all alacrity to the door of the Chamber, where they at firſt received a repulſe from the Maſter of the Chamber who was an Eunuch, and one faithful to the old Queen's Intereſt, who to yield all poſſible furtherance towards the protection of her Perſon, reproved the inſolence of the Rout in coming ſo boiſterouſly to the Royal Lodgings; to which they unanimouſly anſwered, that they would ſpeak to his Majeſty, that it was their deſire to have the old Queen (Enemy to the King, and the Mahometan Faith) put to Death; at which words he being enraged, and relying on his Authority, reproved them with Terms of Rebels and Traitors to their Maſter. *What have you to do with the Queen*, ſaid he? *Are you worthy to open your Mouths againſt her ſerene Name?* He reiterating theſe and the like words, one of this Rabble ſaid, *Kill that Cuckold, for he alſo is an Enemy of the Faith.* And whilſt one lifted up his hand to ſtrike him, he fled by the way of the *Tarras* into the Garden, whither being purſued by five or ſix of them, he was overtaken, and catching him by the Collar, would have cut his Throat, but that at his earneſt entreaty, they gave him ſo much liberty as firſt to caſt himſelf at the Feet of the Sultan: whither being dragged, he delivered to the King a Seal and a Key of ſecret Treaſure, and being about to ſay ſomething in his own behalf and defence of his Life, a bold Youth of theſe Baltages, called *Jalch-Leferli* ſtruck him on the Head with his Ax, and cleft it in two pieces; the others ſeeing this firſt blow given him, fell on him with their Scimiters and cut him to pieces; his Blood and Brains were daſhed on the rich Carpets, which moved fear in many, who were ſecretly of the Conſpiracy with the old Queen. The young King himſelf, ignorant of the good Intentions of his Servants, at the ſight of blood-ſhed, being yet tender-hearted, cryed, and cloſely embraced the *Selihtar* who then held him in his Arms; but upon the removal of the Corpſe out of his ſight, and ſome ſmooth words, as that it was a Sacrifice of Love to him, and the like, his childiſh Tears were ſoon wiped away.

In this interim the new created Mufti, and *Kenan Paſha*, one of the Viziers of the Bench, and *Balyzade Efende*, who was formerly Lord Chief Juſtice, and well affected to the Spahee's Party, entring the Hazoda, or Preſence-Chamber, perceiving a Tumult in his Majeſty's preſence, with different Voices and Languages, for ſome cryed in *Georgian*, others *Albanian*, *Boſnian*, *Mengrelian*, *Turkiſh* and *Italian*, remained in great confuſion how to proceed with Order and Reaſon in this important Affair; for the Mufti, and others, were of Opinion, that the Sentence againſt the old Queen was not raſhly to be pronounced, and ſo the Matter might calmly be debated, and if poſſible, an expedient might be found for ſaving her Life, and ſecuring the Sultan: But the Rabble impatient of Delay, cryed out, defer not the Sentence; for otherwiſe we ſhall eſteem thee as one of her Adherents.

By this time news was come to the young Queen, that there had been a Fight in the Streets; who as yet doubtful of the ſucceſs, and fearing if the Janiſaries ſhould gain the Advantage, *Beſtas* would revenge the Blood of the old Queen by her Death, came covered with a Veil into the Preſence-Chamber, ſaying, as ſhe paſſed, *Is this the Reverence you owe to the King your Lord? Do you know the place where you are? What would you have of a Woman? Why do you buſie your ſelves in the King's Affairs?* Some preſently apprehended that this was only a Plot of the young Queen to make the World believe ſhe would rather aſſiſt the Grandmother, than contrive againſt her; which made the Pages the more importunately to perſiſt with the Mufti for the *Fetfa* or Sentence againſt her. But one of the Pages ſuſpecting that this Woman ſo veiled, might be the old Queen her ſelf, cried out, *This is ſhe you ſeek for, ſhe is in your Hands, take your Revenge upon her.* At which ſome beſtirring themſelves to ſeiſe her, ſhe ran to the Feet of her Son, and laying hold on him, cryed out, *No, no, I am not the Grandmother, I am the Mother of this his Majeſty*; and wiping the Tears from the Eyes of her Son with her Handkerchief, made ſigns to keep back, which reſtrained the forwardneſs of ſome who preſſed to lay violent hands upon her. The Mufti, who obſerved the carriage of the Rout, and their earneſt deſires which could not be reſiſted, feared, if he gave not his concurrence, he himſelf ſhould be killed, and the rather becauſe he over-heard the old *Kenan Paſha* diſcourſe with the Vizier to the like effect. So that after ſome pauſe and conſultation with the other chief Miniſters, it was reſolved to ſupplicate his Majeſty for his conſent; which was done in theſe words; *Sir, The Will of God is, that you conſign your Grandmother into the hands of Juſtice, if you would have theſe Mutinies appeaſed; a little Miſchief is better than a great One; there is no other Remedy, God willing the end ſhall be proſperous.* Pen and Ink being brought, the Mufti wrote the Sentence, and the Grand Signior ſubſcribed it, which was, that the

the old Queen ſhould be ſtrangled, but neither cut with Sword, nor bruiſed with Blows. The Writing was delivered into the hands of one of the Chamberlains, to whom, by word of Mouth, it was ordered that they ſhould carry the Queen out by *Cuſhana*, (or the Gate of the Birds) ſo as ſhe might not die in ſight or hearing of the Grand Signior. The Ichoglans advancing the *Royal Command* on high with their hands, went out of the Preſence with a great ſhout, crying, *Allah, Allah*, to the Door of the Womens Lodgings, where they met ſome black Eunuchs keeping Guard, who upon the ſight of the *Imperial Firme*, and the command of *Solyman Aga*, gave them admittance, upon condition that twenty Perſons only ſhould enter the Chambers. Thoſe who were beſt armed went in, and paſſing through the Chambers of the Virgins, were met by the Queen's Buffone with a Piſtol in her hand, who demanded what they would have? they anſwered, the King's Grandmother; ſhe replied, I am ſhe, and with that offered to diſcharge her Piſtol, but it took fire only in the Pan; with that the Ichoglans laid hold on her, ſuppoſing her to be the Queen; but being better adviſed by *Solyman* the *Kuzlir Aga*, and directed to the Chamber where the Queen was; the Door being opened, they perceived the Room to be dark (for the Womens quarters in the Seraglio for the moſt part are made obſcure and cloſe, and Lights are burnt in them Day and Night) and the old Queen had at the approach of theſe Officers extinguiſhed her Candles and got into a great Preſs, and there covered her ſelf with Quilts and Carpets; but Torches being brought in, they looked all about and deſcryed nothing; at which they were enraged againſt *Solyman*, and would have killed him, ſaying, That he was the cauſe the Queen had eſcaped. But *Solyman* adviſing them to ſearch more narrowly, one called *Deli Dogangi*, got upon the Preſs, and removing the Clothes, diſcovered the Queen, who had thruſt her ſelf into a corner; at which ſhe ſhortly thus entreats him, *O brave Man be not cruel unto me*; and promiſed ſhe would give to every Ichoglan five Purſes a Man (each Purſe conſiſting of 500 Dollars) if they would ſave her life. *It is not the time of Ranſome, Traitor*, ſaid he; and taking her by the Feet, drew her forth: the Queen riſing up, put her hand into her Pocket, and threw out handfulls of Zaichins, hoping that whilſt they were ſcrambling for the Gold, ſhe might have an opportunity to eſcape; ſome of the young Men gathered up the Mony, but the *Dogangi*, like a Dog of the Game, left her not, and at length, though ſhe were heavy, caſt her down. The others offered at her Life, and particularly an *Albaneſe*, called *Ali Boſtangi*, who ſeeing two great Jewels at her Ears, immediately catched at them, and tore them thence. They were two Diamonds of the bigneſs of Cheſnuts cut angularly, and beneath each Diamond was a Ruby to ſet it off. Thoſe Earings were given her by Sultan *Achmet* in the time of her moſt flouriſhing Age, and his greateſt affection. 'Tis ſaid, that ſuch Jewels cannot be found in all the Great Turks Treaſure, and were eſteemed by the moſt skilful Jewellers, worth a Years Revenue of Grand *Cairo*. This *Ali* ſhewed the Jewels to his Camrade, demanding the value of them, and his counſel whether to reveal or conceal them: but the Camrade prized them at that rate that the ſtout young Man could not ſleep Day nor Night, being always in fear leſt the Jewels ſhould not be kept hid; and apprehending that they became none but the Grand Signior to wear, went and delivered them to *Solyman Aga*, who in recompence thereof, preſented him with ſixteen Zaichins, which he accepted, deſiring alſo to be admitted into the Chamber of the Treaſury, which was granted him. Others alſo plucked her, ſome by the Hands, others by the Feet; ſome riſed her Clothes, for ſhe was furniſhed throughout with things of great value ſewed in her Garments, and eſpecially in her Sable Furs, which contain'd alſo certain Magick Spells, by which ſhe conceived ſhe had tied the Tongues of all the Emperours living in her Time. The perſon who gave me this Relation, informed me, that he had ſeen a certain Lock admirably made, and engraved with the Names of *Murad* and Sultan *Ibrahim*; it was made by a famous *Gindgi*, a very ignorant Fellow, but a ſuperſtitious crafty Liar, by which Arts finding acceſs, in ſhort time he became a chief Favourite of Sultan *Ibrahim*, and from a poor Student called by the Turks a *Softa*, he grew ſo rich in two Years that none in *Conſtantinople* was comparable to him.

But to return to the Queen now aſſaulted by furious young Men, greedy of Riches; ſhe was in a moment deſpoiled of her Garments; her Furs were torn off into ſmall pieces; and being ſtript of her Rings, Bracelets, Garters and other things, ſhe was left naked without a Rag to cover her, and dragged by the feet to the *Chuſhana*: and being at the Place of her execution, the young Officers found themſelves unprovided of a Cord to ſtrangle her, ſo that crying out for a Cord, one ran to the Royal Chappel, and thence took the Cord that upheld the great Antiport of the Moſch, which being twined about the Queen's Neck, the aforeſaid *Dogangi* getting upon her back, pitched her neck with his hands, whilſt the others drew the Cord. The Queen, though ſhe were by this time beſides her Senſes, and worn out with Age, being above 80 Years old, and without Teeth; yet ſhe with her Gums only did bite the Thumb of his left Hand, which by chance came into her Mouth, ſo hard, that he could not deliver himſelf until with the haft of his Poniard he ſtruck her on the Forehead near her right Eye. There were four that ſtrangled her, but being young Executioners, laboured long to diſpatch her, till at length the Queen leaving to ſtruggle, lay ſtretched out, and was ſuppoſed to be dead, and ſo crying (*Uldi, Uldi*) ſhe is dead, ſhe is dead, ran to carry the news thereof to his Majeſty; but being ſcarce out of ſight, the Queen raiſed her ſelf up, and turned her Head about; upon which the Executioners being again called back, the Cord was a ſecond time applied, and wrung ſo hard with the haft of a hatchet, that at length ſhe was diſpatched, and the News carried to the Royal Chamber. The black Eunuchs immediately took up the Corpſe, and in a reverend manner laid it ſtretched forth in the Royal Moſch, with about 400 of the Queen's Slaves encompaſſing it round about with Howling and Lamentations, tearing the Hair from their Heads after their barbarous faſhion, moved compaſſion in all the Court.

This Work being over, the Vizier having given thanks to the Ichoglans, or Pages, for their pains, gave order to produce the Banner of *Mahomet*, which is carefully and reverently kept in the Treaſury; which being produced, obliges all of that Faith, from ſeven Years and upward, to arm and come under it. The Banner being brought forth, with a rich Covering, was advanc'd

vanc'd with great ſhouts of *Allah*, *Allah*: and carried by the Ichoglans out of the chief Gate of the Seraglio, where it was ſhewn to the People, who with wonderful admiration and devotion, beheld their glorious Standard; order was alſo given to proclaim, through the whole City, the Proceſſion of the Heavenly Banner; for they ſay, that the Angel *Gabriel* brought it to Mahomet in the time of a great War made againſt the Chriſtians, as an infallible Sign and Evidence of Victory.

The opinion of this ſuperſtitious Flag ſo prevailed, as it brought, not only the Young and Healthful to fight under it, but Sick and Old; and Women judged themſelves obliged to run to the defence of this Holy Enſign. The news hereof, and the death of the old Queen coming to the old Chamber of the Janiſaries; ſeveral of them, and thoſe alſo of the principal Heads, began to murmure, that it was now neceſſary to lay aſide their private Intereſts, and have a reſpect to their Faith and their Souls; for ſhould they oppoſe the Heavenly Banner, they ſhould run themſelves into the State of Gaurs and Infidels, and become liable to the ſame cenſure or puniſhment which is inflicted upon unbelievers. But in the new Chambers *Bectas* endeavoured to remove this apprehenſion from the mind of his Souldiers, by large Preſents both of Gold and Silver, perſwading them to uphold their Fame and Reputation; for that the Grand Signior and his Mother were Enemies to their Name and Deſigns, and reſolved to abaſe or deſtroy the order of that Militia; and with aſſurance of Victory and encouragement againſt a People unarmed and undiſciplined, animated them to fight; and to make the buſineſs more eaſie, adviſed them to fire the City in ſeveral parts, that ſo the People might be diverted and divided for ſafety of their own Goods and Dwellings. But this propoſition took not with the Officers and Souldiers, who had many of them Houſes and Poſſeſſions of their own in *Conſtantinople*, but put them into great Diſtractions and Diviſions in their Counſels. In this pauſe, came an Officer from the Grand Signior (who to venture his life, had the promiſe of a good Reward) with a command in Writing which he threw in amongſt them, and galloped away as faſt as he could; crying out as he rode, *He that comes not under the Banner of the Prophet, is a Pagan, and his Wife divorced.* The Writing was taken up and carried to the preſence of the principal Officers, which being opened and read, was to this purpoſe; *Bectas* Aga, *I have made* Paſha *of* Boſna, Kara-chiaus *I have made Captain-General of the Sea*; Kul-kahya *I have made* Paſha *of* Temiſwar; *and* Kara Haſſan Ogle *I have made* Janiſar Agaſi; *and I require, at ſight of theſe Preſents, that every one of you, upon pain of Death, and ruine of his Family, repair to his Duty and Station.*

In this inſtant came news that the old Chamber of Janiſaries had left their ſtation, and were run under the Banner without Arms, and had refuſed *Bectas*'s Mony, and deſerted his Cauſe; and that the Spahees in great Troops, and the Jebegees (who command the Ordnance) approached with Artillery to beat upon their Chambers. The Spahees came thundring in upon the Janiſaries in remembrance of their paſt Injuries, and had certainly cut them off, had not the Vizier, with his Sword in his hand, by good and bad words, reſtrained them, and appeaſed their Animoſity. The Janiſaries of the new Chamber proclaimed their new Commander, and viſited him with their uſual form of Congratulation, running afterwards confuſedly under the Banner. *Kara Haſſan* the new elected *Aga* of the Janiſaries, went to the Seraglio to thank the Grand Signior for the Honour done him, and with ten of his principal Friends was admitted to the Grand Signior's Preſence; who humbly kiſſing the Ground, received the accuſtomed Veſts, and with ſome Admonitions, was fairly diſmiſſed, and ordered to reduce his Janiſaries to better Obedience.

By this time *Bectas*, *Kulkahya*, and *Kara Chiaus*, with ſome of their Favourites, remained wholly abandoned, looking one upon the other, full of Complaints and Railings, each at other, for the miſcarriage of the Action. But ſince it was not now time to condole, but to ſave their Lives, every one made to his Houſe. Firſt, *Bectas* fled to his Home, where having ordered his Affairs, he clothed himſelf in the *Albanian* faſhion, and eſcaped to the Houſe of a poor Man formerly his Friend and Confident; but the next day being diſcovered by a Youth, was taken, and being ſet on a Mule, was with the ſcorn and deriſion of the People conducted to the Grand Signior's Seraglio, and there ſtrangled. This Perſon was held in ſo much deteſtation by the common People, that after his Death, the Cooks and inferiour ſort of Servants, run Spits and Pitch-forks through his Body; and plucking the Hairs out of his Beard, ſent them for Preſents to their acquaintance through all *Conſtantinople*, ſaying, *Theſe are the Hairs of that Traitor, who gloried, that before he would loſe his Head, there ſhould be raiſed a Mountain of Heads as high as St.* Sophia. But *Kulkahya* being come to his Houſe, filled his Portmantles with Gold and Jewels, and accompanied with ſixty Horſe, reſolved to fly to the Mountains of *Albania*, places ſo inacceſſible, that they have never yielded to the Turkiſh Yoke: but finding himſelf hotly purſued in his Journey, and that it was impoſſible to eſcape with ſo great a Number, freely diſtributed a great part of his Gold upon his Retinue, and thanking them for their Affection, and good Intentions, diſmiſſed them all excepting one Servant, with whom he journied with four laden Horſes, with Gold, Jewels, and other Riches; and perceiving that this alſo was too great an incumbrance, they buried a Treaſure to the value of 600 thouſand Dollars in the Country as they travelled; which was afterwards found out by certain Shepherds, who diſagreeing about the diviſion thereof, the Matter came to be known to the Judg of that Country, who ſeiſed upon it all, and ſent it to the Grand Signior's Treaſury. But *Kulkahya* travelling ſtill farther with his ſingle Page, came to a Town, where wanting Bread, and forced for the Paiment of it to exchange Gold, fell into a ſuſpicion of being one of thoſe Rebels lately eſcaped from *Conſtantinople*; which news being brought to a Captain of Horſe that Commanded the place, he came immediately with ſome Men to take him; but *Kulkahya* reſolving not to fall into their hands alive, reſiſted them until he was killed by a Musket-ſhot, and ſo his Head being ſevered from his Body, was ſent to the Grand Signior.

Kara Chiaus in this interim being with two hundred Men retired into his Garden, was aſſaulted by an Aga of the Spahees (called *Parmakſis*) with 500 Men; but that this Enterpriſe might be acquired with a little Blood, a Perſon was ſent ſecretly to adviſe that Party, that if they oppoſed the Royal Command, they ſhould every one be put to death; at which the People

fled and diſperſed themſelves. At that inſtant came in this Aga and took him, and yet comforted him with the Clemency and Mercy of the Grand Signior, promiſing alſo himſelf to intercede for him. And ſo bringing him to the Seraglio by the Garden Gate, his Majeſty had notice of it, and looking out of the Window, and ſeeing him upon his Knees begging pardon, the Grand Signior gave a Sign to the Executioner to ſtrangle him, which was accordingly performed. The new *Janiſar Aga* who knew all the Officers, formerly affected to the rebellious Party, for ſeveral Nights cauſed ſome or other of them to be ſtrangled, to the number of thirty eight Perſons; which ſtruck ſuch a terrour into the Janiſaries, that for a long time after they kept themſelves within the bounds of Humility and Obedience. And thus concluded this Tragedy, remarkable, as well for the Diſpatch, as for the Action it ſelf, being but the work of fourteen Hours. And in this manner it is apparent, how the leſſons of Obedience which are ſo carefully taught, and inſtilled into the Minds of thoſe who ſerve and depend upon the Grand Signior are corrupted; and by the Pride, Diſcord, and Faction of the Governours, ſeduced from their natural Principles.

By the Premiſſes we may conſider more generally, that it hath always been the misfortune of unlimited Powers to be ſubject to Dangers and Violence, ariſing from the Diſcontents and Unconſtancy of the Souldiery: for they coming to be ſenſible of their own Strength, and knowing that the Power of the Emperor is but fortified with their Hands and Heart, like unruly Beaſts throw their Riders, and ſhew that the Principles of Obedience taught them, are eaſily corrupted and defaced by evil Perſwaſions, or Sedition in a Commander or common Souldier. Thus we ſee in the time of the latter *Roman* Emperors, who uſurped Power unknown in the days of the pure and happy Conſtitution of that Common-Wealth, and governed all by the Sword and their own Luſts; few of them ended their days fortunately, or died in their Beds in Peace, without becoming a Sacrifice to the ſame Power that firſt proclaimed them Emperors. And though the Mutinies and Rebellions in the *Turkiſh* Militia can hardly operate any durable alteration in the State (as we ſhall more at large hereafter diſcourſe) yet doubtleſs the Tyranny in the *Ottoman* Emperors, had provoked the People long ſince to have proved the benefit of another Race, but that there is a ſtrange kind of Devotion and Religion in their Minds as to the *Ottoman* Blood, which having been the Original of their Empire and Greatneſs, will ever be maintained in high Reverence and Honour. Nor is it likely that the fair Speeches and Allurements of a rebellious Slave, will ever prevail to perſwade this People from their Religion to this Prince, or that their Arms can ever be proſperous under the Enſign and Conduct of an Uſurper.

And may all Chriſtians learn this Leſſon from the *Turks*, and add this Principle to the Fundamentals of their Religion, as well as to their Laws. None can more experimentally preach this Doctrine to the World than *England*, who no ſooner threw off her Obedience and Religion to her Prince, but (as if that Vertue had been the only bar to all other Enormities and Sins) ſhe was deprived of all other Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Rights, and in all her Capacities and Relations deflowred and prophaned by impious and unhallowed Hands.

And thus having given a Relation of the *Turks* Religion, and firſt Principles in order to their Obedience to their Prince, let us proceed a little into the *penetralia* of the Seraglio, and there ſee what farther care is taken of the Youth, in all Points of their *Education*, to fit and prepare them for the management and performance of the higheſt and weightieſt Offices of State; which I judg to be one of the chiefeſt of the *Turkiſh* Polities, and is certainly an extraordinary Support and Security of the Empire.

CHAP. V.

The Education of young Men in the Seraglio, out of which thoſe who are to diſcharge the great Offices of the Empire are elected. It being a Maxim of the Turkiſh Polity, *to have the Prince ſerved by ſuch whom he can raiſe without Envy, and deſtroy without Danger.*

IT is a ſpecial point of Wiſdom in Princes, to provide and prefer Men of deſerving Parts and Abilities, to the diſcharge of the great and important Offices of State, not ſuch whom Chance and Fortune caſually throws on them, becauſe they will not take the pains of a narrow and ſevere Scrutiny to ſeek Men able and fit for Truſt; nor ſuch whom Flattery, Riches, Gifts or Nobility promote, but thoſe whom the Prince, by his own experience of their Wiſdom, Vertues, and Diligence, or the Teſtimony of his Councellors and other Confidents, judges capable to improve their Advancement to the Honour of the King, and the Bleſſing of their Country: and not like vaſt Mountains which hide their Heads in the Clouds, and yet remain without Fruit or Herbage; whoſe barrenneſs makes their height accurſed. Some wiſe Princes, and great Miniſters of our Modern Times, have kept Rolls and Regiſters of the moſt eminent Men famed for their Vertue, and Knowledg in any parts, with an account of their Family, Lineage and Condition, out of which (if in their own juriſdiction) they culled and elected ſuch, proper for their Occaſions and vacant Offices.

Bolzac de la Cour, leur ſterilité fait manudire leur elevation. Cardinal *Richlieu.*

The *Turk* is no leſs careful in the choice of his Officers, and loves to be ſerved by his own, ſuch as to whom he hath given Breeding and Education, and are obliged to employ thoſe Parts in his Service which he hath beſtowed, whoſe Minds he hath cultivated with Wiſdom and Vertue, as well as nouriſhed their Bodies with Food, until they arrive to a mature Age, that renders the profit of his Care and Expence; ſuch as theſe he is ſerved by, whom he can raiſe without Envy, and deſtroy without Danger.

The Youths then that are deſigned for the great Offices of the Empire, called by the Turks *Ichoglans*, muſt be ſuch as are of Chriſtian Parents, taken in War, or preſented from remote parts; as I have obſerved that the *Algierines*, always amongſt other Gifts, preſent ſome Youths whom they have taken by Piracy; the Policy herein is very obvious, becauſe the Sons of Chriſtians will hate their Parents being educated with other Principles and Cuſtoms; or coming from diſtant Places, have contracted no acquaintance, ſo that ſtarting from their Schools into Government, they will find no Relations or Dependences on their Intereſts than that of their great Maſter, to whom they are taught, and need compels them to be faithful.

Magnaqu' eſt comitum æmulatio, quibus primus apud principem ſuus locus, & Principum cui plurimi & acerrimi cometes. Hæc dignitas, hæ vires, Magnò ſemper electorum juvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello præſidium.

In the next place, theſe Youths muſt be of admirable Features, and pleaſing Looks, well ſhaped in their Bodies, and without any defects of Nature; For it is conceived, that a corrupt and ſordid Soul can ſcarce inhabit in a ſerene and ingenious Aſpect; and I have obſerved, not only in the Seraglio, but alſo in the Courts of great Men, their perſonal Attendants have been of comely luſty Youths, well habited, deporting themſelves with ſingular Modeſty and Reſpect in the preſence of their Maſter: So that when a *Paſcha*, *Aga*, *Spahee* travels, he is always attended with a comely Equipage, followed by flouriſhing Youths, well cloathed and mounted in great numbers, that one may gueſs at the greatneſs of this Empire, by the Retinue, Pomp, and number of Servants which accompany Perſons of Quality in their Journies; whereas in the parts of Chriſtendom, where I have travelled, I have not obſerved (no not in Attendance of Princes) ſuch oſtentation in Servants as is amongſt the *Turks*, which is the Life and Ornament of a Court. And this was always the cuſtom in the Eaſtern Countries, as *Q. Curtius* reports, *Lib.* 6. *Quippe, omnibus barbaris in corporum Majeſtate veneratio est, magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant animos, quàm quos eximiâ ſpecie donare natura dignata eſt.* But theſe Youths before they are admitted, are preſented before the Grand Signior, whom according to his pleaſure he diſpoſes in his Seraglio at *Pera*, or *Adrianople*, or his great Seraglio at *Conſtantinople*, which is accounted the Imperial Seat of the *Ottoman* Emperors. For theſe are the three Schools or Colledges of Education. Thoſe that are preferred to the laſt named, are commonly marked out by ſpecial deſignation, and are a nearer ſtep to Degrees of Preferment, and are delivered to the charge of the *Capa Aga*, or chief of the White Eunuchs.

The Eunuchs have the care of theſe Scholars committed unto them, whom they treat with an extraordinary ſeverity; for theſe, being the *Cenſores morum*, puniſh every ſlight Omiſſion or Fault with extreme Rigour. For Eunuchs are naturally cruel, whether it be out of envy to the Maſculine Sex which is perfect and entire; or that they decline to the diſpoſition of Women, which is many times more cruel and revengeful than that of Men; they will not let ſlip the ſmalleſt *Peccadillo* without its due chaſtiſement, either by blows on the ſoals of the Feet, or long Faſting, Watchings, or other Penance; ſo that he who hath run through the ſeveral Schools, Orders and Degrees of the Seraglio, muſt needs be an extraordinary mortified Man, patient of all Labours, Services and Injunctions, which are impoſed on him with a ſtrictneſs beyond the diſcipline that Religious Novices are acquainted with in Monaſteries, or the ſeverity of *Capuchins*, or Holy Votaries. But yet methinks theſe Men that have been uſed all their lives to Servitude and Subjection, ſhould have their Spirits abaſed, and when licenſed from the Seraglio to places of Truſt and Government, ſhould be ſo acquainted how to obey, as to be ignorant how to Rule, and to be dazled with the Light and Liberty, and overjoyed with the ſenſe of their preſent Condition and paſt Sufferings, paſſing from one extreme to another, that they ſhould loſe their Reaſon, and forget themſelves and others. But in anſwer hereunto the Turks affirm, That none know ſo well how to govern, as thoſe who have learned how to obey; though at firſt the ſenſe of their freedom may diſtract them, yet afterwards the Diſcipline, Lectures and Morality in their younger Years, will begin to operate, and collect their ſcattered Senſes into their due and natural places.

But to return from whence we have a little digreſſed; Theſe young Men, before they are diſpoſed into their Schools, which are called *Oda*, their Names, Age, Country and Parents are Regiſtred in a Book, with their allowance from the Grand Signior of four Aſpers a day; the Copy of this Book is ſent to the *Teſterdar*, or Lord Treaſurer, that ſo quarterly they may receive their Penſion. *Oda ſignifits a Chamber.*

Being thus admitted, they are entred into one of the two Schools, that is to ſay into the *Bojuck Oda*, which is the great Chamber, or the leſs; the former commonly contains 400, and the other about 200 or 250. Theſe two Schools may be ſaid to be of the ſame Form or Rank; and what is taught in one, is likewiſe in the other, neither of them hath the precedency, all of them equally near to Preferment: Their firſt Leſſons are Silence, Reverence, humble and modeſt Behaviour, holding their Heads downwards, and their Hands acroſs before them. Their Maſters the *Hogias*, inſtruct them in all the Rights, Diſcipline and Superſtition of the *Mahometan* Religion, and to ſay their Prayers, and underſtand them in the *Arabick* Language; and to ſpeak, read, and write *Turkiſh* perfectly. Afterwards having made proficiency in the former, they proceed in the ſtudy of the *Perſian* and *Arabick* Tongues, which may be of benefit to them if their Lot chance to call them to the Government of the Eaſtern parts, and is a help to the Improvement of their Knowledg in the *Turkiſh*, which being of it ſelf barren, is beholden to thoſe Tongues for its copiouſneſs and enrichment. *The two Odaes.*

Their Cloathing is good *Engliſh* Cloth and Linen, neither fine nor courſe; their Diet is chiefly Rice, and other wholſom Meats which become the Table of Scholars, where there is nothing of ſuperfluity, as there is nothing of want: Their Manners and Behaviour are ſtrictly watched by the Eunuchs their careful Guardians, ſo as they cannot be familiar one with another at any time, without Modeſty, and reſpect to the Preſence they are in: If they go to perform the neceſſary Offices of Nature, or to the Bath, they are never out of the Eye of an Eunuch, who will admit none of their neareſt Relations to ſpeak with them, or ſee them, unleſs ſpecial Licence be obtained from the *Capa Aga*, or chief of the Eunuchs. Their Bed-chambers are long Chambers, where all Night Lamps are kept burning; their Beds are laid in ranks one by another, upon *Safrawes* or Boards raiſed from the Ground; and between every five or ſix lies an Eunuch, ſo as conveniently to ſee or over-hear if there be any wanton or lewd behaviour or diſcourſe amongſt them. *Cloathing and other neceſſaries.* *Their Retirement. Bed-chambers.*

When they are arrived to ſome proficiency, and almoſt to Man's Eſtate, and ſtrength of Body, fit for Manly Exerciſes, they are trained up in handling the Lance, throwing the Iron Bar, drawing the Bow, and throwing the Gerit or Dart. In all theſe Exerciſes they ſpend many hours, being conſtant in all or ſome of them, and are ſeverely corrected by their Eunuchs, if they ſeem to be remiſs or negligent therein: Many of them ſpend much time principally in drawing the Bow, in which they proceed from a weaker to one more ſtrong, and by continual exerciſe and uſe, come at laſt to draw Bows of an incredible ſtrength, more by Art and Cuſtom, than of pure Force; and thus by conſtant bodily Exerciſe, they become Men of great Strength,

Health, and Agility, fit for Wars, and all active Employments. Amongſt their other Exerciſes, Horſemanſhip is a principal Leſſon, both to ſit in a handſom poſture, and to manage their Horſe with dexterity; to draw the Bow on Horſeback, forwards, backwards, and on either ſide; which they learn with that agility and pliantneſs of their Joints, in the full carriere or ſpeed of the Horſe as is admirable. They learn alſo to throw the Gerit or Dart out of their hands on Horſeback; which becauſe it is a Sport or Recreation the preſent Grand Signior delights in above all others, every one in hopes of Preferment, and in emulation one of the other, endeavours to be a Maſter in it; and moſt are become ſo dextrous, that they will dart a Stick of above three quarters of a yard long, with that force, that where it hits, it will endanger breaking of a Bone. The Grand Signior every day paſſes his Time with ſeeing his Pages exerciſed in this Sport, in which ordinarily one knocks another from his Horſe; and ſeldom a day paſſes, in which ſome receive not Bruiſes or deſperate Wounds. This Sultan doth many times appoint days of Combat between the Black Eunuchs, and ſome of his White Pages on Horſeback, in this manner with the Gerit; and then happens ſuch a Skirmiſh with ſuch emulation, each ſide contending for the honour of his Colour, Race, and Dignity, with that Heat and Courage, as if they contended for the Empire; this Paſtime ſeldom concluding without ſome Blood. But it is to be noted, that none of theſe Exerciſes are performed by any of thoſe that belong to the two Chambers, unleſs within the Walls of the *Seraglio*: the other Pages who accompanied the Grand Signior abroad, are ſuch as are preferred to farther and higher Chambers, as hereafter we ſhall diſcourſe.

Horſmanſhip.

The Dart or Gerit.

To the former Leſſons of School-learning, and Exerciſe abroad, are added ſome other accompliſhments of a Trade, Handy-craft, or Myſtery, in which a Man may be uſeful to the Service of the Grand Signior, as to ſew and embroider in Leather, (in which the *Turks* exceed all other Nations) to make Arrows, and embroider Quivers and Saddles, and make all ſorts of Furniture for Horſes; ſome learn to fold up a Turbant, others to fold up, clean and bruſh Veſts; to waſh and clean in the Bath, to keep Dogs and Hawks; others to excel in the Turkiſh manner of Muſick, and all other Services which may keep them from Idleneſs, and wherein they may be of future uſe to their great Maſter. And according hereunto Paſhaes and great Men have been denominated and ſurnamed after their departure from the Seraglio, to their places of Office and Truſt.

Such as have before made good proficiency in their Studies, and attained to a dexterity in their bodily Exerciſes, are tranſplanted to the firſt ſtep of Preferment, which is the waſhing the Grand Signior's Linnen; and here they firſt change their Cloth for Satten Veſts and Cloth of Gold, and their Pay and Sallery is augmented from four or five Aſpers a day, to eight or more; thence they paſs, as places fall, to the *Hazna-Oda*, or Chamber of the Treaſury, or to the *Kilar* or Diſpenſatory, where the Drugs, Cordials, and rich Drinks for the Grand Signior's Service are kept; out of thoſe two Chambers they are elected, in order to the higheſt and ſupreme place in the Seraglio, which is called the *Haz. Oda*, which conſiſts of forty Pages; theſe attend immediately on the Perſon of the Grand Signior, and amongſt them twelve hold the chief Offices of the Court, *viz.*

1. The *Selictar-Aga*, the King's Sword-bearer.
2. The *Chiohadar-Aga*, he who carries his Cloak or Veſt for rainy Weather.
3. The *Rechimbar-Aga*, he that holds his Stirrup.
4. The *Ebricdar-Aga*, he that carries his Water to drink or waſh.
5. The *Tulbentar-Aga*, he that makes up his Turbant.
6. The *Kem Hufar-Aga*, he who keeps the Wardrobe; and overſees the waſhing the Linen.
7. The *Cheſneghir Baſhee*, the chief Sewer.
8. *Zagergee Baſhee*, the chief over the Dogs.
9. *Turnackgee Baſhee*, he who pairs his Nails.
10. *Berber Baſhee*, chief Barber.
11. *Muhaſebegee Baſhee*, the chief Accomptant.
12. *Teskeregee Baſhee*, his Secretary.

There are alſo two other Officers in the Court of great reſpect, which are the *Dogan Baſhee*, or chief Falconer; and the *Humaungee Baſhee*, or chief over the Baths; but theſe have their Offices and Lodgings apart; and not entring into the Royal Chamber, are not capable of higher Preferment.

There are nine alſo are called *Ars Agalar*, who have the privilege of preſenting Petitions, like Maſters of the Requeſts; of theſe, four are of the *Haſoda*, as the *Shiletar-Aga*, *Tcohadar-Aga*, *Rikiabrar-Aga*, *Tulban Oglanii*; and the others are of different Offices, as the *Hazna Kiahaiaſi*, who is the ſecond Officer of the Treaſury; *Kiler Kiahaiaſi*, who is Overſeer of the Proviſions of Sherbets, Sugar, Sweetmeats, &c. *Dogangi Baſhi*, or chief Falconer; the *Hazodabaſchi*, or principal Commander of the Royal Chamber; and *Kapa Agaſi*, or chief Commander of the Pages; all which are firſt and neareſt to Preferment, and to be employed Abroad, in the Office of *Pacha*, as Places are void.

Thoſe that are thus, through the Grace and Favour of the Sultan, arrived to the Dignity of being of the Royal Chamber, where they enjoy the Honour and Privilege of being conſtantly in his Eye and Preſence, are often preſented by him with Swords, Veſts, Bows, and the like; and are permitted to take Rewards, for the Interceſſions and Applications they make in behalf of others. Sometimes he ſends them on Meſſage to *Paſhees*; ſometimes for the confirmation of the Princes, either in *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia*, or *Walachia*; ſometimes to carry Preſents to the Vizier and great Men: In all which Employments they are greatly entertained, both with Mony, Jewels, and rich Furniture for Horſes; ſo that very few of theſe Forty, but in a ſhort time gain Eſtates of their own, fit to equippe and furniſh them to enter into any Office of the Empire.

As Offices fall in order, Supplies are made out of theſe, others ariſing from lower Chambers ſucceſſively in their places; whether it be to the four moſt conſiderable Governments, which are *Cairo*, *Aleppo*, *Damaſcus*, and *Buda*; or if none of theſe Places be void, to be *Beglerbegs* of *Natolia*, or of *Natolia*; to be *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, *Spaheeler Agaſee*, or General of the Horſe, or to ſome ſmall *Paſhalicks* or Governments ſcattered in ſeveral places of the Empire.

The degrees of Succeſſions greatly obſerved.

But we ſhall not here need to diſcourſe of the particular Offices and Dignities within the Power and Gift of the Grand Signior, intending to make a diſtinct Chapter of the ſeveral Offices, Governments, Dignities and Places, from whence

whence the Grand Signior's Profits ariſe, that ſo we may the better deſcribe the Wealth of this Empire, and the Importance of thoſe Offices, for diſcharge of which young Men are educated with the care beforementioned.

But before the concluſion of this Chapter, it will be neceſſary to add, that none, unleſs by ſpecial Grace, are advanced from the Seraglio, until the Age of about forty Years, by which time they are ripe and mature for Government, and the wantonneſs and heat of Youth allayed. Before their departure to their places of Truſt, they are courted and honoured by all with Preſents; the Queen-Mother, the *Sultanaes*, the rich Eunuchs, the Great Vizier, and Officers Abroad, concur all to adorn them with Gifts and Riches at their Advancements, as undoubted Conſequents of the Grand Signior's Favour. And at the farewel, with much ſubmiſſion they viſit the *Capa Aga*, or chief of the Eunuchs, and other principal Officers of the Seraglio, recommending themſelves, in the time of their abſence, to their good Grace and Favour, deſiring to live in their good Opinion and Friendſhip; and this is done with as much Ceremony and Complement as is exerciſed in the moſt civil Parts of Chriſtendom. For though the *Turks*, out of Pride and Scorn, comport themſelves to Chriſtians with a ſtrange kind of barbarous haughtineſs and neglect, they are yet among themſelves as courtly and preciſe in their own Rules of Complement and Civility, as they are at *Rome*, or any other parts of the civilized World.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Method of the Turkiſh *Studies and Learning in the Seraglio.*

WE have rather ſhewed in the foregoing Chapter, the Education of young Scholars, in reference to exerciſe of Body, and dexterity in Arms, than the method of their Studies and Speculations, according to the manner of our Seminaries and Colledges, which more reſpect the cultivation of the Mind, with the Principles of Vertue and Morality, and the Notions of ſublime Reaſon, than the Improvements of the Body by aſſiduity of Exerciſe, which makes them become active, and begets an agility in the management of Arms. And though the latter is a Buſineſs moſt attended to by ſprightly and ingenious Spirits, who know Preferments in the *Ottoman* Court have always depended, and ſtill do, on the virtue of the Sword; yet Speculation and Knowledg in Sciences are not wholly eſtranged from their Schools, which we ſhall in brief touch upon to ſatisfy the curioſity of our Academies, who I know would gladly be reſolved what ſort of Phyſical or Moral Philoſophy, what Tongues and Sciences fall within the contemplation of that barbarous Ignorance of the *Turks*. To dilucide which the moſt clearly as I can, according to the beſt information of the Learned *Turks*; it is reported by the *Kalfaes*, or Pedagogues of the Seraglio, that their chief Deſign is to inſtruct their Scholars in reading and writing, ſo as they may have ſome inſpection into the Books of their Law and Religion; eſpecially the *Alchoran*, whereby may be produced in their Minds a greater reverence to them. For being once paſſed from the firſt form of their A, B, C, and joyning Syllables, they are then inſtructed in the *Arabian* Tongue, wherein all the Secrets and Treaſure of their Religion and Laws are contained, and is a neceſſary accompliſhment of a *Paſha*, or any great Miniſter, in relation to the better diſcharge of his Office, being thereby enabled to have an inſpection into the Writings and Sentences of the *Kadees*, or other Officers of the Law within his Juriſdiction, as well as furniſhed with Knowledg and Matter of Diſcourſe concerning Religion. And to adorn theſe young Candidates of the Grand Signior's Favour, with more Polity and ingenious Endowments, the next Leſſon is the *Perſian* Tongue, which fits them with quaint Words and Eloquence, becoming the Court of their Prince, and corrects the groſſneſs, and enriches the barrenneſs of the *Turkiſh* Tongue, which in it ſelf is void both of Expreſſion, and ſweetneſs of Accent. It teaches them alſo a handſome and gentle deportment, inſtructs them in Romances, raiſes their thoughts to aſpire to the generous and vertuous Actions they read of in the *Perſian* Novellaries, and endues them with a kind of *Platonick* Love each to other, which is accompanied with a true Friendſhip amongſt ſome few, and with as much gallantry as is exerciſed in any part of the World. But for their Amours to Women, the reſtraint and ſtrictneſs of Diſcipline, makes them altogether ſtrangers to that Sex; for want of Converſation with them, they burn in Luſt one towards another; and the amorous diſpoſition of Youth wanting more natural Objects of Affection, is tranſported to a moſt paſſionate admiration of Beauty whereſoever it finds it, which becauſe it is much talked of by the *Turks*, we will make it a diſtinct Diſcourſe by it ſelf.

The Books they read commonly in the *Perſian* Language, are *Daniſten*, *Schaibdi*, *Pend-attar*, *Giuliſtin*, *Boſtan Hafiz*, and the *Turkiſh* Books called *Mulemma*, or a mixture of the *Arabian* and *Perſian* words, both in Proſe and Verſe, facetious and full of quick and lively Expreſſions. Of theſe ſorts of Books, thoſe moſt commonly read are called *Kirkwizir*, *Humaiunname*, or *delile we Kemine*, *El fulceade*, *Seidbatal*, and various other Romances: theſe are uſually the ſtudy of the moſt aiery and ingenious Spirits amongſt them. Thoſe others who are of a Complexion more melancholick, and inclinable to contemplation, proceed with more patience of Method, and are more exact in their Studies, intending to become Maſters of their Pen, and by that means to arrive to Honour and Office, either of *Reſt Efendi*, or Secretary of State, Lord Treaſurer, or Secretary of the Treaſury, or Diſpenſatory, *&c.* or elſe to be *Emaums*, or Pariſh Prieſts of ſome principal Moſchs of Royal Foundation, in which they paſs an eaſy, quiet, and ſecure Life, with a conſiderable competency of livelihood. Others aim in their Studies to become *Hazifizi*, which ſignifies a Conſerver of the *Alchoran*, who get the whole *Alchoran* by Heart, and for that reaſon are held in great eſteem, and their Perſons as ſacred as the place which is the Repoſitory of the Law.

Thoſe who are obſerved to be more addicted to their Books than others, are named by them *Talibulilmi*, or lovers of Philoſophy; tho very few amongſt them arrive to any Learning really ſo called, yet they attain to the degree of *Giuzchon*, or Readers of the *Alchoran*, for Benefit and Relief of the Souls of thoſe departed, who for that end have bequeathed them Legacies. At certain Houſes, they read Books that treat of the Matters of their Faith, and render them out of *Arabick*

Arabick into *Turkiſh*, and theſe Books are, *Schurut*, *Salat*, *Mukad*, *Multeka*, *Hidaie*, &c. which they diſcant upon in an Expoſitory manner; inſtructing the more ignorant and of lower form, by way of Catechiſm. They have alſo ſome Books of Poetry, written both in *Perſian* and *Arabick*, which run in Rhime and Meeter, like the Golden Verſes in *Pythagoras*, containing excellent Sentences of Morality, being directions for a Godly Life, and contemplation of the Miſeries and Fallacies of this World, which many of them do commit to memory, and repeat occaſionally as they fall into diſcourſe.

For other Sciences, as Logick, Phyſick, Metaphyſick, Mathematicks, and other our Univerſity Learning, they are wholly ignorant; unleſs in the latter, as far as Muſick is a part of the Mathematicks, whereof there is a School apart in the Seraglio. Only ſome that live in *Conſtantinople*, have learned ſome certain Rules of Aſtrology, which they exerciſe upon all occaſions, and buſy themſelves in Propheſies of future Contingencies of the Affairs of the Empire, and the unconſtant Eſtate of great Miniſters, in which their Predictions ſeldom divine grateful or pleaſing Stories. Neither have the wiſeſt and moſt active Miniſters or Souldiers amongſt them, the leaſt inſpection into Geography, whereby to be acquainted with the ſituation of Countries, or diſpoſition of the Globe, tho they themſelves enjoy the poſſeſſion of ſo large a proportion of the Univerſe.

Their Seamen, who ſeldom venture beyond ſight of Land (unleſs they be thoſe of *Barbary*, who are Renegadoes, and practiſed in the Chriſtian Art of Navigation) have certain Sea-Charts ill framed, and the Capes and Headlands ſo ill laid down, that in their Voyages from *Conſtantinople* to *Alexandria*, the richeſt place of their Trade, they truſt more to their Eye and Experience, than the Direction of their Maps; nor could I ever ſee any Chart of the Black Sea, made either by *Turk* or *Greek*, which could give the leaſt light to a knowing Seaman, ſo as to encourage him, according to the Rules of Art, to lay any confidence thereon in his Navigation.

The Art of Printing (a Matter diſputable whether it hath brought more of Benefit or Miſchief to the World) is abſolutely prohibited amongſt them, becauſe it may give a beginning to that ſubtilty of Learning, which is inconſiſtent with, as well as dangerous to the groſſneſs of their Government, and a means to deprive many of their Livelihood, who gain their Bread only by their Pen, and occaſion the loſs of that ſingular Art of fair Writing, wherein they excel or equal moſt Nations: The Effect of which is evident amongſt the Weſtern People, where Printing hath taken footing. And though there be few Hiſtorians among them who have any knowledg of paſt Times, or the being of other Empires before the *Ottoman*, mixing all Stories in confuſion together (as we have ſaid before) without diſtinction of Perſons, or reſpect of Chronology; yet as to the Succeſſes and Progreſs of Affairs in their own Dominions, they keep moſt ſtrict Regiſters and Records, which ſerve them as Preſidents and Rules for the preſent Government of their Affairs.

And thus the Reader may ſound the depth of the *Turks* Philoſophy; who tho they reach not thoſe Contemplations of our profound *Sophies*, have yet ſo much Knowledg, as neither to be over-reached in their Treaties with the Wits of the World, nor for want of good Conduct of Affairs loſe one inch of their Empire.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Affection and Friendſhip the Pages in the Seraglio bear each other.

SInce in the foregoing Chapter we have made mention of the amorous Diſpoſition that is to be found among theſe Youths each to other; it will not be from our purpoſe to acquaint the Reader, that the Doctrine of *Platonick* Love hath found Diſciples in the Schools of the *Turks*, that they call it a Paſſion very laudable and vertuous, and a ſtep to that perfect Love of God, whereof Mankind is only capable, proceeding by way of Love and Admiration of his Image and Beauty enſtamped on the Creature. This is the colour of Vertue, they paint over the deformity of their depraved Inclinations; but in reality this Love of theirs, is nothing but *libidinous* Flames each to other, with which they burn ſo violently, that Baniſhment and Death have not been Examples ſufficient to deter them from making Demonſtrations of ſuch-like Addreſſes; ſo that in their Chambers, though watched by their Eunuchs, they learn a certain Language with the motion of their Eyes, their Geſtures, and their Fingers, to expreſs their Amours; and this Paſſion hath boiled ſometimes to that heat, that Jealouſies and Rivalties have broken forth in their Chambers, without reſpect to the ſeverity of their Guardians, and good Orders have been brought into confuſion, and have not been again redreſſed, until ſome of them have been expelled the Seraglio, with the Tippets of their Veſts cut off, baniſhed into the Iſlands, and beaten almoſt to death.

Nor is this Paſſion only amongſt the young Men each to other; but Perſons of eminent degree in the Seraglio, become inveigled in this ſort of love, watching occaſions to have a ſight of the young Pages that they fanſy, either at the Windows of their Chamber, or as they go to the *Moſque*, or to their Waſhings or Baths; offer them Service and Preſents, and ſo engage them, as to induce them to deſire to be made of the Retinue of him that uſes this Courtſhip towards them, which they many times obtain; and being entertained in the Service of a Maſter who ſo highly fancies and admires them, they become often ſharers with him in his Riches and Fortune.

The Grand Signior's themſelves have alſo been Slaves to this inordinate Paſſion. For Sultan *Morat* became ſo enamoured of an *Armenian* Boy, called *Muſa*, as betrayed him, though otherwiſe a diſcreet Prince, to a thouſand Follies; and at another time preferred a Youth for his Beauty only from the Novitiate of *Galata*, to be one of the Pages of his *Haz Oda*, or Chamber of his Royal Preſence, and in a ſhort time made hime *Silahtar Aga*, or Sword-bearer, one of the greateſt Offices in the Seraglio. And this preſent Sultan became ſo enamoured of a *Conſtantinopolitan* Youth, one of the Pages of his Muſitians School, called *Kulogli*, or Son of a Slave, that he made him his chief Favourite, never could content himſelf without his company; cloathed him like himſelf, made him ride by his ſide, commanded all to preſent and honour him, in the ſame manner as if he had made him Companion of the Empire.

This Paſſion likewiſe reigns in the Society of Women; they die with amorous Affections one to the other; eſpecially the old Women court

the Young, preſent them with rich Garments, Jewels, Mony, even to their own impoveriſhment and ruin; and theſe Darts of *Cupid* are ſhot through all the Empire, eſpecially *Conſtantinople*, the Seraglio of the Grand Signior, and the Apartments of the Sultans.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Mutes and Dwarfs.

BEſides the Pages, there is a ſort of Attendants to make up the *Ottoman* Court, called *Bizebani*, or *Mutes*, Men naturally born deaf, and ſo conſequently, for want of receiving the ſound of words, are dumb: Theſe are in number about forty, who by Night are lodged amongſt the Pages in the two Chambers, but in the day time have their Stations before the *Moſque* belonging to the Pages, where they learn and perfect themſelves in the Language of the *Mutes*, which is made up of ſeveral Signs, in which by cuſtom they can diſcourſe and fully expreſs themſelves; not only to ſignify their ſenſe in familiar Queſtions, but to recount Stories, underſtand the Fables of their own Religion, the Laws and Precepts of the *Alchoran*, the name of *Mahomet*, and what elſe may be capable of being expreſſed by the Tongue. The moſt ancient amongſt them, to the number of about eight or nine, are called the *Favourite Mutes*, and are admitted to attendance in the *Haz Oda*; who only ſerve in the place of Buffoons, for the Grand Signior to ſport with, whom he ſometimes kicks, ſometimes throws in the Ciſterns of Water, ſometimes make fight together like the Combat of *Clineas* and *Dametas*. But this Language of the *Mutes* is ſo much in faſhion in the *Ottoman* Court, that none almoſt but can deliver his ſenſe in it, and is of much uſe to thoſe who attend the Preſence of the Grand Signior, before whom it is not reverent or ſeemly ſo much as to whiſper.

The Dwarfs are called *Ginge*; theſe alſo have their Quarters among the Pages of the two Chambers, until they have learned, with due Reverence and Humility, to ſtand in the Preſence of the Grand Signior. And if one of theſe have that benefit, as by Natures fortunate Error, to be both a Dwarf and Dumb, and afterwards, by the help of Art, to be caſtrated and made an Eunuch; he is much more eſteemed, than if Nature and Art had concurred together to make him the perfecteſt Creature in the World; one of this ſort was preſented by a certain Paſha, to the Grand Signior, who was ſo acceptable to him and the Queen-Mother, that he attired him immediately in Cloth of Gold, and gave him liberty through all the Gates of the Seraglio.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Eunuchs.

THis libidinous flame of depraved Nature, is ſo common a Diſeaſe among the *Turks*, and ſo ancient a Vice, that both for State, and prevention of this unnatural Crime, it hath not been eſteemed ſafe or orderly in the Courts of Eaſtern Princes, to conſtitute others for the principal Officers of their Houſhold than Eunuchs: The like is obſerved in the Seraglio of the Grand Signior, where two Eunuchs eſpecially have the principal Command, and are Perſons of the higheſt and eminenteſt eſteem, *viz.* the *Kuzlir-Agaſi*, who is Superintendent over the Women, and is a Black Eunuch.

The other is *Capa Agaſi*, or Maſter of the Gate, who is White, and commands all the Pages, and White Eunuchs reſiding in the Court; under him are all the Officers that are Eunuchs; as firſt the *Haz Odabaſchi*, or Lord Chamberlain, who commands the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber.

2. The *Serai Kiahaiaſi*, Lord Steward of the Houſhould, who overſees the Chambers of the Pages, and the *Seferli Odaſi*, or the Chambers of thoſe Pages who are deſigned to follow the Grand Signior upon any Journy, and of theſe he hath care to ſee them provided of Cloaths and all other Neceſſaries for the Service they undertake.

3. The *Haznadar Baſhi*, or Lord Treaſurer of the Seraglio, who commands thoſe Pages that attend the Treaſury; I mean not that which is of preſent uſe, as to pay the Souldiery, or ſerve the publick and preſent Occaſions of the Empire, for that is in the Hand of the *Tefterdar*; but that Riches that is laid apart for the Expences of the Court, and that which is amaſſed and piled up in ſeveral Rooms of the Seraglio, of which there have been Collections and Additions in the Time almoſt of every Emperor, diſtinguiſhed and divided by the Names of the Sultans, through whoſe induſtry and frugality they had been acquired; but this Wealth is conſerved as Sacred, not to be uſed or expoſed, unleſs on Occaſions of extreme Emergency.

4. The *Kilargi Baſhi*, that is, the Chief Commander over the Pages, to whoſe care the charge of the Diſpenſatory is committed, or Expences for the daily Proviſions.

Other Officers there are of Eunuchs, as he that is firſt Maſter of Scholars for their Books, called *Ikingi Capa Oglani*, and his Uſher; the chief *Miergidgi* or Prieſt of the Grand Signior's *Moſque*; under whom are two other Aſſiſtants, for cleanſing and well ordering of the *Moſques*.

Theſe are the only Officers of the White Eunuchs, the others are of Commonalty, which are in number about fifty, and have ordinarily twelve Aſpers a day pay, which alſo are augmented according to the *Wakfs* or Legacies of the Deceaſed.

Thoſe that are Curates of the Royal *Moſques*, and have Pluralities of Benefices of that nature, have ſometimes a Revenue of 100 *Chequins* a day: among theſe alſo due order is obſerved, the Younger, or Juniors in the Seraglio, always giving reſpect and reverence to Seniority.

Of the Black Eunuchs.

THE Black Eunuchs are ordained for the ſervice of the Women in the Seraglio; as the White are to the attendance of the Grand Signior, it not ſeeming a ſufficient Remedy by wholly diſmembring them, to take the Women off from their inclinations to them, as retaining ſome relation ſtill to the Maſculine Sex; but to create an abhorrency in them; they are not only caſtrated, but Black, choſen with the worſt Features that are to be found among the moſt hard-favoured of that *African* Race.

The

The prime Officer of them all, as we have ſaid before, is the *Kuzlir Aga*, or Maſter of the Maids or Virgins.

2. *Valide Agaſi*, the Eunuch of the Queen-Mother.

3. *Sehahzadeler Agaſi*, or the Eunuch to whoſe charge is committed the Royal Progeny, and in whoſe cuſtody at preſent are three Sons of Sultan *Ibrahim*, Brothers to the preſent Emperor, *viz. Solyman*, on whom the *Turks* at preſent found their principal Hopes and Expectation; *Bajazet* and *Orchan*, the Mother of which two laſt is ſtill living, and confined to the old Seraglio in *Conſtantinople*, which is the Monaſtery of the decayed Wives and Miſtreſſes of former Grand Signiors, from whence there is no Redemption, until either their Sons die, or by good fortune one becomes Emperor.

4. Is *Fazna Agaſi*, or the Eunuch that is Treaſurer to the Queen-Mother, and commands thoſe Damſels that are Servants in the ſaid Chamber.

5. *Kilar Agaſi*, or he that keeps the Sugar, Serbets, and Drugs of the Queen-Mother.

6. *Bujuck Oda Agaſi*, Commander of the greater Chamber.

7. *Kulchuk Oda Agaſi*, Commander of the leſſer Chamber.

8. *Baſh Capa Oglani*, the chief Porter of the Womens Apartment.

9, & 10. Two *Meſgidgi Barchi*, or the two *Emaums* or Prieſts of the Royal *Moſque* belonging to the Queen-Mother, ordained for the Womens Prayers.

The Apartments of the Women.

AND ſince I have brought my Reader into the Quarters of theſe Eunuchs, which are the Black Guard of the ſequeſtred Ladies of the Seraglio, he may chance to take it unkindly, ſhould I leave him at the Door, and not introduce him into thoſe Apartments, where the Grand Signior's Miſtreſſes are lodged: And though I ingenuouſly confeſs my acquaintance there (as all other my converſation with Women in *Turkey*) is but ſtrange and unfamiliar; yet not to be guilty of this diſcourteſie, I ſhall to the beſt of my information write a ſhort Account of theſe Captivated Ladies, how they are treated, immured, educated and prepared for the great Atchievements of the Sultan's Affection; and as in other Stories the Knight conſumes himſelf with Combats, Watching, and Penance, to acquire the love of one fair Damſel; here an Army of Virgins make it the only ſtudy and buſineſs of their Life to obtain the ſingle nodd of invitation to the Bed of their great Maſter.

The Reader then muſt know, that this Aſſembly of fair Women (for it is probable there is no other in the Seraglio) are commonly Prizes of the Sword; taken at Sea and at Land, as far fetched as the *Turk* commands, or the wandring *Tartar* makes his Incurſions, compoſed almoſt of as many Nations as there are Countries of the World, none of which are eſteemed worthy of this Preferment, unleſs Beautiful and undoubted Virgins.

As the Pages before mentioned are divided into two Chambers, ſo likewiſe are theſe Maids into two *Odaes*, where they are to work, ſew and embroider, and are there lodged on *Safawes*, every one with her Bed apart, between every five of which is a *Kadun* or grave Matron laid to overſee and hear what Actions or Diſcourſe paſſes either immodeſt or undecent. Beſides this School, they have their Chambers for Muſick and Dancing, for acquiring a handſome Air in their carriage and comportment, to which they are moſt diligent and intent; as that which opens the Door of the Sultan's Affections, and introduces them into Preferment and Eſteem.

Out of theſe the Queen-Mother chuſes her Court, and orderly draws from the Schools ſuch as ſhe marks out for the moſt Beauteous, Facetious, or moſt correſponding with the harmony of her own Diſpoſition, and prefers them to a near attendance on her Perſon, or to other Offices of her Court. Theſe are always richly attired and adorned with all ſorts of precious Stones, fit to receive the Addreſſes and Amours of the Sultan: over them is placed the *Kadun Kahia*, or Mother of the Maids, who is careful to correct any immodeſt or light Behaviour amongſt them, and inſtructs them in all the Rules and Orders of the Court.

When the Grand Signior is pleaſed to dally with a certain number of theſe Ladies in the Garden; *Helvet* is cry'd, which rings through all the Seraglio; at which word all People withdraw themſelves at a diſtance, and Eunuchs are placed at every Avenue, it being at that time death to approach near thoſe Walls. Here the Women ſtrive with their Dances, Songs, and Diſcourſe, to make themſelves Miſtreſſes of the Grand Signior's Affection, and then let themſelves looſe to all kind of laſciviouſneſs and wanton Carriage, acquitting themſelves as much of all reſpect to Majeſty, as they do to Modeſty.

When the Grand Signior reſolves to chuſe himſelf a Bed-fellow, he retires into the Lodgings of his Women, where (according to the Story in every place reported, when the *Turkiſh Seraglio falls into Diſcourſe*) the Damſels being ranged in order by the Mother of the Maids, he throws his Handkerchief to her, where his eye and fancy beſt directs, it being a Token of her election to his Bed. The ſurpriſed Virgin ſnatches at this Prize and good Fortune, with that eagerneſs, that ſhe is raviſhed with the Joy before ſhe is deflowered by the Sultan, and kneeling down, firſt kiſſes the Handkerchief, and then puts it in her Boſom, when immediately ſhe is congratulated by all the Ladies of the Court, for the great Honour and Favour ſhe hath received. And after ſhe hath been firſt waſhed, bathed, and perfumed, ſhe is adorned with Jewels, and what other Attire can make her appear Glorious and Beautiful; ſhe is conducted at Night with Muſick and Songs of her Companions chanting before her to the Bed-chamber of the Sultan; at the Door of which attends ſome Favourite Eunuch, who upon her approaching, gives Advice to the Grand Signior, and permiſſion being given her to enter in, ſhe comes running and kneels before him, and ſometimes enters in at the Feet of the Bed, according to the ancient Ceremony, or otherwiſe, as he chances to like her, is taken in a nearer way with the Embraces of the Grand Signior.

This private Entertainment being ended, ſhe is delivered to the care of the *Kadan Kahia*, or Mother of the Maids, by whom ſhe is again conducted back with the ſame Muſick as before, and having firſt waſhed and bathed, hath afterwards the lodging and attendants that belongs to *Hunkiar Aſa-kiſi*, that is, the Royal Concubine: if it be her good Fortune to conceive and bring forth a Son, ſhe is called *Haſaki Sultana*, and is honoured with a ſolemn Coronation, and Crowned with a ſmall Coronet of Gold beſet with precious Stones. Other Ladies who produce like

like Fruits from the Grand Signior's Bed, have not yet the like Honour, but only the Name of *Baſh Haſaki*, *Inkingi Haſaki*, the firſt and ſecond Concubine, and ſo forward.

The Daughters that are born from the Grand Signior, are oftentimes at four or five years of Age wedded to ſome great *Paſha*, or *Beglerbeg*, with all the Pomp and Solemnities of Marriage, who from that time hath care of her Education, to provide a Palace for her Court, and to maintain her with that State and Honour as becomes the Dignity of a Daughter to the Sultan. At this tenderneſs of Age, Sultan *Ibrahim*, Father of the preſent Grand Signior, married three of his Daughters; one of which called *Gheaher Han Sultan*, hath had already five Husbands, and yet, as is reported by the World, remains a Virgin; the laſt Husband deceaſed was *Iſhmael Paſha*, who was ſlain in the paſſage of the River *Raab*; and is now again married to *Gurgi Mahomet Paſha* of *Buda*, a Man of 90 Years of Age, but rich and able to maintain the greatneſs of her Court, though not to comply with the youthfulneſs of her Bed, to which he is a ſtranger like the reſt of her preceding Husbands.

After the death of the Grand Signior, the Mothers of Daughters have liberty to come forth from the Seraglio and marry with any Perſon of Quality; but thoſe who have brought forth Sons, are tranſplanted to the old Seraglio, where they paſs a retired Life without Redemption; unleſs the Son of any of thoſe Mothers, by death of the firſt Heir, ſucceeding, releaſe his Mother from that Reſtraint, and make her ſharer with him in all his Happineſs and Glory.

CHAP. X.

Of the Agiam-Oglans.

WE have hitherto ſpoken of the *Ichoglans*, or Pages, Mutes, Dwarfs, Eunuchs, and the Feminine Court; it will now be neceſſary to ſpeak of the under Officers and Servants called *Agiam-Oglans*, who are deſigned to the meaner Uſes of the Seraglio: Theſe are alſo Captives taken in War, or bought of the *Tartar*, but moſt commonly the Sons of Chriſtians taken from their Parents at the Age of ten or twelve Years; in whom appearing more ſtrength of Body than of Mind, they are ſet apart for labour and menial Services: Theſe are,

1. Porters.
2. *Boſtangies*, or Gardiners.
3. *Baltagies*, or Hatchetmen, who cut and carry Wood.
4. *Aſgees*, or Cooks, with all the Offices of the Kitchin.
5. *Paicks* and *Solacks*.
6. Butchers.
7. *Holvagees*, or Confectioners.
8. The Attendants of the Hoſpital of ſick Pages.

And all other ſet apart for ſervile Offices.

Theſe are ſeldom the Sons of natural born *Turks*, but yearly collected (as I ſaid) from the increaſe of poor Chriſtians in the *Morea* and *Albania*; by which means thoſe Countries are greatly diſ-peopled; the yearly number of thoſe thus collected, amount moſt commonly, as I am given to underſtand, to about 2000, which being brought to *Conſtantinople*, are firſt preſented before the Vizier, who (according as his Humour directs him) are placed in divers Stations, either in the Seraglioes of *Galata*, *Okmedon*, or *Adrianople*; others are put forth to learn divers Trades in the City; others to be Seamen, and learn Navigation; others eſpecially are placed in the great Seraglio, where they are made to ſerve in the Stables, in the Kitchin, to dig in the Gardens, to cleave Wood, to row in the Grand Signior's Barge, and to do what other Services they are commanded by the Superiors ſet over them, called *Odabaſhees*, who are Men of Ancienter ſtanding than the reſt, having about fifteen Aſpers a day Salary, two Veſts of Cloth a Year, and two pieces of Linen Cloth for Shirts and Hankerchiefs, *&c.* and theſe are ſubject to the *Boſtangi Paſha*, who is the Head and abſolute Commander of all thoſe who have the Name of *Boſtangees*, or Gardiners, of which there may be 10000 in and about the Seraglioes and Garden of the Grand Signior.

Of theſe *Boſtangees*, ſome are raiſed to a higher degree, and called *Haſaki*, which ſignifies Royal, and attend only to Meſſages ſent by the Grand Signior himſelf, and are Men of ſpecial Authority. Their Habit or Cloathing nothing differs from the *Boſtangees*, unleſs in the fineneſs of their Cloth.

The Power of the *Boſtangi Paſha* is very great; for though he himſelf aroſe but from the *Agiamoglans*, and wore a felt Cap, yet he hath the command of all the Grand Signior's Gardens and Houſes of Pleaſure; overſees all his Waterworks, and hath Power and Juriſdiction along the *Boſphorus*, unto the Mouth of the Black Sea; commands alſo the Country at a large diſtance from *Conſtantinople*; having power to puniſh all Debaucheries and Extravagancies in and about the Country Villages, and is capable, by the Grand Signior's Favour, to become *Paſha* of Grand *Cairo*, *Babylon*, *Buda*, &c. and of the firſt degree, which is Vizier *Azem*.

The *Agiamoglans* who are deſigned to the Grand Signior's Seraglio, are of the choiceſt amongſt the whole number, the ſtrongeſt Bodies, and moſt promiſing Aſpects, and are diſtributed into ſeveral Companies as they want to make up their Complement. This Diſcipline is very ſevere and ſtrict, ſo that they are taught Obedience, and readineſs to ſerve, with Watchings, Faſtings, and other Penances.

Their Cloathing is of courſe Cloth made at *Salonica*, anciently called *Theſſalonica*; their Caps of Felt, after the form of a Sugar-loaf, of a Hair colour. Some of them are taught to Read and Write, who are eſteemed the moſt acute and fit to receive ingenious Learning: but the moſt part are exerciſed in activity of Body, in Running, Leaping, Wreſtling, throwing the Iron Bar, and other Agility, wherein the ſtrength and activity of Body is beſt practiſed. Their Lodgings are under ſeveral Pent-houſes or Sheds, built under the Walls of the Seraglio; their Dyet is *Fleſh* and Rice, ſufficient, though not luxurious.

Out of theſe belonging to the Seraglio, none are drawn out for Janiſaries, but are ſometimes preferred to ſervice of Paſhaes for their Fidelity or good Deſerts, and by thoſe Maſters ariſe to conſiderable Riches, and commodious manner of Livelihood; others of theſe, in great numbers, are made uſe of for attendance on the Grand Signior's Tents, when he goes to the Wars, and in

other Journies are uſeful for the management of the Grand Signior's Carriages and travelling Neceſſaries. Such *Agiamoglans* (as we have ſaid before) that are diſtributed into other Quarters beſides the Royal Seraglio, are principally deſigned, as they grow ripe, and of ſtrength of Body, to be made Janiſaries in the place of the deceaſed; ſo that their principal Education is in order thereunto, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more largely when we treat of the Militia.

The Names of the *Agiamoglans* are written in a Book, with the Places where they are diſtributed, their ſeveral Pays of two, three, or five Aſpers a Day, which Book is under-written by the Grand Signior, and conſigned to the *Teſterdar*, or Lord Treaſurer, who pays their Salaries every three Months, being obliged at that time to enquire who is dead or removed, and ſo accordingly to make a true report to the Grand Signior.

And thus I have given you a brief account of the Grand Siginor's Seraglio, and the Regiment of it, which, if well conſiderd and weighed, is one of the moſt Politick Conſtitutions in the World, and none of the meaneſt Supports of the *Ottoman* Empire: which Relation I had from the Mouth of one who had ſpent nineteen Years in the Schools of the Seraglio. I muſt confeſs I have not treated ſo amply thereof as the Subject might require, becauſe the Rules and Oeconomy obſerved among the Women, Mutes, Eunuchs, and other of the retired Apartments, I conceive to be a kind of digreſſion from my purpoſe, my intention being principally to deſcribe the Government, Maxims, and Polities of the *Turk*. And therefore I proceed to treat of the diverſities of Offices, and Places of great Riches and Truſt, which remain in the power of the Sultan to confer on thoſe Favourites, Minions, and Creatures, whom thus at his own Charge he hath nouriſhed, like a Father, from their Infancy, to inveſt in their riper Years with great Honours, for ſecurity of his own Perſon, and flouriſhing Eſtate of his Dominions.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Vizier Azem, *or, Prime Vizier, his Office, the other ſix Viziers of the Bench, and of the Divan or place of Judicature.*

THE Prime Vizier, called in *Turkiſh* Vizier *Azem*, is as much as chief Counſellor; he is ſometimes termed the Grand Signior's Deputy or Repreſentative, or *Vicarius Imperii*, becauſe to him all the Power of the Sultan is immediately devolved; there is no other Solemnity, as I know of, in the creating a Vizier, than the delivery of the Grand Signior's Seal, which he always carries about him in his Boſom, on which is engraven the Emperor's Name, by which he becomes inveſted in all the Power of the Empire, and can, without the formality and proceſs of Law, remove all Obſtacles and Impediments which hinder the free ſway of his Government. It hath always been the Policy of the great Princes of the Eaſt, to erect one as Superintendent over all the reſt of their Miniſters; ſo *Daniel* was conſtituted by *Darius* over the Preſidents and Princes, becauſe of the admirable Spirit and Wiſdom that was in him: and *Joſeph* was made chief Governor and abſolute Commander over all *Egypt*; and by this means thoſe Princes who gave themſelves much over to ſoftneſs and luxury, could with more eaſe demand account of Miſcarriages in the Rule of their Empire, it being their Policy to conſtitute one on whom all the blame of Miſcarriages in Government might be thrown.

The firſt conſtitution that we meet with in Hiſtory of the firſt Vizier, was in the time of *Amurath* the third, King of the *Turks*, who paſſing into *Europe* with his Tutor called *Lala Schabin*, he made him his chief Counſellor, and committed to him the Charge of his Army, with which he won *Adrianople*, formerly called *Oreſtias*, and ever ſince the Grand Signior hath continued to maintain that Office of Vizier, uſing that common appellation of *Lala*, which ſignifies Tutor, whenſoever in familiar Diſcourſe he ſpeaks to him.

There are beſides the firſt, commonly ſix other Viziers, who are called Viziers of the Bench, that have no Power nor Authority in the Government, but only are grave Men, that have perhaps had Charges and Offices, and are knowing in the Laws, and ſit together with the firſt Vizier in the Divan or Court, where Cauſes are tryed, but are mute, and cannot give their Sentence or Opinion in any Matter, unleſs the firſt Vizier pleaſe to demand their Counſel or Judgment in point of Law, which he ſeldom does, not to diſparage his own Reaſon and Experience. Their Pay proceeds from the Grand Signior's Treaſury, and is not above 2000 Dollars a Year: any of theſe ſix can write the Grand Signior's *Firme* or *Autogra* upon all Commands or Decrees that are ſent abroad; and becauſe their Riches are but moderate, and the Office they are in treats not much with the dangerous Parts of State, they live long without Envy or Emulation, or being ſubject to that inconſtancy of Fortune and Alteration, to which greater degrees of Place are expoſed. And yet when any great Matter is in conſult, and of conſiderable Importance, theſe ſix, with the firſt Vizier, the *Mufti* and *Caddeeleſcheers*, or Lord Chief Juſtices, are admitted into the Cabinet-Council, and are often permitted freedom to deliver their Opinions on the matter of Queſtion.

The State and Greatneſs the Prime Vizier lives in, is agreeable to the Honour of him whom he repreſents, having commonly in his Court about 2000 Officers and Servants; when he appears in any ſolemnity or publick Show, he carries on his Turbant before two Feathers, as the Grand Signior wears three, ſet on with a handle of Diamonds, and other rich Stones; and before him are carried three Horſe Tails, called the *Tugh*, upon a long Staff, upon the top of which is a gilded Knob; the like diſtinction of Honour is permitted only to the three other principal Paſhaes within their Juriſdiction, *viz.* the Paſha of *Babylon*, of *Cairo*, and of *Buda*; the other inferior Paſhaes have only one Horſe Tail carried before them, without other Diſtinction or Badg of Authority; and theſe three forementioned Paſhaes have a right to be Viziers of the Bench, and can take their places in the Divan, when the Time of their Offices are expired, and any of them found at the Court in entire Grace and Favour.

The Prime Vizier, as he is the Repreſentative of the Grand Signior, ſo he is the Head or Mouth of the Law; to him Appeals may be made, and any one may decline the ordinary courſe of Juſtice, to have his Caſe decided by his Determination, unleſs the Vizier, through the multiplicity of his Affairs, and a ſmall conſiderati-

on

on of the Caſe, thinks fit to refer it to the Law. And that he may evidence his care of the Publick Good, he is alwayes preſent at the Divan, four times a Week, that is, *Saturday*, *Sunday*, *Monday*, *Tueſday*, and the other days (excepting *Fridays*) keeps Divan in his own Houſe; ſo diligent and watchful are theſe Men to diſcharge the Acts of Juſtice, and their own Office.

He is attended to the Divan, which is the Chamber of the Seraglio, by a great number of *Chiauſes*, and their Commanders in chief, who are a ſort of Purſevants, and other Officers, who only ſerve to attend him to the Divan, called *Muta-faracan*, and may be termed Serjeants or Tipſtaffs; as he deſcends from his Horſe, and enters the Divan, or upon his return goes into his Houſe, he is with a loud Voice of his Attendants, prayed for, and wiſhed all happineſs and long Life; not unlike the Salutations the *Roman* Souldiers uſed to their Emperors; *Cum ſub auſpiciis Cæſaris omnia proſpera & felicia precabantur.* When he is ſet upon the Bench, all Cauſes are brought before the *Caddeleſcheer*, who is Lord Chief Juſtice, and by him all Judgments paſs, unleſs the Prime Vizier ſhall think the Cauſe proper for his Cogniſance, or ſhall diſapprove at any time the Sentence of the Judg; and then by virtue of his unlimited Power, he can reverſe the Verdict, and determine as he pleaſes. All Officers in the Divan wear a ſtrange ſort of dreſs upon their Heads, called in *Turkiſh Mugevezee*.

The Lord Chief Juſtices which ſit with the Grand Vizier, are two of *Romelia* and *Aſia*, called *Kadileſcher*, or Judges of the Army. And this ſhall in ſhort ſerve for what is neceſſary to ſpeak of the Divan in this place, in regard we only touch upon it for the better explanation of the Vizier's Office.

The Prime Vizier hath his Power as ample as his Maſter who gives it him, except only that he cannot (though he is the Elder Brother of all the Paſhaes) take off any of their Heads without the Imperial Signature, or immediate Handwriting of the Grand Signior; nor can he puniſh a Spahee or Janiſary, or any other Souldier, but by means of their Commanders, (the Militia having reſerved themſelves that Privilege, which ſecures them from ſeveral oppreſſions) in other Matters he is wholly Abſolute, and hath ſo great a Power with the Grand Signior, that whomſoever he ſhall think fit of all the Officers in the Empire to proſcribe, he can ſpeedily obtain the Imperial Hand to put it in execution.

Whatſoever Petitions and Addreſſes are made, in what Buſineſs ſoever, ought firſt to paſs through the Hands of the Vizier: but yet when a Party hath ſuffered ſome notorious Injury, in which the Vizier is combined, or hath refuſed him Juſtice, he hath liberty then to appeal to the Grand Signior himſelf, which is permitted by an ancient cuſtom; the aggrieved Perſon putting Fire on his Head, enters the Seraglio, runs in haſte, and can be ſtopt by no Body until he comes to the preſence of the Grand Signior, to whom he hath licence to declare his wrong. The like was done by Sir *Thomas Bendyſh*, when Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, putting Pots of Fire at the Yard-Arms of ſome Engliſh Ships then in Port, and came to an Anchor near the Seraglio. The reaſon thereof was, the violent ſeizure of the Merchants Goods, as ſoon as arrived in Port, for the Service of the Grand Signior, without Bargain or Account of them; which being taken up by thoſe Officers and great Perſons who were out of the reach of Law, forced the worthy Ambaſſador at that time Reſident to repreſent his Grievances with much reſolution, ſignifying them to the Grand Signior, by Fire on the Yards of eleven *Engliſh* Ships then in Port, which were drawn off from the Scale, where they uſually lay, to the ſide of the Seraglio; which coming to be diſcovered firſt to the Vizier, before the Grand Signior had notice thereof, he immediately extinguiſhed thoſe Fires by a fair Accommodation, before they burſt into a more dangerous Flame, by the knowledg of the Grand Signior, who might juſtly deſtroy him for ſuffering ſuch notorious Injuſtice to run to that publick and known extremity.

The *Perſians* in like caſes put on a Veſt of white Paper, ſignifying, the aggravation of their Injury is not to be deſcribed in as much Paper as can cover their Bodies.

This great Office of Charge and Truſt, as it is the higheſt, ſo it is the neareſt to *Jove*'s Thunder-bolt, and moſt expoſed to Envy and Emulation; ſtrange Stories are read and confirmed by Eye-witneſſes in our days, concerning the unexpected riſe and aſcent of unworthy Men, on a ſudden, without degrees, ſteps or approaches, to this mighty Power and Glory, and as ſoon have been thrown down, and been the Subject of the Peoples Cruelty and Revenge; ſome have been the Sons but of a few days growth, and the Sun hath ſcarce ſet, before their Greatneſs and Glory hath declined; others have continued but a Month, ſome a Year, others two or three; and withal, even in thoſe who have lived longeſt and happieſt, Fortune ſports with that wantonneſs and inconſtancy, that it may ſerve to be the Mirror and Emblem of the World's Vanity, and uncertain Riches: It is the Fate of great Favourites, with barbarous Princes, to be but ſhort-liv'd. For either the Prince delights to exerciſe his Power in debaſing ſome, and advancing others, or hath beſtowed ſo largely, that his Bounty is at a ſtop, and begins to be wearied with heaping of Favours, as the other is glutted and ſatiated with receiving them; *Fatò potentiæ raro ſempiternæ, an ſatias capit aut illos cum omnia tribuerunt, aut hos quod nihil reliquum eſt quod capiant.* Tacit. *Lib.* 3. Emulation and Flattery are likewiſe great, and the Factions are commonly many in the *Ottoman* Court, whereby the State of the firſt Miniſter is endangered. *Inſita mortalibus natura recentem aliorum felicitatem ægris oculis introſpicere, modumque fortunæ à nullis magis exigere, quam quos in æquo vident.* Tacit. *Lib.* 3. Sometimes the Queen-Mother rules, ſometimes the *Kuſlir Aga* commands; perhaps a beautiful Woman is Miſtreſs of the Power, as well as of the Affections of the Sultan; every one of theſe have ſome Favourites, ſome or other who watch Preferments, and are intent to obſerve all Miſcarriages of State, which may reflect on, or queſtion the Judgment or Honeſty of the firſt Author, by which means the unhappy Vizier, either by the Sultan's immediate Command, or Tumults of the Souldiery raiſed by the powerful Factions afore-mentioned, yields up his Life and Government together; whoſe Power and Greatneſs being only borrowed from his Maſter, and depending on another's Pleaſure, by its ſhort continuance and mutability, verifies that true ſaying of *Tacitus*, Lib. 12. *Nihil rerum mortalium tam inſtabile & fluxum eſt, quàm fama potentiæ non ſuâ vi nixa.*

But it doth nor always happen that the Prime Vizier, becauſe he is deprived of his Office, ſhould therefore loſe his Life; for many times, eſpecially if he be a Man whoſe Diſpoſition is not

greatly ſuſpected of Malice or Revenge to the Contrivers of his Fall, or be not of a generous Spirit, and great Abilities and Popularity, whereby he may be venturous and capable of raiſing Rebellion or Mutiny, he is permitted calmly to retire, and quietly to deſcend from his high Throne of Honour, to enter into a lower Region and Air of a ſmall and petty Government of a *Paſha*; as not many Years paſt the Predeceſſors of *Kuperli*, Father of this preſent Vizier, being degraded, had the *Paſhalick* of *Kaniſia* (which is accounted one of the meaneſt of all the Governments which are ſubject to a *Paſha*) conferred on him; and here I cannot tell whether ſuch a Vizier hath not more reaſon to bleſs and congratulate his Fortune, than accuſe it; for in this condition he is more free from Cares and Dangers, and much more happy, if his Ambition and greatneſs of Spirit render not his Repoſe and Eaſe leſs pleaſing, becauſe it is not in the higheſt Lodgings of Honour and Command. But it is ſeldom ſo among the *Turks*, for with them it is eſteemed no diſgrace to be tranſplanted from the Mountains to the Valleys; they know their Original and Compoſition partakes not much of Heavenly Fire, and that the Clay they are framed of, is but of common Earth, which is in the Hand of the Grand Signior, as the Pot to frame and mould, as is moſt agreeable to his Pleaſure and Will. And as it is no diſparagement to decline and go backward in Honour amongſt the *Turks*, ſo it is no new thing, or Abſurdity in their Politicks, to ſee Menriſe like Muſhromes in a Night, and from the meaneſt and moſt abject Offices, without Degrees or convenient Approaches, at once leap into the Seat and Quality of the Prime Vizier: I ſhall inſtance in one Example worthy of Record, which was of late days, and as yet that I know of, hath had no place in Hiſtory. It happened that in *Conſtantinople*, there was either great ſcarcity of Fleſh, or the negligence of the Butchers had made it ſo; ſo that they who were not ſo early abroad as to watch their uſual time of making their days Proviſion, or came any thing late, were neceſſitated to paſs that day with a Lenten Diet; among thoſe who had miſſed one morning their common proportion of Fleſh, was one *Derviſe*, a Cook of a Chamber of Janizaries; this Man knew the Blows and Puniſhment he was to ſuffer from the chief of the Chamber; that through his ſloth and want of care, the whole Company ſhould that day paſs without their Dinner, which cauſed him in great paſſion, with loud Exclamations, as he paſſed the Streets, to accuſe the ill Government, and little care was had to rectify theſe common Abuſes: It fortuned that at that time that *Derviſe* was lamenting his Caſe to all the World, and curſing the principal Officers, that the Grand Signior in diſguiſe paſſed by, and ſeeing a Man in ſuch diſorder of Mind, came in a courteous manner to demand the Reaſon of his Paſſion; to whom the *Derviſe* replied, 'It was vain for him to be inquiſitive; or for me, 'ſaid he, to inform you what you are able to afford no Remedy unto; for none but the Grand 'Signior himſelf is of ſufficient Power to redreſs 'that for which I have ſo much cauſe to be trou-'bled. *At laſt, with much importunity, he told,* 'what great Abuſe there was in the Butchery, 'that the Shambles were ill ſerved, that he had 'miſſed the uſual proportion of Fleſh that morn-'ing for his Janiſaries Chamber; and what Pu-'niſhment he was likely to ſuffer, for having come 'ſhort only one moment of his due time. *He added further*, 'That the Vizier, and other Officers, were negligent in rectifying theſe mean 'and low Diſorders, being wholly taken up in 'enriching themſelves, and intent to their own 'Intereſt: But if I were firſt Vizier, I would not 'only cauſe great plenty of Fleſh in this City, 'but at all times of the day it ſhould be found 'by thoſe who wanted it. And now, what be-'nefit have either you, *ſaid he*, by hearing this 'Story, or what releaſe am I like to have of Pu-'niſhment by repeating it to you?

The Grand Signior afterwards returning Home, and conſidering of the Diſcourſe the Janiſaries Cook had made him, whether to prove the Abilities of the Man, or becauſe he conceived Providence had offered this Encounter; or that Princes delight to exerciſe their Power in creating great Men from Nothing, he ſent immediatly for the *Derviſe*; who being come into his Preſence, and ſenſible of the familiar Diſcourſe he had made him, trembling, caſt himſelf down at his Feet, ſuppoſing that the free Language he uſed of the Vizier and the Government, was the cauſe he was now to loſe his Life. But it happened quite contrary, for the Grand Signior encouraging him to lay aſide his fear, told him, *he was reſolved to make him firſt Vizier, to try an Experiment, whether he was able to amend thoſe Abuſes he complained of.* And that herein he might not tranſgreſs the Degrees whereby he was gradually to paſs, he firſt made him chief of his Chamber, the next day Captain, the day following Aga or General of the Janiſaries, and thence with one ſtep to be great Vizier, who not only remedied the Abuſe in the Shambles, according to his promiſe, but proved a famous and excellent Miniſter of State. And though Examples of the like nature are frequent among the *Turks*, yet this may ſerve at preſent to ſhew in part the Fortune and Fate by which Men are raiſed, and the unconſtancy of Greatneſs and Glory amongſt the *Turks*, above any other part of the World beſides.

It was a hard Problem in the *Turkiſh Policy*, which as a wiſe Prime Vizier propoſed to certain Paſhaes, amongſt other Queſtions, What courſes were poſſible to be found out for a firſt Vizier to maintain and continue his Office, and acquit this ſo dangerous Charge, from the hazard and uncertainty to which it is liable; *For you ſee, Brothers*, ſaid he, *how few enjoy or grow Old herein; their Vertue, their Care, and their Innocence are no protection; ſome remain a Day, a Week, a Month; others protract the Threed to a Year or two, but at length they are* (to uſe our own Proverb) *like the Ape, to whom God gives Wings for their ſpeedier deſtruction.* The Paſhaes were for a while all ſilent, not knowing what Reply to make, or how to reſolve ſo difficult and knotty a Point, until *Kuperli* (who was then the moſt ancient, and perhaps the wiſeſt Paſha, as the Actions of his following Life have ſufficiently teſtified) firſt replied, That in his Opinion, the only and moſt probable Means for a tottering Vizier to ſecure himſelf, is to divert the Mind of the Grand Signior, and other working Brains, upon ſome Foreign War; for Peace is that which corrupts the Diſpoſitions of Men, and ſets them on work to raiſe themſelves with Inteſtine and Civil Evils; when War buſies their Spirits, and employs them to gain Renown and Glory by Martial Actions, by which means Plots and Treachery are droven from our own Homes; *Conſiliis & aſtu res externas moliri, arma procul habere.* Tacit. *Lib.* 6. And it is poſſible that *Achmet* the Son of *Kuperli*, who began the laſt War with *Germany*, might go upon this Maxim of his Fathers; for in all Matters

ters of his Government, he is obſerved to walk by the ſame Rules and Directions, which were bequeathed to him as well as his Inheritance.

And yet for all this doubtful Eſtate of the Prime Viziers, ſome have been known to manage this Office eighteen or nineteen Years, and afterwards wearied with Care and Pains, to acquit it by a natural Death; from whence this Queſtion may ariſe, Whether the Favour or Diſpleaſure of the Prince depends on the Deſtiny or Fortune we are born to, or whether humane Counſel can aſſign a way between Contumaciouſneſs and Flattery, wherein to ſteer free from Danger and Ambition? *Unde dubitare cogor, fato & ſorte naſcendi, ut cætera, ita Principum inclinatio in hos, offenſio in illos, an ſit aliquid in noſtris conſiliis, liceatque inter abruptam contumaciam, & deforme obſequium pergere iter, ambitione & periculis vacuum.* Tacit. *Lib.* 4. But we find but few Examples of this kind; for if Viziers have been Evil, their own Cruelty and Covetouſneſs have haſtned their Fate; if Good, their Merits have been their Ruin; leſt the great Benefits their Merits have procured to their Prince ſhould ſeem to want Reward, or be dangerous or difficult to requite; *Beneficia eouſque læta, dum videntur exſolvi poſſe; ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur.* Tacit. *Lib.* 4.

The Revenues of the firſt Vizier, which iſſue immediately from the Crown, and are certain appendages to the Office, are not great, being not above 20000 Dollars yearly, which ariſe from certain Villages in *Romelia*; the reſt of the Immenſe Riches which accrues to this Charge ſo full of Cares and Danger, flows from all the Quarters of the Empire. For no Baſhaw, or Miniſter of Truſt, enters his place without his Preſent and Offering to the firſt Vizier, to obtain his Conſent, and purchaſe a continuance of his Favour. Thoſe that have Governments abroad, have always their Agents at Court, who with Gifts continually mollify the Vizier's Mind, entreating him to repreſent their Service to the Grand Signior in an acceptable and grateful manner. And though at the Equinoctial in the Spring, all Paſhaes, and any that have Governments of note, are obliged to make their Preſents to the Grand Signior of conſiderable value, at which time the firſt Vizier neither will not want his own acknowledgments, he is yet farther treated by all Perſons with Sums of Mony, as the Nature of their Buſineſs is, which is not ſecretly, but boldly and confidently demanded, and the Bargain beaten as in matters of Merchandize and Trade; and Juſtice and Favours made as vendible, and ſet as publick to ſale, as Wares and Commodities are in the Shops and Places of common Mart; ſo that if the firſt Vizier proves covetous, (as commonly they do who are raiſed from nothing, and uſed always to thrift, and reſolves to loſe nothing of what he may get) his Income is incredible, and may equal that which is the Rent of the Grand Signior, and in a few Years amaſs immenſe Riches and Wealth. But of this the Prince and the *Turkiſh Policy* is not ignorant, and accordingly provides Remedies to drain the Inundations of the Vizier's Coffers; at firſt, by extorting great Sums of Mony from him at his entrance to the Charge; then, under colour of Friendſhip and Favour, the Grand Signior makes him Viſits, in requital whereof, rich Preſents are made him, as gratitude for ſo much Honour; next, he many times ſends to him for a Gift of 100000 Dollars, for Jewels, Horſes, and other things of great value; and in this manner ſeveral Contrivances are uſed to turn theſe Rivulets to pay their Tribute to the great Ocean; amongſt which this preſent Grand Signior *Mahomet* the Fourth, hath found out one way amongſt the reſt, putting the Vizier often to the charges of his Dinner, ſending to his Kitchin for twenty Diſhes of Meat, which is the uſual proportion of the Grand Signior's ordinary Table, and by inviting himſelf to a Banquet many times at the Vizier's Expences; and this being done ſo frequently, gives the World occaſion to believe, that he demands it out of no other Deſign than narrowneſs of Soul to ſave the Charges of his own Dinner; and the rather it is ſo believed, becauſe this Emperor is reputed of a covetous Diſpoſition, and of no affinity with *Solyman* the Magnificent. But the Ways and Means by which the Grand Signior comes in the end to be poſſeſſed of the Gains and Profits collected by his Vizier, and other Officers, requires a particular Diſcourſe apart, which ſhall in its due time and place be treated of; and this ſhall for the preſent ſuffice to have ſpoken concerning the Prime Vizier and his Office.

CHAP. XII.

The Offices, Dignities, and ſeveral Governments of the Empire.

HE that will deſcribe the Polities of a Country, muſt endeavour, eſpecially in the moſt exact and punctual manner poſſible, to declare the ſeveral Offices, Dignities, and Riches of it, that ſo a more eaſy computation may be calculated of its Strength, numbers of Men, Fortifications, Forces by Sea, where beſt defended, and where moſt eaſily vulnerable and expoſed.

The next to the Vizier *Azem*, or the firſt Vizier, are the ſeveral *Beglerbegs* (which may not unaptly be compared to Arch-dukes in ſome parts of Chriſtendom) having under their Juriſdiction many *Sangiacks* or Provinces, *Beyes*, *Agaes*, and others: To every one of theſe, the Grand Signior in honour beſtows three Enſigns (called in Turkiſh *Tugh*) which are Staves trimmed with the Tail of a Horſe, with a Golden Bull upon the top, and this is to diſtinguiſh them from *Baſhaws* who have two Enſigns; and the *Sanziach-beg*, who hath alſo the name of *Paſcha*, and hath but one.

When a *Paſcha* is made, the Solemnity uſed at the conferring his Office, is a Flag or Banner carried before him, and accompanied with Muſick and Songs by the *Merialem*, who is an Officer for this purpoſe only, for inveſtiture of Paſhaes in their Office.

The Government of *Beglerbegs*, who have ſeveral Provinces called *Sangiacks* under their Command, are two ſorts; the firſt is called *Has ile Beglerbeglik*, which hath a certain Rent aſſigned out of the Cities, Countries, and Signiories allotted to the Principality; the ſecond is called *Saliane Beglerbeglik*, for maintenance of which is annexed a certain Salery or Rent, collected by the Grand Signior's Officers with the Treaſure of the whole Government, out of which are paid alſo the *Sangiack Beglers*, that is, the Lords of the ſeveral Counties, Towns, or Cities, and the Militia of the Country.

It is impoſſible exactly to deſcribe the Wealth and ways of Gains exerciſed by theſe potent Governors to enrich themſelves; for a *Turk* is ingenious to get Wealth, and haſty to grow Rich;

Rich; howſoever we will ſuccinctly ſet down the certain Sums of Revenue which are granted them by Commiſſion from the Grand Signior, aſſigned them out of every particular place of their Government; beſides which, they have the Profits of all Wefts and Strays, goods of Felons, ſale of vacant Church-Offices, Mules, Horſes and Cattel, which by Mortality, or other Accidents, have no certain Maſter; to which may be added the benefit of their *Avanias* or falſe Accuſations, whereby they invade the Right and Eſtates of their Subjects; as alſo of the Robberies of their People and Strangers, by their own Slaves and Servants, whom they ſend abroad with that deſign; and having committed the Robberies themſelves, under pretence of diſcovery of the Crime, and doing Juſtice, they ſeize the Innocent People, torture and impriſon them, and perhaps put ſome to death for expiation of their own Offences.

To come nearer to this purpoſe; The *Beglerbegs* of the firſt ſort are in number 22, who have their Revenue allotted them in the places that they Govern, collected by their own Officers according to Commiſſion, of which the firſt is of *Anatolia*, anciently called *Aſia Minor*, afterwards *Anatolia*, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, from its more Eaſtern ſituation in reſpect of *Greece*; the yearly Revenue of which, in the Grand Signior's Books, called the *Old Canon*, is a Million of Aſpers, and hath under its Juriſdiction 14 *Sangiack* *Kiotahi*, where the *Beglerbeg* reſides, in *Phrygia Major*, *Sarahan*, *Aidin*, *Kaſtamoni*, *Hadanendighiar*, *Boli*, *Menteſche*, *Augora*, otherwiſe *Ancyra*, *Karahyſar*, *Teke ili*, *Kiangri*, *Hamid*, *Sultân Vghi*, *Kareſi*, with the command of twenty two Caſtles.

An Aſper is about the value of an Halfpenny.

2. *Caramania*, anciently called *Cilicia*, and was the laſt Province which held out belonging to the *Caramanian* Princes, when all places gave way to the flouriſhing progreſs of the *Ottoman* Arms; The Revenue hereof is 660074 Aſpers, and hath under its Juriſdiction ſeven *Sangiacks*, viz. *Iconium*, which is the Court of the *Beglerbeg* in *Cappadocia*, *Nigkde*, *Kaiſani*, otherwiſe *Ceſanca*, *Jeniſcheheri*, *Kyrſchehri*, *Akſchehri*, *Akſerai*: And in this Principality are three Caſtles, at *Iconium* one, at *Larende* and *Mendui*, under the *Paſha*'s immediate Command, and 17 others in ſeveral *Sangiacks*.

Which ſignifies a free command.

3. *Diarbekir*, otherwiſe *Meſopotamia*, hath a Revenue of a Million two hundred thouſand and ſix hundred and ſixty Aſpers, and hath under its Juriſdiction 19 *Sangiacks*, with five other Governments called *Hukinmet* in *Turkiſh*; eleven of which *Sangiacks* are properly belonging to the *Ottoman* Royalties, and eight are *Curdian* Countries, or of the People called *Kurts*; for when *Curdia* was conquered, the Country was divided, and diſtinguiſhed into the Nature of *Sangiacks*; but with this difference, of right Inheritance and Succeſſion to the Goods and Poſſeſſions of their Parents, and ſucceed as Lords of Mannors, or to other petty Governments by Blood and Kindred. And as other Lords of *Sangiacks*, *Timariots*, or Barons, pay the Grand Signior's Duties, and hold their Lands in Knights Service, or other Tenure, whereby they are obliged to attend and follow their Commanders to the Wars, whenſoever they are called thereunto by the Grand Signior's Summons: theſe that are regiſtred for *Hukiumet*, have no *Timariots* or Lords to command them, but are free from all Duties and Impoſitions, and are abſolute Maſters of their own Lands and Eſtates. Thoſe *Sangiacks* which are properly belonging to the *Ottoman* Royalties, are *C. Harpu*, *Ezani*, *Syureck*, *Neſbin*, *Chatenghiſ*, *Tchemiſchekrek*, *Seared*, *Muſarkin*, *Aktchie*, *Kala*, *Habur*, *Sangiar*, otherwiſe *Diarbekir*, which is the place of reſidence of the *Beglerbeg*. Thoſe *Sangiacks* which are entailed upon Families, are *Sagman*, *Kulab*, *Mechrani*, *Tergil*, *Atak*, *Pertek*, *Tchifakichur*, *Tchirmek*.

4. Of *Scham*, otherwiſe *Damaſcus*, the certain Revenue of which is a Million of Aſpers, and hath under it *Sangiacks* ſeven with *Has*, where the Contributions by the *Beglerbeg*'s Officers are collected upon the Country, and are *Kuddeſcherif*, alias *Jeruſalem*, *Gaza*, *Sifad*, *Nabolos*, alias *Naples* in *Syria*, *Aglun*, *Bahura* and *Damaſcus*, the City where the *Beglerbeg* reſides. He hath farther three with *Siliane*, for account of which he is paid by the King's Officers, and thoſe are *Kadmar*, *Saida*, *Beru*, *Kiurk*, *Schubeck*, where are no *Timariots*, but the Inhabitants are true and abſolute Maſters of their own Eſtates, in the ſame manner as the *Curdi* are, which we have before-mentioned; the Caſtles here are for the moſt part demoliſhed, and ſcarce worthy our notice.

5. Is of *Siwas* a City in *Armenia Major*, hath a Revenue of Nine hundred thouſand Aſpers, and hath under his Dominions ſix *Sangiacks*, viz. *Amaſia*, *Tchurum*, *Buradick*, *Demurki*, *Gianick*, *Arebkir*, the Caſtles of which are nineteen.

6. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Erzram*, on the Confines of *Georgia*, hath a Revenue of a Million two hundred thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty Aſpers, and hath under his Government 11 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Karahizar*, *Schuki*, *Kieiſi*, *Paſin*, *Esber*, *Hanes*, *Tekman*, *Turtum*, *Mayenkerd*, *Mamervan*, *Kyzutchan*, *Melazkerd*, and hath 13 Caſtles.

7. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Wan*, or *Van*, a City in *Media*, hath a Revenue of a Million one hundred and thirty two thouſand two hundred and nine Aſpers, and commands 14 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Adilgiwar*, *Ergiſch*, *Muſch*, *Barkiri*, *Kiarkian*, *Kiſani*, *Eſpaird*, *Agakis*, *Ekrad*, *Benikutur*, *Kalaibaierid*, *Berdea* and *Edegick*.

8. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Tchildir* on the Confines of *Georgia*, hath a Revenue of Nine hundred twenty five thouſand Aſpers, and commands nine *Sangiacks*, viz. *Olti*, *Hartus*, *Ardnug*, *Erdehamburek*, *Hagrek*, *Puſenhaf*, alias *Puſenhal*, *Machgil*, *Igiare*, *Penbeck*, *Pertekrek*.

9. Is the Government of *Scheherezul* in *Aſſyria*, the *Paſcha* of which hath a Revenue of a Million of Aſpers, and commands 20 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Surutkuk*, *Erbil*, *Kiuſchaf*, *Schekribazar*, *Chahkiule*, *Gebihamrin*, *Hezurd Merd*, *Dulchuran*, *Merghiaue*, *Haninudevin*, *Agiur*, *Neitutari*, *Sepenzengire*, *Ebruuan*, *Tauudan*, *Badeberend*, *Belkas*, *Vicheni*, *Garikalo*, *Renghene*.

10. Is the Government of *Halep*, or *Aleppo*, hath Eight hundred and ſeventeen thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy two Aſpers Revenue, and commands ſeven *Sangiacks* with *Has*, and two with *Saliane*: Of the firſt ſort are *Adana*, *Ekrad*, *Kelis*, *Beregek*, *Mearre*, *Gazir*, *Balis*: Of the other are *Matick* and *Turman* which is *Turcomania*, of theſe at this day the Revenue is farmed, and are not called *Sangiacks*, but *Agalik*, for in them are no *Timariots*, but every Man is Lord and Maſter of his own Lands. This Government hath five Caſtles.

11. Is the Government of *Maraſch* near the River *Euphrates*, ſituated between *Meſopotamia* and *Aleppo*, otherwiſe called by the *Turks*, *Zulkadrie*, hath a Revenue of 628450 Aſpers, and commands four *Sangiacks* only, *viz. Malatia*,

Aſ

Aſab, *Kars*, and *Samſad*, and hath four Caſtles.

12. Is the Government of *Kibros*, otherwiſe called *Cyprus*, hath a Revenue of Five hundred thouſand ſix hundred and fifty Aſpers, and commands ſeven *Sangiacks*, viz. four with *Has*, and are *Itchili*, *Tarſus*, *Alaine*, *Schis*; the other three with *Saliane*, are *Kenine Baf Mauſa*, *Lefkuſcha* or *Larnica*, the place of the *Paſcha*'s reſidence is *Nicoſia*.

13. Is the Government of *Tarabolos Scham*, otherwiſe *Tripoly* of *Syria*, hath a Revenue of Eight hundred thouſand Aſpers; at this place the *Paſcha* reſides, and hath under him four *Sangiacks*, viz. *Hams*, *Hama*, *Gemele* and *Selemie*, and hath only one Caſtle in the *Sangiack* of *Hams* called *Faſtulekrad*.

14. Is the Government of *Terbozan*, otherwiſe *Trabezond*, encompaſſed with a ridge of Mountains, according to a Poet born in that place,

Vertice Montano Trapezus incluſa receſſit.

Formerly the Imperial Seat of the *Comneni* reigning over *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, and the parts of *Pontus* founded by *Alexius Comnenus*, who upon the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the Weſtern Chriſtians fled to this place, which flouriſhed until taken by *Mahomet* the Great; it is ſituate on the *Euxine* or Black Sea, and ſtill a place of conſiderable Traffick, eſpecially made rich for the Fiſhing, out of which and the Cuſtoms, the *Paſcha*, though he hath no *Sangiacks* under his Government, hath yet a Revenue allotted of 734850 Aſpers, with fourteen Caſtles to defend the City, and the Dominions belonging thereunto.

15. The Government of the *Paſcha* of *Kars*, a City near *Erzrum*, hath a Revenue of Eight hundred twenty thouſand ſix hundred and fifty Aſpers, and commands ſix *Sangiacks*, viz. *Erdehankitutchuk*, *Gingewan*, *Zarnſchan*, *Chegran*, *Kughizman*, *Paſin*.

16. The Government of the *Paſcha* of *Muſul*, otherwiſe called *Nineve* in *Aſſyria*, hath a Revenue of Six hundred eighty one thouſand fifty ſix Aſpers, and commands five *Sangiacks*, viz. *Bagiwanlu*, *Tekrit*, *Zerbit*, *Eski Muſul*, or old *Nineve*, and *Hurun*.

17. The Government of the *Paſcha* of *Rika* hath a Revenue of 680000 Aſpers, and commands ſeven *Sangiacks*, viz. *Ghemaſche*, *Chabur*, *Dizirhebe*, *Bawirabue*, *Serug*, *Biregek*, *Ane*.

Theſe are all the Governments which are in *Aſia* with *Has*; let us now paſs into *Europe*.

18. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Rumuli*, otherwiſe *Romania*, which is the moſt honourable *Turkiſh* charge in *Europe*, hath a Revenue of a Million and one hundred thouſand Aſpers, the ſeat of the *Paſcha* is *Sofia*, and commands 24 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Kioſtendit* otherwiſe *Juſtiniana*, *Mora* otherwiſe *Morea*, *Skenderi*, *Tirhala*, *Siliſtra*, *Nigeboli*, *Uchri*, *Awlona*, *Janina*, *Ilbrazan*, *Tchirmen*, *Selanik* otherwiſe *Salonica*, *Wize*, *Deluniia*, *Uskiup*, *Kirkkeliſa*, *Dukakin*, *Wedin*, *Alagehizar*, *Serzerin*, *Waltcharin*, *Bender*, *Akkerman*, *Ozi*, *Azak*; But it is to be obſerved, that though *Morea*, according to the ancient Canon, was under the juriſdiction of the *Paſcha* of *Romania*, yet now it is divided and made part of the Revenue of the *Valede* or Queen-Mother, where a Farmer of her Rents and Incomes now reſides.

19. Is the charge of the *Kupudan*, otherwiſe Captain *Paſcha*, or as the *Turks* call him, General of the White Seas, hath a Revenue of 885000 Aſpers; he is Admiral of the Grand Signior's Fleet, and commands as far as the *Turkiſh* Power by Sea extends; and commands 13 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Galipoli*, which is the proper place of the *Paſcha*'s reſidence, *Egribuz* otherwiſe *Negropont*, *Karlieli*, *Ainebahti*, *Rhodes*, *Midillu* or *Metilene*, *Kogia Eli*, *Betga*, *Siſta*, *Mezeſtra*, *Sakis*, or the Iſland of *Scio*, *Beneksche* or *Malvatia*; ſome others add *Nicomedia*, *Lemnos*, and *Nixia*.

20. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Budun*, otherwiſe *Buda* in *Hungary*, hath a Revenue and commands 20 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Agri*, *Kanyſia*, *Samandra*, *Petchui*, *Uſtumubilgrad* or *Stultwiſſemberg*, *Oſtrogon* or *Strigonium*, *Sekdin*, *Chatwan*, *Semutum*, *Sirem*, *Kupan*, *Filek*, *Sekitwar*, *Sektches*, *Setchre*, *Novigrad*, *Seksard*, *Belgrade* or *Alba Regalis*. And now lately in the Year 1663, that *Wiwar* or *Newhawſel* was taken, a new *Sangiack* is ſince added.

21. The *Paſcha* of *Temeſwar* in *Hungary*, hath a Revenue and hath under his command 6 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Lipona*, *Tchanad*, *Ghiola*, *Mudava*, *Waradin*, to which alſo *Janova* is added, conquered in the Year 1663.

22. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Boſna*, which is part of *Illyrium*, divided formerly into *Liburnia* and *Dalmatia*, now called *Sclavonia*; his Revenue is a and commands 8 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Herſek*, *Kelis*, *Ezdernick*, *Puzga*, *Feraigne*, *Zagine*, *Kirka*, *Rahvige*.

There are other *Paſchas* of *Coffa*, *Theodeſia* in *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, which having no *Sangiacks*, no *Timariots*, nor *Ziamets* under them, but only a few beggarly Villages which we ſhall purpoſely omit, as not worthy the notice. And ſo much ſhall be ſaid for the *Paſchaes* or *Beglerbegs* with *Has*, or with the Revenue impoſed upon Countries under their command, collected by their own Officers.

Thoſe that are with *Saliane*, or paid out of the Grand Signior's Treaſury, are:

1. The *Paſcha* of *Grand Cairo*, called by the *Turks Miſir*, hath a Revenue of Six hundred thouſand *Scheriffs* or *Zechins* a Year, which he may juſtly and honeſtly pretend to; as much is the Tribute yearly paid the Grand Signior from that place; which is moſt commonly brought ſince the War with *Venice* upon Camels backs by Land, with a guard of 500 Men, not to expoſe it to the danger of being intercepted at Sea; another Sum of Six hundred thouſand *Zechins* yearly goes to the payment of the *Turks* Forces in *Egypt*; beſides the vaſt Sums of Mony this *Paſcha* extorts with inſupportable Avarice and Tyranny from the Natives of the Country, during the ſpace of his three Years Government; by which means he grows exceſſive rich, and able to refund a good ſtream into the Grand Signior's Coffers at his return, as hereafter ſhall be the ſubject of our more large diſcourſe; he commands 16 *Sangiacks* as is reported, but not being regiſtred in the King's Book, I let them paſs without naming them.

2. Is the Government of *Bagdat*, otherwiſe *Babylon*, and hath a Revenue of a Million and ſeven hundred thouſand Aſpers, and commands 22 *Sangiacks*, viz. *Dertenk*, *Gezan*, *Gewazir*, *Renk*, *Aidiie*, *Gelle*, *Semwar*, *Remaiie*, *Beiare*, *Derne*, *Debare*, *Waſit*, *Gebkiule*, *Gedide*, *Kefend*, *Kaſrſchirin*, *Ghiilan*, *Karag*, *Anne*, *Aſebah*, *Demarkapn*, *Deirberhiie*, *Karaniie*.

3. Is the Government of the *Paſcha* of *Temen*, which is in *Arabia Felix*, whoſe place of Reſidence

dence is at *Adem* upon the Red Sea; which Place and Country being recovered for the moſt part again from the *Turk* by the *Arabians*, it is neither needful to mention the Revenue, nor the *Sangiacks* it formerly commanded.

4. The *Paſha* of the *Abiſſines* hath his Reſidence at *Saquen*, a ſmall Iſle in the Red Sea, and commands the Ports of *Meſauna* and *Erkiko*, which the *Turks* lately took from the *Abiſſines*, but this *Paſha* being very poor, and far diſtant from the Succours of the *Turks*, we cannot aſſign any *Sangiacks*, or render any thing certain of his Eſtate.

5. In the Government alſo of *Boſra*, on the Confines of *Perſia*, were reckoned 26 *Sangiacks*, but now not held by the *Turk*, who hath no other Power there, nor Benefit thence, excepting only that Prayers are made conſtantly for the Sultan.

6. In the Government of *Lahſa*, on the Confines of *Ormus* in *Perſia*, are accounted ſix *Sangiacks*, viz. *Aiwen*, *Sakul*, *Negniie*, *Netif*, *Benderazir*, *Giriz*; but theſe Countries are poor, and have ſcarce any place in the Grand Signior's Regiſters.

To theſe we ſhould add the Governments of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoly* in *Barbary*; but that being much fallen off from the *Turks* Obedience, and become almoſt independent of them, we ſhall paſs by the Diſcourſe of them, eſpecially becauſe of late Years the mutual Treaties with *Barbary*, and interchanges of War and Peace with thoſe Countries, hath made the State and Condition of that People well known and familiar in *England*.

The uſe of the particular Catalogue foregoing, is to demonſtrate the Greatneſs and Power of the *Ottoman* Empire, which hath ſo many conſiderable Governments and Principalities in its Poſſeſſion, wherewith to encourage and excite the endeavours of Heroick Spirits to an ambition of great and noble Enterprizes, whereby to merit the Rewards which remain in the Power of the Sultan to gratify them with. And alſo to help in the juſt computation of the number of Men the *Turk* can bring into the Field, every *Paſcha* being obliged, for every 5000 Aſpers Rent, to bring a Souldier to the War; though notwithſtanding, they often appear, for oſtentation and gain of the Grand Signior's Favour, with more Men than their own Complement: as in the laſt War with *Germany*, the *Beglerbeg* of *Romania* brought 10000 effective Men into the Field.

Of theſe *Beglerbegs*, five have the Titles of Viziers, which ſignifies as much as Counſellors, *viz.* the *Paſcha's* of *Anatolia*, *Babylon*, *Cairo*, *Romania* and *Buda*; which are charges of the greateſt Riches, Power, and Fame; the others have their pre-eminence, rank or order, according to the priority of Conqueſt, and Antiquity in the poſſeſſion of the *Turks*.

Theſe are all the great Governments of the Empire, in whoſe reſpective Juriſdictions are always three principal Officers, *viz.* the *Mufti*, the *Reis Efendi*, otherwiſe called *Reis Kitab*, which is, Lord Chancellor, or Secretary of State, or rather thoſe two Offices united into one; the third is *Teſterdar Paſhaw*, or Lord Treaſurer. Theſe three Officers are near Councellors and Attendants on their *Paſhaws*; and ſo alſo they are on the Prime Vizier, whoſe *Mufti*, *Reis Efendi*, and *Teſterdar*, have a Superiority and dignity above others, and are to them as the Original to the Copy.

Of the *Mufti* we ſhall ſpeak in due place. The *Reis Efendi*, which ſignifies chief of the Writers or Book-men; (for the *Turks* call always Men of the Law, and Profeſſors of the Pen, and Parochial Prieſts by the Title of *Efendi*) is always preſent and attending on the Vizier, for paſſing Orders, Decrees, Patents and Commiſſions into all parts of the Empire; which are daily diſpatched in thoſe Numbers into all Places, as is incredible; for the *Turks* governing more by their Arbitrary Power, and according to the Exigencies of Affairs, than by a ſet Rule or Form, every Buſineſs requires its diſtinct Order; and the very Courts of Juſtice are moderated according to the Commands and Directions they receive from Above; by which means the *Reis Efendi*'s Hands are filled with ſuch a multitude of Buſineſs, as employs great numbers of Writers; and conſequently brings in Riches flowing to his Coffers; ſome in which Office, who by their Parts, Induſtry, and Courage, have gained Authority and Reſpect, have amaſſed Wealth, which might compare with the Riches and Treaſure of Princes; We ſhall here inſtance in one of late years, famous in *Turky*, for his Knowledg and Riches, called *Samoz.ade*; one who had piled thoſe heaps of all things that were rich and curious, as were too tedious and long to inſert in a Catalogue in this place. It may ſuffice, that being executed in the time of the laſt Wars againſt the Emperor of *Germany*, for ſome Conſpiracy againſt the Great Vizier, ſuch a Treaſure was found appertaining to him (all which was confiſcated to the Grand Signior) as was ſufficient to have enriched and raiſed his Prince, had he been impoveriſhed, and in a declining condition.

The other great Officer, is the *Teſterdar* or Lord Treaſurer, who receives the Revenue of the Grand Signior, and pays the Souldiery, and makes other publick Diſburſements; this Office is different from the Treaſurer of the Seraglio (of whom we have already ſpoken) who attends to nothing elſe but the Expences of the Court, and to gather in the accidental Profits and Preſents paid to the Grand Signior; which is ſo conſiderable, that every Sultan (for the moſt part) amaſſes a particular Treaſure of his own, which after his death is incloſed in a certain Chamber, and ſhut with an Iron Gate, and the Key-hole ſtopped with Lead; and over the Port is writ, in Golden Letters, *The Treaſures of ſuch a Sultan*. And this ſhall ſuffice to have been ſpoken of the Offices and Dignities of the Empire.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Tartars *and* Tartar Han, *and in what manner they depend upon the* Turks.

THE *Tartars* may very well be accounted amongſt the other Princes ſubject to the *Ottoman* Power; I mean not the *Aſiatick Tartars*, or the *Tartar* of *Eubeck* (though ſo much *Mahometan* as to wear green Turbants, and to deduce their Race from the Line of *Mahomet* himſelf) for having conquered *China*, and poſſeſſing a greater Empire than the *Ottoman*, they are far from acknowledging any ſubjection or degree of Inferiority to the *Turk*: nor are all the *European Tartars* Subjects to the Sultan; for the *Kalmuk* and *Citrahan Tartars* (Men of ſtrange barbarity, and countenance different from all the other Race of Mankind) though Profeſſors of the *Mahometan* Religion, are yet faithfully and piouſly obedient

obedient to the Duke of *Muſcovy* their lawful Prince.

But the *Precopentian Tartar*, which inhabits *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, now called *Crim*, the principal City of which is *Theodoſia*, now *Cafa*, and the *Nagaentian Tartar*, which inhabits by the *Palus Meotis*, between the Rivers of *Volga* and *Tanais*, are the People which may be accounted amongſt the Subjects, or at leaſt Confederates of this Empire; though only the City of *Cafa*, of all thoſe Dominions, is immediatly in Poſſeſſion and Government of the *Turk*, which in my opinion appears to be a cautionary Town and Pledg for their Obedience; and though the *Han*, or Prince of the Country, is Elective, yet he is choſen out of that true Line, and confirmed by the Grand Signiors, who have always taken upon them a Power to depoſe the Father, and in his place conſtitute the Son, or next of the Lineage, when found remiſs in affording their Auxiliary helps to the War, or guilty of any diſreſpect or want of Duty to the *Ottoman* Port.

This preſent *Han* which now governs, called *Mahomet Ghirei*, (for that is the Sirname of his Family) remained, during the Life of his Father (according to the cuſtom of the eldeſt Son of this Prince) a Hoſtage to the *Turk* in *Janboli*, a Town in *Thrace*, four days journey diſtant from *Adrianople*, ſituate on the *Euxine* or Black Sea; but from thence, upon jealouſy of too near a vicinity to his own Country, was removed to *Rhodes*, where he paſſed an obſcure and melancholy Life until the Death of his Father; and then being recalled to *Conſtantinople*, had there his Sword girt on, ſwore Fealty to the Grand Signior, with all other Formalities performed according to their Cuſtom of Regal Inauguration: But being ſetled in his Kingdom, and mindful of his Sufferings at *Rhodes*, he had ever ſtomached the Pride of the *Ottoman* Emperor; by which, and the diſſuaſion of the *Polonians*, and the other Neighbouring *Tartars*, as a thing diſhonourable to ſo ancient and powerful a People, to reſign the Heir of their Kingdom a Hoſtage to their Neighbours; this preſent Prince hath refuſed this part of Subjection, which the Vizier *Kupriuli* often complained of; but not being in a condition to afford a Remedy unto it, thought it prudent to diſſemble.

But yet theſe People are eſteemed as Brothers, or near Allies with the *Turk*, to whom, for want of Heirs Male in the *Ottoman* Line, the Empire is by ancient Compact to deſcend; the expectation of which, though afar off, and but almoſt imaginary, doth yet conſerve the *Tartar* in as much obſervance to the *Turk*, as the hopes of an Eſtate doth a young Gallant, who is allured to a complacency and obſequiouſneſs, with the petulant Humour of a Father that adopts him, who is reſolved never to want Heirs of his own Family. And thus the *Tartar* is as obedient as other Subjects; and though the *Turk* exerciſes not his Power there by Commands, as in other places of his Dominions, but treats all his Buſineſs by way of Letters; yet theſe Letters ſerve in the place of Warrants, for the ſignification of the Grand Signior's Pleaſure, and are as available as the * *Autogra*, and other Formalities of the Imperial Edict, are in other places (in ſubjection to the *Turk*).

* *The great Character of the Emperor's Name affixed at the top of every Command.*

When the Sultan writes to the *Cham* of *Tartary*, he uſes this ſtyle,

To the Government wherein flouriſhes the Maſs, and Original of Regency, on which Fortune depends, and by which Felicity is obtained. Poſſeſſor of Excellent Power, and Eſtabliſhed Glory, elected by the Favour of that King from whom Succours are to be demanded. The King of Grim, Gian, Begh, Ghirai Chaw, *whoſe Heighth be for ever maintained.*

After reſpect had to thoſe Bleſſings, which are freighted with Amber, and Salutations perfumed with *Narciſſus*, proceeding from the Imperial Grace. *Be it known unto you*, &c.

By ancient Compact between the Empire and the Kingdom of *Tartary*, it is agreed, that whenſoever the Grand Signior goes in Perſon to the Wars, the *Tartar Han* is to accompany him in Perſon, with an Army of one hundred thouſand Men; but if the Vizier, or ſome other General be in the Field, then is he only obliged to ſend forty or fifty thouſand under the command of his Son, or ſome principal Officer of his Kingdom, who are paid and maintained out of the Booty and Pillage they acquire.

In the Year 1663, the *Tartar* called on occaſion of the War in *Hungary*, to the aſſiſtance of the *Turk*, they made ſuch Incurſions into that Country, *Moravia* and *Sileſia*, ſacking and burning all Cities and Towns, that they carried away One hundred and ſixty thouſand Captive Souls in one Year; which preciſe number I am informed from thoſe who had received good information of the Pengick or Certificates that were given upon every Head; for the *Tartar* being an abſolute Free-booter, makes prize of all that comes within his Power; and leſt he ſhould prey on the Subjects of the *Turk*, they are bound to take out Atteſtations from certain Regiſters, of the Names, Countries, and Age of their Captives, leſt they ſhould deceive the *Turk* with the ſale of thoſe, who are already their own Subjects and Slaves.

The *Tartar* is to the *Turk*, as the Giacal to the Lion, who hunts and finds the Prey for the Lion to overcome and feed: And ſo the *Tartars* make Incurſions into the Neighbouring Countries round about, and paſs in great Bodies, ſometimes ten or twelve days, without doing the leaſt damage or ſpoil in their Journey outward; but as ſoon as they turn their Faces Home, they rob, ſpoil, burn, and carry all the Inhabitants, of what Age or Sect ſoever, like a Torrent before them; and every one of them leading three or four Horſes apiece, on which they mount their Captives, and load their Prey, make a running march Day and Night with few hours intermiſſion for natural Repoſe, too faſt for any orderly Army to overtake; and any other, that is not ſo, is not able to give them Battel. Such of their Slaves as in their journey are wounded and infirm, and not able to accompany the Camp, they kill; thoſe which they bring ſafe into their own Country they ſell to the *Turks*, who come thither to trade for this Merchandiſe, which is the moſt profitable Commodity that *Tartary* affords. Young Boys and Girls are rated at the higheſt Price, the latter of which being beautiful are like Jewels held at an unknown value; but few of them eſcape the luſt of the *Tartars*, who deflower them even in the Years of their very infancy. This ſort of People were by the Ancients called *Sarmati*, and were always famous for their exploits on Horſeback, but heavy and ignorant of Foot-ſervice; which Character *Tacitus* gives of them, *Lib.* 1. *Hiſt. Omnis Sarmatum*

matum virtus quaſi extra ipſos, nihil ad pedeſtrem pugnam, tam ignavum ubi per turmas advenere, vix ulla acies obſtiterit, iners videtur ſudore acquirere, quod poſſis ſanguine parare, mirâ diverſitate naturæ cum iidem homines ſic ament inertiam, & oderint quietem: They live very hardly, and feed eſpecially on Horſe-fleſh, which dying in their march, they never examine his Diſeaſes, whether ſurfeited or overheated; but diſtributing his Fleſh amongſt their Companions, place it under their Saddles: and thus baked between the heat of the Man and the Horſe, chafed with that day's labour, is a night judged ſufficiently prepared, as a Diſh fit for the Table of their Prince.

And as the Men are nouriſhed with a Diet of raw Fleſh, Herbs and Roots, or ſuch as the Earth naturally produces, without the concoction of the Fire to prepare it for their Stomachs, ſo alſo their Horſes are of a hardy temperament, patient of Hunger and Cold; and in the ſharp Winter of thoſe Countries, when the ground is covered with Snow, nouriſh themſelves with the Barks of Trees, and ſuch Herbage as they can find at the bottom of the deep Snow.

Their Towns or Villages conſiſt of Huts rather than Houſes, or Hurdles made with Sticks and covered with a courſe hair-Cloth; of which Villages there are accounted Two hundred thouſand, ſo that taking one Man out of every Village (as their cuſtome is when they go to the War) they ſpeedily form an Army of Two hundred thouſand fighting Men. But now having carried great Riches out of *Poland*, and gained a conſiderable Wealth by the Market of their Slaves, ſome of them throw off their homely Plads to wear Sables, and ſome more frugal, employ their Mony for building Houſes; the riotous and diſſolute are addicted to ſtrong Waters, and a drink called *Boza* made of a certain Seed (which drank in a great quantity doth intoxicate, and is now much in uſe amongſt the *Turks*) and give themſelves up to a gluttony, as brutiſh, as that which is natural unto Swine, having no art of Sauces to provoke their Appetite, but reſt delighted with the mere contentment of Idleneſs and a full Stomach.

But this ſhall be ſufficient to have ſpoken of the relation the *Tartars* have to the Government of the *Turk*, and their ſubjection to this Empire, their Cuſtoms and Manners being more amply and fully deſcribed in other Books.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Tributary Princes to the Grand Signior, viz. Moldavians, Walachians, Tranſylvanians, Raguſeans, *&c.*

THE Power and Puiſſance of an Empire is not more judged of by the many Governours, the rich Offices it can diſpoſe of, the multitude of Provinces it contains in Obedience, and the neceſſity it can impoſe on other Princes to ſeek its confederacy (which we have already treated of) than it is by the many Tributaries which to redeem the remainder of their worldly Goods, willingly ſacrifice the beſt part to appeaſe his Fury, in whoſe Power it is to maſter all: and ſo theſe diſtreſſed Nations, long wearied out with tedious Wars, oppreſſed between the Emperor of *Germany*, the *Polander*, and the *Turk*, and more damaged by their own Civil Diſſentions, and Domeſtick Perfidiouſneſs, than vanquiſhed by the Force of Arms, were forced at laſt to ſurrender up their fruitfull Provinces to the devotion of the *Turk*, which are now haraſſed and oppreſſed beyond all expreſſion, and are the meereſt Slaves to the *Turk* of all other his Subjects; and may well be compared to the induſtrious Bee and profitable Sheep, whom he cares for and maintains alive for the ſake of their Honey, and the intereſt of their Wool; and as if all this were too little, when it ſhall be ſo thought fit, he opens the Gate to the Incurſions of the *Tartar*, who having gained a conſiderable booty of Goods and Captives, ſells to the *Turks* for Slaves, thoſe which were before his Subjects. Theſe three poor Provinces formerly called the *Daci*, which withſtood ſo long the *Roman* Arms, were always eſteemed a valiant and warlike People, according to that of *Virgil*, lib. 8. *Æn.*

Indomitique Daca, & pontem Indignatus Araxes.

Et Juvenal. *Sat.* 5.
Dacius & ſcripto radiat Germanicus antro.

Which Countries have been the Graves and Cemeteries of the *Turks*, and in theſe modern Times been the Stage on which ſo many Tragedies of War have been acted, being defended with as much valour and variety of Succeſſes, as could humanely be expected in ſo unequal a Match as was between thoſe Provinces ſingly and the *Ottoman* Empire. But now at laſt they are forced to yield, and become not only Tributaries, but Slaves and Subjects to the *Turk*, who having deprived them of the true Line of their natural Princes ſucceeding in a lawful Inheritance, place over them ſome Chriſtians of the Greek Church, without conſideration of their Conditions or Riches, or Qualifications; nay rather chuſe to give the Standard (which is the ſign of the Grand Signior's Confirmation of the Prince) to ſome inferiour Perſon, as Taverners, Fiſhmongers, or other meaner Profeſſions, purpoſely to diſparage the People with the baſeneſs of their Governours, and expoſe them to the oppreſſions of Men of no Worth or Dexterity in their Office. It hath ſeveral times been under the conſideration of the *Turks*, at length to reduce theſe three Provinces to the command of ſo many *Paſhaws*; contrary to the Original Capitulations agreed on at the time that theſe People firſt ſubmitted to the *Ottoman* Yoke: but as yet it hath been carried to the contrary, as more profitable, and better ſerving the Ends of the Empire; for hereby Chriſtians become the Inſtruments of Torment to their own Brethren; Outrages and Spoils may be the more boldly acted; more Turkiſh Officers employed on every ſlight Occaſion on gainful Meſſages; and the People, by long Oppreſſions, living under the Juriſdiction of a Prince, who can rather ſpoil than protect, may be reconciled more willingly to the *Turkiſh* Government, and learn to value the Gentleneſs and Power of a *Paſha*, compared with the remembrance of their former Agrievances. But of this Government they will rather let them imagine the Eaſe and Sweetneſs, than enjoy it; for were a *Paſhalic* the Governor, the Power of a *Turk* would be concerned for their Protection, he would eſteem himſelf their Patron, and his Honour engaged in their Defence, by which Means theſe Countries would be relieved in a great meaſure of Extortions and Violences, which is not ſo beneficial to the *Turk*, as the preſent miſerable Eſtate in which they remain.

Moldavia

Moldavia.

Moldavia called by the *Turks* *Bugdan*, was firſt made Tributary to the *Turks* by *Mahomet* the Great, but under the ſmall Tribute of 2000 Crowns *per Annum*; afterward *Bogdanus*, *Vayvod* thereof, *Anno* 1485, fearing to become abſolute Vaſſal to the *Turk*, taking to his Aſſociation the Kingom of *Poland*, took up Arms againſt *Selymus* the Second, by whom being drawn out from his Country, *John* a *Moldavian* born, but one who had embraced the *Mahometan* Superſtition, was preferred by *Selymus* to the Principality; but no ſooner was he ſetled therein, but he returned to his former Religion, for which cauſe the *Turk* taking into his aſſiſtence the Province of *Walachia*, made War upon *Moldavia*; but *John* the *Vayvod* by treachery loſing his Life, this Province fell totally into the Power of the *Turk*, and was united to his Empire in the Year 1574. The Tribute in thoſe days of this Province is recorded in the *Turkiſh* Hiſtory to have been 40000 *Zechins*, or 80000 Dollars; but now whatſoever may be reported, the Tribute of theſe Countries is, or was, the Reader may take this following Account for what is certainly paid, being related to me from one who had many Years been employed for *Vayvod*, both in *Moldavia* and *Walachia* by the *Turk*, viz. the yearly Tribute of *Moldavia* is,

The word Vayvod *ſignifies as much as* Præfectus Militiæ, *or the General of an Army.*

Its Annual Tribute.

1. To the Grand Signior, 120 Purſes of Mony; each Purſe containing 500 Dollars, makes 60000 Dollars.
2. Ten thouſand Okes of Wax, each Oke being two pounds and a half *Engliſh* weight.
3. Ten thouſand Okes of Honey.
4. Six hundred Quintals of Tallow for the *Arſenal*.
5. Five hundred Ox Hides.
6. Five hundred Pieces of Canvas for Cloathing, and Shirts for the Slaves, and others Services for the Gallies.
7. One thouſand three hundred and thirty Okes of Wax, for the ſervice of the *Arſenal*.
8. To the chief Vizier ten Purſes of Mony; or 5000 Dollars, and a Sables Fur for a Veſt.
9. To the Viziers *Kahija*, or chief Steward, one Purſe, or 500 Dollars.
10. To the *Teſterdar*, or Lord Treaſurer, the ſame as to the *Kahija*.

This is the ordinary and annual Tribute this Country acknowledges to the Supremacy of the Sultan; and it were well and happy for this People were it all; but there are ſo many accidental Expences, Pretenſions, and Artifices of the *Turks*, framed and contrived Meſſages merely to extract Mony and Preſents from this oppreſſed and haraſſed People, as do more than equal, and ſometimes double the charge of their yearly Tribute.

To which you may add the Price paid for the Principality, which is every three Years ſet to ſale, and is,

The Price of the Principality.

To the Grand Signior 150 Purſes, or 75000 Dollars.

To the *Valede* or Queen-mother 50 Purſes, or 25000 Dollars.

To the Grand Signior's Favourite, who is commonly ſome handſome young Youth, 10 Purſes, or 5000 Dollars.

And to the *Kuſlir Aga* or chief Black Eunuch, who is Superintendent over the Ladies in the Seraglio, 10 Purſes of Mony.

And laſtly, To the Prime Vizier and other Officers, for as much as they can beat the Bargain.

All which Mony is taken up at Intereſt at 40 or 50 *per Cent.* and ſometimes on condition to be doubled; and this is done by Men, who having no Eſtates of their own, the Debt comes to be charged on their Country, which is pillaged and poled for it to the very Bones, firſt to ſatisfy the Price of the Principality with the Intereſt-mony, for what it is valued, then to pay the annual Tribute, then to ſatisfy the multitude of covetous *Turks*, who like ſo many Vultures purſue after the Skeleton of this conſumed Carkaſs.

And laſtly, the Prince himſelf muſt take his Accounts, and take his Meaſures to be capable for the future, after he hath laid aſide the Ornament of his Office, to live in ſome proportion agreeable to his paſt Condition; and this is neither done moderately nor modeſtly, but with a covetouſneſs and greedy Appetite, commonly incident to the nature of Men born of mean Parentage, and educated with the parſimony of a ſcanty Houſe; who alſo thereunto add many grains of allowance to the limits of ther Gains, in conſideration of the yearly Gratuities they muſt make to reconcile the Friendſhip of the *Turkiſh* Miniſters, whereby they may enjoy protection for their Perſons and Eſtates.

The State and Condition of the Province of *Walachia* is not better, but rather worſe, and more afflicted than that of *Moldavia*; for this Country, is now equally with the former in the ſole and entire diſpoſal and poſſeſſion of the *Turk*, to whom it became firſt Tributary under their own Princes in the time of Sultan *Bajazet*; Afterward in the Year 1462, *Mahomet* the Great undertook the entire Conqueſt of it, then governed by its *Vayvod Wladus*, whoſe younger Brother ſupported by the *Turk*, and Factious Party in that Country, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Principality, contenting himſelf to be Vaſſal to the *Turkiſh* Empire; afterwards in the Year 1595, *Michael* the *Vayvod* thereof joining himſelf with *Sigiſmund* of *Tranſylvania*, and with the *Vayvod* of *Moldavia*, waged a long and terrible War againſt the *Turks*, until Revolutions, Unquietneſs and Factions have ſo ſpent them, as that they are at length become another addition to the Empire of the *Turks*, who now impoſe on them a heavy Yoke and ſtrait Curb, not to be imputed to any thing more than to Divine Juſtice, which takes occaſion to exerciſe a hand of Severity againſt the unſeaſonable negligence, Sedition, and Variance of Chriſtians amongſt themſelves, at a time when the common Enemy to their profeſſion attended only the opportunity of their own Diſſentions, to enter and devour them.

The Tribute of *Walachia* to the Grand Signior was formerly 120 Purſes of Mony, or 60000 Dollars yearly, according to that of *Moldavia*, and ſo ſtill continued, had not lately *Mathew* the *Vayvod* about the Year 1655, grown rich, and therefore forgetful of his Condition (having by Friends and large Preſents at the Port, procured a continuation of his Office for the ſpace of nineteen or twenty Years) rebelled againſt the *Turk*, taking falſe meaſures of his Wealth and Power, as able to encounter with the puiſſance of the *Ottoman* Empire; but being ſoon put to the worſt, and forced to yield, his Life was ſpared and the ſafety of his Country redeemed upon the augmentation of their Tribute; ſo that now, that which was yearly paid, being 120 Purſes of Mony,

1. Is become to the Grand Signior 260 Purſes, or 130000 Dollars. *Every Oke is two pounds and an half Engliſh.*
2. There is paid 15000 Okes of Honey.
3. Nine thouſand Okes of Wax.

4. To the Prime Vizier ten Purſes of Mony, or 5000 Dollars, and a Veſt of Sables.

5. To the *Tefterdar*, or Lord Treaſurer, one Purſe of Mony, or 50 Dollars, and a Veſt of Sables.

6. To the *Kuſlir Aga*, or chief Eunuch of the Women 12000 Aſpers.

7. To the Vizier's *Kahija* or Steward 500 Dollars, and a Veſt of Sables.

The other Charges and Value ſet on this Province, when triennially ſold, is no leſs than that of *Moldavia*; the Method and Art uſed for extorting Mony from thence are the ſame, the Oppreſſion in every point equal, unleſs the remembrance of the extravagant diſorder of *Matthew* the *Vayvod* ſtill kept in mind, emboldens the *Turk*, with more confident Pretences, to work more Deſolation and Impoveriſhment in this Province.

Now lately a Prince was ſetled there by Order of the Grand Signior, in the Year 1664, called *Stridia Bei* by the *Greeks*, which ſignifies a Lord that had gained ſome Fortune from ſelling Oyſters and Fiſh; this Perſon ſucceeded *Gregorafco* the late Prince, who fearing the Anger of the Prime Vizier for returning Home with his Army without Licence, defeated by General *Suſa* near *Lewa*, fled for ſafety of his Life into the Dominions of the Emperor. The *Turks*, who always avenge the Crimes of the Governours on the People, or of the Subjects on the Governours, raiſed the Price of the Principality to a higher value, cauſing *Stridia Bei* (as I am confidently informed, who was contented to accept it at any Rate) to pay for it 800 Purſes of Mony, or 400000 Dollars; to which being added the Intereſt before-mentioned, the Sum may eaſily be computed that this new *Vayvod* engulfed himſelf in; and I leave the Reader to imagine with what glad Hearts and Bleſſings the People of that Country went forth to receive their Bankrupt Prince.

Nor is *Tranſylvania* wholly exempted from the Oppreſſion of the *Turk*; for after ſeveral Revolutions, from the time of *Huniades* made *Vayvod* by *Vladiſlaus* the fourth King of *Hungary*, *Anno* 1450, a great Defender of his Country againſt the Infidels, until the time of *Stephen* the Seventh, ſirnamed *Ragotzki*, Patronized by the *Turks*, *Anno* 1650. This Principality remained ſometimes at the Devotion and Diſpoſal of the King of *Hungary*, of *Poland*, of the Emperor, and ſometimes of the *Turk*; until by the growing greatneſs of the *Ottomans*, the *Turks* became Maſters of the beſt part of this Country. But yet *Tranſylvania* is more tenderly and more honourably treated than the other two Provinces, their Tribute being much leſs, and their Princes choſen for the moſt part more regularly from the ancient Line, or at leaſt from the honourable Houſes of the Boyars or Nobility, who have an affinity or alliance with the true Blood of the former *Vayvods*. Their ancient Tribute was only 6000 *Zechins* yearly, but afterwards were added 9000 more annually, for acknowledgment of certain Caſtles which *Ragotzki* had taken from *Poland*, which the *Turk* demanded to have reſigned into his poſſeſſion, were for that Sum redeemed, and ſtill detained in the Hands of the *Tranſylvanians*; over and above which they only pay 300 Dollars and two Silver Bowls to the ſeven Viziers of the Bench: And this is all the acknowledgment they make to the *Turk*, who demonſtrates more reſpect always to this Prince and his Meſſages, than thoſe of the Neighbour Provinces, by reaſon that that Country is not totally in his Power (certain ſtrong Fortreſſes being in the hand of the Emperor of *Germany*) for whoſe ſake this People is more gently dealt with, leſt too much ſeverity ſhould occaſion them to revolt; and this conſideration induced the *Turks* to treat modeſtly with *Michael Apaſi* the Prince of this Country in the late Wars in *Hungary*, by truſting much to his Conduct, by uſing him like an honourable Confederate, by permitting him freely to poſſeſs *Zekelhyd* after its voluntary Surrender in a Mutiny, without the controllment or ſuperintendency of a *Turk* as his Superiour; and for his farther encouragement, gave out, that when the Sultan had totally ſubdued *Hungary*, thoſe parts which were not ſubject to *Paſhaws*, ſhould be annexed to his Dominions, and he honoured with the Title of King of *Hungary*.

Theſe Princes of the three foregoing Provinces, are farther obliged to ſerve the Grand Signior in his Wars, whenſoever ſummoned thereto; but with what number, and in what manner, we reſerve for its due place in the Treatiſe of the *Turks* Militia and Auxiliaries.

The City and ſmall Dominion of *Raguſi*, is alſo another Tributary to the *Turk*; which is a petty Common-Wealth, not vouchſafed the Title of a Republick, neither by the *Venetians*, nor the *Pope*, and only ſtyled *la Communità di Raguſi*, which is a Town in *Dalmatia*, commanding over a narrow and barren Territory of a few Villages, which for the ſpace of 150 miles extends it ſelf along the Sea Coaſt, and ſome little Iſlands of no great conſideration: It was anciently called *Epidaurus* (of which name there were two other Cities in *Peloponneſus*) but that being razed by the *Goths*, the Inhabitants after their departure rebuilt again this City of *Raguſi*, giving it a new Name, as well as a new Foundation. The Government of it, in the nature of a Common-Wealth, is more ancient than that of *Venice*, having preſerved it ſelf more by Art and Submiſſion to ſome powerful Protector, than to its own Force; which cauſed them to court the Friendſhip of the *Turk*, before he was Maſter of any part of *Europe*; and as their Records report, it was upon the Advice of a Holy Nun, eſteemed a great Saint amongſt them, who propheſying of the future greatneſs of the *Turkiſh* Empire, aſſured them, That the only Means to preſerve, for many Ages, their Common-Wealth free and happy, was, to ſubmit themſelves to one of the moſt proſperous of Princes, to whoſe Dominion the beſt part of the World ſhould be ſubdued. Whereupon two Ambaſſadors were diſpatched to the City of *Pruſa*, (then the Regal Seat, before the utter ruin of the *Grecian* Empire) with Preſents to the Sultan *Orchanes*, deſiring to become his Tributaries; and in conſideration thereof to ſtrengthen their weak Common-Wealth with aſſiſtance, under the ſhadow of his prevalent Protection. There is no doubt, but the Sultan then received them the more courteouſly, and promiſed the maintenance of a former League, by how much the diſtance they were at as yet, gave them the leſs cauſe to fear his Arms; wherefore the Tribute being agreed on, of Twelve thouſand and five hundred *Zechins* yearly, they were returned Home with all demonſtrations of Courteſy, and aſſurances of Defence: *Orchanes* entred into Articles with them, beſtowed on them a Grant of all the Immunities and Priviledges they deſired, the which he ſigned with the form of his whole hand wetted in Ink, and clapped on the Paper, which was all the Firm and Seal

in thoſe days, and is now reverenced amongſt the *Turks* with the ſame eſteem, as the *Jews* do the Tables of *Moſes*, or we the moſt Sacred and Holy Reliques; ever ſince that time this Tribute hath yearly continued, and been brought always in the month of *July* by two Ambaſſadors, who reſide at the *Turkiſh* Court for the ſpace of a Year, the former returning Home; theſe are relieved at the ſame Seaſon of the following Year, by the acceſſion of two others with the like Tribute; which with the Preſents they alſo bring to the Prime Vizier, chief Eunuch of the Women, the Queen-Mother and other Sultans, with the Charges and Expences of the Embaſſy, is computed to amount yearly to the Sum of twenty thouſand *Zechins*.

They were in Times paſt, before the War between the Republick of *Venice* and the *Turk*, very Poor, and put to hard Shifts and Arts to raiſe the *Turkiſh* Tribute; but this War hath opened their Scale, and made it the Port for tranſmitting the Manufactures of *Venice*, and all *Italy* into *Turkey*, which yields them ſuch conſiderable Cuſtoms, as thereby their Tribute is ſupplied with Advance, and other Neceſſities provided for: So that now the old Ornaments of the Ambaſſadors, as their black Velvet Bonnets, and Gowns of Crimſon Satten, lined heretofore with *Martins* Fur, but now with Sables, are not laid up in the common Wardrobe for the Ambaſſadors of the ſucceeding Year, but a new Equipage and Accoutrements are yearly ſupplied at the common Charge: and thus they paſs honeſtly and in good eſteem at the *Ottoman* Court, being called the *Dowbrai Vendick* by the *Turks*, or the *Good Venetian*.

This petty Republick hath always ſupported it ſelf by ſubmiſſion, and addreſſes for Favour and Defence to divers powerful Princes, courting the Favour of every one, never offering Injuries, and when they receive them, patiently ſupport them; which is the cauſe the *Italians* call them *le ſette Bandiere*, or the ſeven Bannerers, ſignifying that for their Being and Maintenance of the name of a free Republick, they are contented to become Slaves to all parts of the World. And it is obſervable on what a ſtrange form of jealous Policy their Government is founded; for their chief Officer, who is in imitation of their Doge at *Venice*, is changed every month, others weekly; and the Governour of the principal Caſtle of the City, is but of 24 hours continuance; every night one is nominated by the Senate for Governor, who is without any Preparation or Ceremony taken up as he walks the Streets, having a Handkerchief thrown over his Face, is led away blindfold to the Caſtle, ſo that none can diſcover who it is that commands that Night; and by that means all poſſibility of Conſpiracy or Combination of betraying the Town, prevented.

Theſe People, in former Times, were great Traders into the Weſtern Parts of the World; and it is ſaid, that thoſe vaſt *Caracks* called *Argoſies*, which are ſo much famed for the vaſtneſs of their Burthen and Bulk, were corruptly ſo denominated from *Ragoſies*, and from the Name of this City, whoſe Port is rather forced by Art and Induſtry, than framed by Nature.

The Tributaries of Georgia *and* Mengrelia.

Some of the Provinces alſo of *Georgia*, formerly *Iberia*, but now ſuppoſed to be called from St. *George* the *Cappadocian* Martyr, and the poor Country of *Mengrelia*, are alſo Tributaries to the *Turk*, who every three Years ſend Meſſengers with their Sacrifice to the Grand Siginior of ſeven young Boys, and as many Virgins a-piece, beſides other Slaves, for Preſents to great Men; this People chuſe rather this ſort of Tribute than any other, becauſe Cuſtom hath introduced a forwardneſs in the Parents, without remorſe, to ſell their Children, and to account Slavery a Preferment, and the miſeries of Servitude a better Condition than Poverty with Freedom. Of the whole retinue which theſe Beggarly Ambaſſadors bring with them, (for ſo the *Turks* called them) being about ſeventy or eighty Perſons, a crue of miſerable People are all ſet to ſale, to the very Secretary and Steward, to defray the Charge of the Embaſſy, and bring back ſome Revenue to the Publick Stock; ſo that the Ambaſſadors return without their Pomp, reſerving only the Interpreter as a neceſſary Attendant to their Voyage home.

The Emperor of *Germany* may alſo not improperly be termed one of the Tributaries to the *Ottoman* Empire, (whom for Honour's ſake we mention in the laſt place in ſo ungrateful an Office) being obliged, according to the Articles made with *Solyman* the Magnificent, to pay a yearly Tribute of 3000 *Hungars*; but it was only paid the firſt two Years after the concluſion of the Peace; afterwards it was excuſed by the *Germans*, and diſſembled by the *Turks*; until taking a reſolution to make a War on *Hungary*, made that one Ground and Occaſion of the Breach: for upon the Truce made for eight Years, between Sultan *Solyman*, and the Emperor *Ferdinand*, as *Augerius Busbeck* reports in thoſe Capitulations, that the Tribute is made the Foundation of the Accord. *Cujus concordiæ, pacis ac confœderationis hæ conditiones ſunto primò, ut tua dilectio quotannis ad aulam noſtram prò arra induciarum* 30000 *Hungaricos Ducatos mittere teneatur, una cum reſiduo, quod nobis proxime præterlapſum biennium reſervetur.*

CHAP. XV.

The Deſolation and Ruin which the Turks *make of their own Countries in* Aſia, *and the Parts moſt remote from the Imperial Seat, eſteemed one cauſe of the conſervation of their Empire.*

THIS Poſition will appear a Paradox at firſt ſight to moſt Men who have read and conſider'd the *Roman* Conqueſt, whoſe Juriſdiction and Dominions were far larger than this preſent Empire; and yet we do not find that they ſo ſtudiouſly endeavoured to diſpeople, and lay waſte the Nations they ſubdued, but rather encouraged induſtry in Plantations, gave Privileges to Cities meanly ſtored, invited People to inhabit them, endeavoured to improve Countries rude and uncultivated, with good Husbandry, and Maritime Towns with Traffick and Commerce; made Citizens of their Confederates, and conferred on their conquered Subjects oftentimes greater Benefits than they could expect or hope for under their true and natural Princes; and certainly the *Romans* thrived, and were richer and more powerful by their Policy; and therefore why the *Turk* might not proceed in the ſame manner, and yet with the ſame advantage, is worth our conſideration.

For the Solution of which Difficulty, it will be neceſſary to conſider, that theſe two Empires being compared, there will be found a vaſt difference in the Original, Foundation, Progreſs and

and Maxims each of other. For the *Romans* built their City in Peace, made Laws, by which the Arbitrary Will of the Prince was corrected; and afterward, as their Arms ſucceeded, and their Dominions were extended, they accommodated themſelves often to preſent Neceſſities and Humours, and Conſtitutions of the People they had conquered, and accordingly made Proviſion, and uſed proper Arts to keep them in Obedience; and next, by their Generoſity and Wiſdom, won thoſe Nations to admire and imitate their Vertues, and to be contented in their Subjection.

But the *Turks* have but one ſole Means to maintain their Countries, which is the ſame by which they were gained, and that is the cruelty of the Sword in the moſt rigorous way of execution, by Killing, Conſuming, and laying deſolate the Countries, and tranſplanting unto parts where they are neareſt under the Command and Age of a Governor; being wholly deſtitute and ignorant of other refined Arts, which more civilized Nations have in part made to ſerve in the place of Violence. And yet the *Turks* made this courſe alone anſwer to all the Intents and Ends of their Government.

For the Subjects of this Empire being governed better by Tyranny than Gentleneſs, it is neceſſary, that courſes ſhould be taken, whereby theſe People may remain more within compaſs and reach of Authority; which they would hardly be, were every part of this Empire ſo well inhabited to afford entertainment within the Fortifications of its vaſt Mountains and Woods, to the many unquiet and diſcontented Spirits that live in it. And this may be one cauſe, that ſo rarely Rebellions ariſe amongſt the *Turks*, though in the remoteſt parts of *Aſia*; and when they do, are eaſily ſuppreſſed. This alſo is one Cauſe, why great Men ſo eaſily reſign themſelves up to the Will of the Grand Signior to Puniſhment and Death, whether the Sentence be according to Law, or only Arbitrary: This is the reaſon that Fugitives and Homicides cannot eſcape; for having no place for flight, neither the inhabited Cities, which are immediately under the Eye of a vigilant Commander, will afford them refuge, nor can the deſolate Countries entertain them; and Chriſtendom is ſo abhorred by them, that they will never take it for their Sanctuary. And thus deprived of all means of Safety, they wholly attend to pleaſe and ſerve their Great Maſter, in whoſe Favour and Hands alone is the Reward and Puniſhment.

Another Advantage, and that not inconſiderable, that this manner of diſpeopling the Country brings to this Empire, is the difficulty an Enemy would find in their March, ſhould they with a Land Army attempt to penetrate far into the Country; for without great quantities of Proviſion they could not poſſibly be ſuſtained; from the Country none can be expected; what little it affords, the Inhabitants will conceal or carry away, and leave all Places as naked and barren of Food for Man as the Sea it ſelf.

And though it is known often, that in *Aſia* the Troops of ſome diſcontented *Bei* or *Aga*, to the number of three or four hundred Men, in the Summer-time, having their retirements in the Woods and Mountains, aſſault *Caravans*, and rob all Paſſengers from whom there is any hope of Booty; yet in the Winter they are diſperſed, becauſe they have no Quarters againſt the Weather, nor Proviſions for humane Suſtenance, every one ſhifting for himſelf in ſome place where his Condition is the leaſt known or ſuſpected.

And it may not be here from our Purpoſe to admoniſh the Reader, that as the *Turks* account it one good part of their Policy, to lay a conſiderable part of their Empire deſolate; ſo on the contrary, they obſerve in their new Conqueſts to fortify, ſtrengthen and confirm, what they have gained, by numbers of People, and new Colonies of their own; and when they have reduced any conſiderable Country to their ſubjection, they commonly are inclined to make Peace with that Prince from whom they have won it, ſo as to have time to ſettle and ſecure their new Conqueſts; for Countries over-run in haſte, are almoſt as ſpeedily again recovered, and are like Tempeſts and ſudden Storms, which are the ſooner diſperſed for being violent. *Auguſtus Ceſar*, who was a wiſe and judicious Prince, conſidering the extent of the *Roman* Empire, wrote a Book, ſaith *Tacitus*, which was publiſhed after his Death, wherein he deſcribed the publick Revenue, the number of Citizens and Confederates liſted for the War, the Fleets, Kingdoms, Provinces, Tributes, Cuſtoms, *&c. Addideratque inſuper Conſilium coercendi intra terminos imperii, incertum*, (ſaith that Author, *Tac. Lib. 1. Annal.*) *metu, an per invidiam:* Which doubtleſs this wiſe Emperor meant of a moderate, and not a precipitate progreſs of their Arms, as well as of preſcribing fixed limits to the ultimate Confines of the Empire, beyond which a Statute ſhould be made of *Non plus ultra*, notwithſtanding the moſt promiſing Deſigns and Incitements that could offer.

CHAP. XVI.

All Hereditary Succeſſion in Government, as alſo the preſervation of an Ancient Nobility, againſt the Maxims *of the* Turkiſh Polity.

HAving formerly entred into Diſcourſe of the ſeveral great Officers of State, it will be neceſſary to declare what care the *Turks* take to preſerve the Body of their Empire free of Faction and Rebellion: for there being many Provinces in the Sultan's Gift, which are remote, rich, and powerful, and ſo adminiſter temptation to the Governors to throw off the Yoke of their Dependance, and make themſelves and their Poſterity Abſolute; great care is taken to prevent this Miſchief by ſeveral Arts, none of which hath been more effectual amongſt the *Turks*, nor more ſedulouſly practiſed, than the deſtruction of an Ancient Nobility; and admitting no ſucceſſion to Offices of Riches, but only in the direct *Ottoman* Line, as my Lord *Verulam* ſays, *Eſſay* 14. *A Monarchy, where there is no Nobility at all, is ever pure and abſolute Tyranny, as that of the* Turks; *for Nobility attempers Sovereignty, and draws the People ſomewhat aſide from the Line Royal.* By which means it comes to paſs, that *Paſhaws* Education in the Seraglio, (in the manner as we have ſaid before) without knowledg of their Blood or Family, and without the ſupport of powerful Relations or Dependencies, being ſent abroad to Foreign Governments, where they continue but for a ſhort ſeaſon, have no opportunity or poſſibility of advancing any Intereſt of their own above that of the Sultan.

And

And though ſome have, out of an aſpiring and ambitious Spirit, aſſumed a blind Confidence of renting away part of the Empire; as *Aſan Aga Paſhaw* of *Aleppo* of late Years, with a ſtrong and powerful Army, marched as far as *Scutary*, threatning the Imperial City; and the *Turkiſh Hiſtory* tells us of the revolt of ſeveral *Paſhaws*; yet all theſe Rebellions have been but of ſhort durance; the Grand Signior never deſigning, by open Force and Dint of Sword, to try his Title to the Empire with his own Slaves, but only by ſome ſecret Plot and Stratagem, getting the Head of the Rebel, he is aſſured of the Victory without other hazard or diſpute of War: for immediately thereupon the whole Army diſperſes, and every one ſhifts by flight to ſave himſelf from the Sultan's Anger. Nor is it imaginable it can be otherwiſe; for theſe Men are but Strangers and Foreigners in the Countries they ruled; have no Relations there, or Kindred, to ſecond or revenge their Quarrel, have no ancient Blood or Poſſeſſions which might entitle their Heirs to the Succeſſion, or out of Affection or Pity, move their Subjects to intereſt themſelves in their behalf; but being cut off themſelves, all falls with them, which affords the ſtrangeſt Spectacle, and Example of Fortune's unconſtancy in the World; for a *Turk* is never reverenced but for his Office, that is made the ſole Meaſure and Rule of his Greatneſs and Honour, without other conſiderations of Vertue or Nobility. And this is the Reaſon the *Turks* value not their great Men when taken by the Enemy; for not otherwiſe looking on them than on ordinary Souldiers, they exchange them not with Commanders and Perſons of Quality on the Chriſtians; for the Favour of the Sultan makes the *Paſhaw*, and not the Noble Blood or Vertues; ſo that the *Paſhaw* impriſoned, loſing the influence of his Sovereign's Protection and Greatneſs, loſes that alſo which render'd him noble and conſiderable above other Perſons.

There are notwithſtanding ſome *Paſhaws* of petty Governments, who have obtained to themſelves, through ſome ancient Grace and Privilege from the Sultan, an Hereditary Succeſſion in their Government, and as I can learn, thoſe are only the *Paſhaws* of *Gaza*, *Cordiſtan*, and three *Sangiacks* formerly mentioned under the *Paſhaw* of *Damaſcus* and *Matick*, and *Turcman*, under the *Paſhaw* of *Aleppo*.

And ſince I have mentioned the *Paſhaw* of *Gaza*, it will be but requiſite to recal to mind the Memory of one lately of that place, with much Honour and Reverence, being one whoſe Actions and Devotion to the Chriſtian Worſhip might conclude him not far from *the Kingdom of God:* for beſides his favourable inclination in general, to all who profeſſed the Chriſtian Faith, he was much devoted to the Religious of *Jeruſalem*, to whom he often made Preſents, as Proviſions of Rice and other Supplies for their Monaſtery; and when once the *Father Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre* came to make him a Viſit, with great reſpect and reverence, he met him at a good diſtance from his Houſe, giving him a reception much different from what the *Turks* uſually beſtow on any, who profeſs other than the *Mahometan* Faith: and might deſerve the Character that *Tacitus* gives of *L. Voluſius*, that he was, *Egregia fama, cui Septaginta quinque anni ſpatium vivendi, præcipuæque opes bonis artibus, inoffenſa tot Imperatorum malitia fuit.* And yet this good Man having for Seventy five Years lived innocently in that Government, and received the Inheritance from his Father, was by promiſe of fair Treatment allured to the Port; where without farther Proceſs, or any accuſation, his hoary Head was ſevered from his Body, for no other Reaſon, than leſt the Permiſſion and Indulgence to this long continuance and ſucceſſion in Office, ſhould prove too ample a deviation from the Rules of the *Turkiſh Polity*.

And that all means of attaining ancient Riches, which is the next degree to Nobility, may be cut off, the *Turk* obſerves this Maxime of *Machiavel*, *à reprimere la inſolenſa di uno, non vie piu ſicuro, emeno ſcandoloſo modo, che preocuparglı quelle vie, per le quale viene quella potenza.* And ſo the Grand Signior ſuffers no poſſibility of arriving to ancient Wealth; for as eldeſt Brother to great Men, he makes ſeiſure of the Eſtates of all *Paſhaws* that die, who having Children, ſuch part is beſtowed on them for their maintenance as the Grand Signior ſhall think fit and requiſite. If a *Paſhaw* dies that is married to a *Soltana*, which is the Grand Signior's Siſter, Daughter, or other Relation, her Kabin or Dowry is firſt deducted from the Eſtate (which is commonly 100000 Dollars) and the remainder accrues to the Sultan, as Heir to the reſt; and by this means all ancient Nobility is ſuppreſſed, and you ſhall find the Daughters of ancient Greek Houſes eſpouſed to Shepherds and Carters, and the ancient Reliques of the Noble Families of *Catacuzeno* and *Paleologi*, living more contemptuouſly at *Conſtantinople*, than ever *Dionyſius* did at *Corinth*.

But not only in *Paſhaws* and great Men is care taken to clip their Wings, which may hinder them from ſoaring too high, but alſo in the *Ottoman* Family it ſelf greater ſeverity and ſtrictneſs is exerciſed than in others, to keep them from growing great in Offices or Wealth, whereby to have poſſibility of aſpiring to the Supreme Power; and therefore by the Original and Fundamental Laws of the *Turks*, the Children of a *Soltana* married to a *Paſhaw* are not capable of any Office in the Empire, and at moſt cannot riſe higher, than to be in the quality of a *Capugiba-ſhee*, which is one of the Porters of the Grand Signior's Gate. They that are of this Race never dare vaunt of their Pedigree, it is a contumaciouſneſs and almoſt Treaſon to name it; nor have I learned that there is any Family amongſt the *Turks* of this Line, of any account or eſteem, but one alone, who is called *Ibrahim Hun Ogleri*, or the Off-ſpring of Sultan *Ibrahim*, their Father being a Son of the Grand Signior's Siſter, and married to a *Sultana* (and are ſaid to be of the Race of the *Tartars*) ſo that proceeding by the Womens ſide only, the leſs notice is taken of their Blood: their Rent or Revenue is yearly about 70000 Dollars, *Quibus magna opes, innocenter parta, & modeſte habita*, which they manage with prudence and diſcretion, live honourably without Oſtentation, ſeek no Office, or intermeddle in the Affairs of State; by which means they hitherto have preſerved themſelves from envy and ſuſpicion in the revolutions of the *Turkiſh* Government.

The Grand Signior, many times, when he fears the Greatneſs of any *Paſhaw*, under colour and pretence of Honour, prefers him to the Marriage of his Siſter, or ſome other of his Feminine Kindred; by which means, inſtead of increaſing Power and Glory, he becomes the miſerableſt Slave in the World, to the Tyranny and Pride of an inſulting Woman: For, firſt, he cannot refuſe the Honour, leſt he ſhould ſeem to neglect and contemn the Sultan's Favour; then before the Eſpouſals, he muſt reſolve to

The Marriage of a Paſhaw with a Sultana.

continue

both conſtant to Her alone, and not ſuffer his Affections to wander on other Wives, Slaves, or Diſtractions of his Love: If he hath a Wife whom he loves, whoſe long Converſation and Children ſhe hath brought him, have endeared his Affections too far to be forgotten; he muſt yet baniſh Her and all other Relations from his Home, to entertain the embraces of his unknown *Sultana*. Before the Eſpouſals, what Mony, Jewels or rich Furs ſhe ſends for, he muſt, with complement and chearfulneſs, preſent, which is called *Aghirlick*; beſides this, he makes her a Dowry called *Kabin*, of as much as Friends that make the Match can agree; when the *Kabin* is concluded and paſſed before the Juſtice in form or nature of a Recogniſance; the Bridegroom is conducted to the Chamber of his Bride by a Black Eunuch, at whoſe entrance the cuſtome is, for the *Sultana* to draw her Dagger, and imperiouſly to demand the reaſon of his bold Acceſs, which he with much ſubmiſſion replies to, and ſhews the *Emmeri Podeſhaw*, or the Imperial *Firm* for his Marriage; the *Sultana* then ariſes, and with more kindneſs, admits him to nearer familiarity. The Eunuch takes up his Slippers and lays them over the Door, (which is a ſign of his good Reception) then he bows with all reverence before her to the ground, and retires a few paces back, making ſome brief Oration to her full of Complement and Admiration of her Worth and Honour; and remaining afterwards a while ſilent, in an humble poſture, bowing forward with his hands before him, until the *Sultana* commands him to bring her Water, which he readily obeys, taking a Pot of Water provided for that purpoſe, and kneeling before her, delivers it to her hand; then ſhe takes off her red Veil from before her Face, embroidered with Gold and Silver Flowers, and ſo drinks; in the mean time her Serving-maids bring in a low Table, on which are ſet a pair of Pigeons roaſted, and a Plate of Sugar-candy; the Bridegroom then invites his coy Spouſe to the Collation, which ſhe refuſes, until other Preſents are brought her, which lie prepared in the outward Room; with which her Modeſty being overcome, and her Stomach brought down, ſhe is perſwaded to the Table, and ſitting down, receives a Leg of a Pigeon from the hand of her Bridegroom; taſtes a little, and then puts a piece of Sugar-candy into his Mouth; and ſo riſing up, returns to her place. All the Attendants then retire, and leave the Bridegroom alone with his *Soltana* for the ſpace of an hour to court her ſingly; that time being paſt, the Muſick ſounding, he is invited forth by his Friends to an outward Room where having paſt moſt of the Night with Songs and Sports, at the approach of the Morning, the *Soltana* weary of her paſtime, retires to her Bed, which is richly adorned and perfumed, fit to entertain Nuptial Joys: The Bridegroom adviſed hereof by the nod of the Eunuch, creeps ſilently into the Bride-chamber, where ſtripping himſelf of his upper Garments, he kneels a-while at the feet of the Bed, and then by little and little turning up the Cloaths, gently rubs her feet with his hand, and kiſſing of them, aſcends higher to the embraces of his Spouſe, which ſhe willingly admits him to, and wiſhes her ſelf and him a happy Bedding: in the morning betimes the Bridegroom is called by his Friends to the Bath; at whoſe call ariſing, he is preſented by the Bride with all ſorts of Linen to be uſed in Bathing. After theſe Ceremonies are paſt, they are better acquainted, yet in publick ſhe keeps him at a diſtance, wears her *Haniarre* or Dagger by her ſide, in token of her Superiority; and ſo frequently commands Gifts and Riches from him, until ſhe hath exhauſted him to the bottom of all his Wealth.

Nor is this eſteemed ſufficient to mortify theſe poor Slaves by Womens Tyranny, but they are always put forward upon deſperate attempts, as lately *Iſhmael Paſhaw*, who was killed paſſing the River *Raab*, in the overthrow given the *Turks* by the Emperor's Forces under *Montecuculi*: and others I could name in like manner; leſt the honour of their Marriage in the Royal Family, without the croſſes and mortifications which attend it, ſhould puff them up with the ambition and proud thought, which is not lawful for them to imagine.

The reaſon why Ahmet Paſha late Vizier, ſucceeded his Father Kuperlee in the Government.

But it may well be objected how it came to paſs that the preſent Prime Vizier, called *Ahmet*, ſhould ſucced his Father *Kuperlee* in the Government of the Empire. 'Tis true, it was a ſtrange deviation from the general Rule of their Policy, and perhaps ſuch a Preſident as may never hereafter be brought into Example; but Accidents concur oftentimes to the Fortune of ſome Men without Order or Reaſon; and yet *Kuperlee* the Father, had ſo well deſerved of the Sultan, and his whole Dominions, for having by his own Wiſdom and Reſolution ſaved the Empire from being rent in pieces by the Faction and ambition of ſome aſpiring Perſons, and by the Blood of thouſands of Mutinous and Rebellious Heads, had cemented and made firm the Throne of his Maſter, that no Honour could be thought ſufficient to be paid to his Ghoſt, unleſs it were the ſucceſſion of his Son in his place; which the more unuſual and irregular it was eſteemed, the greater Glory it was to that Family; and herein alſo this ſubtile Fox plaid his Maſter-piece, by repreſenting the ſtate of Affairs to remain in that poſture, as was neceſſary to be carried on with the ſame Method as begun; which he had entruſted to the knowledg of his Son; and this was the Reaſon why this young Vizier then ſcarce arrived to thirty Years, and but an ordinary *Kadee* or Juſtice of the Law, was both, as to his Age and Relation, thus irregularly preferred to the Office of Vizier.

Nor hath Hereditary Succeſſion, nor long continuance in Authority, been only avoided amongſt the *Turks*; but we find that the *Romans* often changed their Governors, and never ſuffered them to continue long in one Province. And ſo the King of *Spain* doth at preſent in the Government of *Flanders*, the *Indies*, the Kingdom of *Naples*, and other parts, the ſpace of three Years being commonly allotted them for their Reſidence.

But amongſt the *Turks* there is no fixed term of Time appointed to their *Paſhaws*, but only they remain as Tenants at Will of the Grand Signior; who, according to his Pleaſure, and as he ſees Reaſon, cuts them off, recalls them, or tranſplants them to another Province; only the *Paſhaw* of *Grand Cairo* in *Egypt*, hath a certain ſpace of three Years appointed, to which his Government is confined; and there may be very good reaſon for it, for it being a place of great Truſt, Riches, and Power, in which *Paſhaws* grow in a ſhort time vaſtly wealthy, it cannot be wiſdom to continue them long there; the Revenue of which we have had occaſion already to diſcourſe of. And therefore the Grand Signior doth often, not only abbreviate their time, but alſo at their return ſhares in the beſt part of the Prizes they have made.

The

The *Romans* had that Opinion of the Wealth and Power of *Egypt*, that *Auguſtus* made a Decree, and held it *inter alia dominationis arcana*, that it ſhould not be lawful for any, without particular Licence to enter *Egypt*, and expreſly forbids Senators and Gentlemen of *Rome*, without Order from the Prince, or for the Affairs of State, to viſit thoſe Parts. And *Tacitus* gives this reaſon for it; *Ne fama urgeret Italiam quiſquis eam Provinciam, cluſtraque terra ac maris, quamvis levi præſidio adverſum ingentes exercitus inſedisſet.* Lib. 1.

Another Danger to the Empire, which the *Turks* ſeduloufly avoid, beſides Hereditary Succeſſion in Office, is Rivalry among Princes of the Blood, during the time of their Father's Life; for afterwards the Succeſſor takes care to ſecure his Brethren beyond poſſibility of competition. The Story of *Selymus* and *Bajazet*, the Sons of *Solyman* the Magnificent, is a perfect Experiment of the Feud and Diſſention which is bred in the Deſires of Barbarous Princes; ſo that when they arrive to any maturity of Age, they are always tranſplanted to different Seraglio's Abroad, where they keep their Courts diſtinct, and cannot enter within the Walls *Conſtantinople*, during the Life of their Father; leſt by interview with each other, their Minds ſhould be moved with Emulation, or inhabiting in the Imperial City, ſhould be provided with Means before their Time to attempt the Throne of their Father. And for this Reaſon the Grand Signior hath ſcarce performed the Ceremonies of his Inauguration, before he hath ſeaſoned his entrance to his Throne with the Blood of his Brothers; which barbarous cuſtom began in the time of Sultan *Bajazet*.

But if the Brothers are but few, and the Grand Signior of a diſpoſition more naturally inclined to Clemency than Cruelty, he ſecures them in the Seraglio, under the tuition of Maſters, and care of a faithful Guard; differing nothing from Impriſonment, but in the Name, prohibiting them the Socity and Converſation of all: and thus the two Brothers of this preſent Sultan *Mahomet*, live in as much obſcurity and forgetfulneſs, as if they had never been born, or having paſt a private Life, were departed to the place where all things were forgotten.

It is no great digreſſion from our purpoſe here, to take notice of two ſorts of Governments purely popular; the one hath already had its Period, and the other is of late beginning, and at preſent flouriſhes; and thoſe are the Common-Wealths of *Egypt* under the *Mamalukes*, and the other in our days in the Dominions of *Algier*: The firſt not only depoſed the whole Family of their Prince from having Power in the Government, and from all Succeſſion, but alſo made it an immutable Law, that the Sons of the *Mamalukes* might ſucceed their Father in the Inheritance of their Eſtates, as Lands and Goods, but could not aſſume the Title or Government of a *Mamaluke*; nor not only ſo, but that all that were born in the *Mahometan* or *Jewiſh* Faith, were uncapable, *ipſo facto*, of the Order of a *Mamaluke*; and only ſuch preferred thereunto, who had been Sons of Chriſtians, and become Slaves, inſtructed and educated in the *Mahometan* Superſtition; or elſe Men of mature Age, who having abjured God and their Country, were come thither to ſeek Preferment in that Kingdom of Darkneſs. And this ſlaviſh and ſtrange Conſtitution of Government, flouriſhed for the ſpace of two hundred ſixty ſeven Years, until overthrown in the Year of our Lord 1517, by the Arms of *Selimus* that victorious Emperor of the *Turks*.

The perſent Government of *Algier* is but of a few Years; the firſt Original of which was by one *Barbaroſe* a famous Pyrat, and afterwards by the acceſſion of great quantities of *Turks* out of the *Levant*, the Protection of the Grand Signior was craved, and a *Paſha* received from the Port; but now the *Paſha* remains without any Power: the whole Government being tranſferred to the Scum of the People, who fearing leſt the Power ſhould at laſt become ſubject to the Natives, have made it a Law, that no Sons of a *Turk* born in that Country, whom they call *Cololies*, can be capable of an Office in their Common-Wealth, but only ſuch, who having been born Chriſtians, are perverted to the Turkiſh Sect, or elſe ſuch who come from parts of the Turkiſh Dominions, to be Members of their Republick.

And thus much ſhall ſerve to have declared how much the Turks are jealous of all Succeſſions in Office and Authority, which may prejudice the Abſolute Monarchy of their great Sultan.

CHAP. XVII.

The frequent Exchange of Officers, viz. the ſetting up of one, and degrading another, a Rule always practiſed as wholſome, and conducing to the Welfare of the Turkiſh *State.*

HE that is an Eye-witneſs, and ſtrict obſerver of the various changes in Greatneſs, Honours, and Riches of the Turks, hath a lively Emblem of Contemplation before him, of the unconſtancy and mutability of Humane Affairs; Fortune ſo ſtrangely ſports with his People, that a Comedy or Tragedy on the Stage, with all its Scenes, is ſcarce ſooner opened and ended, than the Fate of divers Great Men, who in the Day-time being exalted to high Sublimity, by the powerful Rays of the Sultan's Favour, in the Night fall, or vaniſh like a Meteor.

The Reaſon hereof, if duly conſidered, may be of great uſe as Things ſtand here, that is, to the Power of the Grand Signior; for in this Conſtitution, the Health and Benefit of the Emperor is conſulted, before the Welfare of the People: And the Power of the Emperor is in no Action more exerciſed and evidenced, than by withdrawing and conferring his Favours; for by theſe Means, having many whom he hath educated and prepared for Offices, and ſtand Candidates to receive them, his Power would ſeem to be at a *Nonplus*, and appear like an inconſiderable Father, who had ſpent more Mony in the breeding of his Sons, than the Patrimony amounted to he had to beſtow upon them: and therefore the Grand Signior, to imitate the Sun, benights ſome part of the World to enlighten others, that ſo, by a general influence and communication of his Beams, he may be acknowledged the common Parent of them all.

And this Courſe doth not evidence the Power of the Grand Signior, but likewiſe encreaſes it; for none are advanced in theſe times to Office, but pay the Grand Signior vaſt Sums of Mony for it, according to the Riches and Expectations

of Profit from the Charge; ſome pay, as the Paſhaws of *Grand Cairo* and *Babylon*, three or four hundred thouſand Dollars upon paſſing the Commiſſion; others one, others two hundred thouſand, ſome fifty thouſand, as their Places are more or leſs conſiderable: and this Mony is moſt commonly taken up at Intereſt, at forty or fifty *per Cent.* for the Year, and ſometimes at double, when they are conſtrained to become Debtors to the Covetous Eunuchs of the Seraglio; ſo that every one, upon his firſt entrance into Office, looks on himſelf (as indeed he is) greatly indebted and obliged, by Juſtice or Injuſtice, right or wrong, ſpeedily to disburthen himſelf of the Debts, and improve his own Principal in the World; and this Deſign muſt not be long in performance, leſt the haſty Edict overtake him before his Work is done, and call him to account for the improvement of his Talent.

Think then (taking all Circumſtances together of the covetous Diſpoſition of a Turk, the cruelty and narrowneſs of Soul in thoſe Men commonly that are born and educated in want) what Oppreſſion, what Rapine and Violence muſt be exerciſed to ſatisfy the Appetite of theſe Men, who come famiſhed with immenſe Deſires, and ſtrange Conſiderations to ſatisfy! *Diu fordidus repente dives, mutationem fortunæ male regit, accenſis egeſtate longa cupidinibus immoderatus.* Tac. *Lib.* 1. *Hiſt.* So that Juſtice in its common courſe is ſet to ſale; and it is very rare, when any Law-Suit is in Hand, but Bargains are made for the Sentence, and he hath moſt Right who hath moſt Mony to make him *rectus in Curia*, and advance his Cauſe. And it is the common courſe for both Parties at difference, before they appear together in preſence of the Judg, to apply themſelves ſingly to him, and try whoſe Donative and Preſent hath the moſt in it of temptation; and it is no wonder if corrupt Men exerciſe this kind of Trade in Trafficking with Juſtice; for having before bought the Office, of conſequence they muſt ſell the Truth.

Vendere jure poteſt, emerat ille prius.

Add hereunto a ſtrange kind of Facility in the Turks, for a Trifle or ſmall Hire to give falſe Witneſs in any caſe, eſpecially, and that with a word, when the Controverſy happens between a Chriſtian and a Turk, and then the Pretence is for the *Muſſelmanleck*, as they call it; the Cauſe is Religious, hallows all Falſeneſs and forgery in the Teſtimony; ſo that I believe in no part of the World can Juſtice run more out of the Current and Stream than in *Turkey*, where ſuch Maxims and Conſiderations corrupt both the Judg and Witneſſes. *Turcæ magna pietatis loco ducunt dicere falſum teſtimonium adverſus hominem Chriſtianum; non expectant ut rogentur; injuſſi adſunt ſeque ultro ingerunt.*

Busbeq; Ep. 4. de Leg. Tur.

This Conſideration and Practice, made an *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, upon renewing the Capitulations, to inſert an Article of Caution againſt the Teſtimony of Turks, as never to be admitted nor pleaded in any Court of Turkiſh Juſtice, againſt the *Engliſh* Intereſt; and nothing to be admitted as evidence in that Caſe, but only a *Hoget*, which is the Nature of a Recognizance made before a Judg, or a Bill or Writing under the Hand of him on whom the Demand is made; which Article, as it was very adviſedly, and with great Prudence and Wiſdom obtained, ſo it hath proved of admirable Conſequence and Security to the Trafique, and Merchants Eſtates; which before being liable to the Forgeries and falſe Pretences of every diſſolute Turk, hath now this Point as a Defence and Fortification, by which falſe Pretences and Suits for conſiderable Sums of Mony, and Matters of great value have been blown away, and decided with great Facility and little Expence.

Turkiſh Hiſtory in the Reign of Bajazet the fourth King of the Turks.

In the time of *Bajazet*, the fourth King of the Turks, the Courts of Juſtice were in like manner corrupted, as at preſent; for reformation of which, the Prince reſolved to execute a great Number of the Lawyers, until it was pleaſantly repreſented by his Jeſter, (to whom, between Jeſt and Earneſt, he had given liberty to ſpeak the Truth, which ſoberer Men durſt not) that all the cauſe of Bribery and Corruption in the Judges, proceeded for want of Stipends and neceſſary Maintenance: Whereupon *Bajazet* growing cooler, and ſenſible of the Cauſe of that Evil, applied a Remedy, by granting their Pardon, allowing them Salaries and Stipends, with additional Fees of twenty *Aſpers* in all Cauſes exceeding a Thouſand; and twelve Aſpers for every Writing and Inſtrument out of Court.

And in the Times of the beſt Emperors, when Vertue and Deſerts were conſidered, and the Empire flouriſhed and encreaſed, Men had Offices conferred for their Merits, and good Services were rewarded freely and with bounty, without Sums of Mony, and Payments, to be a foil to the luſtre of their better Parts: But now it is quite contrary, and all Matters run out of courſe; a manifeſt Token, in my Opinion, of the declenſion and decay of the *Ottoman* Empire, as *Livy* ſaith, *Omnia proſpera ſequentibus Deos, adverſa autem ſpernentibus.* Howſoever in part this ſerves the great End of the Empire, for Paſhaws and great Men, having a kind of neceſſity upon them to oppreſs their Subjects, the People thereby loſe their Courages; and by continual Taxes and Seiſures on what they gain, Poverty ſubdues their Spirits, and makes them more patiently ſuffer all kinds of Injuſtice and Violence that can be offered them, without thoughts or motion to Rebellion: And ſo the Lord *Verulam* ſays in his *Eſſays*, That it is Impoſſible for a People over-laden with Taxes, ever to become Martial or Valiant; for no Nation can be the Lion's Whelp, and the Aſs between Burthens: By which means the Turk preſerves ſo many different ſort of People, as he hath conquered, in due Obedience, uſing no other help than a ſevere hand joined to all kind of Oppreſſion: but ſuch as are Turks, and bear any Name of Office or Degree in the Service of the Empire, feel but part of this Oppreſſion, and live with all freedom, having their Spirits raiſed by a Licence, they attain to inſult over others that dare not reſiſt them. Eſſay 29.

But the Iſſue and Concluſion of the Spoils theſe great Men make on Subjects, is very remarkable; for as if God were pleaſed to evidence his juſt Puniſhment more evidently and plainly here, than in other Sins; ſcarce any of all thoſe Paſhaws who have made haſte to be Rich, have eſcaped the Grand Signior's Hands, but he either deveſts them of all, or will ſhare the beſt part of the Prey with them. Amongſt which I have obſerved none paſſes ſo hardly as the Paſhaws of *Grand Cairo*, becauſe it is the richeſt and moſt powerful of all the Governments of this Empire; and ſo either in his Journey home, or after his return, he loſes his Life by publick Command, or at leaſt is rifled of his Goods as ill got, which are condemned to

to the Grand Signior's Treaſury: And it is ſtrange to ſee, yet with what heat theſe Men labour to amaſs Riches, which they know, by often Experiences, have proved but Collections for their Maſter; and only the Odium and Curſes which the oppreſſed Wretches have vented againſt their Rapine, remain to themſelves; *Rebus ſecundis avidi, adverſis autem incauti.* Tac. And this is like the Policy that *Ceſar Borgia* uſed, otherwiſe called *Il Duca Valentine*, who the better to reduce *Romagna*, lately ſubdued to Obedience, made one *Meſſer Romiro d' Orco* his Deputy, a Man of a cruel and tyrannical Diſpoſition, who by Rigour and Force reduced Affairs to the Will and Order of his Prince: And the Work now done, and the People remaining extraordinarily diſcontented, the Duke thought it time to purge the Minds of his People of the ill apprehenſion they had of his Government, by demonſtrating that the former hard uſage proceeded from the bad Inclination of his Miniſter; commanding the ſame *Romiro d' Orco*, at *Ceſanna* to be cut in pieces, and expoſed to the publick view of the People, with a piece of Wood, and a bloody Knife by his ſide. This ſaith *Machiavil*, Lib. del Principe, cap. 7. *Fece aquelli popoli in un tempo remanere ſtupidi & ſodiſfatti*; and the Turk underſtands well how profitable in the ſame manner it is for the conſtitution of his Eſtate, to uſe evil Inſtruments, who may oppreſs and poll his People, intending afterwards for himſelf the whole Harveſt of their Labours; they remaining with the hatred, whilſt the Prince, under colour of performing Juſtice, procures both Riches and Fame together.

If it be ſuſpected that any great Man intends to make Combuſtion or Mutiny in his Government, or that his Wealth or natural Abilities render him formidable; without farther inquiſition or ſcrutiny, all diſcontent of the Grand Signior is diſſembled, and perhaps an Horſe, a Sword, or Sables Veſt is reported to be preſented, and all fair Treatment is counterfeited, until the Executioner gets the Bow-ſtring about his Neck, and then they care not how rudely they deal with him: juſt like the Birds in *Plutarch*, who beat the Cuckow, for fear that in time he ſhould become a Hawk.

Lib. 6. Apoth.

And to make more room for the multitude of Officers who crowd for Preferments, and to act the cruel Edicts of the Empire with the leaſt noiſe; times when a great Perſonage is removed from his place of Truſt, and ſent with a new Commiſſion to the Charge, perhaps, of a greater Government; and though he depart from the Regal Seat with all fair demonſtrations of Favour, before he hath advanced three days in his journey, triumphing in the multitude of his Servants, and his late Hopes, the fatal command Overtakes him; and without any Accuſation or Cauſe, other than the Will of the Sultan, he is barbarouſly put to death, and his Body thrown into the Dirt of a foreign and unknown Country, without ſolemnity of Funeral or Monument; that he is no ſooner in the Grave, than his Memory is forgotten. And this methinks is ſomewhat agreeable to the crafty Policy of *Tiberius*, who ſometimes would commiſſionate Men for Government of Provinces, to whom beforehand he had deſigned not to permit licence to depart the City; *Poſtremò eò provectus eſt, ut mandaverit quibuſdam provincias quos egredi urbe non erat paſſurus.*

Hence are apparent the Cauſes of the decay of Arts amongſt the *Turks*, of the neglect, want of care in manuring and cultivating their Lands; why their Houſes and private Buildings are made ſlight, not durable for more than ten or twenty Years; why you find no delightful Orchards and pleaſant Gardens and Plantations; and why in thoſe Countries, where Nature hath contributed ſo much on her part, there are no additional labours of Art to complete all, and turn it to a Paradiſe; for Men knowing no certain Heir, nor who ſhall ſucceed them in their Labours, contrive only for a few Years enjoyment. And moreover, Men are fearful of ſhewing too much oſtentation or magnificence in their Palaces, or ingenuity in the pleaſures of their Gardens, leſt they ſhould bring on them the ſame Fate that *Nabal*'s Vineyard occaſion'd to his Maſter: and therefore Men neglect all application to the Studies of Arts and Sciences, but only ſuch as are neceſſary and conducing to the mere courſe of living; for the very Fear and Crime of being known to be Rich, makes them appear outwardly Poor, and become naturally Stoicks and Philoſophers in all the points of a reſerved and cautious Life. And here I am at a ſtand, and cannot conclude this Chapter without contemplating a while, and pleaſing my ſelf with the thoughts of the Bleſſedneſs, the Happineſs, the liberty of my own Country; where Men, under the protection and ſafe influence of a gratious and the beſt of Princes in the World, enjoy and eat of the Fruit of their own Labour, and purchaſe to themſelves, with ſecurity, Fields and Manors, and dare acknowledg and glory in their Wealth and Pomp, and yet leave the Inheritance to their Poſterity.

CHAP. XVIII.

The ſeveral Arts the Turks *uſe to encreaſe their People, is a principal Policy, without which the greatneſs of their Empire cannot continue nor be encreaſed.*

THere was never any People that laid Foundations and Deſigns of a great Empire, but firſt thought how to make it populous, and by which means they might beſt ſupply them with People, not only ſufficient for the Sacrifice and Slaughter of the War, but for the Plantation of Colonies, Poſſeſſion and Security of what the Sword hath conquered. We never underſtood how one People alone that was Martial, and by ſucceſſes in War had framed a large Empire, was able, from the mere original of its own Stock, to abound with iſſue of natural Subjects, to bear proportion with the ſtronger Nations; nor how a handful of People, with the greateſt Policy and Courage in the World, was able to embrace a large extent of Dominion and Empire: It is true, that *Alexander* did with an Army, for the moſt part, compoſed of *Macedonians*, as it were in a Rant, make a Conqueſt of the beſt part of the Eaſtern World; but this Empire, like a Ship that had much Sail, and no Ballaſt, or a fair Tree over-charged with Boughs too heavy for its Stem, became a Windfall on a ſudden.

The *Turks* therefore, during the continuance of their Empire, have not been ignorant of this Truth; for no People in the World have ever been more open to receive all ſorts of Nations to them, than they, nor have uſed more Arts to encreaſe the number of thoſe that are

called *Turks*; and it is ſtrange to conſider, that from all parts of the World, ſome of the moſt diſſolute and deſperate in Wickedneſs, ſhould flock to theſe Dominions, to become Members and Profeſſours of the *Mahometan* Superſtition; in that manner that at preſent, the Blood of the *Turks* is ſo mixed with that of all ſorts of Languages and Nations, that none of them can derive his Lineage from the ancient Blood of the *Saracens*.

The *Romans*, who well knew the benefit of receiving Strangers into their Boſome, called this freedom they gave *Jus Civitatis*, whereby Foreigners became as lawful Poſſeſſours of Eſtates and Inheritances, and had as much right to the common Priviledges, as any that were born in the Walls of *Rome*; and this *Jus Civitatis* was given to whole Families; ſo that, as Sir *F. B.* ſays well, that the *Romans* did not over-ſpread the World, but the World it ſelf. The *Engliſh* call it Naturalization, the *French* Enfranchiſement, and the *Turks* call it Becoming a Believer; for they joining with it a point of Religion, not only the Proffers of the Goods of this World, but alſo of Delights in the World to come, make the Allurements and Arguments the more prevalent; and it being an Opinion amongſt them, as over all the World, that it is a Meritorious Work to create Proſelytes, ſcarce any who hath Mony to purchaſe a Slave, but will procure one young and fit for any Impreſſion, whom he may name his Convert, and gain Reputation amongſt his Neighbours of having added to the number of the Faithful. Of all this Number, which yearly are added to the Profeſſors of *Mahomet*, none can retreat on lower Terms than Death and Martyrdom for Chriſt; which cauſes may whoſe Conſciences, though touched with the ſenſe of the denial of their Saviour; yet having not Grace or Courage to aſſert their Faith on ſo hard a Leſſon, grow deſperate or careleſs, and die in their Sin. This ſort of People become really *Turks*, and ſome through Cuſtom and their own Luſts, are really perſwaded of the truth of this Profeſſion, and have proved more inveterate and fatal Enemies to Chriſtianity, than the natural *Turks*; which will appear, if we conſider, that all the Succeſſes they have had, and Exploits they have done at Sea, have been performed by ſuch who have denied the Chriſtian Faith, as namely *Chigal*, *Ogli*, and others.

Eſſays.

It was the cuſtom formerly amongſt the *Turks*, every five Years, to take away the Chriſtians Children, and Educate them in the *Mahometan* Superſtition; by which means they encreaſed their own People, and diminiſhed and enfeebled the Force of the Chriſtians; but now that cuſtom, in a great part, is grown out of uſe, through the abundance of *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Jews*, and all Nations where the Iron Rod of the *Turks* Tyranny extends, who flock in to enjoy the imaginary Honour and Priviledge of a *Turk*. And indeed it is no wonder to humane Reaſon, that conſiders the Oppreſſion and Contempt that poor Chriſtians are expoſed to, and the Ignorance in their Churches, occaſioned through Poverty in the Clergy, that many ſhould be found who retreat from the Faith; but it is rather a Miracle, and a true verification of thoſe words of Chriſt, *That the Gates of Hell ſhall not be able to prevail againſt his Church*, that there is conſerved ſtill amidſt ſo much Oppoſition, and in deſpight of all Tyranny and Arts contrived againſt it, an open and publick Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith; which next to God's Providence, conſidering the ſtupid Ignorance of the *Greek* and *Armenan* Churches, their conſervation of their Faith is not to be attributed to any inſtance more, than to the ſtrict obſervation of the Feaſts and Faſts of their Churches; for having rarely the helps of Catechiſms or Sermons, they learn yet from theſe outward Ceremonies, ſome confuſed Notions and Precepts of Religion, and exerciſe with ſeverity and rigour this ſort of Devotion; when through Cuſtom, Confuſion, and ſcarcity of knowing Guides, all other ſervice is become obſolete and forgotten amongſt them.

The Turks have another extraordinary ſupply of People from the Black Sea, ſent them in by the *Tartars*, who with their light Bodies of Horſe make incurſions into the Territories of the neighbouring Chriſtians, and carry with them a Booty of whole Cities and Countries of People, moſt of which they ſend to *Conſtantinople* to be ſold, and is the chief Trade and Commodity of their Country (as we have already diſcourſed.)

It is ſad to ſee what numbers of *Saykes*, or *Turkiſh* Veſſels, come ſailing through the *Boſphorus*, fraighted with poor Chriſtian Captives of both Sexes, and all Ages, carrying on the Maintop a Flag, either as a Note of Triumph, or elſe as a Mark of the Ware and Merchandiſe they carry.

The number of the Slaves brought yearly to *Conſtantinople* is uncertain; for ſometimes it is more, and ſometimes leſs, according to the Wars and Succeſſes of the *Tartars*; but a it is apparent in the Regiſters of the Cuſtoms at *Conſtantinople* only, one Year with another at the leaſt 20000 are yearly imported; amongſt which the greateſt part being Women and Children, with eaſie Perſuaſions, and fair Promiſes become Turks; the Men being ignorant, and generally of the *Ruſſian* or *Moſcovite* Nation (who are reported not to be over-devout, or of famed conſtancy and perſeverance in Religion) partly by Menaces and Fear, partly by good word and allurements of Reward, deſpairing of Liberty, and return to their own Country, renounce all Intereſt in the Chriſtian Faith.

Of this ſort of Metal moſt of the Turks are in theſe days compoſed, and by the fecundity of this Generation, the Dominions of this Empire flow; for the Turks of themſelves, though they have the liberty of *Polygamy*, and freer uſe of divers Women allowed them by their Law, than the ſeverity of Chriſtian Religion doth permit, are yet obſerved to be leſs fruitful in Children, than thoſe who confine themſelves to the chaſt embraces of one Wife. It is true, we have heard how in former Times there have been particular Men amongſt the Turks, that have ſeverally been Fathers to an hundred Sons; but now, through that abominabe Vice of *Sodomy*, which the Turks pretend to have learned from the *Italians*, and is now the common and profeſſed ſhame of that People, few fecundious Families are found amongſt them; eſpecially amongſt the Perſons of the greater Quality, who have Means and Time to act and contrive their filthineſs with the moſt deformity. And in this manner the natural uſe of the Women being neglected amongſt them, as St. *Paul* ſaith, *Men burning in luſt one towards another*; ſo little is Mankind propagated, that many think, were it not for the abundant ſupplies of Slaves, which daily come from the Black Sea (as before we have declared) conſidering the Summer-ſlaughters of the Plague, and deſtructions of War, the

Rom. c. 1.

the Turk would have little cauſe to boaſt of the vaſt Numbers of his People: and that a principal Means to begin the ruine of this Empire, were, to prevent the taking of ſo many Captives, or intercept thoſe numbers of Slaves which are daily tranſported to nouriſh and feed the Body of this great *Babylon*; by which means, in time, they would not only find a want of Servants, but a decay and ſcarcity of Maſters; ſince as it is before-mentioned, theſe Slaves becoming Turks, are capable of all Priviledges, and being commonly Manumiſed by their Patrons, through the help of Fortune, arrive equally to Preferments with thoſe who are of the ancient *Mahometan* Race: This is the true Reaſon the Turk can ſpend ſo many People in his Wars, and values not the lives of Ten thouſand Men to win him but a ſpan of Ground, and yet almoſt without any ſenſible diminution of his People; and on the contrary, the invention, of an Inquiſition, and the diſtinction between *Chriſtianos vicios*, and *Nuevos* in *Spain* and *Portugal*, have cauſed that decay and ſcarcity of People in thoſe Countries, as hath laid the beſt part of thoſe fruitful Soils deſolate, and forced them both to a neceſſity of entertaining a mercenary Soldiery.

It is no ſmall inducement to the vulgar People, who is moſt commonly won with outward Allurements, to become Turks; that when they are ſo, by a white Turbant, or ſuch a particular Note of Honour, they ſhall be diſtinguiſhed from other-like Sects, (all People amongſt the Turks being known by their Heads, of what Religion or Quality they are) and ſo may the better be directed where they may have a priviledge to domineer and injure with the moſt impunity.

If we conſider how delightful the Mode is in *England* and *France*, eſpecially to thoſe who are of a vain and gay Humour, and that nothing ſeems handſome or comely, but what is dreſſed in the Faſhion and Air of the Times; we ſhall not wonder, if the ignorant and vain amongſt Chriſtians, born and educated in thoſe Countries, ſhould be catched and entrapt with the fancy and enticement of the *Turkiſh* Mode, and be contented to deſpoil themſelves of the Garment of Chriſtian Vertues, to aſſume a dreſs more Courtly and pleaſing to the Eyes of the World; for ſo the *Britains*, and other Nations, after Conquered by the *Romans*, began to delight themſelves in their Language and Habit, their Banquets and Buildings, which they accounted to be Humanity, and refinement of their Manners; but *Tacitus* ſaith; *Pars ſervitutis erat*, a ſignal Symptom of their ſubjection.

De Vita Agric.

And it is worth a wiſe Man's obſervation, how gladly the *Greeks* and *Armenian* Chriſtians imitate the Turkiſh Habit, and come as near to it as they dare; and how proud they are, when they are priviledged, upon ſome extraordinary Occaſion to appear without their Chriſtian diſtinction. And thus the Turk makes his very Habit a bait to draw ſome to his Superſtition; Riches to allure the Covetous; Rewards and Hopes, to rule the Ambitious; fears and terrours of Death, the cowardly and timorous; and by all means works on the Diſpoſitions and Humours of Men, to make additions to his Kingdom. Such as adhere to the Chriſtian Faith, the Turk makes no account of, and values no otherwiſe in the place of Subjects, than a Man doth of his Ox or Aſs, merely to carry the Burthens, and to be uſeful and ſervile in ſlaviſh Offices: they are oppreſſed, and are ſubject to all advantages and Pretences; and their Goods and Eſtates gained with Labour, and the Sweat of their Brows, liable to the Rapine of every great Man; they are diſarmed, and never exerciſed in War, by which means they become Effeminate, and leſs dangerous in Rebellion: only the People of *Tranſylvania*, *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, under the conduct of their reſpective Princes, that the Grand Signior ſets over them, ſerve him in their Perſons in the War, and are the firſt thruſt forward in all deſperate Enterpriſes; ſo that the oppreſſion of the poor Chriſtians under the Turk, is worthy our compaſſion, how poor they are become, how their former Wealth is exhauſted, how the fatneſs of their rich Soil is drained, and made barren by poiſonous Suckers; ſo that it is evident that the Turks Deſign is no other, than by improveriſhment and enfeebling the Intereſt of Chriſtianity, to draw Proſelytes and Strength to his own Kingdom.

Wherefore ſome ſort of poor Chriſtians, either actually Subjects to the Turkiſh Tyranny, or Borderers on them, who often feel the miſery of their Incurſions, being fearful of their own conſtancy in the Faith, have contrived ways to preſerve themſelves from any other Profeſſion: wherefore in *Mengrelia*, the Chriſtians, at the Baptiſm of their Children, make a Croſs on their Hands; and in *Servia* their cuſtome is to make it on their Foreheads, with the Juice of a certain Herb, the ſtain of which never wears out; ſo that ſome of theſe Nations, who become Renegadoes to the Chriſtian Faith, bear always a Badge and Note of deſignation about them to a Holy Profeſſion, which may ſerve to upbraid their Perfidious deſertion of the Faith; the Croſs on their Forehead appearing for a ſhame and diſcountenance to the White Turbant on their Heads. By which pious Art, many of theſe diſtreſſed Chriſtians have, notwithſtanding fear and deſpair of Liberty, and promiſes of reward, through the apprehenſion of this incongruity between the Croſs and the Banner of *Mahomet*, preſerved themſelves firm to their firſt Colours.

CHAP. XIX.

The manner of Reception of Foreign Ambaſſadours amongſt the Turks, and the eſteem they have of them.

THere was no Nation in the World ever ſo barbarous, that did not acknowledg the Office of an Ambaſſadour Sacred and Neceſſary.

Sanctum populis per ſæcula nomen.

And *Cicero* ſaith, *Sic enim ſentio jus legatorum cum hominum præſidio munitum, tum etiam divino jure eſſe vallatum*; the *Alchoran* it ſelf calls this Office inviolable; and it is a Turkiſh Canon, *Elchi zaval yokgter*, Do not hurt an Ambaſſadour; ſo that the Turks do confeſs themſelves obliged by their own Law to Rules of Civilities, Courteous Treatment and Protection of Ambaſſadors.

De Hatiſp. reſponſis.

The greateſt honour they ſhew to any Foreign Miniſter, is to him who comes from the Emperor, becauſe his Confines are contiguous with theirs, and have had occaſion more frequently, than with other Chriſtian Princes, to try the Power of the Imperial Sword.

An

An Ambaſſador coming from the Emperor, as ſoon as he enters the *Ottoman* Dominions, hath his Charges defrayed by the Sultan, according to the importance of the Buſineſs and Negotiation he is deſigned to, until the time of his return; and a Reſident continuing in ordinary, hath in like manner his conſtant Allowance. As it hath always been a Cuſtom amongſt the Eaſtern Princes to ſend Preſents each to other, as Tokens of Friendſhip and Amity; ſo the Emperor is, by an ancient Cuſtom and Agreement, obliged to accompany his Ambaſſador to this Court with Preſents and Gifts, as Offerings of Peace: and on the contrary, that the Emperor may not remain with the Diſadvantage, the Grand Signior is bound to recompence the Embaſſy with another from himſelf, and adorn it with Preſents of equal value with thoſe that were ſent him.

But Ambaſſadors and Repreſentatives from other Princes, who have their Dominions more remote, and whoſe principal Deſign is eſteemed for the promotion of Trade and Commerce, as the *Engliſh*, *French* and *Dutch*, are always admitted with their Preſents, which the Turk by cuſtom calls his right, and judges not himſelf obliged to return the like, eſteeming his Capitulations and Articles he makes with thoſe Princes, Privileges and Immunities granted their Subjects.

The Ceremonies they uſe at the Audience of every Ambaſſador are acted (as in all parts of the World) moſt to ſet off the Glory of the Empire; and repreſented with ſuch Advantages, as may beſt afford a Theme for an Ambaſſadour's Pen to deſcribe the Riches, Magnificence, and Terror of the *Ottoman* Power.

The Audience with the Grand Signior (having firſt paſſed a Complement with the Prime Vizier) is commonly contrived on days appointed for paiment of the Janiſaries, which is every three Months; and with that occaſion, the Order and Diſcipline of the Militia, the Mony and Stipends that are iſſued forth, are there expoſed to the obſervation of the publick Miniſter. The Mony is brought into the *Divan*, and there piled in heaps, where the Ambaſſador is firſt introduced, and ſeated on a Stool covered with Crimſon-velvet, placed near the firſt Vizier, and other Viziers of the Bench: as ſoon as the Mony is paid out to the chief of every *Oda* or Chamber, who afterwards diſtribute it amongſt their Souldiers, a plentiful Dinner is prepared for the Ambaſſador; who together with the firſt Vizier, and other Viziers of the Bench, and *Teſtardar*, or Lord Treaſurer, are ſeated at the ſame Table, which is not raiſed as high as the Tables we uſe, but ſomething lower, covered over with a capacious Voyder of Silver, in which the Diſhes are ſet, without ceremony of Table-cloth or Knives. In the ſame Room are two other Tables for the principal Attendants of the Ambaſſador, and other Perſonages amongſt the Turks of chief Note and Quality: the Diſhes are ſerved in by one at a time, which as ſoon as touched, or taſted, are taken off to make room for another; and thus there is a ſucceſſion of threeſcore or foreſcore Services, all the Diſhes being of *China*, worth about an hundred and fifty Dollars a piece; which are reported to have a virtue contrary to Poiſon, and to break with the leaſt infuſion thereof, and for that reaſon eſteemed more uſeful for the Service of the Grand Signior;

Nam nulla aconita bibuntur
Fictilibus, &c. Juvenal.

The Banquet being ended, the *Chaousbaſhee*, or chief of the Purſivants, conducts the Ambaſſador, with ſome of his Retinue, to a place apart, where ſeveral gay Veſts, or long Garments, made of Silk, with divers Figures, are preſented them (as a ſign of the Grand Signior's Favour) which the Ambaſſador firſt putting on, and then the others, to the number of eighteen or nineteen, attended with two *Capugibaſhees*, or chief of the Porters, Perſons of good eſteem in that Court, with Silver Staves in their Hands, he is conducted nearer towards the Grand Signior's Preſence; then follow the Preſents brought by the Ambaſſador, which are carried to the beſt advantage for appearance, and are delivered to Officers appointed to receive them. The Courts without are filled with Janiſaries, amongſt whom is obſerved ſo profound a ſilence, that there is not the leaſt noiſe or whiſper underſtood; and the Salutation they give their principal Officers as they paſs, bowing altogether at the ſame time, is warlike, and yet courtly, and favours of good Diſcipline and Obedience. *The Audience of Ambaſſadours.*

The Ambaſſador is then brought to a great Gate near the Audience, the Porch of which is filled with white Eunuchs, clothed in Silks and Cloth of Gold; farther than this, none is ſuffered to proceed, beſides the Secretary, Interpreter, and ſome other Perſons of beſt Quality: at the door of the Chamber of Audience is a deep ſilence, and the murmuring of a Fountain near by adds to the melancholy; and no other Guard is there but a white Eunuch: and here a pauſe is made, and they tread ſoftly in token of fear and reverence, ſo as not to diſturb with the leaſt noiſe the Majeſty of the Sultan: for acceſs to the Eaſtern Princes was always difficult, and not permitted with the ſame familiarity as hath been practiſed amongſt the *Romans*, and at preſent with us, where the ſight of the King is his own Glory, and the Satisfaction of his Subjects: For it is with the Turks, as it was with the *Parthians*, when they received *Vonones* their King, educated in the *Roman* Court, who conforming to thoſe manners, ſaith *Tacitus*, *Irridebantur Græci Comites, prompti aditus, obvia comitas, ignota Parthis virtutes*; the affability and eaſineſs of addreſs to their Prince, was a ſcandal to the Nation. Lib. 2. Ann.

At the entrance of the Chamber of Audience, hangs a Ball of Gold, ſtudded with pretious Stones, and about it great Chains of rich Pearl; the Floor is covered with Carpets of Crimſon-velvet, embroidered with Gold-Wire, in many places beſet with Seed-pearl. The Throne where the Grand Signior ſits, is raiſed a ſmall height from the ground, ſupported with four Pillars plated with Gold; the Roof is richly gilded, from which hang Balls, that ſeem to be of Gold; the Cuſhions he leaned upon, as alſo thoſe which lay by, were richly embroidered with Gold and Jewels: In this Chamber with this occaſion remains no other Attendance beſides the firſt Vizier, who ſtands at the right Hand of the Grand Signior with modeſty and reverence. When the Ambaſſador comes to appear before the Grand Signior, he is led in, and ſupported under the Arms by the two *Capugibaſhees* before-mentioned; who bringing him to a convenient diſtance, laying their hands upon his Neck, make him bow until his Forehead almoſt touches the Ground; and then raiſing him again, retire backwards to the farther parts of the Room: The like

Ceremony

Ceremony is uſed with all the others, who attend the Ambaſſador, only that they make them bow ſomewhat lower than him: The Reaſon of this Cuſtom, as *Busbequius* ſaith, was, becauſe that a *Croat* being admitted near to *Amurath*, to communicate ſomething to him, made uſe of that opportunity to kill him, in revenge of the Death of his Maſter *Marcus*; but the Turkiſh Hiſtory ſaith, That this was done by one *Miles Corbelitz*, who after the defeat given *Lazarus* the Deſpot of *Servia*, riſing from amongſt the Dead, had near acceſs to the preſence of *Amurath*.

The Ambaſſador, at this Audience, hath no Chair ſet him, but ſtanding, informs the Grand Signior, by his Interpreter, the ſeveral Demands of his Maſter, and the Buſineſs he comes upon; which is all penned firſt in Writing; which when read, is, with the Letter of Credence, conſigned into the Hands of the Great Vizier, from whom the Anſwer and farther Treaty is to be received.

This was the manner of the Audience given to the Earl of *Winchelſea*, when Ambaſſador there for his Majeſty, and is (as is there ſaid) the Form uſed to others, who come from a Prince equally honoured and reſpected.

But though the Turks make theſe outward Demonſtrations of all due Reverence, and Religious Care to preſerve the Perſons of Ambaſſadors Sacred, and free from Violence; yet it is apparent, by their Treatment and Uſage towards them, in all Emergencies and Differences between the Prince they come from, and themſelves, that they have no eſteem of the Law of Nations, or place any Religion in the maintenance of their Faith. For when a War is proclaimed, the Ambaſſador immediately is either committed to cloſe Impriſonment, or at leaſt to the cuſtody of a careful Guard, confined within the Limits of his own Houſe. In this manner, the Repreſentative of *Venice*, called there the *Bailo*, by name *Sorenzo*, is a ſtrait Chamber of a Caſtle, ſituated on the *Boſphorus*, endured a ſevere Impriſonment, having his Interpreter ſtrangled, for no other cauſe than performing his Office in the true Interpretation of his Maſter's Senſe.

Afterwards this *Bailo* (for ſo they call there the Ambaſſors from *Venice*) was removed to another Priſon at *Adrianople*, where he continued ſome Years; and in fine, by force of Preſents, mollifying the Turks with Mony, (with which their Nature is eaſily made gentle and pliable) he obtained liberty to remain in the Houſe appropriated to the Repreſentatives of *Venice*, but under a Guard, whoſe Office was to ſecure him from eſcape, and obſerve his Actions; and yet with Liberality and Preſents, which overcome the Turks more than any Conſideration in the World, he enjoyed, as he pleaſed, licence for his Health to take the freſh Air, and uſe what freedom was reaſonable.

Nor leſs injurious to the Law of Nations, have been the Examples of Violence and Rage, acted on the Perſons of the *French* Ambaſſadors; firſt on the *Sieur Senſi*, accuſed upon ſuſpicion of having contrived the eſcape of *Koniſpolski*, General of the *Poliſh* Army, taken Captive in a Fight, and ſent Priſoner to the above-ſaid Caſtle on the *Boſphorus*; the means was, by a ſilken Cord ſent in a Pye, with Limes and Files to cut the Iron Bars; and having firſt ſecured his Guard with the ſtrength of Wine, in the dead of the Night, let him down by the Cord from the higheſt Tower; where finding Horſes ready, he got ſafe into *Poland*. The contrivance of this Stratagem, and the Inſtruments of the Eſcape, was laid to the Charge of the *French* Ambaſſador; who was committed, for that Reaſon, to the Priſon of the Seven Towers, where he remained for the ſpace of four Months, until his Mony, and the *French* King his Maſter mediated for him, promiſing to ſend another ſpeedily to ſucceed him; he was delivered from his Impriſonment, and returned home by the way of *Poland*.

The Succeſſor of this Ambaſſador was the Count *Ceſi*, a Man too generous and ſplendid, to live amongſt covetous and craving Turks, exhauſted moſt of his Wealth in Gifts and Preſents; to which adding a vanity and ambition to court the Grand Signior's Miſtreſſes in the Seraglio (as is ſaid) he paid ſuch vaſt Sums of Mony to the Eunuchs for his admittance, that in few Years he became ſo indebted, and importuned with the Clamours of his Creditors, as wholly diſcredited and loſt the Honour and Authority of his Embaſſy; ſo that the *French* King thinking it diſhonourable to continue his Miniſter, in that Charge, who was failed and undone in the reputation of the World, ſent his Letter of Revocation to recal him Home; but the Turks gave a ſtop to his return, pretending, that their Law which was indulgent to the Perſons of Ambaſſadors, did not acquit them from paiment of their Debts, or privilege them with impunity to rob the Believers, and other Subjects of the Grand Signior, contrary to that Rule of *Grotius*, who not only exempts the Perſons, but the Servants and Moveables of Ambaſſadors from Attachments; and no Law can compel him to the ſatisfaction of Debts by Force, but by friendly perſwaſion only, till being returned to his own Country, and put off the quality of a publick Perſon, he becomes liable to common Proceſs; *Si quid ergo debiti contraxit, & ut ſit, res ſoli eo loco nullas poſſideat, ipſe compellandus erit amice, & ſi detrectet, is qui miſit, ita ut ad poſtremum uſurpentur ea, quæ adverſus debitores extra territorium poſitos uſurpari ſolent.* Grot. lib. de Jure Belli & Pac.

Nor leſs remarkable was the barbarous uſage of the Sieur *la Haye*, Ambaſſador alſo from the *French* King to the Port, under the Government of the great Vizier *Kuperli*.

The Court being then at *Adrianople*, and the Treaty in hand between the Grand Signior and the Republick of *Venice*, through the Mediation of the *French* Ambaſſador, by Conſent and Command of his Maſter, certain Letters of his wrote in Characters, were intercepted by the Turks; by what Means, and upon what Information, the Matter was too evident then, to be apprehended other than an *Italian* Contrivance. The Cipher, as containing Matter prejudicial to the State, was carried to *Adrianople*; and being known, by examination and confeſſion of the Meſſenger, to have been delivered to him by the Secretary of the *French* Affairs, immediately in all haſte, the Ambaſſador then at *Conſtantinople* was cited to appear at Court; but being ancient, and indiſpoſed in his Health with the Gout and the Stone, diſpatched his Son as his Procurator, with Inſtructions and Orders how to anſwer what might be objected; hoping by that means to excuſe the Inconvenience of a Winter's Journey.

The Son being arrived there, immediately was called to Audience, accompanied with the Chancellor, or Secretary for the Merchants (for the other Secretary of the Private Affairs of the

Embaſſy,

Embaſſy, apprehending the Fury and Injuſtice of the Turks, had timely ſecured himſelf by flight). Diſcourſe was firſt had concerning the Contents of the Characters; the Turks inſolent in their Speeches, provoked this Sieur *la Haye* the Younger, to utter ſomething tending towards a contempt of that Power the Turks had over him, encouraging himſelf with the thoughts of the protection of the King his Maſter; who was ſoon ſenſible, and moved with the leaſt Injuries offered his Miniſters. The Turks who can endure nothing leſs than Menaces, and *Kuperli*, through natural Cruelty, and choler of old Age, and particular Malice againſt the *French* Nation, moved with this Reply, commanded the *Caousbaſhee*, who is chief of the Purſevants, to ſtrike him on the Mouth; which he did with that force, being a rude robuſtious Fellow, that with a few blows of his Fiſt, he ſtruck out two of his Teeth before, and in a moſt undecent and barbarous manner, dragged him, with the Secretary for the Merchants, to a Dungeon ſo loathſome and moiſt, that the ill Vapours oft-times extinguiſhed the Candle. The old Ambaſſador the Father, was with the like Turkiſh Fury ſent for, the Turks executing all they do with ſtrange haſte and violence, *Barbaris contatio ſervilis, ſtatem exequi regium videtur*; Tac. lib. 6. and being arrived at *Adrianople*, was alſo committed to Cuſtody, though not with that rigor and ſeverity of Impriſonment as the Son, until the ſpace of two Months paſſing with Preſents and Solicitations, they both obtained their Liberty, and returned again to *Conſtantinople*; where ſcarce were they arrived, before News coming of a *French* Ship, which had loaded Goods of Turks, and run away with the Cargaſon, the Ambaſſador was again committed to another Priſon in *Conſtantinople*, called the *Seven Towers*, where he remained, until with Gifts and Mony, the Anger of the Turks was abated.

And ſtill the Malice of *Kuperlee* perſecuted this *Sieur la Haye*, until after his Embaſſy of 25 Years continuance, unfortunate only at the Concluſion, he was diſpatched Home obſcurely and in diſgrace, without Letters of Revocation from his Maſter, or other intimation to the Grand Signior, which might ſignify the deſire of this Ambaſſador's return.

The Reaſon of this irreverent Carriage in the Turks towards the Perſons of Ambaſſadors, contrary to the cuſtom of the Ancient *Romans*, and other gallant and civilized People, is an apprehenſion and Maxim they have received, that an Ambaſſador is endued with two Qualifications; one of repreſenting to the Grand Signior the Deſires of his Prince, the Breach of Articles or League, the Aggrievances and Abuſes of Merchants trading in his Dominions, that ſo Satisfaction and Amendment may be made: And the other, that he remains in nature of a Hoſtage, called by themſelves *Mahapous*, or Pledg; by which he becomes reſponſible for what is acted by his Prince, contrary to the Capitulations of Peace, and remains for a Pawn for the faithful and ſincere carriage of his Nation, and as Security to inſure what Goods belonging to Turks are loaden on their Veſſels.

As the Reſident from *Holland* was in the Year 1663, impriſoned at *Adrianople*, for miſcarriage of a Ship belonging to his Nation, taken by *Malteſe* Men of War, whereon at *Alexandria* were Goods loaden belonging to the Grand Signior, and other conſiderable Perſons of State, and was not releaſed, until he engaged to Eighty five thouſand Dollars, in the ſpace of One hundred and twenty days, which was the full import of the Turkiſh Intereſt.

Nor hath this Law of Nations, to the Sacred eſteem of Ambaſſadors, found better obſervation towards the Repreſentatives of the *German* Emperor, who have, upon all conjectures of Diſcord, and breaches of Peace between thoſe two powerful Princes, been ſubject to Confinements and Cuſtody of a Guard, nothing differing from formal Impriſonment: or elſe, as it happened to the *German* Reſident in the laſt War, are tranſported from Place to place, according to the motion of the Armies, as a barbarous Trophy in the Time of their proſperous Succeſſes, and as a Means at hand to reconcile and mediate when evil Fortune compells them to compoſition.

What ill Fate ſoever hath attended the Miniſters of other Princes in this Court, the Ambaſſadors from his Majeſty of *Great Britain*, our Sacred King, have never incurred this Diſhonour and Violation of their Office; the Negotiations and Differences ſince the *Engliſh* Trade hath been opened in *Turkey*, have been various and conſiderable, and Matters as to the ſecurity of the Ambaſſador and Merchants, have been often reduced to a doubtful Condition, as far as Words and rude Speeches, full of Menaces and Choler, might make a ſober Man ſuſpicious of a greater Ruin: And yet through the Conſtancy, Prudence, and good Fortune of Ambaſſadors, the Turkiſh Raſhneſs hath not drawn upo themſelves the guilt of violating their Perſons, but have either prevented Troubles in the beginning, or wiſely compounded them before they made too far a Breach.

It is worth obſervation, that the Turks make no difference in the Name, between an Ambaſſador, Reſident, Agent, or any petty Meſſenger, ſent or reſiding upon a publick Affair; the Name *Elchi* ſerves them to expreſs all, though they have the Name of *Kapikahya*, which ſignifies an Agent at Court, and is commonly attributed to thoſe who reſide at the Port, for the Princes of *Tranſylvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Walachia*, and alſo for the Agents of *Paſcha's*, every one of which hath his Miniſter at the Court, to ſend him Advices, and to anſwer for him, if any thing ſhould be amiſs repreſented. And though the Turks, on occaſion of Ruptures, and other Diſcontents, loſe their Reſpect towards the Perſon of Ambaſſadors, yet ſtill it is commendable in them, that they commonly abſtain from the Spoil and Plunder of the Merchants Eſtates, with whoſe Prince they are at Enmity; for they look on Merchants as Men, whoſe Profeſſion is beſt advanced by Peace; and as their own Compariſon is, like to the laborious Bee which brings Hony to the Hive, and is innocent, induſtrious, and profitable, and therefore an Object of their Compaſſion and Defence.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

How Ambaſſadors and Publick Miniſters govern themſelves in their Negotiations and Reſidence amongſt the Turks.

AMbaſſadors in this Country, have need both of Courage and Circumſpection, wiſdom to diſſemble with Honour, and diſcreet patience, ſeemingly to take no notice of Affronts and Contempts, from which this uncivilized People cannot temperate their Tongues, even when they would ſeem to put on the moſt courteous deportment and reſpect toward Chriſtians.

The *French* Ambaſſador, *Monſieur le Haye*, ſent once to adviſe the great Vizier *Kuperli*, that his Maſter had taken the ſtrong City of *Arras* from the *Spaniard*, and had obtained other Victories in *Flanders*, ſuppoſing that the Turk outwardly have evidenced ſome ſigns of Joy, and return an Anſwer of Congratulation; but the Reply the Vizier gave, was no other than this, *(What matters it me, whether the Dog worries the Hog, or the Hog the Dog, ſo my Maſter's Head be but ſafe?)* intimating, that he had no other eſteem of Chriſtians, than as Savages or Beaſts, and with no other Anſwer than this, due to an officious Courtſhip towards a Turk, the Meſſenger returned.

There is no doubt, but of all thoſe means wherewith Kingdoms and States are ſupported, there are two more principal and chief of all others: The one is the ſubſtantial and real Strength and force of the Prince, which conſiſts in his Armies and Intereſt; and the other is the Honour and Reputation he gains Abroad, which hath ſometimes proved of that Authority and Conſequence, as to make the State of the weaker Prince to appear more conſiderable, or at leaſt, equal to the greater Forces of the other.

This Reputation is principally maintained by a prudent manner of Negotiation, and depends on the diſcretion of the Repreſentative, in which, for many Years, the Republick of *Venice* had great Advantages in the Turkiſh Court, through the Caution and Policy of their Miniſters, who nouriſhed in the Turks an opinion of their ſtrength of Arms, and force of Wiſdom, beyond the reality thereof; that before the War broke forth, no Nation in Amity with the Turk had their Affairs treated with more honour and reſpect than this Common-Wealth.

An Ambaſſador in this Court ought to be circumſpect and careful to avoid the occaſion of having his Honour blemiſhed, or of incurring the leaſt violation of his Perſon; for afterward, as one baffled in his Reputation, he becomes ſcorned, loſes his Power and Intereſt, and all eſteem of his Worth and Wiſdom; for having endured one Affront, their Inſolence ſoon preſumes farther to treſpaſs on his Patience: For certainly Turks, of all Nations in the World, are moſt apt to cruſh and trample on thoſe that lie under their Feet. As on the contrary, thoſe who have a Reputation with them, may make the beſt and moſt advantageous Treaties of any part of the World; according to that of *Busbequius*, Ep. 1. *Sunt Turci in utramque partem nimii ſive indulgentia, cum pro amicis ſe probare volunt; ſive acerbitate cum irati ſunt.* To reply, according to the Pride and Ignorance of a Turk, is properly to blow up Fire into a Flame; to ſupport with ſubmiſſion, and a puſillanimous Spirit, his Affronts and Indignities, by negotiating faintly or coldly, is to add Fuel and Wood to the burning Piles; but ſolid Reaſon and Diſcourſe, accompanied with chearful Expreſſions, vivacity and courage in Argument, is the only manner of dealing and treating with the Turks.

That which is called good Nature, or flexible Diſpoſition, is of little uſe to a Publick Miniſter in his Treaty with Turks: A punctual adherence to former Cuſtoms and Examples, even to Obſtinacy, is the beſt and ſafeſt Rule; for the conceſſion of one Point ſerves to embolden them to demand another, and then a third; and ſo their Hopes increaſe with the Succeſs, having no Modeſty nor Wiſdom to terminate their Deſires; one Act or two of Favour is enough afterwards to introduce a Cuſtom, (which is the chiefeſt part of their Law) and to make that which is merely voluntary, and of Grace, to become of Obligation.

But a principal Matter, which a publick Miniſter ought to look to, is to provide himſelf of ſpirited, eloquent, and intelligent Interpreters; ſpirited, I ſay, becauſe many times the Preſence is great they appear before, and the Looks big and ſour of a barbarous Tyrant; and it hath been known, that the Ambaſſador hath been forced to interpoſe his own Perſon, between the Fury of the Vizier and his Interpreter, whoſe Offence was only the delivery of the words of his Maſter; ſome of whom have notwithſtanding been impriſoned, or executed, for this Cauſe, as we have partly intimated in the foregoing Chapter: The reaſon of which Tyranny and Preſumption in theſe prime Officers over the Interpreters, is, becauſe they are moſt commonly born Subjects of the Grand Signior, and therefore ill ſupport the leaſt word miſ-placed, or favouring of Conteſt from them, not diſtinguiſhing between the Senſe of the Ambaſſador, and the Explication of the Interpreter; and therefore it were very uſeful to breed up a Seminary of young Engliſh Men, of ſprightly and ingenious Parts, to be qualified for that Office, who may, with leſs danger to themſelves, Honour to their Maſter, and Advantage to the Publick, expreſs boldly, without the uſual mincing and ſubmiſſion of other Interpreters, whatſoever is commanded and declared by their Maſter.

The *French* Nation hath taken a very good courſe, in breeding up Youths to make their Drugger-men or Interpreters; ſome few Years paſt, twelve were ſent to *Smyrna*, where being awhile inſtructed in the Convent of *Capuchins*, and there taught the Turkiſh and Vulgar Greek, they are afterwards diſperſed to the ſeveral Factories; ſuch as were of moſt pregnant Parts, being placed with the Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*. Such a proviſion of young Drugger-men, at leaſt twelve, ought to be allowed, for ſome of them die, ſome grow weary of the Country, and are deſirous to return Home; others not having a ſufficiency of Parts, nor Health, anſwer not Expectation;

pectation; ſo that if two or three of ſuch a Number happen to ſucceed well, they are a great help to the Ambaſſador, and the Conſul where they ſerve.

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador had once three Youths ſent Aboard on this Deſign, but they are now all three dead, and one alone came into Employment.

It is certainly a good Maxim for an Ambaſſador in this Country, not to be over-ſtudious in procuring a familiar Friendſhip with Turks; a fair comportment towards all in a moderate way, is cheap and ſecure; for a Turk is not capable of real Friendſhip towards a Chriſtian; and to have him called only, and thought a Friend who is in Power, is an Expence without Profit; for in great Emergencies, and Times of Neceſſity, when their Aſſiſtance is moſt uſeful, he muſt be bought again, and his Friendſhip renewed with Preſents, and farther Expectations: howſoever this way of Negotiating by Preſents and Gratuities, is ſo much in cuſtom amongſt the Turks, that to ſpeak truly, ſcarce any thing can be obtained without it; but is the Wiſdom of the Miniſter, to diſpoſe and place them with Honour, Decency, and Advantage. For there are, and have been always, two or three powerful Perſons in this Court, which in all Times carry the principal ſway, and command of all; theſe muſt neceſſarily be treated with Reſpect, and often ſweetned with Gratuities: He that hath Mony, may doubtleſs make Friends when he needs them, and with that ſecure his Capitulation and his Priviledge, purchaſe Juſtice, and if his Stock will hold out, act any thing that can reaſonably be imagined; yet it is the moſt profitable and prudent way, to refer ſomething to Friendſhip and good Correſpondence, and not all to mere force and ſtrength of Mony.

CHAP. XXI.

How Foreign Princes in particular ſtand in the Eſteem and Opinion of the Turks.

THE Turks, as we have occaſionally inſtanced before, are naturally a proud and inſolent People, confident, and conceited of their own Vertue, Valour, and Forces, which proceeds from their ignorance of the ſtrength and conſtitution of other Countries; ſo that when the Danger which may ariſe from the Conjunction and Union of Chriſtian Princes to the *Mahometan* Intereſt, is diſcourſed of, they compare the Grand Signior to the Lion, and other Kings to little Dogs, which may ſerve (as they ſay) to rouſe and diſcompoſe the quiet and Majeſty of the Lion, but can never bite him, but with their utmoſt peril.

They ſay farther, as by an ingenuous Confeſſion, that they are unable to encounter the Chriſtians at Sea, to whom God hath given that unſtable Element for Dominion and Poſſeſſion; but that the Earth is the Lot and Inheritance of the Turks, which is demonſtrable by that great Circuit of Empire, obedient to the *Mahometan* Arms.

Theſe are the Thoughts and Apprehenſions of the Commonalty concerning Chriſtendom in general, (which I have heard often diſcourſed amongſt them) but the Opinion and Eſteem which knowing Men and Miniſters frame of Foreign Kingdoms and States diſtinctly, is for the moſt part according to theſe following Particulars.

Of all the Princes ſo far remote as *England*, none amongſt this People ſtands in better account than his Majeſty of *Great Britain*; not only for the convenience of the Trade, which provides the Empire with many neceſſary Commodities, but for the fame of His Shipping, and Power at Sea, which makes him, though divided from all parts of the World, yet a Borderer on every Countrey, where the Ocean extends: And this Eſteem and Honour the Sultan bears towards His Majeſty, hath been evidenced in ſeveral Particulars, and by none more than by the ſecurity and freedom his Merchants live in in theſe Dominions, and a readineſs always in every reaſonable Requeſt, to gratify His Majeſty's Ambaſſadors.

As for the Emperor, the Turk knows that his own proper and peculiar Force in it ſelf, is inconſiderable, but that with the conjunction and aſſiſtance of the *German* Princes, they are aſſured, and have proved it to their experience, in the Year 1664, that his Strength is equivalent to the *Ottoman* Power; but yet they are not ignorant, that the diverſity of Religions and Sects in *Germany*, abate much of that vigor and coalition amongſt themſelves, which is requiſite to the vigorous oppoſition of ſo potent an Enemy.

And it is evident, that the Emperor's unſeaſonable Severity againſt the Proteſtants in *Hungary*, diſobliging his whole Dominion there, by depriving them of their Churches, and exerciſing other courſes for ſuppreſſion of the Reformed Religion, ripened the Turk's Deſign of War, firſt laid in the Year 1663, conceiving in that conjuncture, holding forth the ſpecious pretence of Liberty in Religion and Conſcience, the *Hungarians* would either wholly deſert the Emperor, or very coldly and faintly apply themſelves to his Succour: The Effect of which was in the ſucceeding Wars plainly verified, and known, that the *Hungarians* were not only ſparing in their Contribution and Supplies of Men in the Service of the Emperor, but held ſecret Juntoes and Councils, Whether it were not better to accept the Turk's Soveraignty, on the Conditions propoſed, with Liberty of their Religion, rather than to continue in Allegiance to the Emperor, who neither afforded them freedom of Conſcience, which is the Deſtruction of their Spiritual Eſtate, nor was able to withſtand the Turk, which argued inſufficiency to yield them Protection in their Temporal.

The Emperor ſends his Ambaſſador to the Turk, under Notion of the King of *Hungary*, becauſe at his Inſtalment as Emperor, he ſwears to make a perpetual War with the Turk; and indeed their Peace is little better than a War, conſidering their frequent Incurſions into each others Territories; and that to skirmiſh or fight in Bodies, under the number of five thouſand, not taking Forts, or bringing Cannons in the Field, is no Breach of the Capitulations.

The *French* King, though the firſt Chriſtian Prince, that having no Confines bordering on theſe Dominions, entred into Capitulations with the Turk for a free and open Com-

mer-

merce and Traffick; and obtained the Title of *Podeſhaw*, which ſignifies as much as Emperor, and is denied to all other Chriſtian Kings, and even to the *German* Emperor himſelf, being adjudged an Honour amongſt the Turks, proper and peculiar only to the Grand Signior: Yet their eſteem of the *French* is not ſo great as ſome would perſwade the World it is, having (as we have at large declared in the foregoing Chapter) given ample Teſtimonies in the Perſons of the Ambaſſador, of their ſcorn and neglect of the Prince he repreſented.

I have heard the wiſe Lord Chancellor *Samoſade* ſay, That the *French* gained that Title of *Podeſhaw* to their King, by Craft and Subtilty, and was never fully examined nor conſidered: and in that Buſineſs there is a ſtrange Romance told of a fair *French* Lady, preferred to the Seraglio, whom the Turks were willing to receive for a Princes, and thence challenging Affinity with the King of *France*, was the more profuſe in the honour of his Titles.

It is true, there was a time when the *French* Ambaſſadors was called to ſecret Councils, and admitted within the Walls of the Seraglio, to private Meetings and Debates of the Turk; but it was when the *French* plotted, and openly aſſiſted in tranſportation of the Turks, for the Invaſion of *Italy*; but ſince that time, and eſpecially in the Year 1664, through the Force given the Emperor, and the Bravado upon *Barbary*, the *French* hath always (and that not without ſome reaſon) gone declining in the good Opinion and Eſteem in the Ottoman Court.

The Pope is more eſteemed, as a Prince able to blow the Coals, and excite other Princes to the Damage of the *Mahometan* State, rather than by his own Power or Force to effect any thing himſelf; and having no Confines bordering on the Turks, his Riches, Power, or Greatneſs, ſeldom falls as a Subject for their conſideration.

As little account would they make of the King of *Spain*, but that the *Granadine Turks*, of which there remains in *Conſtantinople* a conſiderable number ſince their Expulſion, through an extreme Affection, naturally inherent in them to *Spain*, diſcourſe of it with a Paſſion, not altogether free of a little *Rodomontado*, and Vain-glory, Vices incident to their Country; whereby they create in the Turks a conceit of the Greatneſs, Riches, and Force of *Spain*, according as it flouriſhed in the Time that the *Moors* poſſeſſed their Seat and Habitation there.

But yet the Turks, though a People injurious and negligent of the accurate ſtate of other Places, beſides their own, are not altogether ignorant of the decay of *Spain*, the Wars in *Portugal*, and the Menaces from *France*, which makes them aim at one of the *Venetian* Ports in *Dalmatia*, to have the better proſpect and eaſier paſſage into *Sicily*, or the Kingdom of *Naples*.

The eſteem the *Venetians* are in at this time amongſt them, is greater than when the War firſt began, for then they entertained an Opinion of their Force, much inferior to the real eſtimation thereof; as they do now the contrary beyond their true Strength, making always calculates from the Effect and Succeſs of things.

Yet the Turk knows, that the *Venetian* Power is not comparable to his by Land, and that nothing but *Friuli* ſtands between him and the maſtery of *Venice*; which makes him aſhamed and angry, that after ſo many Years Wars, no greater Additions ſhould be acquired to the Empire, than his footing in *Candia*, the whole poſſeſſion of which was imagined at the beginning of the War, would, upon a bare Demand, been quietly preſented as the Price and Purchaſe of the Peace.

The King of *Poland* is none of the leaſt amongſt the Chriſtian Princes eſteemed at the *Ottoman* Court, by reaſon of his great Power, conſiſting chiefly in Horſe, which in the Opinion of the Turks, is the moſt Warlike; and looks on the People as Martial, and with much difficulty brought under their ſubjection.

But by reaſon of the great Combuſtions and Inteſtine Troubles of that Country, the *Polanders* apply themſelves with much Dexterity and Caution in their Treaties with the Turks; and eſpecially, being Borderers with them, and ſubject to their Incurſions and Robberies of Men and Cattel, they endeavour all means of fair and reaſonable complyance. And on the other ſide, the Turk is well inclined to the *Polander*, and deſires his proſperity beyond others of his Neighbour-Princes; becauſe he looks on him as the only Curb, upon all Occaſions, of the *Muſcovites*, and whom they may make uſe of, to give ſome ſtop and arreſt unto the progreſs of his Arms.

The *Moſcovite* hath yet a greater Fame and Renown with the Turks, being reported to make One hundred and fifty thouſand Horſe; ſo that he treats with the Turk on equal Terms, and fills his Letters with high Threats and Hyperbolical Expreſſions of his Power, and with as ſwelling Titles as the Turk.

The *Greeks* have alſo an inclination to the *Moſcovite* beyond any other Chriſtian Prince, as being of their Rites in Religion, terming him their Emperor and Protector; from whom, according to the ancient Propheſies and modern Predictions, they expect delivery and freedom to their Church.

But the greateſt dread the Turk hath of the *Moſcovite*, is from the Union with the *Soffi*, or *Perſian*, which two uniting together, would be too unequal a Match for the *Ottoman* Empire.

But above all the great Potentates of the World, the King of *Perſia* was moſt feared and eſteemed by the Turk, not only by reaſon of his great Force, and that the Borders of his Dominions run a long ſpace on the Confines of the Turks; but becauſe it is almoſt impoſſible, by reaſon of the vaſt Deſarts, and uninhabited Places, to carry a War into his Country, without the cumberſome carriages of all neceſſary Proviſions, which with how much difficulty and incommodity were performed in the laſt Wars between theſe two great Princes, the Hiſtory ſufficiently relates; but ſince the Conqueſt of *Babylon*, and decay of their Riches, they are now the ſubjects of the Turkiſh ſcorn and contempt.

The nearneſs of their Faith, though derived from the ſame Founder, but afterwards receiving ſome difference by the interpretation of *Haly*, is in no-wiſe a reconcilement of their Affections; but rather a ground and matter of their Fear and Jealouſy, leſt at any time, waging a War againſt the *Perſian*, that

Hereſy ſhould begin to be ſet on foot amongſt the People, which, like a Spark that cauſes the Conflagration of a whole City, may breed thoſe intestine Civil diſtractions, which may prove of more danger and ruin than the former War.

It will not be neceſſary to ſpeak much of the *Hollanders*, in regard, that though they have a Reſident there, they are ſcarce taken notice of as a Nation different, but depending on the *Engliſh*.

Theſe foregoing words of *Holland*, have been liable to cenſure amongſt the *Dutch*; but for my Apology therein, I have thus much to ſay, That though the Aſſertion may ſeem ſtrange in theſe our Times, yet when it was firſt wrote, which is now above ſeventeen Years paſt, it might have paſſ for Current Truth; *Diſtingue tempora & bene doces.*

When I came firſt into *Turky*, which was in the Year 1660, there were very few of the *Dutch* Nation then in *Turky*, and their Trade very inconſiderable.

At *Aleppo* they had no Conſul, till ſome Years after my arrival *Levinus Warner*, Reſident at *Conſtantinople*, ſent his Brother firſt to that place; but before that time, they always lived under the *Engliſh* protection.

At *Smyrna* they had no other for their Conſul, than one *Evan Ogle* a *Greek*, of whom either the *Dutch* or *Turks* took little notice, having recourſe very often to the *Engliſh* Conſul for his Advice, and Aſſiſtance.

At *Conſtantinople*, for many Years, the *Dutch* lived under the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, which was the occaſion of thoſe differences debated in the *Divan* between ours, and the *French* Ambaſſador. Likewiſe *Levinus Warner*, a *German* born, lived for ſome Years in the Houſe of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, until afterwards, that by the Lords the States, he was promoted to be their Reſident at the *Port*.

All which happening in ſo ſhort time after my arrival in *Turky*, it will not appear ſtrange to conſidering Men, that the *Dutch* Nation ſhould not at that time, by the generality of the People (though the Miniſters of State might know otherwiſe), be diſtinguiſhed from ours, or their Puiſſance, and Greatneſs ſo well underſtood as it is at preſent. The Heer *Colyer*, formerly Reſident, but now digniſied with the Title of Ambaſſador at the *Port*, and the ſeveral Conſuls in their reſpective Factories being much reſpected and eſteemed.

And theſe are all the Nations conſiderable, with whom the Turk hath occaſion to Treat, or that fall under his Cogniſance or Buſineſs.

When the Grand Signior hath occaſion to write unto any of the Chriſtian Princes, he commonly uſes theſe Expreſſions, at the beginning of the Letter.

To the Glory of the great Princes of JESUS, *Elected by the Reverend Senators of the Religion of the* Meſſiah, *Compoſer of the Publick Affairs of the Chriſtian Nation. Patron (or Maſter) of a Courteous and Modeſt Train, Lord of thoſe Ways which lead to Honour and Glory, whoſe End may it be happy*, &c.

CHAP. XXII.

The regard the Turks have to their Leagues with Foreign Princes.

AS the Chriſtian Religion teaches Humility, Charity, Courteſie, and Faith towards all that are within the Pale of Humane Nature, to be φιλόθεοι καὶ φιλάνθρωποι; ſo the Turkiſh Superſtition furniſhes its Followers with Principles, not only to abhor the Doctrines, but alſo the Perſons of ſuch whom they term not Believers. The ſordidneſs of their Blood, and ungentleneſs of their Education, makes them inſolent and ſwelled in Proſperity; and their Victories and Spoils upon Chriſtians, render the Arms and Force of other parts contemptible in reſpect of theirs.

Upon theſe Conſiderations of the vileneſs of Chriſtianity, and ſcorn of their Power, they aſſume this into a Maxime, That they ought not to regard the Leagues they have with any Prince, or the Reaſons and Ground of a Quarrel, whilſt the Breach tends to the enlargement of their Empire, which conſequently infers the propagation of their Faith.

Many and various are the Examples and Stories in all Ages, ſince the beginning and increaſe of the Turkiſh Power, of the Perfidiouſneſs and Treachery of this People; that it may be a Queſtion, Whether their Valour and Force hath prevailed more in the time of War, or the little care of their Faith, and maintenance in their Leagues hath availed them in the time of Peace?

Thus *Didymotichum* in the time of Peace, under *Amurath*, third King of the Turks, whilſt the Walls and Fortifications were building, was by the *Aſian* Labourers, which were entertained in the Work, and the help of other Turks which lay near in Ambuſh, ſurprized and taken.

So alſo * *Rodeſtum*, in the time of Peace, by command of *Amurath*, was by *Eurenoſes* aſſaulted and taken by ſtrategem.

* *Now called* Rodeſto.

So *Adrianople* in the Reign of the ſame Emperor, after Peace made again, and Aſſurances given of better Faith, was by the Art and Diſguiſe of *Chaſis-Ilbeg*, pretending to be a diſcontented Captain, and a Fugitive from the Turks, by fair Speeches, and ſome Actions and Skirmiſhes Abroad, gained ſuch confidence amongſt the credulous *Greeks*, as enabled him afterwards to ſet the Gates open to *Amurath*'s Army, which after ſome Conflict, was taken, and never recovered again by the power of the *Greeks*.

It is an old and practiſed Subtilty of the Turks, immediatley after ſome notable Misfortune, to entreat of Peace, by which means they may gain time to recollect their Forces and Proviſions to proſecute the War.

It is notable and worthy of Record, the Treachery of the Treaty uſed the Year 1604, begun in the time of *Mahomet* the Third, and broken off by *Achmet* his Succeſſour. The Overtures for a Treaty were firſt propounded by the Turks; and Commiſſioners from the Emperor appointed, and met the Turks at *Buda*; twelve days Truce were concluded for con-

conſideration of the Articles, and Preſents ſent by the Turks to the Emperor, to perſuade of the reality of their Intentions. *Mahomet* dying, Sultan *Achmet* renews his Commiſſion to the *Baſſa* of *Buda* to continue the Treaty; whereupon the Chriſtian and Turks Commiſſioners have another meeting at *Peſt*, where whilſt the Chriſtians were courteouſly treating the Infidels in Tents near the Town, and they to create in the Chriſtians an aſſurance of their faithful Dealings, were producing Letters from their Sultan, and Prime Vizier, filled with Oaths and Proteſtations, as by the God of Heaven and Earth, by the Book of *Moſes*, by the Souls of their Anceſtors, and the like, that their Intentions for Peace were real, and meant nothing but what was honourable and juſt: At that very time the Turks of *Buda*, conceiving, that in the time of this great Jollity and Confidence, the Walls of *Peſt* were neglected and ſlightly manned, iſſued out in great numbers to ſurprize it; the Alarm of which ended the Banquet, and the Turks finding Matters contrary to their Expectation, returned only with the ſhame of their Treachery.

It is no wonder the Diſciples ſhould, in a Point of ſo great Liberty and Advantage, follow the Example and Doctrine of their Maſter; for the like *Mahomet* did when overthrown, and repulſed at the Siege of *Mecha*, made a firm League with the Inhabitants of ſtrict Peace and Amity: but the next Summer, having again recruited his Forces, eaſily ſurprized and took the City, whilſt that People relying on the late Agreement, ſuſpected nothing leſs than the Prophet's Treachery.

And that ſuch prefidiouſneſs as this might not be Chronicled in future Ages, in diſparagement of his Sanctity; he made it lawful for his Believers, in Caſes of like Nature, when the Matter concerned thoſe who are Infidels, and of a different Perſwaſion, neither to regard Promiſes, Leagues, or other Engagements; and this is read in the Book of the Inſtitutions of the *Mahometan* Law, called *Kitab Hadaia.*

It is the uſual Form and Cuſtom, when a noble Advantage is eſpied on any Country, with which they have not ſufficient ground of Quarrel, to demand the Opinion of the *Muftee*, for the lawfulneſs of War; who without conſulting other Conſideration and Judgment of the reaſonable Occaſions, than the utility of the Empire, in conformity to the foregoing Preſident of his Prophet, paſſes his *Fetfa*, or Sentence; by which the War becomes warrantable, and the Cauſe juſtified and allowed.

It is not to be denied, but even amongſt Chriſtian Princes, and other the moſt gallant People of the World, Advantages have been taken, contrary to Leagues, and Faith, and Wars commenced upon frivolous and ſlight Pretences; and the States have never wanted Reaſons for the breach of Leagues; though confirmed by Oaths, and all the Rites of Religious Vows: We know it is controverted in the Schools, whether Faith is to be maintained with Infidels, with Hereticks, and wicked Men; which in my Opinion were more honourable to be out of Queſtion.

But we never read that Perfidiouſneſs, by Act and Proclamation, was allowable, or that it was wholly to be Faithleſs, until the Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law, by the Example of their Prophet, recorded and commanded this Leſſon, as a beneficial and uſeful Axiom to their Diſciples.

And here I cannot but wonder at what I have heard and read in ſome Books of the Honeſty and Juſtice of the Turks, extolling and applauding them, as Men accompliſhed with all the Vertues of a Moral Life; thence ſeeming to infer, that Chriſtianity it ſelf impoſes none of thoſe Engagements of Goodneſs on Mens Natures, as the Profeſſors of it do imagine. But ſuch Men, I believe, have neither read the Hiſtories, nor conſulted the Rules of their Religion, nor practiſed their Converſation: and in all Points, being ignorant of the truth of the Turks dealing, it is not ſtrange, if through a charitable Opinion of what they know not, they err in the Apprehenſion and Character they paſs upon them.

THE

OF THE Turkiſh Religion.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the Religion of the Turks in General.

THE Civil Laws appertaining to Religion amongſt the Turks are ſo confounded into one Body, that we can ſcarce treat of one without the other; for they conceive that the Civil Law came as much from God, being delivered by their Prophet, as that which immediately reſpects their Religion, and came with the ſame Obligations and Injunctions to obedience. And though this Polity was a Fiction of ſome, who firſt founded certain Governments, as *Numa Pompilius*, *Solon*, and the like, to put the greater Engagements and ties on Men, as well of Conſcience, as through fear of Puniſhment; yet in the general that Propoſition is true, That all Laws which reſpect Right and Juſtice, and are tending to a Foundation of Good and Honeſt Government, are of God; *For there is no Power but of God, and the Powers that be, are ordained of God.* And then if God owns the Creation and Conſtitution of all Princes and Rulers, as well the Pagans as Chriſtians; the Tyrants, as the Indulgent Fathers of their People and Country; no leſs doth he diſallow the Rules and Laws fitted to the Conſtitution and Government of a People, giving no Diſpenſation to their Obedience, becauſe their Prince is a Tyrant, or their Laws not founded according to true Reaſon, but to the humour of their corrupted Judgments or Intereſt.

Rom. 13.

It is vulgarly known to all, that their Law was compiled by *Mahomet*, with the help of *Sergius* the Monk (and thence this Superſtition is named *Mahometaniſm*) whoſe infamous Life is recorded ſo particularly in many other Books, that it were too obvious to be repeated here: and therefore we ſhall inſiſt, and take a view of the Rites, Doctrines, and Laws of the *Turkiſh Religion*, which is founded in three Books, which may not improperly be called the *Codes* and *Pandects* of the *Mahometan* Conſtitutions.

The firſt is the *Alchoran*; the ſecond, the Conſent or Teſtimony of Wiſemen, called the *Aſſonah*, or the Traditions of the Prophets; and the third, the Inferences or Deductions of one thing from another.

Mahomet wrote the *Alchoran*, and preſcribed ſome Laws for the Civil Government: the other Additions, or Superſtructures, were compoſed by their Doctors that ſucceeded, which were *Ebbubecher*, *Omer*, *Ozman* and *Haly*; the *Califfs* of *Babylon* and *Egypt* were other Doctors and Expoſitors of their Law; whoſe Sentences and Poſitions were of Divine Authority amongſt them; but their eſteem of being Oraculous failing with their Temporal Power, that Dignity and Authority of Infallible Determinations, was by force of the Sword transferred to the *Turkiſh Mufti*. And though there is great diverſity amongſt the Doctors, as touching the explication of their Law, yet he is eſteemed a true Believer, who obſerves theſe five Articles or Fundamentals of the Law, to which every Turk is obliged.

The firſt is, Cleanneſs in the Outward Parts of their Body and Garments.

Secondly, To make Prayers five times a day.

Thirdly, To obſerve the *Ramazan* or Monthly Faſt.

Fourthly, To perform faithfully the *Zekat*, or giving of Alms according to the proportion preſcribed in a certain Book, wrote by the four Doctors of theirs, called *Aſan*, *Embela*, &c.

Fifthly, To make their Pilgrimage to *Mecha*, if they have means and poſſibility to perform it.

But the Article of Faith, required to be believed, is but one, *viz.* That that there is but one God, and *Mahomet* his Prophet.

Other Rites, as Circumciſion, Obſervation of a *Friday* for a Day of Devotion, Abſtinence from Swines-fleſh, and from Blood, (as they ſay) amongſt the five pincipal Points, becauſe they are enjoined as Trials and Proofs of Man's Obedience to the more neceſſary Law.

CHAP. II.

The Toleration that Mahometaniſm in its infancy promiſed to other Religions; and in what manner that Agreement was afterwards obſerved.

WHEN *Mahometaniſm* was firſt weak, and therefore put on a modeſt Countenance and plauſible Aſpect to deceive Mankind, it found a great part of the World illuminated with

with Chriſtianity, endued with active Graces, Zeal, and Devotion, and eſtabliſhed within it ſelf with purity of Doctrine, Union, and firm profeſſion of the Faith, though greatly ſhaken by the Hereſies of *Arius* and *Neſtorius*; yet it began to be guarded, not only with its Patience, Long-ſuffering, and Hope, but alſo with the Fortifications, Arms, and Protection of Emperors, and Kings: ſo that *Mahometaniſm* coming then on the diſadvantage, and having a hard Game to play, either by the luſtre of Graces, and Good Examples of a ſtrict Life to out-ſhine Chriſtianity; or by a looſneſs and indulgence to corrupt Manners, to pervert Men dedicated to God's Service; or by Cruelty or Menaces to gain thoſe who accounted Martyrdom their greateſt Glory, and were now alſo defended by the Power of their own Princes; judges it beſt policy to make proffers of Truce and Peace between the Chriſtian and its own Profeſſion: and therefore in all places where its Arms were prevalent and proſperous, proclaimed a free Toleration to all Religions; but eſpecially in outward appearance, courted and favoured the Chriſtian, drawing its Tenents and Doctrines in ſome conformity to that Rule, confeſſing *Chriſt* to be a Prophet, and greater than *Moſes*; that he was born of a Virgin; that *Mary* conceived by the ſmell of a Roſe; that the bleſſed Virgin was free from Original Sin, and the Temptations of the Devil; that *Chriſt* was the Word of God, and is ſo ſtyled in the *Alchoran*, and cured Diſeaſes, raiſed the Dead, and worked many Miracles; and by his Power his Diſciples did the like: and I have heard ſome ſpeak of him with much reverence, and with heat to deny *Chriſt*'s Paſſion; ſaying, it were an impiety to believe that God, who loved and had conferred ſo much Power, and ſo many Graces on *Chriſt*, ſhould ſo far diſhonour him, as to deliver him into the Hands of the *Jews*, who were the worſt and moſt ſcorned of Men; or to the Death of the Croſs, which was the moſt infamous and vile of all Puniſhments.

In this manner they ſeemed to make a League with Chriſtianity, to be Charitable, Modeſt, and well-wiſhers to its Profeſſours; and *Mahomet* himſelf ſays in his *Alchoran* thus: "O "Infidels, I do not adore what you adore, and "you adore not what I worſhip; obſerve you "your Law, and I will obſerve mine.

And for a farther aſſurance of his Toleration of Chriſtianity, and evidence to the World, that his Intention was neither to perſecute nor extirpate their Religion; he made this following Compact, the Original of which was found in the Monaſtery of Fryars on Mount *Carmel*, and, as it is ſaid, was tranſported to the King's Library in *France*; which becauſe it is Ancient, and of Curioſity; it will not be impertinent to be inſerted here.

"*Mahomet* ſent from God to teach Mankind, "and declare the Divine Commiſſion in Truth, "wrote theſe things. That the Cauſe of Chri- "ſtian Religion determined by God, might re- "main in all parts of the Eaſt, and of the Weſt, "as well amongſt the Inhabitants, as Strangers, "near, and remote, known, and unknown: to "all theſe People I leave this preſent Writing, "as an inviolable League, as a deciſion of all "farther Controverſies, and a Law whereby "Juſtice is declared, and ſtrict obſervance en- "joined. Therefore whoſoever of the *Moſſel- "man's* Faith ſhall neglect to perform theſe "Things, and violate this League, and after "the manner of Infidels, break it, and tranſ-

Moſſelman ſignifies a Believer, and ſo the Turks call themſelves.

"greſs what I command herein, he breaks the "Compact of God, reſiſts his Agreement, and "contemns his Teſtament, whether he be a "King, or any other of the Faithful. By this "Agreement, whereby I have obliged my ſelf, "and which the Chriſtians have required of "me, and in my Name, and in the Name of all "my Diſciples, to enter into a Covenant of "God with them, and League and Teſtament of "the Prophets, Apoſtles, Elect, and Faithful "Saints, and bleſſed of Times paſt and to come. "By this Covenant, I ſay, and Teſtament of "mine (which I will have maintained with as "much Religion, as a Prophet Miſſionary, or "as an Angel next to the Divine Majeſty, is "ſtrict in his Obedience towards God, and in "obſervance to his Law and Covenant) I pro- "miſe to defend their Judges in my Provinces, "with my Horſe and Foot, Auxiliaries, and "other my faithful Followers; and to preſerve "them from their Enemies; whether remote, or "near, and ſecure them both in Peace and War: "and to protect their Churches, Temples, Ora- "tories, Monaſteries, and Places of Pilgrimage, "whereſoever ſituated, whether Mountain or "Valley, Cavern or Houſe, a Plain, or upon "the Sand, or in what ſort of Edifice ſoever: "alſo to preſerve their Religion and their "Goods in what part ſoever they are, whether "at Land or Sea, Eaſt or Weſt, even as I keep "my ſelf and my Sceptre, and the faithful Be- "lievers of my own People. Likewiſe, to re- "ceive them into my Protection from all Harm, "Vexation, Offence and Hurt. Moreover, to "repel thoſe Enemies which are offenſive to "them and me, and ſtoutly to oppoſe them, "both in my own Perſon, by my Servants, and "all others of my People and Nation. For "ſince I am ſet over them, I ought to preſerve "and defend them from all Adverſity, and that "no Evil touch them before it firſt afflict mine, "who labour in the ſame Work. I promiſe far- "ther to free them from thoſe Burthens which "Confederates ſuffer, either by Lones of Mony, "or Impoſitions; ſo that they ſhall be obliged to "pay nothing but what they pleaſe, and no mo- "leſtation or injury ſhall be offered them here- "in. A Biſhop ſhall not be removed from his "Dioceſs, or a Chriſtian compelled to re- "nounce his Faith, or a Monk his Profeſſion, or "a Pilgrim diſturbed in his Pilgrimage, or a "Religious Man in his Cell: Nor ſhall their "Churches be deſtroyed, or converted into "Moſques: for whoſoever doth ſo break this "Covenant of God, oppoſes the Meſſenger of "God, and fruſtrates the Divine Teſtament. "No Impoſitions ſhall be laid upon Fryars or "Biſhops, nor any of them, who are not lia- "ble to Taxes, unleſs it be with their own con- "ſent. And the Tax which ſhall be required "from Rich Merchants and from Fiſher-men of "their Pearl, from Miners of their Pretious "Stones, Gold and Silver; and all other rich "and opulent Chriſtians, ſhall not exceed above "twelve ſhillings yearly; and it ſhall alſo be "from them, who are conſtant Inhabitants of "the place, and not from Travellers, and "Men of an uncertain Abode; for they ſhall "not be ſubject to Impoſitions or Contributi- "ons, unleſs they are Poſſeſſours of Inheritance "of Land or Eſtate; for he which is lawfully "ſubject to pay Mony to the Emperor, ſhall "pay as much as another, and not more; nor "more required from him above his faculty and "ſtrength. In like manner, he that is taxed "for his Land, Houſes, or Revenue, ſhall not

be

" be burthened immoderately, nor oppreſſed with " greater Taxes than any others that pay Contribution: Nor ſhall the Confederates be obliged to go to the War with the *Moſſelmans* " againſt their Enemies, either to fight, or diſcover their Armies, becauſe it is not of duty " to a Confederate to be employed in Military " Affairs; but rather this compact is made with " them, that they may be the leſs oppreſſed; but " rather the *Moſſelmans* ſhall Watch and Ward, " and defend them: And therefore, that they " be not compelled to go forth to fight, or encounter the Enemy, or find Horſe or Arms, " unleſs they voluntarily furniſh them; and he " who ſhall thus willingly contribute, ſhall be " recompenſed and rewarded. No *Moſſelman* " ſhall infeſt the Chriſtians, nor contend with " them in any thing but in kindneſs, but treat " them with all courteſie, and abſtain from all " oppreſſion or violence towards them. If any " Chriſtian commit a crime or fault, it ſhall " be the part of the *Moſſelman* to aſſiſt him, intercede and give caution for him, and compound for his miſcarriage; liberty ſhall alſo " be given to redeem his life, nor ſhall he be " forſaken, nor be deſtitute of help, becauſe of " the Divine Covenant which is with them, " that they ſhall enjoy what the *Moſſelmans* enjoy, and ſuffer what they ſuffer: and on the " other ſide that the *Moſſelmans* enjoy what they " enjoy, and ſuffer what they ſuffer. And according to this Covenant, which is by the " Chriſtians juſt requeſt, and according to that " endeavour which is ſo required for confirmation of *its* Authority, you are obliged to " protect them from all calamity, and perform " all offices of good-will towards them, ſo that " the *Moſſelmans* may be ſharers with them in " proſperity and adverſity. Moreover, all care " ought to be had, that no violence be offered " to them, as to matters relating to Marriage, " *viz.* That they compell not their Parents to " match their Daughters with *Moſſelmans*: Nor " ſhall they be moleſted for refuſal either to give " a Bridegroom or a Bride; for this is an act " wholly voluntary, depending on their free-will " and pleaſure. But if it happen that a Chriſtian Woman ſhall join with a *Moſſelman*, he " is obliged to give her liberty of Conſcience in " her Religion, that ſhe may obey her Ghoſtly " Father, and be inſtructed in the Doctrines of " her Faith without impediment; therefore he " ſhall not diſquiet her, either by threatning divorce, or by ſolicitations to forſake her Faith: " but if he ſhall be contrary hereunto, and moleſt her herein, he deſpiſes the Covenant of God, " rebels againſt the Compact of the Meſſenger " of God, and is entred into the number of Lyars. " Moreover when Chriſtians would repair their " Churches or Convents, or any thing elſe appertaining unto their Worſhip, and have need " of the liberality and aſſiſtence of the *Moſſelmans* " hereunto, they ought to contribute, and freely " to beſtow according to their ability; not with " intention to receive it again, but *gratis*; and as " a good-will towards their Faith, and to fulfill " the Covenant of the Meſſenger of God, conſidering the obligation they have to perform " the Covenant of God, and the Compact of " the Meſſenger of God. Nor ſhall they oppreſs " any of them living amongſt the *Moſſelmans*, nor " hate them, nor compell them to carry Letters, " or ſhew the way, or any other manner force " them: for he which exerciſes any manner of " this Tyranny againſt them, is an Oppreſſour, " and an Adverſary to the Meſſenger of God, and " refractary to his Precepts. Theſe are the Covenants agreed between *Mahomet* the Meſſenger of God, and Chriſtians. But the conditions on which I bind theſe Covenants on their " Conſciences, are theſe, That no Chriſtian give " any entertainment to a Soldier, enemy to the " *Moſſelmans*, or receive him in his houſe publickly or privately; that they receive none of the " enemies of the *Moſſelmans*, as ſojourners into " their Houſes, Churches, or Religious Convents; nor underhand furniſh the Camp of " their Enemies, with Arms, Horſe, Men, or " maintain any intercourſe or correſpondence " with them, by contracts or writing; but betaking themſelves to ſome certain place of " abode, ſhall attend to the preſervation of themſelves, and to the defence of their Religion. " To any *Moſſelman* and his Beaſts, they ſhall give " three days entertainment with variety of Meat; " and moreover, ſhall endeavour to defend them " from all misfortune and trouble; ſo that if " any *Moſſelman* ſhall be deſirous, or be compelled to conceal himſelf in any of their houſes or " habitations, they ſhall friendly hide him, and " deliver him from the danger he is in, and not " betray him to his Enemy: and in this manner " the Chriſtians performing Faith on their ſide, " whoſoever violates any of theſe conditions, and " doth contrarily, ſhall be deprived of the benefits contained in the Covenant of God and his " Meſſenger, nor ſhall he deſerve to enjoy theſe " privileges indulged to Biſhops and Chriſtian " Monks, and to the Believers of the contents of the *Alcboran*. Wherefore I conjure " my people by God and his Prophet to maintain theſe things faithfully, and fulfill them, " in what part ſoever of the World they are. " And the Meſſenger of God ſhall recompence " them for the ſame; the perpetual obſervation " of which he ſeriouſly recommends to them, " untill the day of Judgment, and Diſſolution " of the World. Of theſe conditions which " *Mahomet* the Meſſenger of God hath agreed " with the Chriſtians, and hath enjoyed, the " witneſſes were,

" *Abu Bacre Aſſadiqu, Omar ben-alcharab.*
" *Ithman ben Afaw, Atiben abi taleb,*

" with a number of others; the Secretary was " *Moavia ben abi Sofian*, a Soldier of the Meſſenger of God, the laſt day of the Moon of the " fourth Month, the fourth year of *Hegira* in " *Medina*. May God renumerate thoſe who are " witneſſes to this writing. Praiſe be to God " the Lord of all Creatures.

This Covenant or Articles with Chriſtians (howſoever denied by the *Turks* to have been the act and agreement of *Mahomet*) is yet by very good Authours taken for real, and to have been at that time confirmed when his Kingdom was weak, and in its infancy, and when he warred with the *Arabians*: and fearing likewiſe the enmity of the Chriſtians (not to be aſſaulted by two Enemies at once) ſecured himſelf by this Religious League, made in the Monaſtry of *Fryars*, in Mount *Carmel*, from whence that ſtrict Order have their denomination. But mark how well *Mahomet* in the ſequel obſerved this Law: As ſoon as his Government increaſed, and that by Arms and bad Arts he had ſecured his Kingdom, he writes this Chapter of the Sword, called ſo perhaps becauſe the firſt words are often engraved

graved on the *Turks* Cymeters made at *Damaſcus*, and other their Bucklers and other ſort of Arms: And another Chapter in the *Alcboran*, called the Chapter of Battel (which is always read by the *Turks* before they go to fight) and therein his modeſt words (If you adore not what I adore, let your Religion be to you, and mine to me) and other promiſes of toleration and indulgence to the Chriſtian Religion, were changed to a harſher note; and his Edicts were then for bloud and ruin, and enſlavement of Chriſtians: *When you meet with Infidels*, ſaith he, *cut off their heads, kill them, take them Priſoners, bind them, untill either you think fit to give them liberty, or pay their ranſome; and forbear not to perſecute them, untill they have laid down their arms and ſubmitted.* And this is that ſort of Toleration the *Turks* give to the Chriſtian Religion; they know they cannot force Mens Wills, nor captivate their Conſciences, as well as their Bodies; but what means may be uſed to render them contemptible, to make them poor, their lives uncomfortable, and the intereſt of their Religion weak and deſpicable, are practiſed with divers Arts and Tyranny, that their toleration of Chriſtianity is rather to afflict and perſecute it, than any grant of favour or diſpenſation.

The *Mahometan* Religion tolerates Chriſtian Churches and Houſes of Devotion, in places where they have been anciently founded, but admits not of holy Buildings on new foundations; they may repair the old Coverings and Roofs, but cannot lay a Stone in a new place Conſecrated to Divine Service; nor if Fire, or any accident deſtroy the Superſtructure, may a new ſtrength be added to the foundation, wherewith to underprop for another Building; ſo that at laſt the Chriſtian Churches in thoſe Dominions muſt neceſſarily come to ruin, as many already have ſubmitted to the common fate of time. And as it happened in the great and notable Fires of *Galata* firſt, and then of *Conſtantinople*, in the year 1660, that many of the Chriſtian Churches and Chapels were brought to Aſhes; and afterwards by the Piety and Zeal of Chriſtians ſcarce re-edified, before by publick order they were thrown down again into their former heaps, being judged contrary to the *Turkiſh* Law, to permit Churches again to be reſtored, of which no more remained than the meer foundation.

CHAP. III.

The Arts wherewith the Turkiſh Religion *is propagated.*

THE *Turks* though they offer the ſpecious outſide of the foregoing toleration, yet by their Law are authorized to enforce Mens Conſciences to the profeſſion of their Faith; and that is done by various arts and niceties of Religion: For if a man turn *Turk*, his Children under the age of 14 years, though educated with other Principles, muſt be forced to the ſame perſuaſion. Men that ſpeak againſt the *Mahometan* Law, that have raſhly promiſed at a time of diſtraction or drunkenneſs to become *Turks*, or have had a carnal knowledge of a *Turkiſh* Woman, muſt either become Martyrs or Apoſtates; beſides many other ſubtilties they have to entrap the Souls of Chriſtians within the entanglements of their Law.

It is another Policy wherewith the *Mahometan* Sect hath been encreaſed, the accounting it a Principle of Religion, not to deliver a City or Fortreſs by conſent or voluntary ſurrender, where *Moſques* have been once built, and *Mahometaniſm* profeſſed. And therefore the *Turk* no ſooner enters a Town by Conqueſt, but immediately lays foundation for his Temples, thereby impoſing an obligation of an obſtinate and conſtant reſolution on the conſcience of the defendants, which many times hath been found to have been more forcible and prevalent on the ſpirits of men, than all the terrours and miſeries of Famine, Sword or other calamities.

It is well enough known upon what different intereſts Chriſtianity and *Mahometaniſm* were introduced into the World; the firſt had no other enforcements, than the perſuaſions and Sermons of a few poor Fiſhermen, verified with Miracles, Signs and Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt; carrying before it the promiſes of another life, and conſiderations of a glorified ſpirituality in a ſtate of ſeparation; but the way to it was obſtructed with the oppoſition of Emperours and Kings, with ſcorn and contempt, with perſecution and death; and this was all the encouragement propoſed to Mankind to embrace this Faith; but *Mahometaniſm* made its way with the Sword; what knots of Argument he could not untie, he cut, and made his ſpiritual power as large as his temporal; made his precepts eaſie and pleaſant, and acceptable to the fancy and appetite, as well as to the capacity of the vulgar: repreſenting Heaven to them, not in a ſpiritual manner, or with delights unexpreſſible, and raviſhments known onely in part to illuminated Souls; but with groſs conceptions of the beauty of Women with great Eyes, of the duration of one act of Carnal copulation for the ſpace of ſixty years, and of the beaſtly ſatisfaction of a gluttonous Palate; things abſurd and ridiculous to wiſe and knowing Men; but yet capable to draw multitudes of its profeſſours, and carnal defenders of its verity. And this Doctrine being irrational, to the better ſort of judgments, cauſes the Lawyers, who are men of the ſubtileſt capacities amongſt the *Turks*, to miſtruſt much of the truth of the Doctrine of *Mahomet*; eſpecially the aſſertions relating to the condition of the other life. For the repreſentation of the delights of the next World, in a corporeal and ſenſual manner, being inconſiſtent with their reaſon, leads them to doubt the truth of that point; and ſo wavering with one ſcruple, proceed to a miſtruſt of the whole Syſtem of the *Mahometan* Faith. One would think that in ſuch men a way were prepared for the entertainment of a Religion, erected on more ſolid principles and foundations; and that the Jews might gain ſuch Proſelytes to their Law, from which a great part of the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition was borrowed; or that the Chriſtians might take advantage in ſo well diſpoſed ſubjects, to produce ſomething of the Myſtery of Godlineſs. But the firſt are a people ſo obnoxious to ſcorn and contempt, eſteemed by the *Turks* to be the ſcum of the World, and the worſt of men; that it is not probable their Doctrine can gain a reputation with thoſe, to whom their very perſons and bloud are vile and deteſtable; nor is it likely the Chriſtians will ever be received by them with greater Authority, and more favourable inclination, untill they acquit themſelves of the ſcandal of Idolatry, which the Images and Pictures in their Churches ſeem to accuſe them of in the eyes and judgment

judgment of the *Turks*, who are not verſed in the ſubtile diſtinctions of Schoolmen, in the limitations and reſtrictions of that Worſhip, and the evaſions of their Doctours, matters not onely ſufficient to puzzle and diſtract the groſs heads of *Turks*, but to ſtrain the wits of learned Chriſtians to clear them from that imputation.

But to return to our purpoſe. The propagation of the *Mahometan* Faith having been promoted wholly by the Sword, that perſuaſion and principle in their Catechiſm, that the Souls of thoſe who die in the Wars againſt the Chriſtians, without the help of previous acts of performance of their Law, or other Works, are immediately tranſported to Paradiſe, muſt neceſſarily whet the Swords and raiſe the Spirits of the Soldiers; which is the reaſon that ſuch Multitudes of them (as we read in Hiſtory) run evidently to their own Slaughter, eſteeming their Lives and Bodies at no greater price than the value of Stones and Rubbiſh to fill Rivulets and Ditches, that they may but erect a Bridge or Paſſage for their fellows to aſſault their Enemies.

The ſucceſs of the *Mahometan* Arms produced another argument for the confirmation of their Faith, and made it a Principle, That whatſoever proſpers, hath God for the Authour; and by how much more ſucceſsfull have been their Wars, by ſo much the more hath God been an owner of their Cauſe and Religion. And the ſame argument (if I am not miſtaken) in the times of the late Rebellion in *England*, was made uſe of by many, to intitle God to their Cauſe, and make him the Authour of their thriving Sin, becauſe their wickedneſs proſpered, and could trample on all holy and humane Rights with impunity. And I have known that the *Romaniſts* have judged the Afflictions and almoſt Subverſion of the Church of *England*, to be a token of God's deſertion and diſclaim of her Profeſſion; forgetting the Perſecutions and Martyrdoms of the Primitive Saints, and that the Church of God is built in Sorrow and eſtabliſhed with patience and paſſive Graces: but theſe men rather than want an argument, their malice will uſe the weapons of Infidels to oppugn the truth. And on this ground, the *Turks* ſo horribly deteſt and abhor the *Jews*, calling them the forſaken of God, becauſe they are Vagabonds over all the World, and have no Temporal Authority to protect them: And though according to the beſt enquiry I could make, that report is not true, That they permit not a *Jew* to become a *Turk*, but by turning a Chriſtian firſt, as a nearer ſtep and previous diſpoſition to the *Muſſelman's* Faith; yet it is certain they will not receive the Corps of a Renegado *Jew* into their Cemeteries or place of Burial: and the *Jews* on the other ſide diſowning any ſhare or part in him, his loathed Carkaſs is thrown into ſome Grave diſtant from other Sepulchres, as unworthy the Society of all Mankind.

CHAP. IV.

The Power and Office of the Mufti's, *and of their Government in Religious Matters.*

THE *Mufti* is the principal head of the *Mahometan* Religion, or Oracle of all doubtfull queſtions in the Law, and is a perſon of great eſteem and reverence amongſt the *Turks*; his Election is ſolely in the Grand Signior, who chuſes a man to that office always famous for his Learning in the Law, and eminent for his vertues and ſtrictneſs of Life; his Authority is ſo great amongſt them, that when he paſſes Judgment or Determination in any point, the Grand Signior himſelf will in no wiſe contradict or oppoſe it.

The Title which the Grand Signior gives unto the *Mufti*, when he writes to him, is,

> *To the Eſad, who art the Wiſeſt of the Wiſe, inſtructed in all Knowledge, the moſt Excellent of Excellent, abſtaining from things Unlawfull, the Spring of Vertue, and True Science, Heir of the Prophetick and Apoſtolical Doctrines, Reſolver of the Problems of Faith, Revealer of the Orthodox Articles, Key of the Treaſures of Truth, the Light to Doubtfull Allegories ſtrengthened with the grace of the Supreme Aſſiſtour, and Legiſlatour of Mankind. May the moſt High God perpetuate thy Vertues.*

His power is not compulſory, but onely reſolving and perſuaſive in matters both Civil and Criminal, and of State: his manner of reſolves is by writing; the queſtion being firſt ſtated in Paper briefly and ſuccinctly, he underneath ſubſcribes his ſentence by Yes, or No, or ſome other ſhort Determination called a *Fetfa*, with the addition of theſe words, *God knows better*; by which it is apparent that the Determinations of the *Mufti* are not eſteemed infallible. This being brought to the *Cadee* or Judge, his Judgment is certainly regulated according thereunto, and Law Suits of the greateſt moment concluded in an hour, without Arreſts of Judgment, Appeals, or other dilatory Arts of the Law.

In matters of State the *Sultan* demands his opinion, whether it be in Condemnation of any great man to Death, or in making War or Peace, or other important Affairs of the Empire; either to appear the more juſt and religious, or to incline the People more willingly to Obedience. And this practice is uſed in buſineſs of greateſt moment; ſcarce a Viſier is proſcribed, or a *Paſhaw* for pretence of crime diſplaced, or any matter of great alteration or change deſigned, but the Grand Signior arms himſelf with the *Mufti's* Sentence; for the nature of man repoſes more ſecurity in innocence and actions of Juſtice, than in the abſolute and uncontrollable power of the Sword. And the Grand Signior, though he himſelf is above the Law, and is the Oracle and Fountain of Juſtice, yet it is ſeldom that he proceeds ſo irregularly to contemn that Authority wherein their Religion hath placed an ultimate power of Deciſion in all their Controverſies.

But ſometimes perhaps Queries are ſent from the Grand Signior to the *Mufti*, which he cannot reſolve with ſatisfaction of his own Conſcience, and the ends of the *Sultan*; by which means affairs important to the well being of the State, meet delays and impediment; In this caſe the *Mufti* is fairly diſmiſſed from his infallible office, and another Oracle introduced, who may reſolve the difficult demands with a more favourable Sentence; if not, he is degraded like the former, and ſo the next, untill one is found apt to Propheſie according to what may beſt agree with the intereſt of his Maſter. This Office was in paſt times eſteemed more ſacred by the *Ottoman* Princes than at preſent; for no War was undertaken, or great Enterprize ſet on

ſoot, but firſt like the Oracle or *Augur*, his Determination with great Reverence was required as that without which no bleſſing or ſucceſs could be expected; but in theſe days they are more remiſs in this manner of Conſultation; ſometimes it is done for formality; but moſt commonly the Prime Vifier conceited of his own Judgment and Authority, aſſumes the Power to himſelf, and perhaps firſt does the thing, and afterwards demands the Approbation of it by the ſenſe of the Law.

And herein the *Mufti* hath a ſpacious Field for his Interpretation; for it is agreed that their Law is temporary, and admits of Expoſitions according to times and ſtate of things: And though they Preach to the People the perfection of their *Alcoran*; yet the wiſer men hold, that the *Mufti* hath an expoſitory power of the Law to improve and better it, according to the ſtate of things, times and conveniencies of the Empire; for that their Law was never deſigned to be a clog or confinement to the propagation of Faith, but an advancement thereof, and therefore to be interpreted in the largeſt and fartheſt fetched ſenſe, when the ſtrict words will not reach the deſign intended.

So it was once propounded to the *Mufti*, what rule ſhould be obſerved in the devotion of a *Turk* carried Slave into the Northern parts of the World, where in Winter is but one hour of day, how he might poſſibly comply with his obligation of making prayers five times within the twenty four hours; *viz.* Morning, Noon, Afternoon, Sunſet, and at an hour and half in the Night; when the whole day being but of one hour, admitted of none of theſe diſtinctions; for reſolution of which, the *Mufti* anſwered, that God commanded not things difficult as it is in the *Alcoran*, and that matters ought to be ordered in conformity to time and place, and making ſhort Prayers once before day, then twice in the hour of light, and twice after it is dark, the duty is complied with.

Another queſtion of the ſame nature was propoſed to the *Mufti*, concerning the *Kiblah* or holy place of *Mecha*, to which they are obliged to turn their faces in their Prayers; how at Sea where they had no mark, eſpecially bad Geographers as commonly the *Turks* are, it is poſſible to comply with that neceſſary formality required in their devotion; the *Mufti* reſolved this doubt almoſt like the former, preſcribing a kind of circular motion in prayers, by which means they cannot miſs of having at ſome time their faces towards the holy City, which in a caſe of ſo much difficulty is a ſufficient compliance with the duty.

Many caſes of this nature are propoſed to the *Mufti*; and many particular rules of Conſcience required, one of which is remarkable, that *Buſbequius* relates, that occurred in his time during the Wars between the Emperour of *Germany*, and *Sultan Solyman*: Whether a few Chriſtians taken Captives by the Grand Signior, might be exchanged with many *Turks* in the hand of the Emperour. It ſeems the *Mufti* was greatly perplexed and puzzled in the reſolution; for ſometimes it ſeemed a diſeſteem to the value of a *Turk* to be rated under the price of a Chriſtian; on the other ſide, it appeared want of charity and care of the intereſt of the *Moſſelmans* to neglect real terms of advantage on ſuch airy and ſubtile points of formality. In fine, he conſulted his Books, and declared that he found two different Authours of great Authority of contradictory opinions in this controverſie; and therefore his Judgment was to incline to that which had moſt of favour and mercy in it. The *Mufti* whilſt qualified with that title, is rarely put to death, but firſt degraded, and then becomes liable to the ſtroke of the Executioner; but in caſes of notorious crimes or conviction of Treaſon, he is put in a Mortar for that intent remaining in the Priſon called the *Seven Towers* at *Conſtantinople*, and therein beaten to death, and brayed to the contuſion of all his bones and fleſh.

The next Office to the *Mufti* is *Kadeleſchere* or Judge of the Militia, otherwiſe Judge Advocate, who hath yet power of determination in any other Law Suits whatſoever; for this privilege the Souldiery of this Country enjoys, to have power extenſive over all other conditions of people, but to be onely ſubject themſelves to the Government of their own Officers; this Office a *Mufti* muſt neceſſarily paſs through, and diſcharge with approbation before he aſcends the top and height of his Preferment.

The next inferiour degree is a *Mollah*; and theſe are of two ſorts, one of Three hundred Aſpers, and the other of Five hundred Aſpers, ſo called for diſtinction ſake; the firſt ſort are principal Judges in petty Provinces, containing under them the command of *Kadees* of poor and inconſiderable places; the others have their juriſdiction over the whole dominion of a *Beglerbeg*, and have the *Kadees* of ſeveral rich and renowned places under their Government: theſe riſe often to the *Mufti's* Office, but proceed by ſeveral degrees and ſteps, and muſt firſt gradually command where the Imperial Seats have been, as firſt to be *Mollah* in *Pruſa*, then in *Adrianople*, and laſtly in *Conſtantinople*, at which time he is next to the Office of *Kadeleſchere*, and thence to that of the *Mufti*.

The *Sultan*, when he writes to any of his *Mollahs*, or *Kadees* of the firſt degree, he uſes this following ſtyle,

To the moſt perfect judge of the Faithfull, the beſt Preſident of Believers in God, the Mine of Vertue and True Knowledge, the Diſtributer of all juſt Sentence to all Humane Creatures, Heirs of the Prophetick, and Apoſtolick Doctrines, elected by the ſingular Grace of God for our Governour and Judge, of whoſe Vertues may they ever flouriſh.

Theſe and *Kadees*, which are the lower and ordinary ſort of Judges, are as much to be reckoned in the number of religious men as the *Mufti* himſelf: for as I have ſaid before, the Civil Law of the *Turks* is conceived by them to be derived from their Prophet; and the other Expoſitours of their Law with as much engagement and obligation as theſe which immediately concern the Divine Worſhip: and therefore are to be treated and handled together.

The *Emaums* or Parochial Prieſts, muſt be able to read in the *Alcoran*, and be counted men of good fame and moral lives amongſt their Neighbours, before they can be promoted to this Function; and muſt be one of thoſe who have learned at the appointed times of prayer to call the people together on the top of the Steeple, by repeating theſe words, *Allah ekber, Allah ekber, Eſchedu enla Ilahe illallah we eſchedu enne Mahammed evveſul: cuah Fleve ala Selah heie ala Felah Allah ekber, allah ekber, la Ilahe illallah*, that is, God is great, God is great, I profeſs that there

there is no Deity but God, and confeſs that *Mahomet* is the Prophet of God; In this manner the people of a Pariſh recommending any to the Prime Viſier, declaring that the former *Emaum* is dead, and the Office vacant, and that this perſon is qualified in all points to the Function or better and more knowing than the preſent Incumbent; he receives immediate induction and eſtabliſhment in the place; but for better proof or tryal of the truth of the teſtimony that accompanies him, he is enjoyned to read in preſence of the Viſier ſome part of the *Alchoran*, which being done, he is diſmiſſed and approved, and takes the Viſier's *Teſchere* or *Mandamus* for the place.

This is all the Ceremony required in making an *Emaum*; for there is no new Character or ſtate of Prieſthood (as they hold) conferred upon them, nor are they a different ſort diſtinguiſhed from the people by holy Orders or Rites, but meerly by the preſent office they manage; when being diſplaced, they are again numbred with the Laity: their Habit is nothing different from others, but onely that they wear a large Turbant like the Lawyers, with ſome little variety in folding it up, and put on a grave and ſerious Countenance. Their Office is to call the People to Prayers, and at due hours to be their Leader in the *Moſque*, and to read and repeat upon *Fridays* certain Sentences or Verſes out of the *Alchoran*; few of them adventure to Preach, unleſs he be well conceited or really well gifted, but leave that office to the *Soigh*, or him that makes Preaching his Profeſſion, who is one commonly that paſſes his time in the Convents, that we ſhall hereafter treat of.

The *Mufti* hath no Juriſdiction over the *Emaums*, as to the good order or government of the Pariſhes, nor is there any Superiority or Hierarchy as to rule amongſt them; every one being Independent and without controll in his own Pariſh, excepting his Subjection in Civil and Criminal Cauſes to the chief Magiſtrates; and conſidering the manner of their Deſignation to the Religious Office, the little difference between the Clergy and the Laity, and the manner of their ſingle Government in Parochial Congregations, may not unhappily ſeem to ſquare with the Independency in *England*, from which Original pattern and example our Sectaries and Phanatick Reformers appear to have drawn their Copy.

The Church-men and Lawyers are greatly in eſteem amongſt them, as is apparent by the Title they uſe towards them in their Writings and Commands, directed to them in this manner; *You that are the glory of the Judges and Sagemen, the profound Mines of Eloquence and Excellence, may your Wiſedom and Ability be augmented.*

CHAP. V.

Of the Mufti's *Revenue, and from whence it doth ariſe.*

After the *Mufti* is elected, there is no Ceremony us'd in his Inveſture than this: he preſents himſelf before the Grand Signior, who Cloaths him with a Veſt of rich Sables of One thouſand Dollars price, and one thouſand more he preſents him with in Gold made up in a Handkerchief, which he delivers with his own Hand, putting it in the fold of his under Garment doubled over his breaſt, and beſtows on him a Salary of Two thouſand Aſpers a day, which is about Five pound Sterling money; beſides which he hath no certain Revenue, unleſs it be the power of Preferment to ſome Prebendaries or Benefices of certain Royal *Moſques*, which he ſells and diſpoſes of as is beſt to his advantage without the ſcruple of corruption or Simony.

By the ſentences he gives which they call *Fetfas*, he receives not one Aſper benefit; though every *Fetfa* coſts eight Aſpers, yet the Fee thereof goes to his Officers; that is, to his *Muſewedegi*, or he who ſtates the queſtion, is paid five Aſpers; to his *Mumeiz*, or he who Copies or Tranſcribes the queſtion fair, two Aſpers; to him that keeps the Seal, one Aſper.

Other benefits the *Mufti* hath little, excepting onely that at his firſt entrance to his office, he is ſaluted by all Ambaſſadours and Reſidents for foreign Princes; as alſo the Agents of ſeveral *Paſhaws* reſiding at the Port, none of which come empty-handed but offer their accuſtomed Preſents, by which he collects at leaſt Fifty thouſand Dollars.

When any *Mufti* is deprived of his Office without any other motive than the pleaſure of the Grand Signior, he is gratified with an *Arpalick*, which is the diſpoſal of ſome judicial Preferment in certain Provinces, and the ſuperintendency of them, from which he gathers a competent Revenue for his maintenance.

And becauſe he is a perſon whoſe advice and counſel is of great Authority with the Grand Signior and Viſier, and that his word and candid report of matters is conſiderable, and his favour in ſentences very eſtimable; he is therefore courted by all the Grandees of the Empire, who know no other way of reconciling and purchaſing the affections of a *Turk*, than by force of Preſents, which have more of power in them, than all other obligations or merits in the World.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Emirs.

We may here bring in the *Emirs*; otherwiſe called *Eulad Reſul*, into the number of the Religious men, becauſe they are of the Race of *Mahomet*, who for diſtinction ſake, wear about their heads Turbants of a deep Sea-green, which is the colours of their Prophet; out of reverence to his eſteemed holy Bloud, many privileges are indulged by the ſecular Authority, that they cannot be vilified, affronted or ſtruck by a *Turk*, upon forfeiture of his right Hand; but leſt they ſhould be licentious by his impunity, they have a chief Head or Superiour amongſt them, called *Nakib Eſchref*, who hath his Serjeants or Officers under him, and is endued with ſo abſolute a power over them, that as he pleaſes it extends both to Life and Death; but he never will give the ſcandal to this holy Seed, to execute or puniſh them publickly. And though few of them can derive his Genealogy clearly from *Mahomet*: yet thoſe who can but onely pretend to it, are often helped out in their Pedegree; as often as the *Nakib* deſires to favour any Perſon, or can have any colour to acquire a new Subject;

ject; and then to clear all ſcruple from the World, he gives him a Tree of his Lineage and Deſcent. The *Turks* being well acquainted with this abuſe, carry the leſs reſpect to the whole Generation; ſo that as often as they find any of them drunk or diſordered, they make no ſcruple to take off their Green Turbants firſt, Kiſſing them and laying them aſide with all reverence, and afterwards beat them without reſpect or mercy.

Their ſecond Officer is called *Alemdar*, who carries the Green Flag of *Mahomet*, when the Grand Signior appears with any Solemnity in publick; they are capable of any Offices; few of them exerciſe any Trade, unleſs that which is *Eſirgi*, or one who deals in Slaves, to which ſort of Traffick this Sainted Off-ſpring is greatly addicted, as being a holy Profeſſion to captivate and enſlave Chriſtians. Theſe are the moſt abominable *Sodomites* and abuſers of Maſculine youth in the World, in which ſin againſt nature they exceed the foulneſs and deteſtable Luſt of a *Tartar*.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Endowments of Royal Moſches, *and in what manner Tithes are given for Maintenance of their Prieſts and Religion.*

THE *Turks* are very magnificent in their *Moſches* and Edifices erected to the honour and ſervice of God, and not onely in the Buildings, but in the Endowments of them, with a Revenue which Records the Memory of the Donor to all Poſterity, and relieves many poor who daily repeat Prayers for the Souls of ſuch who died with a perſuaſion that they have need of them after their deceaſe; for thoſe I ſay who dye of that belief; for the condition of the Soul, untill the day of Judgment is controverted amongſt the *Turks*, and the queſtion not decided as a matter of Faith, or as revealed or determined by the *Alchoran*. For ſo large benevolence is given to places deſtined to God's ſervice, that as ſome compute, one third of the Lands of the whole Empire are allotted and ſet out to a holy uſe; much to the ſhame of thoſe who pretend to the name of Chriſtians, and yet judge the ſmalleſt proportion to be too large a competence for thoſe who ſerve at the Altar.

The principal *Moſches* and thoſe of richeſt endowment (as in all reaſon ought) are thoſe of Royal Foundation, called in *Turkiſh Selatin Giameleri*; over which the Prime Superintendent is the *Kuzlir Aga*, or the chief Black Eunuch of the *Sultan*'s Women: and in his power it is to diſtribute all conſiderable offices of Eccleſiaſtical Preferment relating to the Royal *Moſches*, which office makes a conſiderable addition to his Power and Revenue: for there are many of thoſe *Moſches* in divers places of the Empire; but eſpecially where the *Sultans* do or have reſided, as *Pruſa*, *Adrianople* and *Conſtantinople*.

The Royal *Moſches* of *Conſtantinople* are *Santa Sophia*; *Sultan Mahomet*, who Conquered this City, *Sultan Bajazet*, *Sultan Selim*, *Sultan Solyman*, *Sehezade*, or the Son of *Sultan Solyman*, *Sultan Ahmet*, and three other *Moſches* built by the Queen-Mothers, one of which was lately erected and richly endowed by the Mother of this preſent *Sultan*.

I ſhall ſcarce adventure to acquaint my Reader with the particular Revenue belonging to all theſe Royal Edifices, but certain it is they have Rents as noble and ſplendid as their Founders; for example of which, I ſhall inſtance onely in that of *Santa Sophia*, built by *Juſtinian* the Emperour, and rebuilt by *Theodoſius*, and was the Metropolis of old *Bizantium*, and the Mother-Church belonging to the Patriarchal See of *Greece*, is ſtill conſerved ſacred and ſeparated for uſe of Divine Service; of the Revenue of which, *Mahometan* Barbariſm and Superſtition hath made no Sacrilegious Robbery, but maintained, and improved, and added to it in that manner, that the Income may equal any Religious foundation of Chriſtendom; for when I had the Curioſity of procuring from the Regiſters of that Church diſtinctly all the particular Gifts, Benefices, Lands, Monies at Intereſt, and other Endowments belonging thereunto, and offered according to my ability ſomething conſiderable, to have a true Copy of the Riches and annual Rent of the place; the Keepers of thoſe Liſts would perſuade me (whether out of oſtentation, or ſcruple of ſin to make one of my Faith acquainted with the particulars of their Religious offerings) that the Wealth, Rent, and Account of all thoſe Royal Endowments are ſo many, that as they are diſtinctly ſet down, fill a Volume, and the knowledge of them is the ſtudy alone of thoſe who are deſigned to this ſervice; but in general I am given to underſtand, by thoſe who magnifie not matters beyond their due computation, That the Revenue amounts to about One hundred thouſand *Zechins* a year: which proceeds not from any Lands or Duties raiſed without the Walls of the City, but all from within: the *Sultan* himſelf being a Tenant to that place; paying or acknowledging a Rent of One thouſand and one Aſper a day for the ground which the *Seraglio* ſtands on, being in times of the Chriſtian Emperours ſome part of the Sanctuary or Gardens dedicated to the uſe of that ſtately Temple, which the *Turks* eſteemed Sacrilegious to ſeparate intirely from the holy ſervice to which it was aſſigned; though the admirable ſituation thereof tendreth it unfit for other habitation, than the enjoyment of the *Sultan*; and did therefore think fit to oblige the Land to a Rent, adding the odd Aſper as a ſignification, that the thouſand Aſpers were not a ſufficient conſideration for the uſe of the Church Lands; and might therefore be augmented as the piety and devotion of ſucceeding Emperours ſhould move them.

It is reported by the *Turks*, that *Conſtantinople* was taken upon *Wedneſday*: and that on the *Friday* following (which is their *Sunday* or *Sabbath*, as we call it) the victorious *Sultan*, then firſt entitled Emperour, went with all Magnificent pomp and ſolemnity to pay his thankſgiving and devotions at the Church of *Sancta Sophia*; the Magnificence ſo pleaſed him, that he immediately added a yearly Rent of 10000 *Zechins* to the former Endowments, for the maintenance of *Imaums* or Prieſts, Doctours of their Law, *Taliſmans* and others, who continually attend there for the education of youth, teaching them to read and write, inſtructing them alſo in the principles of their Law and Religion.

Other Emperours have ſince that time erected near unto it their *Turbem* or Chapels of Burial, in one of which lies *Sultan Selim*, ſirnamed *Sarboſe*, or the Drunken, with his one hundred Children, and therewith have conferred a maintenance

tenance of Oil for Lamps and Candles which burn day and night, and a proviſion for thoſe who attend there in prayer for their Souls departed; to which opinion the *Turks* (as I have ſaid already) are generally inclinable, though not preached or enforced on any man's belief as an Article of Faith. Over and above this expence, there is daily proviſion made for relief of a multitude of poor, who at certain hours appear at the Gates of the Temple, and receive their daily ſuſtenance; whatſoever advances, as yearly great Sums are laid up in the Treaſury, is numbred with the Riches of the *Moſch*, and remains for the ſervice of that place, as for the reparation or building thereof, in caſe of fire or other accidents.

Beſides the ſumptuous Edifices of the body of the Royal *Moſchs*, there are annexed unto them certain Colleges for Students in the Law called *Tehmele*, out-houſes or Kitchens where the poors Meat is dreſſed, Hoſpitals called *Timarhanelar*, *Hans*, or Houſes of Lodgings for Strangers or Travellers, publick Fountains, Shops for Artizans, and whole Streets of low Cottages for habitation of the poor, whoſe ſtock reaches not to a higher Rent.

All theſe Appendages bring ſome Revenue to the *Moſch*, which is conſtantly paid in to the Rector or Preſident thereof, called *Mutevelli*; but becauſe this is not a ſufficient maintenance, there are divers Lands, Villages, Mountains, Woods, and whole Countries aſſigned to this uſe, called *Wakfi*, which are hired out at certain Rents for the behoof and benefit of the *Moſchs*; ſome Rents being paid in Corn, others in Oil, and all ſorts of Proviſions; and out of every new Conquered Countrey, ſome part thereof is aſſigned to the uſe of *Moſchs* of modern Fabrick; as now from the Countrey gained lately about *Newhauſell* (which as I am informed from thoſe who gave in the account to the Grand Signior, there are 2000 Villages which pay Contribution to the *Turk*) are aſſigned certain Lands for encreaſe of the Rent of the *Moſchs* built at *Conſtantinople* by this preſent Queen-Mother: which Rents are ſometimes raiſed by the way of Tenths or Tithes, not that the *Turk* makes Tithes a duty or Rule for the maintenance of perſons, places, and things conſecrated to Divine Service, but as they find it a convenient and equal expedient in ſome Countries for leviation of their Rents. Such Countries and Villages as theſe which are called *Wakfi*, are greatly bleſſed and happy above others, in regard that the Inhabitants enjoy not onely particular privileges and immunities from thence, but freedom likewiſe from oppreſſion of *Paſhaws* and the *Turkiſh* Souldiery in their march, or of great Perſons in their journey or paſſage from one Countrey to another, who out of reverence to that lot to which they are ſeparated, abſtain from all kind of diſturbance and abuſe towards that people.

Other *Moſchs* of inferiour quality, founded by private perſons and the conſents of *Derviſes* and other Orders, which cannot have their Revenues in Land like the *Moſchs* of Royal Foundation, have their Eſtates in Money bequeathed by Teſtament or by Gift of the Living, which being lent out at eighteen in the hundred *per annum*, produces a conſtant Rent; and though Intereſt for the moſt part is forbidden by the *Mahamitan* Law, yet for the uſes of *Moſchs* and ſupport of Orphans it is allowed; in all other caſes is *Haram* and abominable. And becauſe the taking up of Money upon Loan is in ſome manner neceſſary and conducing to the better ſubſiſtence and being of Trade, and that men will not lend without a conſideration or benefit; the uſual manner is to borrow Money for a certain time, and in the Writing or Obligation to acknowledge the receipt of as much as the Principal and Intereſt may amount unto, and oftentimes double of the Capital ſumm; which being delivered before witneſs in a Bag or in Groſs, the Creditor declaring the ſumm to be ſo much therein contained, and the Debtor acknowledging it, the Teſtimony is valid when the Debt comes to be demanded. And thus much ſhall ſerve in brief to have declared concerning the Endowments and Manner of enriching the *Turkiſh Moſchs*, from whence the Conſtitution of others of the like nature may eaſily be collected.

CHAP. VIII.

The Nature of Predeſtination according to the Turkiſh Doctours.

THE Doctrine of the *Turks* in this point ſeems to run exactly according to the Aſſertion of the ſevereſt *Calviniſts*; and in proof hereof their Learned men produce places of Scripture, which ſeem to encline to the ſame Opinion. As, *ſhall the Veſſel ſay to the Potter, Why haſt thou made me thus? I will harden the heart of* Pharaoh; Jacob *have I loved, and* Eſau *have I hated*, and the like. For the *Turks* attribute no ſmall Reverence and Authority to the Old Teſtament, as wrote by Divine Inſpiration; but that the *Alchoran* being of later date, and containing the Will of God more expreſly and perfectly, the former is now abrogated, and gives place unto this.

Some are ſo poſitive in this aſſertion, that they are not fraid to ſay that God is the Authour of Evil, without diſtinction or evaſions to acquit the Divine Purity of the foulneſs of ſin according to the Doctrine of the *Manichees*. And all in general concur in this concluſion, That whatſoever proſpers, hath God for the Author; which was the reaſon they deſtroyed not *Bajazet*'s Children during the time of his War againſt his Brother *Selymus*, expecting to receive an undoubted argument of the Will of God therein, from the good or bad fortune of the Father. And from the ſame rule they conclude much of the Divine approbation and truth of their Religion, from their Conqueſts and preſent Proſperity.

They are of opinion, that every man's deſtiny is writ in his forehead, which they call *Naſip*, or *Tactir*, which is the Book writ in Heaven of every man's fortune, and is by no contrary endeavours, counſels or wiſedom to be avoided; which Tenet is ſo firmly radicated in the minds of the Vulgar, that it cauſes the Souldiers brutiſhly to throw away their lives in the deſperate attempts, and to eſteem no more of their bodies, than as dirt or rubbiſh to fill up the Trenches of the Enemy: And to ſpeak the truth, this received aſſertion hath turned as much to account to the *Turks*, as any other their beſt and ſubtleſt Maxims.

According to this Doctrine, none ought to avoid or fear the Infection of the Plague; *Ma-*

hemets

homets precepts being not to abandon the City-houſe where the Infection rages, becauſe God hath numbred their days, and predeſtinated their fate; and upon this belief, they as familiarly attend the Beds, and frequent the company of Peſtilential perſons as we do thoſe that are affected with the Gout, Stone, or Ague. And though they evidently ſee that Chriſtians, who fly into better Airs, and from infected habitations, ſurvive the fury of the years Peſtilence, when whole Cities of them periſh and are depopulated with the Diſeaſe; yet ſo far is this opinion rooted amongſt them, that they ſcruple not to ſtrip the contagious ſhirt from the dead body, and to put it on their own, nor can they remove their abode from the Chambers of the ſick; it being the cuſtome in the families of great Men to lodge many ſervants on different Palats in the ſame room, where the diſeaſed and healthfull lie promiſcuouſly together, from whence it hath happened often, that three parts of a *Paſhaws* Family, which perhaps hath conſiſted of Two hundred men, moſt youthfull and luſty, have periſhed in the heat of *July* and *Auguſts* Peſtilence. And in the ſame manner many whole Families every Summer have periſhed, and not one ſurvivor left to claim the inheritance of the houſe; for want of which the Grand Signior hath become the Proprietour.

Though the *Mahometan* Law obliges them not to abandon the City, nor their Houſes, nor avoid the converſation of men infected with the Peſtilence where their buſineſs or calling employs them: yet they are counſelled not to frequent a contagious habitation, where they have no lawfull affair to invite them. But yet I have obſerved in the time of an extraordinary Plague, that the *Turks* have not confided ſo much to the precept of their Prophet, as to have courage enough to withſtand the dread and terrour of that ſlaughter ſickneſs hath made: but have under other excuſes fled to retired and private Villages, eſpecially the *Cadees* and men of the Law, who being commonly of more refined wits and judgments than the generality, both by reaſon and experience have found that a wholeſome Air is a preſerver of life, and that they have lived to return again to their own houſe in health and ſtrength, when perhaps their next Neighbours have through their brutiſh ignorance been laid in their Graves, And this is the opinion moſt general and current with the *Turks*, who are called *Jabare*: There is another ſort amongſt them called *Kadere*.

CHAP. IX.

The difference of Sects and diſagreement in Religion amongſt the Turks *in general.*

THere is no conſideration more abſtruſe and full of diſtraction, than the contemplation of the moſt ſtrange variety of Religions in the World: how it is poſſible that from the rational Soul of man, which in all Mankind is of little difference in it ſelf, and from that one principle, which is the adoration of a Deity, ſhould proceed ſuch diverſities of Faiths, ſuch Figments and Ideas of God, that all Ages and Countries have abounded with ſuperſtitions of different natures: And it is ſtrange to conſider, that Nations who have been admirably wiſe, judicious and profound in the Maxims of their Government, ſhould yet in matters of Religion give themſelves over to believe the Tales of an old Woman, a *Pythoneſs*, or the dreams and imaginations of a melancholy *Hermit*. And it is as ſtrange that men who embrace the ſame Principles in Religion, and have the ſame true and infallible Foundation, ſhould yet raiſe ſuch different and diſproportionate Fabricks, that moſt ſhould make their Superſtructure of Straw and Stubble, and but few of a ſubſtantial and durable Building, without uniformity, harmony or agreement each to other. For reſolution of which difficulties, nothing can be ſaid more than *that the God of this World hath blinded the hearts of them that believe not, leſt the light of the glorious Goſpel of Chriſt who is the Image of God, ſhould ſhine unto them.*

The *Mahometan* Religion is alſo one of the prodigious products of Reaſons Superfetations, which hath brought forth nothing good, nor rational in this production, more than the Confeſſion of one God. And yet even herein alſo are diverſities of Sects, Opinions and Orders, which are maintained in oppoſition each to other, with Emulation and Zeal by the Profeſſours, with heats, diſputes and ſeparations, terming the contrary parties prophane and unholy; the particulars of which Sects and diverſity in their Tenents, I ſhall as far as I have ſeen or could learn, ſet down and deſcribe, having with the more curioſity and diligence made the ſtricter Enquiry, becauſe I have not read any Authour which hath given a ſatisfactory account of ſuch Sects as are ſprung up amongſt them in theſe latter and modern times.

It is a common opinion, that there are ſeventy two ſects amongſt the *Turks*, but it is probable there are many more, if the matter were exactly known and ſcanned. The *Turkiſh* Doctours fanſie that the ſeventy two Nations which they call (*Tetmiſh ekee Melet*) into which the World was divided upon the Confuſion of the Languages of *Babel*, was a Type and a Figure of the diviſions which in after-Ages ſhould ſucceed in the three moſt general Religions of the World. In this manner they account ſeventy different Sects among the Jews, ſeventy one amongſt the Chriſtians, and to the *Mahometan* they aſſign one more, as being the laſt and ultimate Religion, in which, as all fulneſs of true Doctrine is compleated, ſo the Myſtery of iniquity, and the deviation of mans judgment, by many paths from the right rule, is here terminated and confined.

The *Turks* have amongſt themſelves as well as in other Religious, Sects and Hereſies of dangerous conſequence, which daily increaſe, mixing together with them many of the Chriſtian Doctrines (which ſhall in their due place be deſcribed) and in former times alſo a ſort of Fanatick *Mahometans* which at firſt met onely in Congregations under pretence of Sermons and Religion, appeared afterwards in Troops armed againſt the Government of the Empire.

So one *Scheichee Bedredin* Chief Juſtice of *Muſa*, Brother to *Mahomet* the Fifth King of the *Turks*; after the death of his Maſter, was baniſhed to *Nice* in *Aſia*, where conſulting with his ſervant *Burgluzes Muſtapha*, by what means they might raiſe Sedition and a ſecond War; they agreed, the readieſt courſe was by broaching a new Sect and Religion, and by perſuading the people to ſomething contrary to the ancient *Mahometan* ſuperſtition. Whereupon *Burgluzes* maſking his villany under a grave and ſerious countenance,

tenance, took his journey into *Aydinin*, otherwiſe *Caria*, where he vented Doctrines properly agreeing to the humours of the people, preaching to them Freedom and Liberty of Conſcience, and the Myſtery of Revelations, and you may believe he uſed all arts in his perſuaſions, with which Subjects uſed to be allured to a Rebellion againſt their Prince, ſo that in a ſhort time he contracted a great number of Diſciples beyond his expectation. *Bedredin* perceiving his Servant thrive ſo well with his Preaching, fled from his place of Exile at *Nice* into *Valachia*, where withdrawing himſelf into a Foreſt like a devout Religious man, gathered a number of Proſelytes compoſed of Thieves, Robbers and Out-lawed people; theſe he having inſtructed in the principles of his Religion, ſent abroad like Apoſtles to preach and teach the people that *Bedredin* was appointed by God to be the King of Juſtice, and Commander of the whole World; and that his Doctrine was already embraced in *Aſia*: The people taken with theſe Novelties, repaired in great numbers to *Bedredin*, who conceiving himſelf ſtrong enough to take the Field, iſſued from his deſart with Colours diſplayed, and an Army well appointed; and fighting with his deluded multitude a bloudy Battel againſt thoſe Forces which *Mahomet* ſent to ſuppreſs him under his Son *Amurath*; the deluded Rebels were overthrown, *Bedredin* taken Priſoner, and his pretences of Sanctity and Revelation were not available to ſave him from the Gallows.

And thus we ſee that the name of God's cauſe, revelations, liberty, and the like, have been old and common pretences and deluſions of the World, and not onely Chriſtians, but *Infidels* and *Mahometans* have wrote the name of God on their Banners, and brought the pretence of Religion into the Field to juſtifie their cauſe.

CHAP. X.

Of the two prevailing Sects, viz. *Of* Mahomet *and* Hali; *that is, the* Turk *and the* Perſian; *the Errours of the* Perſian *recounted and confuted by the* Mufti *of* Conſtantinople.

THE two great Sects among the followers of *Mahomet*, which are moſt violent each againſt other, the mutual hatred of which diverſity of Education and Intereſt of the Princes have augmented, are the *Turks* and *Perſians*: The firſt hold *Mahomet* to have been the chief and ultimate Prophet; the latter prefer *Hali* before him; and though he was his Diſciple and ſucceeded him; yet his inſpirations they eſteem greater and more frequent, and his interpretations of the Law moſt perfect and Divine.

The *Turk* alſo accuſes the *Perſian* of corrupting the *Alchoran*, that they have altered words, miſplaced the Comma's and Stops, that many places admit of a doubtfull and ambiguous ſenſe; ſo that thoſe *Alchorans* which were upon the Conqueſt of *Babylon* brought thence to *Conſtantinople*, are ſeparated, and compiled in the great *Seraglio*, in a place apart, and forbidden with a Curſe on any that ſhall read them. The *Turks* call the *Perſians*, *Forſaken of God*, *abominable and blaſphemers of the Holy Prophet*; ſo that when *Selymus* the Firſt made War in *Perſia*, he named his Cauſe, the Cauſe of God, and proclaimed the occaſion and ground of his War to be the Vindication of the cauſe of the Prophet; and revenge of the blaſphemies the *Perſians* had vented againſt him; and ſo far is this hatred radicated, that the Youth of what Nation ſoever is capable of admittance into the Schools of the *Seraglio*, excepting onely the *Perſian*, who are looked upon by the *Turk* as a people ſo far Apoſtatized from the true Belief, and fallen into ſo deſperate an Eſtate by a total corruption of the true Religion, that they judge them altogether beyond hopes or poſſibility of recovery, and therefore neither give them quarter in the Wars, account them worthy of life or ſlavery.

Nor are the *Perſians* on the other ſide endued with better nature of good will to the *Turks*, eſtranging themſelves in the fartheſt manner from their Cuſtoms and Doctrines, rejecting the three great Doctours of the *Mahometan* Law, *viz. Ebbubecher*, *Oſman* and *Omar*, as Apochryphal and of no Authority; and have a Cuſtome at their Marriages to erect the Images of thoſe three Doctours of Paſte or Sugar at the entrance of the Bridal Chamber, on which the Gueſts firſt caſting their looks, leave the impreſſion of any ſecret Magick which may iſſue from their eyes, to the prejudice or misfortune of the Married Couple; for in the Eaſtern parts of the World they hold that there is a ſtrange faſcination innate to the eyes of ſome people, which looking attentively on any, as commonly they do on the Bridegroom and the Bride in Marriages, produce macerations and imbecillity in the body, and have an eſpecial quality contrary to procreation: and therefore when the Gueſts are entred, having the Malignity of their eyes Arreſted on theſe Statues, they afterwards cut them down and diſſolve them.

And that it may the more plainly appear what points of Religion are moſt controverted amongſt them, and what Anathema's and Curſes are by both ſides vented each againſt the other, this following ſentence paſſed by the *Mufti Eſad Efendi*, upon *Schah Abbas* Tutor to the King of *Perſia*, called *Sari Haliſe*, and all the *Perſians*, will be a ſufficient teſtimony and evidence of the enmity and hatred that is between theſe two Nations; an Extract of which is here drawn from the Book it ſelf, licenſed and approved at *Conſtantinople*.

If you had, ſays he, no other Hereſie than the rejection of thoſe elevated familiars of *Mahomet*, viz. *Omar*, *Oſman* and *Ebbubecher*, your crime would notwithſtanding be ſo great as were not expiable by a thouſand years of Prayer or Pilgrimage in the ſight of God; but you would be condemned to the bottomleſs Abyſs of Hell, and deprived for ever of Celeſtial bliſs; and this ſentence of mine is confirmed by the ſame opinion of the *Imams*, viz. *Imam Azam*, *Imam Schafi*, *Imam Malick* and *Imam Hambeli*, and therefore I friendly admoniſh you to correct this errour in your ſelves, and likewiſe in your Scholar King *Abbas*.

Nor are you contented to paſs with this ſingle errour, whereby you have gained the name of *Kyzilbaſchi*, that is, *Perſian* Hereticks, but you are become as abominable as the *Durzi* (a people that lives about Mount *Libanus*) of bad eſteem and reputation, corrupted in all points of Doctrine and Manners; ſo that I cannot but paſs this black ſentence upon you, that it is lawfull in a Godly Zeal to kill and deſtroy you for the ſervice of God; your Tenents being refuted by

Giafer Efendi, who hath branded the *Perſian*, for *Pagans*, and in ſeventy ſeveral places of the *Alchoran*, and the very words of *Mahomet* demonſtrated the clearneſs of their errour.

If the Chriſtian onely for ſaying there is a Trinity in God is condemned for Life and Eſtate, why ſhould the *Perſian* expect better quarter, who is ſtigmatized for Hereſie in ſeventy places of the *Alchoran?* And one of your deteſtable opinions of the firſt rank is,

That you eſteem your ſelves obliged to aſſemble at the *Moſchs*, but not to Prayers: for what ſignifies your meeting, if not to Prayers? *Mahomet* himſelf ſays, That he who repairs to the Congregation without a deſign of Prayer, is a Hypocrite and a Diſſembler, is accurſed of God; nor ſhall be bleſſed in his Houſe or Eſtate, the good Angels ſhall abandon him, the Devils ſhall attend him, nor ſhall he ever proſper in this World, or in the World to come.

In anſwer hereunto you ſay, that the ancient Order of Prieſts is extinct, that you have none whoſe pious lives enable to preach and inſtruct you, or to be your leader to holy prayer in the Publick Aſſembly. Do there want pious and holy perſons of the Race of *Mahomet*? if there do not, why do not you imitate and follow them? but you are Enemies, and in open Hoſtility to the *Mahometan* Family, and excuſe your ſelves from the uſe of Prieſts or *Imams*, becauſe their innocence cannot equal that of Infants. In this point (it is true) you have ſomething of reaſon; for your *Imams* are not onely Infidels in Doctrine, but defiled in their converſation; and your King is your High Prieſt, frequents Stews, and the Styes of deformed Luſt, raviſhing fair and chaſt Wives from the embraces of their Huſbands; and that publickly in the face of the World, maintaining Concubinage with them. And where the example of a Prince makes ſuch things lawfull, his Subjects, whether Souldiers or Lawyers, will make no ſcruple to imitate his actions.

Chapter ſo called The Wife of *Mahomet* ſo called.

You deny the Verſe called the *covering in the Alchoran*, to be authentick; you reject the eighteen Verſes, which are revealed to us for the ſake of the holy *Aiſche*.

At the *Abdeſt* or Waſhing, you hold it not lawfull to waſh the bare feet, but onely lightly ſtroke them over.

Your Muſtachioes or hair on the upper Lip you never cut, but the Beard on the Chin, which is the honeſt Ornament of a man's countenance, you cut and clip into what form you pleaſe.

That holy Colour of Green appropriated to the Banner of *Mahomet*, which ought onely to adorn the nobler parts, you in deſpight of the honour of the Prophet, with an irreverent negligence, place it on your Shooes and Breeches.

Wine, which is an abomination to the true obſervers of the Law, you drink freely of, without ſcruple of Conſcience; as alſo in Meats you make no diſtinction between clean and unclean, but uſe all with a like indifferency. In ſhort, ſhould I mention all thoſe ſeventy points wherein you err, and are without all compariſon corrupt and erroneous, I ſhould ſwell my writing to a Volume, and not attain my end, which is brevity.

Another ſinfull cuſtome you permit amongſt you, which is, for many Men to be joyned to one Woman; for to whom of them can be appropriated the Off-ſpring that is born? What book have you, or Law, or example of any Nation to produce in approbation of this vile and unnatural cuſtome? How vile muſt thoſe Children be who are the iſſue of ſuch Parents? that it is no wonder there be none found amongſt you worthy the holy Character of a Prieſt or a Judge.

But you cannot be ſo irrational, as to deny that the Aſſembling in *Moſchs* to prayer, is neceſſary to Divine Service; *Mahomet* himſelf prayed together with the people, and ſometimes preferred *Ebuhecher* to celebrate the Divine Service, following him as others of the people did.

Why do not you ask your Pilgrims who come from *Mecha*, what mean theſe four Altars in the *Moſch*, which are the places of prayer deſigned to the four ſeveral Orthodox Sects? Why take you not example from theſe? But you are ſtill perverſe and obſtinate, haters of God and his Prophet; What will you anſwer at the day of Judgment before *Mahomet* and his four Friends? who long ſince being dead, you revive their Aſhes with ignominy, erecting their Statues at your Marriages in vulgar, and afterwards in contempt hew them down to yield paſtime and occaſion of laughter to the Spouſes and their Gueſts.

Was not the firſt converted to the Faith, *Ebuhecher?*

Was not *Omar* the braveſt Champion of the *Mahometan* Religion againſt the Chriſtians?

Was not he who diſpoſed and diſtinguiſhed the Chapters of the *Alchoran*, the chaſt *Oſman?*

Was not the braveſt and moſt Learned bearer of the *Zulfecar*, or the Sword with two points, was it not *Hali?* And were not *Imam Haſſan*, and *Imam Huſein*, Martyrs of the Faith in the Deſarts of *Kerbela?*

Did not *Mahomet* ſay with his own mouth, O *Hali*, for thy ſake there are two ſorts of people predeſtinated to Hell, one that loves thee, and one that loves thee not? Are not you then that wear red Turbants much to be condemned, being of evil life and converſation, and not well inclined to the houſe of the Prophet, nor the family of the faithfull, as it is written in the Book called *Aadick?* The Chriſtians conſerve the hoofs of that Aſs on which Chriſt rode, and ſet them in Caſes of Gold and Silver; and eſteem it an extream honour to have their Faces, Hands, or Heads, touched with ſo holy a Relick. But you who profeſs your ſelves Diſciples of the Prophet of God, and derived from the bloud and family of his Friends, deſpiſe ſo glorious a Title; commanding after the repetition of your Prayers, that is, after the *Ezan*, that Curſes and Blaſphemies be proclaimed againſt theſe holy Friends and Aſſociates of the Prophet.

That is, when the people are called to Prayers from the Steeple.

Beſides this, your Books maintain and avouch it lawfull to pillage, burn and deſtroy the Countries of the *Muſſelmans*, to carry their Wives and Families into ſlavery; and from a principle of malice and reproach to carry them naked through your Markets, and expoſe them to ſale to any Chapman; *Pagans* themſelves eſteem not this honeſt nor decent, by which it is apparent that you are the moſt mortal and irreconcilable enemies to us of all the Nations in the World, you are certainly more cruel to us than the *Sezidi*, the *Kiafirs*, the *Zindics*, than the *Durzians*; and in brief you are the Kennel of all uncleanneſs and ſin; a Chriſtian or a Jew may hope to become true Believers, but you can never.

Wherefore by virtue of that Authority I have received from *Mahomet* himſelf, in conſideration of your miſdeeds and incredulity, I pronounce it lawfull for any one of what Nation ſoever, that

that is of the Believers, to kill, deſtroy, and extirpate you; ſo that as he who ſlays a rebellious Chriſtian, performs a meritorious action in the ſight of God; much rather he who kills a *Perſian*, ſhall obtain a reward ſeventy-fold from the fountain of Juſtice. And I hope that the Majeſty of God in the day of Judgment will condemn you to be the Aſſes of the Jews, to be rode and hacknied in Hell by that deſpiſed people; and that in ſhort time you will be exterminated both by us, the *Tartars*, the *Indians* and *Arabians*, our Brothers and Aſſociates in the ſame Faith.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Ancient Sects and Hereſies among the Turks.

THERE are four Sects into which the *Mahometans* of the eſteemed Orthodox belief are divided; and thoſe are theſe.

The firſt is called *Haniffe*, which is profeſſed in *Turkey*, *Tartary*, *Eusbec*, and on the other ſide of *Jehun*, *Bactorus* and *Oxus*.

The ſecond is *Shaffe*, whoſe Cuſtomes and Rules the *Arabians* follow.

The third is *Malechee*, to which *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, *Algier*, and other parts of *Africa* devote themſelves.

The fourth is *Hambelle*, of which are but few, and is known onely in ſome parts of *Arabia*.

Theſe four are all accounted Orthodox, and are followers of certain Doctours (as we may ſay amongſt Chriſtians, Scholars of *Auguſtine*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Dominicus*, or the like) and have onely differences as to ceremonies, poſtures in their prayers, waſhings, diverſities in ſome points of their Civil Laws; and each maintains a charitable opinion of the other, as true Believers, and capable of entring into Paradiſe, if their life and converſation be regulated according to their Profeſſion and Tenets.

All *Mahometans* according to the Countries wherein they live, come under the notion of one of theſe four preceding Profeſſions; but yet are nominated with other names and differences of Sects, according as they follow the opinions which ſome ſuperſtitious and Schiſmatical Preachers amongſt them have vented; and thoſe commonly known and marked with the names of ancient Hereſies by the reſpective Opponents, which may properly be called ſo, becauſe they are converſant in their Doctrines concerning the Attributes and Unity of God, his Decrees and Judgments, his Promiſes and Threatnings, and concerning the propheſies and gifts of Faith, are eſpecially theſe which ſtand in oppoſition each to other, *viz.*

Moatazili		*Septhatii*
Kadari		*Giabari*
Morgii	To	*Waidi*
Sbii		*Chawarigi.*

From each of theſe Sects, as from ſo many roots ariſe ſeveral Branches of different Doctrines, as according to the Tenets of the Turkiſh Doctours complete the number of ſeventy two.

Moatazali ſignifies as much as Separatiſts; the reaſon of which denomination, was from *Alhaſan* the Scholar of *Waſel Ebw Atw*, the Author and Maſter of this Sect, to who the queſtion being propoſed, *Whether thoſe who had committed a groſs ſin, were to be adjudged condemned, and fallen from the Faith?* the Scholar *Alhaſan* inſtead of expecting the reſolution of his Maſter, withdrew himſelf, and began to interpret his ſenſe thereof to his other Fellow-Diſciples; from which withdrawing of himſelf they were afterwards denominated *Moatazali*, which is Separatiſts. But the name they give themſelves is the Defenders of the Equity and Unity of God, in declaration of the manner of which they ſo differ among themſelves, that they are divided into two and twenty Sects, which are maintained with that paſſion on all ſides, that every party accuſes his oppoſites of Infidelity. But the principle in which their wrangling Sophiſters accord in common, is this, *That God is eternal, and that Eternity is an Attribute moſt properly agreeable to his Eſſence*; but yet they reject the attribute it ſelf, ſaying, that God is eternal, wiſe, powerfull, and the like, by his own entire and ſingle eſſence; but yet they ſay he is not eternal by his eternity, nor wiſe by his wiſedom, nor powerfull by his power, for fear of admitting any multiplicity in the Deity, or incurring the like errour as they ſay of the Chriſtians who divide and diſhonour the Unity of God, by the conceptions they frame of the three perſons in the Trinity. And if the Chriſtians are to be blamed for introducing three Eternals, how much more are thoſe who frame as many Eternals as there are Attributes to the Deity?

Another ſort derived from this Sect called *Haiesti*, hold that Chriſt aſſumed a true and natural body, and was the Eternal and Incarnate, as the Chriſtians profeſs; and in their *Creed* or Belief have inſerted this Article, *That Chriſt ſhall come to judge the World at the laſt day*, and for proof hereof alledge an Authority out of the *Alchoran* in theſe words, *Thou* Mahomet *ſhalt ſee thy Lord return in the Clouds*: which though they fear expreſly in plain terms to interpret of *Chriſt*, yet they confidently affirm it to be propheſied of the *Meſſiah*, and in diſcourſe confeſs that that *Meſſiah* can be no other than Chriſt; who ſhall return with the ſame humane fleſh again into the World, Reign Forty Years on Earth, confound Antichriſt, and afterwards ſhall be the end of the World.

Another ſort of the Profeſſours of the Sect of *Moatzali*, are *Iſi*, whoſe firſt Author was *Iſa Merdad*; theſe maintain that the *Alchoran* was created, contrary to the expreſs word of *Mahomet*, who Anathematizes all who are of this perſuaſion, ſaying, let him be reputed an Infidel who believes the *Alchoran* created; for ſolution of which difficulty, and to concur with the words of their Prophet, they ſay, that the *Alchoran* delivered by *Mahomet*, was but a Copy tranſcribed out of that wrote by God and laid in the Library of Heaven, and that when their Prophet denies the Creation of the *Alchoran*, he hath no reference to the Original, but to his own hand-writing which he had Copied, and extracted from the firſt, and infallible exemplar.

Theſe alſo farther proceed to deny againſt the common Tenet of the *Mahometans*, the incomparable and Matchleſs Eloquence of the *Alchoran*; aſſerting that were it not prohibited, other *Arabians* might be found, who could far tranſcend every line of it in Wiſedom and Rhetorick; which in my opinion is a ſtrange kind of Impudence in the very face of their Prophet, who

ſeems to be too proud of the exact diſpoſition, and full ſignification of every word, that he judges it not leſs charming for the ſweet ſound of its Eloquence, than it is convincing for the purity and truth of its Doctrine.

Sephati. The great Antagoniſts to the *Moatazali*, are the *Sephati*, who Aſſign in God Eternal Attributes of Knowledge, Power, Life, &c. And ſome of them proceed ſo far, and groſly herein, that they frame conceptions of corporeal Organs of Senſe, as of Hearing, Seeing and Speech, to be in God; affirming that thoſe expreſſions of God's ſitting in his Throne, Creation of the World by the work of his Hands, his Anger againſt Sin, Repentance for man's Converſion, which we call ἀνθρωποπαθεῖα, are to be taken in the literal and plain ſenſe, and have no need of farther fetched interpretations to clear the true notion of them: But yet herein their *Doctours* ſeem not to agree, ſome defining a body to be the ſame as, *per ſe ſubſiſtens*, denying it to be an eſſential propriety of a body to be circumſcribed and finite; others conclude that it is enough to ſay that God is great, without argument of his circumſcription, or determination to any particular place, with many other ſtrange conceits, whereby are made apparent the roving fancies of Ignorant Men, without the Rules or Grounds of *Philoſophy* or *Metaphyſicks*. But the ſoberer ſort amongſt them, who would appear more moderate and wiſer than the reſt, forbid their Scholars to make Compariſon of the Senſes in God, with thoſe of the Creature, who being more ſubtly urged by their ſevere opponents the *Moatazali*, they were forced to declare themſelves more plainly, in this manner, That the God which they worſhipped was a Figure, Viſible, and an object of the Sight, conſiſting of parts Spiritual and Corporeal, to which local Motion might be agreeable, but that his Fleſh and Bloud, His Eyes and Ears, his Tongue and Hands were not of any ſimilitude with created ſubſtances, but were of another Craſis and Mixture which ſubjected them to no Diſtemper or Corruption; in proof whereof they alledge the words of *Mahomet*, *That God created Man after his own likeneſs*: And all other of thoſe examples drawn from the Holy Scriptures with which the *Alchoran* is filled, and where in familiar expreſſions, the Divinity is pleaſed to condeſcend to the infirmity of humane Capacity.

Kadari. The next Sect is that of the *Kadari*, who deny wholly the Divine Decree or Predeſtination, affirming that every man is a free Agent, from whoſe will as from the firſt principle all good and bad actions flow and are derived; ſo that as with juſt reaſon God crowns man's good Works with the Rewards of Bliſs and Felicity; ſo on the other juſtly puniſhes his evil Actions in this World and in the next to come; and this they ſtyle the Doctrine of Equity, and define it to be a meaſure of man's actions, according to the rectitude and diſpoſition of that right line, which the prime Intellect hath drawn out by wiſedoms proportions. This opinion is abſolutely rejected as heterodox in the *Mahometan* Religion; and yet it is not fully determined how *Mahomet* moderated in the diſpute between *Adam* and *Moſes*, whom an *Arabian* Doctour comically introduced, pleading and juſtifying themſelves before God. *Moſes* beginning firſt, reproached *Adam*, that he was one immediately created by the proper hand of God, in whom the Divine Nature breathed the Breath of Life, whom Angels were made to adore, placed and ſeated in Paradiſe, and fortified with actual graces againſt the enormities and crooked irregularities of inferiour affections; from which happy ſtate that he ſhould fall and precipitate Mankind, together with himſelf, his crime was aggravated with all the degrees of his former perfection. *Adam* to excuſe himſelf, replyed in this manner. Thou *Moſes* whom God hath called to a familiar parly, revealed his Will and Pleaſure unto in thoſe engraven Tables, where all Morality and Vertue is contained, reſolve me this one Quere and difficult Probleme; How many years before I was created, doſt thou find that the Law was wrote? *Moſes* anſwered, Forty. And did you find, reply'd *Adam*, that *Adam* rebelled againſt his Lord and ſinned? to which *Moſes* anſwering in the affirmative. Do you blame me then, ſaid he, for executing that which God forty years before predeſtinated and deſigned me unto? and not onely forty years, but many Myriads of Ages before either the Heavens or Earth were framed. *Mahomet* confounded, as the *Kadari* report with this Argument, left the queſtion undetermined, though his followers, as Men are moſt prone to errour generally, entertain the contrary Tenent.

Ebnol Athir, Mr. *Pocock de Moribus Arabum.*

Jabari. The great Enemies diametrically oppoſed to theſe are the *Jabari* or *Giabani*, who maintain that a man hath no power over his Will or Actions, but is wholly moved by a Superiour Agent, and that God hath a power over his Creatures, to deſign them to Happineſs or to Miſery, as ſeems beſt to his Divine pleaſure; but in the explication of this opinion they proceed in the moſt rigorous manner, and ſay that man is wholly neceſſitated and compelled in all his actions; that neither his Will, nor Power, nor Election is in himſelf; and that God creates in him his actions, as he doth in Inanimate and Vegetable creatures the firſt principle of their Life and Eſſence; and as the Tree may be ſaid to produce Fruit, the Water to run, the Stone to move downwards, ſo are the Actions in Man, for which yet there is a reward and a puniſhment properly and neceſſarily allotted. This point is very ſubtily controverted by the *Arabian* Doctours, to which how the *Turks* are addicted, we ſhall farther diſcourſe in the Chapter of Predeſtination.

Morgi. The Sect of *Morgi*, are the great Favourers and Patrons of the *Mahometan* Religion, maintaining that a *Muſſelman* or Believer, though guilty of the groſſeſt ſins, is not puniſhed for them in this World, nor receives his abſolution or condemnation after death, untill the day of Reſurrection and Judgment: and farther, that as impiety with the true belief ſhall never be puniſhed; ſo Piety and good Works proceeding from a falſe and erroneous Faith, is of no validity or power conducing to the fruition of the joys of Paradiſe. And to theſe may not improperly be compared ſome Sectaries in *England*, who have vented in their Pulpits that God ſees no ſin in his Children; and that the infidelity of *Sarah*, being of the houſe of the faithfull, is more acceptable to God, than the Alms, Prayers and Repentance of an erroneous Believer, without the Pale and Covenant of grace.

Waidi. The oppoſite Sect to theſe are the *Waidi*, who eſteem that a man fallen into any great or mortal ſin, is put into the condition of a deſerter of his Faith; and though he be a profeſſour of the true Belief, ſhall yet without recovery for ever be puniſhed in Hell; but yet that his torments ſhall be in a more remiſs degree than that

of Infidels; But that opinion which in this point is eſteemed Orthodox amongſt the *Turks*, is this, That a ſinner in a high nature going out of this world without repentance, is wholly to be committed to the pleaſure of God, either to pardon him for his mercy, or for the interceſſion of the Chap. Prophet *Mahomet*, according to what he ſaith in the *Alchoran*, *My interceſſion ſhall be for thoſe of my own People who have greatly ſinned*; that being firſt puniſhed according to the meaſure of their iniquity, they may afterwards in compaſſion be received into Paradiſe; for it is impoſſible they ſhould for ever remain in the eternal flames with the Infidels; becauſe it is revealed to us, that whoſoever hath but the weight of an Atom remaining in his heart of Faith, ſhall in due time be releaſed from fiery torments; for which cauſe ſome ſects amongſt the *Turks* uſe Prayers for the dead, and place their Cemeteries always by the ſide of Highways, that Paſſengers may be remembred of their own Mortality, and pray for the Souls of thoſe departed; of which we ſhall have occaſion to diſcourſe hereafter. The fictions the *Mahometans* frame of Hell, are as ridiculous as thoſe they fanſie of Paradiſe; For they imagine when they ſhall be called by *Mahomet* from this Purgatory at the day of Judgment, the way to him is over Iron Bars red hot with Fire, over which they muſt paſs with naked Feet; onely the Paper which they in their life time have taken from the ground and conſerved from being trampled on by the Feet of Men and Beaſts, ſhall at that day be ſtrowed on the Bars of this hot paſſage, that they may paſs that fire Ordeal with leſs torment; which is the reaſon the *Turks* ſee no ſmall piece of Paper on the ground, but they immediately ſtoop for it; and place it in ſome ſecret corner of a Wall, to redeem that (as they ſay) from the diſhonour of mens feet, on which the name of God is or may be wrote, and with expectation to enjoy the benefit promiſed, when the ſoles of their feet ſhall try the intenſe heat of this burning Iron. The ſame reſpect alſo they ſhew to Roſe-leaves, in conſideration (as they believe) that a Roſe was produced from the ſweat of *Mahomet*.

The *Shii* are the Sect ſpoken of before; oppoſed by the Subjects of the whole *Ottoman* Empire, as the moſt heretical of any of the reſt, in regard they prefer *Ali* before *Mahomet* in the Prophetical Office, and reſtrain the Prophetick gift to the natural line derived from *Ali*; and that none is worthy of the Title of a Prophet, who is guilty of ſin though of the lower nature; ſome of which Profeſſours called *Alnoſairi*, affirm that God appeared in the form of *Ali*, and with his Tongue proclaimed the moſt hidden Myſteries of Religion; and ſome have proceeded yet farther, to attribute to their Prophets divine honours, aſſerting them to be elevated above the degree and ſtate of the Creatures: theſe expect the return of their Prophet *Ali* in the Clouds, and have placed that belief as an Article of their Faith, from whence may ſeem to be grounded that miſtake amongſt our vulgar, that the *Turks* believe *Mahomet* ſhall again return into the World.

Chawarigi. To the foregoing are oppoſed the *Chawarigi*, who deny that there is or hath been any ſuch Function as that of a Prophet, allowed by God in any particular perſon; nor any ever ſent into the World endued with that power of Infallibility, to reſolve doubts, and teach and impoſe a new Law on Mankind; but if at any time ſuch an Office ſhould be neceſſary, it can never be reſtrained to one Lineage: for the perſon being faithfull and juſt, no matter whether he be a Servant or Free, a * *Nabathean* or a † *Koraſchite*.

* One of vulgar or rude ſort amongſt the *Arabians*.
† One of a noble family amongſt the *Arabians*.

Theſe are ancient Sects amongſt the profeſſours of the *Mahometan* Religion, out of which aroſe ſo many others as by the confeſſion of the *Turkiſh* Doctours complete the number of ſeventy three. But becauſe the accurate ſearch into ſo many is of little delight or profit to the Reader, I ſhall content my ſelf with having given him a taſte of theſe foregoing premiſſes; and ſhall now give an account how buſie theſe modern times have been at *Conſtantinople* in hammering out ſtrange forms and chimera's of Religion, the better to acquit *England* from the accuſations of being the moſt ſubject to religious innovation, the World attributing much thereof to the air and conſtitution of its Climate.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the New and Modern Sects amongſt the Turks.

ALL Ages and times have produced their Sects and Hereſies in every Religion; and therefore we ſhall proceed in declaring ſome few that are of a freſher date than thoſe in the foregoing Chapter, and ſo ſhall continue to deſcend to others which this preſent Age hath begot.

Zeidi maintains that God will ſend a Prophet of the *Perſians* with a Law by which ſhall be annulled the Law of *Mahomet*. That called *Zeidi* is one of the latter edition.

A ſecond to this is derived from the *Moatazeli*, that denies any man can be ſtyled a Saint in this World, excepting the Prophets, who were without ſin; and that the true Believers ſhall in the next World ſee God as clearly as we ſee the Moon at full; againſt the Doctrine of *Mahomet*, who ſays God is inviſible either to us in this world, or the next. Derived from the *Moatazeli*.

There are alſo thoſe called *Malumigee*, who maintain God is perfectly to be known in this World: and that by the Doctrine of *Cognoſce teipſum*, the Creature proceeds to the perfect knowledge of his Creatour. *Malumigee.*

The Opponents to theſe are *Mezzachulia*, who hold that they which know God onely in this World by ſome glimmerings and rays of his Glory and Eſſence, is ſufficient to lead them into Paradiſe, and rank them in the number of the faithfull. *Mezzachulia.*

Another ſort there are called *Jabaiah*, which denies God's Omniſcience, affiming That God governs the World by Chance and Accidents, not comprehending from Eternity or at the Creation of the World, a perfect certainty of the particular Affairs that were to be tranſacted in it, and that God improves in knowledge by time, as men do by conſtant practice and experience. *Jabaiah.*

We ſhall not inſiſt here to multiply many of theſe Sects, who have almoſt as many diverſities amongſt the *Turks*, as there are Schools and Maſters; every *Hogia* that is but a Form above a meer Pedagogue, and reads a few Books of the *Arabian* Fables, eſteems himſelf of mean account, if by ſome ſingular opinion which he inſtills into his Diſciple, he diſtinguiſhes not his Gymnaſion from the common and inferiour Schools. But theſe

theſe men in framing their particular fancies, and venting their follies, have a ſpecial care that none of their principles oppugn thoſe five points of practice, and one of faith, mentioned in the firſt Chapter of this Book, which are the eſſential points that conſtitute a *Mahometan*; or derogate from the Authority of their Governours, or produce factions or diſturbances in the State.

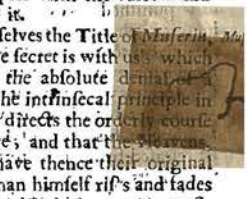
But theſe modern times have produced other Sects amongſt the *Turks*, ſome of which ſeem in part dangerous, and apt to make a conſiderable rupture in their long continued union; when time changes, and revolutions of State ſhall animate ſome turbulent ſpirits, to gather Souldiers and Followers under theſe Doctrines and other ſpecious pretences.

Kadezadeli. One of which is call *Kadezadeli*, a Sect ſprung up in the time of *Sultan Morat*, whoſe chief Propagatour was one *Burgali Effendi*, who invented many Ceremonies in praying for the Souls departed, at the burial of the dead. Thoſe that are of this Sect cauſe their *Imaum* to cry loud in the ears of the inanimate body, to remember that God is one, and his Prophet one. Thoſe who are principally devoted to this Sect, are the *Ruſſians* and other ſort of Renegado Chriſtians, who amongſt their confuſed, and almoſt forgotten notions of the Chriſtian Religion, retain a certain Memory of the particulars of Purgatory, and Prayers for the Dead.

But the opinion eſteemed Orthodox, and moſt generally allowed amongſt the *Turks*, is, That no *Mahometan* gones eternally to Hell, but after a certain ſpace of years is delivered thence, and paſſes into Paradiſe; After death they aſſign two ſorts of puniſhments; the firſt is called *Azabe Kaberi*, or the puniſhment of the Grave which being the bed of wicked men, binds with its Earth ſo faſt as it cruſhes their bones, and ſhuts the pores and creviſes through which they ſhould ſee into Heaven; but the bodies of good men enjoy the comfort of having a window from their dark incloſure, to behold the Viſion of God's glory. The other is the pain of Hell, where the ſouls remain untill their torments are accompliſhed, and Divine Juſtice ſatisfied.

Chupmeſſahi. There is an opinion of late years principally maintained amongſt the Gallants of the *Seraglio*, and common in *Conſtantinople*, the profeſſours of which are called *Chupmeſſahi*, or the good followers of the *Meſſiah*; theſe maintain that Chriſt is God and Redeemer of the World; the young Scholars in the Grand Signior's Court are generally devoted to this Tenent, eſpecially thoſe which are the moſt courteous, affable, and beſt diſpoſed; that it is grown into a Proverb amongſt them, when they would commend and praiſe gentleneſs and courteſie of each others nature, they do it with the expreſſion of *Chupmeſſahiſen*, as if they would ſay, You are gentle, accompliſhed and exceſſive in your favours, as becomes one who profeſſes the *Meſſiah*. Of this ſort of people there are great numbers in *Conſtantinople*, ſome of which have ſo boldly aſſerted this Doctrine, that they have ſuffered Martyrdom under this denomination, which is ſtill maintained, and ſecretly profeſſed by ſuch multitudes as wear white Turbants, that upon ſome notable opportunity were this Cauſe and Religion made the ground of ſome Toleration and Inſurrection amongſt its Diſciples and Profeſſours, it might take an unexpected footing, and prepare a ready way for the Plantation of the Goſpel: but of this we ſhall ſpeak more hereafter in its due place.

And becauſe it is our intent here to declare the ſeveral Religions amongſt the *Turks*, it will not be from our purpoſe to mention how far Atheiſm hath ſpread it ſelf into the Countries; and as Logicians illucidate one contrary with another, and Painters ſet off the Whiteneſs of their Colours with a foil of Jet, or other Blackneſs; ſo the privation of all Religion is not unaptly placed in the ſame Chapter with the various and different profeſſours of it.



Theſe then give themſelves the Title of *Muſerin*, which ſignifies, The true ſecret is with us; which ſecret is no other than the abſolute denial of a Deity, that nature or the intrinſecal principle in every individual thing directs the orderly courſe which we ſee and admire; and that the Heavens, Sun, Moon and Stars have thence their original and motion, and that man himſelf riſes and fades like the graſs or flower. It is ſtrange to conſider, what quantities there are of men that maintain this principle in *Conſtantinople*, moſt of which are *Kadies* and learned men in the *Arabian* Legends, and others are Renegadoes from the Chriſtian Faith, who conſcious of the ſin of their Apoſtaſie, and therefore deſirous that all things may conclude with this World, are the more apt to entertain thoſe opinions which come neareſt to their wiſhes. One of this Sect called *Mahomet Effendi*, a rich man, Educated in the knowledge of the Eaſtern Learning, I remember was in my time executed for impudently proclaiming his blaſphemies againſt the being of a Deity; making it in his ordinary diſcourſe, an argument againſt the being of a God, for that either there was none at all, or elſe not ſo wiſe as the Doctours preached he was, in ſuffering him to live who was the greateſt enemy and ſcorner of a Divine Eſſence that ever came into the World. And it is obſervable, that this man might, notwithſtanding his accuſation, have ſaved his life, would he but have confeſſed his errour, and promiſed for the future an aſſent to the principles of a better: but he perſiſted ſtill in his blaſphemies, ſaying, That though there were no reward, yet the love of truth obliged him to die a Martyr. I muſt confeſs untill now, I never could believe that there was a formal Atheiſm in the World, concluding that the principle (of the being of a God) was demonſtrable by the Light of Nature; but it is evident now how far ſome men have extinguiſhed this light and lamp in their Souls.

This poiſonous Doctrine is ſo Infectious, that it is crept into the Chambers of the *Seraglio*, into the Appartments of the Ladies and Eunuchs, and found entertainment with the *Paſhaes* and their whole Court; this ſort of People are great favourers and lovers of their own Sect, courteous and hoſpitable to each other; and if any by chance receives a Gueſt within his Gates of their own judgment, beſides his Diet and Fare with much freedom, he is accommodated with a handſome Bedfellow of which Sex he moſt delights: they are very frank and liberal, and exceſſive in their readineſs to do each other ſervice; It is ſaid, that *Sultan Morat* was a great favourer of this opinion in his Court and Militia, deſirous withal to propagate that of *Kadizadeli* amongſt the vulgar, that they being a ſevere, moroſe and covetous people, might grow rich, and ſpare for the benefit of his Exchequer; for the Sect of *Kadizadeli* before-mentioned, is of a melancholy and Stoical temper, admitting of no Muſick, chearfull or light diſcourſes, but confine themſelves to a ſet Gravity; in publick

as

as well as private they make a continual mention of God, by a never wearied repetition of theſe words, *Ilahe ila Ellah*; that is, I profeſs there is one God: There are ſome of theſe that will ſit whole nights bending their bodies towards the Earth, reciting thoſe words with a moſt dolefull and lamentable Note: they are exact and moſt punctual in the obſervation of the rules of Religion, and generally addict themſelves to the ſtudy of their Civil Law, in which they uſe conſtant exerciſes in arguing, oppoſing and anſwering, whereby to leave no *point* undiſcovered or not diſcuſſed. In ſhort, they are highly Phariſaical in all their comportment, great admirers of themſelves, and ſcorners of others that conform not to their Tenents, ſcarce affording them a ſalutation of common communication; they refuſe to marry their Sons with thoſe of a different Rite, but amongſt themſelves they obſerve a certain Policy; they admoniſh and correct the diſorderly, and ſuch who are not bettered by their perſuaſions, they reject and excommunicate from their Society. Theſe are for the moſt part Tradeſmen, whoſe ſedentary life affords opportunity and nutriment to a melancholy and diſtempered fancy.

But thoſe of this Sect who ſtrangely mix Chriſtianity and *Mahometaniſm* together, are many of the Souldiers that live on the confines of *Hungary* and *Boſna*; reading the Goſpel in the *Sclavonian* Tongue, with which they are ſupplied out of *Raguſa*; beſides which, they are curious to learn the Myſteries of the *Alcboran*, and the Law of the *Arabick* Tongue; and not to be accounted rude and illiterate, they affect the Courtly *Perſian*. They drink Wine in the month of Faſt called the *Ramazan*; but to take off the ſcandal they refuſe Cinamon or other Spices in it, and then call it *Hardali*, and paſſes current for lawfull Liquor. They have a Charity and Affection for Chriſtians, and are ready to protect them from injuries and violences of the *Turks*: They believe yet that *Mahomet* was the Holy Ghoſt promiſed by Chriſt; and that the deſcending of the Holy Spirit on the day of *Pentecoſt*, was a Figure and Type of *Mahomet*, interpreting in all places the word παράκλητος, to ſignifie their Prophet; in whoſe Ear the white Dove revealed the Infallible directions to happineſs.

Potures a people of *Boſna.*

The *Potures* of *Boſna* are of this Sect, but pay Taxes as Chriſtians do; they abhor Images and the Sign of the Croſs; they circumciſe, bringing the Authority of Chriſt's example for it, which alſo the *Copticks*, a Sect of the *Greek* Church, imitated; but have now, as I am informed, lately diſuſed that cuſtome.

Another ſubtle point about the Divine Attributes hath begot a Sect amongſt the *Janizaries*, called *Bektaſchi*, from one *Bektaſh*, which ſeems an improper ſubject ſo deep in the Metaphyſical ſpeculation to trouble ſuch groſs heads as theirs; they began, (as it is ſaid) in the time of *Soliman* the Magnificent, and are called by ſome *Zerati*; that is, thoſe who have Copulation with their own Kindred, and by the vulgar *Mumſconduren*, or extinguiſhers of the Candle. This Sect obſerve the Law of *Mahomet* in Divine Worſhip, with a ſtrictneſs and ſuperſtition above any of the Preciſians of that Religion: but hold it unlawfull to adjoyn any Attributes to God, by ſaying that God is great, or God is mercifull, by reaſon that the nature of God being infinite and incomprehenſible, cannot fall under the weak and imperfect conceptions of man's underſtanding, which can imagine nothing applicable to his Nature. Of this Sect there was a famous Poet amongſt the *Turks*, called *Nemiſi*, that was flead alive, for ſaying, when the *Emaum* called the People to prayers, at the ordinary hours from the Steeple with the uſual word, *Allah Ekber*, God is one, That he lied, upon the ſuppoſition that no Epithete can be predicated of the Divine Eſſence. Amongſt the *Janizaries* are at preſent many principal Commanders of this Sect; but formerly were more in the time of *Becktaſh Aga*, *Kul Kahya*, *Mahomet Aga*, and others, who for their Rebellion in *Conſtantinople* (as we related before) were put to death under the Hiſtorical Pillar in the time of this preſent Emperours minority. Theſe people againſt the inſtinct of nature uſe Carnal Copulation promiſcuouſly with their own Kindred, the Fathers mixing with their Sons and Daughters, without reſpect to proximity of bloud or nearneſs in the degrees of relation, ſuffering themſelves to be tranſported contrary to the abhorrency of Nature, by a weak and illogical compariſon of the lawfulneſs and reaſon, that he who engrafted the Tree, and planted the Vine, ſhould rather taſte of the Fruit, than reſign the benefit of his labours to the enjoyment of others; and in this Argument act againſt the inclination of innate modeſty, according to that of *Seneca*,

Ferè quoque ipſæ Veneris evitant nefas,
Generiſque leges inſcius ſervat pudor,

Theſe people are eaſily induced to give falſe witneſs or teſtimony in the favour of their Sect, without conſideration of Equity or reaſonableneſs of their cauſe; by which means invading the right of others, they became rich and powerfull, untill they were debaſed by the deprivation of *Becktaſhes* Authority, and Power of other potent favourers of their Sect: and though afterwards upheld by *Sudgi Beker*, a Standard-Bearer of the *Janizaries*, a rich and learned man, they received a ſecond blow by his death, he executed by a Viſier *Kupriuli Mahomet*, for his diverſity in Religion and Wealth together; but farther animoſity againſt this Sect was diſſembled at that time, by reaſon of the multitude of thoſe profeſſours in *Conſtantinople*, and becauſe reaſon of State ſaw it at that time neceſſary to draw bloud in many parts of the Empire for other cauſes than for errours in Religion.

The Sect called *Sabin*, though *Mahometans* in profeſſion, ſeem yet to run contrary to the ſtream and general conſent of all its profeſſours, who give themſelves commonly the Title of Enemies and Confounders of Idolatry, and yet theſe notwithſtanding ſeem from the influence the Sun and Moon have on ſublunary bodies, of all living ſenſitive Creatures to conclude a certain Divinity in thoſe common Lights of the World. In *Conſtantinople* there are ſome few Aſtrologers and Phyſicians of this Sect, but in *Parthia* and *Media* they are numerous, the Men commonly worſhipping the Sun, and the Women the Moon, and others the Artick Pole; they are not ſtrict in a ſeverity of life, or in the conformity to the preſcriptions of their Law, but govern themſelves with morality and prudence. They are not apt to believe the immortality of the Soul, nor the reward of Vertue, or puniſhment of Vice in the next World; nor prone to vindicate themſelves from injuries reproachfull language, or other evil actions, of men, but regarding them as the natural effects of the Celeſtial influences, are no more provoked by

by them than we are with a ſhower of Rain for wetting us, or the intenſe heat of the Sun in the Summer Solſtice.

Munaſibi, is a Sect purely Pythagorical, which believes the Metempſychoſis or Tranſmigration of Souls, of which there are ſome in *Conſtantinople*, one *Albertus Bobovius* a *Polonian* by Nation, but educated in the *Seraglio*, and inſtructed in all the Learning of the *Turkiſh* Literature (from whom I freely confeſs to have received many of my obſervations) related to me a pleaſant diſcourſe that paſſed between him and a Dorgiſt at *Conſtantinople* touching this ſubject. This Dorgiſt being Learned, was the occaſion that *Albertus* frequented his Shop the oftner; and once being after ſome familiar acquaintance at a Collation together, it chanced that a black Dog giving them interruption at their Banquet, that *Albertus* kicked him to drive him to a farther diſtance; at which the Dorgiſt growing pale and diſordered, *Albertus* gueſſed by his countenance that he was diſpleaſed at this unkindneſs towards the Dog; and therefore deſired his pardon if thereby he had given him any ſubject of offence: the Dorgiſt being thus pacified with the courteſie of his Gueſt, adviſed him to ask pardon of God, for that it was no ſmall crime and ſin that he thereby committed. This happening at the ſame time that the Funerals of a *Mufti* called *Behai Efendi*, were then ſolemnizing, afforded an occaſion of diſcourſe concerning the Soul of the *Mufti* and Dog together; the Dorgiſt demanding the opinion of his Gueſt whether he conceived the Soul of that *Mufti* was predeſtinated to remain within the Confines of the Grave, untill the day of Reſurrection? in the knowledge of which queſtion *Albertus* ſeeming wholly ignorant, and deſirous to underſtand the ſolution from him: the Dorgiſt began freely to declare that the Souls of men deceaſed enter into the Bodies of Beaſts, which are in temperament moſt agreeable to the diſpoſitions of thoſe whom before they animated: as the Soul of the Glutton enters into the Swine, the Soul of the Laſcivious into the Goat, of the Generous into the Horſe, of the Vigilant into a Dog, and ſo the like; in proof of which he producing a Book treating of all the diſtinctions of Nature, and the proper aſſignments for their habitation after death: Adding moreover, that of this opinion it was pity there were ſo few in *Conſtantinople*, ſome there were, and thoſe all of his own Trade and Profeſſion, but that at *Grand Cairo* were great numbers, ſtrict adherers to this Doctrine: that for his part he prayed to God with the reſt of his Brothers of the ſame Trade, that their Souls may hereafter be ſo honoured as to inform the body of the *Camel*, becauſe they are Beaſts that are laborious, abſtemious, patient and meek, and bring their Dorges from the remoteſt part of the Eaſt: and that he did not doubt but after the Circle of 3365 years, that his Soul had travelled for ſeveral Ages through the World, and wandred from the body of one *Camel* to animate another, it ſhould with the viciſſitude of time return again to a humane body, more purified and refined than in its firſt Principles. And this was the *Credo* of the Dorgiſt, to which opinion it is ſaid all *China* is greatly devoted.

Eſchraki, which ſignifies illuminated, is a Sect purely Platonical, contemplative of the Divine *Idea*, and the number in God; for though they hold the Unity, yet they deny not the Trinity, as a number proceeding from the Unity; which conception of theirs they uſually illuſtrate by three folds in a Handkerchief, which may have the denomination of three; but being extended, is but one entire piece of Linen. Theſe men are no great admirers of the compoſition of the *Alchoran*; what they meet therein agreeable to their principles, they embrace and produce as occaſion ſerves in confirmation of their Doctrine; other parts which with difficulty are reconciled they reject, and ſtyle abrogated: and becauſe they apprehend that the true beatitude and bliſs of Paradiſe conſiſts in the contemplation of the Divine Majeſty, they contemn all the fancies and groſs conceptions of Heaven, which *Mahomet* hath framed to allure and draw the mind of rude and groſs men. Of this Sect are all the *Scheghs* or able Preachers that belong to the Royal *Moſchs* or Churches; who are men conſtant in their devotions, abſtemious in their diet, of a chearfull countenance, and taking behaviour, great lovers of Harmony and Muſick, of an indifferent ſtrain in Poetry, whereby they compoſe certain Songs in Metre, for entertainment of their Auditory. They are likewiſe generous and compaſſionate of humane frailty; and are not Covetous, Stoical, or Conceited of themſelves, by which means their behaviour is rendred extremely taking through all *Conſtantinople*; they are greatly delighted with an ingenious Aſpect in youth, and from thence gather matter of contemplation on the comelineſs of the increated beauty: they are addicted to entertain a charitable affection for their neighbour, becauſe (as they ſay) he is a Creature of God, from whom our love is converted to the Creatour. Their Diſciples they procure, as much as poſſible, to be men of comely and pleaſing countenances, and Majeſtick preſence, whom they inſtruct in all the rules of abſtinence, gravity, and other vertues moſt appropriated to their Sect. And theſe of all ſorts of *Turks* ſeem worthy of the beſt Character, whom I compaſſionate, for not being born within the Pale of a Chriſtian Church, nor duely inſtructed in the Myſtery of Chriſtianity, to which they ſeem by their morality and vertues already to have prepared many previous diſpoſitions.

A Sect much different to that immediately foregoing is the *Haireti*, ſignifying amazed, and doubtfull in determination of all controverſies, who can endure any thing rather than to controvert opinions, and diſpute one queſtion in chaſe of truth: they will neither undertake to perſuade or diſſuade, but like the Academicks affirm that falſity may by the wit and contrivance of man be dreſſed in a habit as not to be diſtinguiſhed from truth it ſelf; and on the contrary, truth may be ſo diſguiſed with Sophiſtry and Deluſions as to be rendred as deformed and ugly, as falſhood, and therefore they conclude all queſtions to be meerly probable, and no ways admitting of certain demonſtration; ſo that in points of dubious controverſies their common ſayings are, *Allah Bilur*, God knows, *bize karanuk*, it is unknown to us, and ſuch like expreſſions ſavouring of negligence and a bruiſh want of curioſity to ſearch into the Studies of Arts and Sciences. Of this Sect ſome notwithſtanding are Preachers, and from that degree are promoted to the Office of *Mufti*, in which they behave themſelves according to their affected careleſneſs, with a readineſs and facility to ſubſcribe all ſentences to the ſatisfaction and in favour of the demandant; adding for the moſt part theſe words, *Well abu ealem biſſenah*, God knows that which is beſt. As to the manner of their life and practice, they are punctual obſervers of the Rites of the

the *Mahometan* Religion and Conſtitutions of their Civil Law, but much incline to yield to the courſe of their own nature, and the force of paſſion; they drink Wine not to appear Cynical or unſociable, but more generally addict themſelves to Electuaries compoſed of *Opium*, which tends to augment their natural ſtupefaction; and when they are overcome with the obſcurity of this vapour, whatſoever you affirm, though never ſo contradictory, they readily aſſent to, not ſo much (as they confeſs) from a perſuaſion to one propoſition more than another, but of a pleaſing compliance to their companions, which humour the nature of their Sect allows of. And though they ſtile the *Eſchraki* Dogmatical and obſtinate Opiniators, yet by experience it is obſerved that the *Mufties* Educated in the *Eſchrakian* Schools have been much more fortunate than thoſe of the *Hairetian* Sect; becauſe the former having a certain foundation of principles, have been cautious in ſigning *Fetfas*, or delivering their Sentence in the reſolution of weighty Matters of State, chuſing rather to renounce their Office, than their reaſon. But the others being negligent and incurious in their determinations, as if fortune did direct them more to the true part than ſolidity of judgment; have been always free and open in their Sentences; by which means events of State falling out unhappily, and the miſcarriage attributed to the counſel of the *Mufti*, they have been oftner ſubject to the puniſhment of baniſhment or death than their Opponents.

We ſhall not proceed to ſwell this Work with a longer Catalogue of theſe Sects, leſt we ſhould ſeem over-tedious to the Reader, and inſtead of pleaſing his Palate, ſhould over-charge his Stomach; otherwiſe we might proceed to recite as many Sects as there are Towns or Schools in the Empire, in every one of which ſome pragmatical Preacher or other have always ſtarted a new opinion, which can never want Diſciples. And certainly the diverſity of opinions in *Turky* is almoſt infinite, and more numerous than in *England*, or other parts of Chriſtendom, though commonly not proceeding from the ſame malice, nor laid with the ſame deſign to the prejudice of the State: the reaſon of this variety amongſt the *Turks* I attribute to the many Religions which voluntarily, and for intereſt or by force have entred into the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition, many of which being *Grecians*, and inſtructed in the Arts and Sciences with which that Empire once flouriſhed, which was the Mine and Treaſury of Philoſophy and Learning, did afterwards mix with their new Religions (not being wholly ſatisfied with the *Alcoran*) certain Traditions and Opinions of the ancient Philoſophers: And ſeveral other Nations, as *Ruſſians*, *Moſcovites*, *Circaſſians*, and the like, retaining ſome few remembrances of their firſt Notions and Principles, make a farther addition to this ill compounded medley, which alſo receiving ſome difference and variety as they encreaſed and were propagated, have multiplyed into a number both unprofitable and tedious to ſearch farther into.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Derviſes.

IT is commonly known and received, that the *Turkiſh* Religion is an abſurd Compoſition of the Chriſtian and Jewiſh Rites; in imitation of the former of which doubtleſs their Monaſteries and Orders of Religious men were introduced; moſt of which incline to a pretended mortification and ſtrictneſs of life; to Poverty, and Renunciation of the Worlds enjoyments, according to the devotion of Chriſtians a thouſand years paſt, whoſe piety and exemplary lives drew Infidels to extract a rough Copy of their elevated vertues.

I have been the more curious in making an exact enquiry into the Cuſtoms, Inſtitutions, and Doctrines of the *Mahometan* Convents, becauſe I find relations hereof ſparingly ſcattered in other Books, and that obſcurely without punctuality or certainty: But I ſhall promiſe my Reader to deliver nothing herein, but what I have good Authority for, and taken from the mouth of the moſt Learned of ther *Seighs* or Preachers, which are the Heads or Superiours of theſe Societies.

The Doctors of the *Mahometan* Law inform me, that their Religious Houſes and Inſtitutions, are as ancient as *Mahomet*, from whom general orders and inſtructions were derived from their œconomy, firſt to his Diſciple *Hali*; but our *Turkiſh Hiſtory* and other Records make no mention of theſe Monaſteries, till within theſe Three hundred and fifty years, in the time of *Orchanes* ſecond King of the *Turks*, who is famed to have been the firſt Founder of Houſes of theſe Orders.

Thoſe of the *Mahometan* Faith, who firſt framed Rules and Inſtitutions for theſe Religions, were two, *viz.* *Calvettee* and *Nackſbendee*, which after *Mahomet* are eſteemed the two Fountains from whence other Orders are produced, which are theſe following; from *Chalvettee* are derived.

Nimetulabi from *Nimetula*
Kadri from *Kadri*
Kalenderi from *Kalendar*
Edhemi from *Edhem*
Hizrevi from *Hizr*
Bektaſſe from *Bektaſh.*

} The firſt Founders and Maſters of theſe Orders.

From *Nackſbendee* proceed onely two, *viz.*
Ebrbuharee from *Ebrbuhar*
Mevelevee from *Mevelava*

} Their Original Founders.

Theſe ſeveral Orders we ſhall diſtinctly touch upon, beginning with the *Mevelevee*, which though ſet down here laſt, yet becauſe for fame amongſt the *Turks*, they are the firſt, we ſhall moſt largely and particularly treat of them.

Their Superiour.

The *Mevelevee*, otherwiſe and moſt commonly named *Derviſe*, which word ſignifies Poor and Renouncers of the World, have their chief and ſuperiour Foundation in *Iconium*, which conſiſts of at the leaſt four hundred *Derviſes*, and governs all the other Convents of that Order within the *Turkiſh* Empire, by virtue of a Charter given them by *Ottoman* firſt of the *Mahometan* Kings, who out of devotion to their Religion once placed their Prior or Superiour in his Royal Throne, becauſe having been his Tutour, and he who girted on his Sword (which is the principal Ceremony of Coronation) he granted him and his Succeſſours ample Authority and Rule over all others of the ſame Profeſſion.

Their Poſtures.

They pretend to great Patience, Humility, Modeſty, Charity, and Silence, in preſence of their Superiour or others; their eyes are always fixed downwards, their heads hanging towards their breaſt, and their bodies bending forwards.

Their Cloathing.

Their Shirts are of the courſeſt Linen can be made, with a white Plad or Mantle about their ſhoulders: but moſt wear a looſe kind of Gar-

ment made of Wool at *Iconium* or in *Anatolia*, of a dark colour; their Caps or what they wear on their heads is like the Crown of a Hat of the largeſt ſize, made of a courſe Felt of a whitiſh colour, their Legs are always bare, and their Breaſts open, which ſome of them burn or ſear in token of greater devotion: they wear alſo a Leather girdle, with ſome ſhining ſtone upon the Buckle before, either of Marble or Alabaſter, Porphyry, Ivory, or ſomething that makes a great ſhew or luſtre; they always carry with them a ſtring of Beads, which they call *Tesbe*, and often run them over, than our Fryars do their Roſary; at every Bead repeating the name of God. When the Prior of this Order dies, they commonly ſet a Hearſe for him in a Chapel, and upon it lay a long ſtring of Beads as big as Walnuts. It is alſo common amongſt other *Turks* to carry Beads in their hands to play with; and they ſay that when they have no other employment, that kind of divertiſement drives away idle and evil thoughts.

Their Faſts. Beſides their Faſt of *Ramazan*, they keep a weekly Faſt on every *Thurſday*, on which day, none unleſs for ſome indiſpoſition of health, or other lawfull cauſe, hath licenſe to eat, until after Sun-ſetting.

Every *Tueſday* and *Friday* the Superiour of the Convent makes a Sermon or Expoſition of ſome Verſes in the *Alchoran*, or out of the Books wrote by the Founder, or ſome other prime Doctour of the *Mahometan* Law; after which is done, the *Derviſes* with marvellous modeſty and reverence bowing to their Superiour, begin to turn round, ſome of them with that ſwift motion, that their faces can ſcarce be ſeen, a certain Pipe made of a Cane, ſounding all the time of this motion; and on a ſudden, when the Muſick ceaſes, they all ſtop with that exactneſs and firmneſs, ſhewing no ſymptoms of a diſordered or ſwimming Brain; to which having accuſtomed themſelves from their infancy or youth, in ſome years that motion becomes as natural, with as little diſturbance to their head or ſtomach, as to walk forward, or to uſe any other exerciſe which nature is delighted with. This cuſtome (they ſay) they obſerve with great devotion in imitation of their firſt Founder *Mevelana*, who for fourteen days together, and without taking any nouriſhment, uſed this Virtiginous motion by a miraculous aſſiſtence (his Friend *Hamze*, or Companion, all that time ſounding by him with his Flute or Pipe) until at laſt falling into an ecſtaſie, he received ſtrange Revelations, and Divine commands for the inſtitution of this his Order: The Pipe they play on, they eſteem for an ancient ſanctified ſort of Muſick, and to be that on which *Jacob* and the other holy Shepherds in the Old Teſtament praiſed God.

Their turning round. It hath a dolefull melancholy ſound; but their conſtant exerciſe and application thereunto makes it as Muſical as can be imagined in ſuch an Inſtrument: the beſt of thoſe Canes are eſteemed to come from *Iconium*, and are of twenty five Dollars price. But this ſort of devotion with inſtrumental Muſick, is by *Turks* themſelves diſputed againſt, denying that their Founder, who was ſo ſpiritual a man, did ever inſtitute, or himſelf uſe Muſick in his turning round, becauſe the *Alchoran* expreſly forbids all devotion and ſervice of God with Muſick, but onely with the natural and living Voice; And that is the reaſon why in calling their people to prayers they uſe no Bells, but onely the Voice of a Man; and for this cauſe I remember, that in my time prohibitions have been made by publick Authority againſt this practice of the *Derviſes*. But they on the contrary, alledging *David's* example, and his Dancing before the Ark, as arguments for their Muſick and Giration, have by the help of ſeveral perſons in power, many of them being greatly affected with their devotion, maintained from time to time this cuſtome and inſtitution of the firſt Founder of this Order notwithſtanding that one *Vanni Efendi*, a great *Seigh* or Preacher, eſteemed as a knowing perſon by the Grand Signior, and all the Court, hath by his Authority endeavoured to Reform this Corruption (as he calls it) amongſt them.

Their Profeſſion. They profeſs Poverty, Chaſtity, and Obedience, like Capuchin Fryars or other Orders of *St. Francis*; but if any have not the gift of Continence, he may obtain licenſe to leave his Convent and Marry; but of theſe, they obſerve that none ever thrived or lived happily with contentment, that renounced this Dedication to God's Service.

Their Employment. The Novices ſerve in the moſt ſervile Offices, and in time others ſupply their places; they lie as Companions two together in a Cell, ſome of which employ their time in Learning to Reade and Write in *Turkiſh*, *Arabick* and *Perſian*, but moſt yield to the ſlothfull temperament to which they are naturally addicted: but becauſe the nature of Man is reſtleſs, and muſt employ it ſelf either in good or bad actions; moſt of theſe aſſociates exerciſe ſome kind of Legerdemain, or tricks to amuſe the minds of the common people; and ſome really apply themſelves to Sorceries and Conjurations by help of familiar Spirits. *Busbequius* tells ſtrange ſtories of one with whom he was acquainted, and he would ſtrike a ſtone of great weight and bigneſs againſt his bare Breaſt with that force and violence as were ſufficient to knock down an Ox, or break the bones of the ſtouteſt Gyant; and that the ſame man he hath ſeen take an Iron Bar red hot from the Fire and hold it in his mouth, and though the ſpittle and moiſture of his mouth hiſſed with the heat, yet he ſeemed to take it thence again without the leaſt hurt or burning Imaginable.

This ſort of people of all other *Turks*, addict themſelves to drink Wine, Strong Waters, and other intoxicating Liquors; and eat *Opium* in that quantity, by degrees uſing their bodies thereunto that no Mountebank or *Mithridates* himſelf who was nouriſhed by Poiſon, are capable to digeſt half that proportion that theſe men will do; the effect of which is at firſt, like men drunk or mad, to raiſe their ſpirits to a ſort of diſtracted Mirth, and afterwards when the ſubtile vapours are conſumed and ſpent, and a dull ſtupefaction overcomes them, they name it an ecſtaſie, which they account very holy and divine in imitation of their firſt Founder, who was often obſerved to put himſelf into this condition; and therefore what helps may be found to excite mirth or diſtraction, is lawfull and allowable in this Order.

There is a famous Monaſtery of theſe in *Egypt*, invoking for their Saint one *Kederlee*, which by the Stories they tell of him ſhould be S. *George*, in conformity with whom all other *Derviſes* maintain a reverent eſteem of this Saint, affirming that in his life time he was a valiant Horſeman, killed Dragons and all ſorts of venomous beaſts; and now being departed this life, God for preſervation of good men, hath given him power to deliver ſuch as being in diſtreſs, invoke his aſſiſtence;

aſſiſtence; eſpecially thoſe who are at Sea, and at the point of ſhipwrack; and that he with an extraordinary ſwiftneſs of motion flies from one part of the World to another in the twinkling of an eye, and ſeaſonably comes in to their ſuccour. Theſe by virtue of that bleſſing *Kederlee* confers upon them, pretend to charm Serpents and Adders, and handle them as familiarly as we do the moſt innocent and domeſtick Creatures; which art, as I have heard from good Authority, is not peculiar in *Egypt* onely to *Derviſes*, but to other men who are ſaid to be naturally endewed with a virtue againſt the poiſonous bites of Vipers and other venomous Beaſts; who putting great numbers of them into a Bag together, do cull and ſort them out with their hands, as one would do Worms or Muſſels; and others with a word charm Serpents from moving as they crawl along the Banks of *Nile*, which Gifts theſe men pretend to inherit from their Parents, and others to poſſeſs in reward of their Vertue and Sanctity. This ſort of *Egyptian Derviſes* have Sainted the Horſe of St. *George*, and have ſeated him in Paradiſe with the other three beaſts in high reſpect and eſteem amongſt the *Turks*, *viz.* the Aſs on which Chriſt rode, the Camel of *Mahomet*, and the Dog of the ſeven Sleepers.

Theſe *Derviſes* have Monaſteries in the moſt famous places of the *Turkiſh* Empire, which ſerve the travelling Pilgrims of this Order for Inns and places of entertainment: for they above all other Religious *Turks*, journey and travel from one place to another, where the *Mahometan* Religion is profeſſed, under pretence of preaching and propagating their Faith; and thus they travel upon Charity of their Monaſteries and Alms of others, into *Perſia*, *China*, and the Dominions of the *Mogul*, by which means they become the beſt ſpies and intelligencers of any that are found in the Eaſtern parts of the World.

I remember at *Adrianople* to have ſeen the ruine of one of theſe Monaſteries ſituated on a pleaſant Hill, and in good Air, that overſees the whole City and Plains round about; which upon enquiry I underſtand was demoliſhed by the famous Vifier *Kuperli*; becauſe it was diſcovered to be a Rendezvous of the lewd Women of the Town, and a Stew where the young Gallants debauched the Wives of the richeſt *Turks*, to whom their Husbands had given liberty in honour to the Sanctity of the place, to be often preſent at the devotion of the *Derviſes*; but their way of practice being too publick and ſcandalous, the Foundation of their Houſe by the order of the Vifier was razed to the ground.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Order of Religious Turks *called* Ebrbuharee.

THis Order of *Ebrbuharee* was firſt inſtituted by their Founder and Inſtitutor *Ebrbuhar*, from whom they have their denomination, who herein followed the Precepts and Rules of his Maſter *Mackshende*, from whom in like manner the Order of *Mevelevee* or *Derviſes* are derived: for the better underſtanding this ſort of people, the Reader may take this following, as an authentick diſcourſe relating to their Manners and Original, which I ſhall deliver *Verbatim* as given me in writing by one eſteemed Learned amongſt the *Turks*, and was a *Hadgi* or Pilgrim, and made it his buſineſs to inform me of this Sect. *Sultan Bajazet*, ſaid he, in the year of *Mahomet* Nine hundred and eleven, erected a *Moſch* and Convent in *Conſtantinople*, dedicated to this Holy *Emir Ebrbuhar* (that is the Race of *Mahomet*) upon whom reſts the mercy of the Creatour. This man both extrinſecally as to appearance in the World, and intrinſically as to his devout Soul, was famous and renowned for the Miracles he worked; on which Fabrick *Sultan Selim* afterwards beſtowed a Fountain of Water.

This *Ebrbuhar* Scholar of *Mackshende*, taking into his company the aſſiſtence of *Abdulla* and *Ilahi* and *Veſa*, Preachers and Heads of other Convents, came out of *Aſia* to propagate their Doctrine in *Europe*. *Ilahi.*

Their actions were governed with Meekneſs, Gravity and Silence, and laying aſide all ſuperſtitious Worſhips, they exerciſe themſelves in pious actions; their diſcourſes amongſt themſelves were nothing in relation to the things of the world, but of Matters relating to a future life.

Theſe poor Religious faſt for the moſt part on *Mundays* and *Thurſdays*; and both they and thoſe devoted to their order abſtain from all Meats that carry with them any fetulent or ungratefull ſmells, and in this manner theſe devout people exerciſed in abſtinence and a moral life, and ſwallowed up or tranſported with the illumination of God, and attending to their daily prayers, Commemoration of God's mercy, and other offices of devotion, acquire a holy diſpoſition and preparation for Celeſtial glory.

As to the Holy *Emir Ebrbuhar*, whoſe Myſterious life may God ſanctifie to us, he was nouriſhed with Bread made of Barly, Oil of Olives, Hony and Grapes, and abſtained from all things of a ſtrong ſcent or ſavour; he eat but three times a year, giving himſelf continually to Faſting and Prayer; he was a man of great Sanctity, full of Divine Revelation, his attractive vertue was gratefull to all, to his Feet from divers Countries were many diſeaſed perſons brought, which afterwards returned ſound and healthfull to their own homes; all which is the relation of my Doctour and great admirer of the *Mahometan* Religion.

In commendation of the Religious of this Order, are theſe Verſes in the *Perſian* Tongue,

Gher hakiki iahi der gehan bulendi
Nakschibendi Kiun Nakschibendi; that is,

If thou wouldſt find in the World one accompliſhed as a true Heroe, *make thy ſelf a* Nakſchibendi, *who is the true pattern of a Servant of God.*

And notwithſtanding this great pretended purity and ſanctity of theſe men, they are yet by the generality eſteemed *Hereticks* in the *Mahometan* ſuperſtition, becauſe they judge themſelves not obliged to the Pilgrimage of *Mecha*, by reaſon of their pretended purity of Soul and Seraphick Raptures, which elevate them above the World, and enable them in their very Cells to be preſent or have a clear Proſpect into their Holy *Mecha*.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Nimetulahi.

ONE of thoſe who are accounted in the number of *Chalvetti* is the *Nimetulahi*; they had their beginning in the *Hegira* or year of *Mahomet* 777, and their denomination from one of that name, famous for his Doctrine and ſeverity of life in the time of *Sultan Mahomet*, Son of *Bajazet*, called by the *Turks Ilderim*, or the Son of Thunder, He was an excellent Phyſician, and renowned for his vertues amongſt the vulgar; for better knowledge of his Life and Doctrine, the Reader may take notice what one of this Order related to me in admiration of his Maſter.

He was one, ſaid he, who preached and publiſhed the Truth, mortifyed his Body, followed not the affections of the carnal Appetite, knew the intrinſick nature and quiddity of all Creatures, rendred continual Prayers and Praiſes to his Creatour; and ſo long reſigned himſelf entirely to ſpeculation, untill he arrived to the raviſhment of Ecſtaſies and Raptures, in which he oftentimes obtained the happineſs to diſcourſe with God.

He eat of all thoſe things which God made lawfull for humane nouriſhment, without obſervation of Faſts or ſtrictneſs in Diet, but day and night continued his Prayers and Devotions: while he ſlept he extended not his feet like the Beaſts of ſenſe, who eat Corn and Hay in the Stables; ſometimes the fear of God made him tremble, and his countenance became melancholy and affrighted with the apprehenſion of his Majeſty. And to this perfection none ever arrived, nor to that intimate knowledge of the Divine Secrets.

The Profeſſours of this Order aſſemble every *Monday* night to praiſe the Unity of the Divine Nature, and Celebrate the name of God with Hymns and Songs.

Thoſe that would initiate themſelves into this Order, are obliged to make a Quarentine firſt, remain ſequeſtred in a Chamber for the ſpace of forty days, with twenty four drams of Meat a day, during which time they ſee the Face of God, the ſublime Paradiſe, and praiſe the Creatour and Framer of the Univerſe; at the expiration of their term, they are taken forth by the reſt of the Fraternity, who taking hands Dance in a *Morris*, in which Vagary if any Viſion appear to the Novices from God, they throw th[eir] Gloaths behind them, and fall flat with their Faces on the ground, like men aſtoniſhed or ſtruck with an Apoplexy, untill ſuch time as their Prior or chief of their Order coming and making Prayers for them, they return by degrees to their ſenſe again, and taking them up with their eyes red and diſtorted, they remain a while like men drunk, diſtracted or ſtupid; but afterwards their ſcattered ſpirits being better collected, the Prior demands in ſecret their Viſions and Revelations; which they communicate to him, or ſome other ſerious and grave perſon well inſtructed in the Myſteries of their Profeſſion.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Kadri.

THis is another of thoſe ſix Religions which are derived from *Chalvetti*, which had one *Abdul Kadri Ghilani* for its firſt Founder, a man greatly admired for wiſedom and abſtinence, whoſe Sepulchre is found without *Babylon*, to which place many of thoſe who enter into the Regular Orders of thoſe Convents make their Pilgrimages.

Thoſe who enter into this Religion, muſt perform their Novitiate with degrees of abſtinence and faſting; wherefore when firſt they take the profeſſion upon them, there is beſtowed upon them a ſmall cudgel made of the Wood of a Willow, weighing when freſh and green four hundred Drams, which they are always to carry about them hung at their Girdle; by the weight of this they take their daily allowance of Bread, untill ſuch time as the wood becoming exceeding dry, is alſo much the lighter, and ſo according as the weight thereof lightens, their proportion of Bread diminiſhes.

Beſides their prayers of five times a day, to which all *Mahometans* are bound, they are obliged to ſpend the whole or beſt part of the night with turning round at the ſound of a little Pipe, and to utter this word *Hai*, *Hai*, which ſignifies Alive, being one of the Attributes of God: and this they do in imitation of the Cuſtome uſed by their Founder, who is ſaid to have pronounced this word *Hai* ſo often, and with that vehemency, that the vein of his breaſt burſting, the bloud guſhed out upon the Wall and made the word *Hai*. Wherefore all his Diſciples to follow the Example of their Maſter, taking hands together in a ring, repeat this word *Hai*, *Hai*, with ſo much violence, and ſo often, untill they fall on the ground without breath or life; thoſe who laſt out longeſt carry off the dead from the Chamber, and lay them to recover their Spirits after their ſtrained Exerciſe: and this they do every *Friday* night. Every one of theſe are obliged once in the year to a retirement of forty days, in a little Cell free from all company or converſation, during which time they are wholly to give themſelves to Meditations, and to obſerve their Dreams, and recount them to their Superiour, who Studies the interpretation of them, and from them Divines of future things.

They have many times licence from their Superiour to be drunk or intoxicate themſelves with *Aqua vitæ*, *Opium*, or any ſtupifying Drugs, to be better able to perform with more ſpirit and vehemency their mad Dance.

Theſe fellows are of a refined Wit, notable Sophiſters and Hypocrites; their ſecrets they reveal to none but thoſe of their own Profeſſion, by which means they are ſubtle to cheat thoſe of other Religions.

They are not debarred from the Liberty of Marriage; but if they do marry, they are excluded from the Covenant, and may wear any ſort of Habit, yet for diſtinction ſake they wear black Buttons; thoſe that live in the Convent, carry a certain white Plad of a courſe Cloth, their heads with hair unſhaven, without Caps or other covering, and their Feet bare. Theſe are called *Kadri*, and have a Convent at *Tophana* in *Conſtantinople*.

The

The Founder of this Order, called, as we have ſaid before, *Abdul. Kadir Ghilan*, was born in the *Hegira* or year of *Mahomet* Five hundred and ſixty one, and died in the year Six hundred and fifty ſeven; he was eſteemed both a Lawyer and a Philoſopher; his Maſter or Inſtructour was *Abdul Mumin Gazeli*, who compoſed two Books, one called *Mugrib*, or the *Arabian* Grammar, and another called *Andalus*. At that time that *Helakin* Son of *Genghiz Han* came to *Babylon*, he cauſed him to kill one *Alkami* then Vice-King of that City, for being of the *Perſian* Sect, called by the *Turks*, *Rafizi* or Hereticks, becauſe they reject *Abubecher*, *Omar* and *Oſman*, as Apocryphal Writers, and attribute not to them that honour of Holy men, which is given by the *Turks*.

The Prior or chief of the Convent of th is Order, teach their Diſciples a certain Prayer, which they whiſper in their Ears, that it may not be overheard or known by others; this they are obliged to repeat every moment with little intermiſſion, unleſs at times ſet apart for the offices of nature; and boaſt that it hath ſo much of efficacy in it, that by virtue thereof, they obtain the enjoyment of Divine Viſions and Revelations.

Their poſture is like other Religious *Mahometans*, to ſit with their heads hanging down, and their Noſes in their Breaſts, which they call *Murakabe*; the better to keep them from diſtraction, or wandring thoughts, during their contemplations of Heaven, and the vanity of ſatisfying the carnal appetite.

Amongſt the many Miracles that the followers of this Order recount of their Maſter, one is this, That coming once to *Babylon* to inhabit amongſt the other ſuperſtitious perſons and *Santones* of that City, they hearing of his approach went forth to meet him, one of them carrying in his hand a diſh filled with water; from whence they would infer, that as that diſh was full to the brim ſo as to be capable of containing no more, ſo their City was ſo repleniſhed with Learned and Religious perſons, that there was no place to receive him: Whereupon this ſubtle Sophiſter ſtudying to confute this Hieroglyphick, whereby they would excuſe the courteſie of due Hoſpitality, ſtretching his Arms firſt towards Heaven, and then bowed down gathering a Roſe leaf which he laid on the water, which before had filled the diſh; by which piece of ingenuity, he not onely confuted the Parable of the Churliſh *Babylonians*, but alſo ſo took with them, that they regiſtred it as a Miracle of Wiſedom, and bringing him into their City with triumph, made him the Superiour of all their Orders.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Order of Kalenderi.

THis Order may rather be termed the Sect of *Epicureans*, than men retired to mortifie their appetites, and deny the world, as all other of the religious and regulated *Turks* pretend; but yet this ſort of Fanaticks pretend to Religion by a different way of Libertiniſm and looſeneſs in their Converſation; which they act ſo publickly, that they are not aſhamed to profeſs their Inſtitution and cuſtoms to be after this manner.

In the time of *Mahomet Manſur*, Son of *Melkaziz Oboma* the Son of *Silahdin*, being ready to reſign up his laſt breath, bequeathed to his Son *Mahomet Melik Kiamel*, the Government of *Cairo*, and all the other parts of the Kingdom of *Egypt*; *Damaſcus* and *Jeruſalem* to his Son *Iſa Melick Muazin* and *Diarbekir*, to his third Son *Eſchrefmuſa*; There lived a certain *Santone*, who always mentioned the name of God with the ſound of his Pipe; and with that Muſick recreated himſelf day and night, not after a chearfull and merry humour, but with ſad and melancholy Tunes, accompanied his Pipe with Tears and Sighs. He was an excellent Muſician, and a deep Philoſopher, endued with thoſe ſupernatural vertues as enabled him to work Miracles clear and notorious to all the world; he was an *Hermite*, called in *Arabick Abdal*; went with his head bare, and his body full of wounds, without a Shirt or other Cloathing; beſides a Skin of ſome wild Beaſt thrown about his Shoulders; at his Girdle he wore ſome fine poliſhed Stone; on his Wriſts, inſtead of Diamonds and Stones of value he wore counterfeit Jewels, which carried a luſter and fair appearance with them; this man was called *Santone Kalenderi*, who was continually ſinging *Arabick* Sonnets, and according to them Muſical Airs, making alſo harmonious compoſitions ſo artificially, that he ſeemed another *David*. But how ſtrict and ſober this *Santone* was, his Diſciples or Proſelytes are of another temper, being wholly given up to jollity and delights, they baniſh all kind of melancholy and ſadneſs, and live free of cares, paſſions or torments of the mind, and have this ſaying amongſt them, *This day is ours, to morrow is his who ſhall live to enjoy it*; and therefore ſtudiouſly attend to loſe no moment or leaſt part of their pleaſure, but conſume their time in eating and drinking; and to maintain this gluttony they will ſell the Stones of their Girdles, their Earings and Bracelets. When they come to the houſe of any rich Man or perſon of Quality, they accommodate themſelves to their humour, giving all the Family pleaſant words and chearfull expreſſions to perſuade them to a liberal and free entertainment. The Tavern by them is accounted holy as the *Moſch*, and believe they ſerve God as much with debauchery or liberal uſe of his creatures (as they call it) as others with ſeverity and mortification. And the *Turks* ſay, That in the *Hegira* 615, the Chriſtians became Maſters of *Jeruſalem*, by reaſon that the Inſtitutour of this Order of the *Kalenderi*, who had a chief hand in the Government of the City, was found drunk when it was aſſaulted.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Edhemi.

THE original Founder of this Order was one *Ibrahim Edhem*, concerning whom the Diſciples themſelves, or Followers, recount things very obſcurely, and tell us Stories that his Father was a Slave and *Abaſine* by Nation, and went one day under the Fort *Hboraan*, to diſcourſe with *Ibnimeſik* King of *Cairo*, that he was a man very comly, facetious, and ſober in his carriage, always deſiring to pleaſe God, continued in the *Moſcks* reading the *Alchoran*, and in

in prayer day and night with his face proſtrate on the ground, and often repeating theſe words;

O God, thou haſt given me ſo much Wiſedom, as that I know clearly that I am in thy direction; and therefore ſcorning all Power and Dominion, I reſign my ſelf to the ſpeculation of Philoſophy and a Holy Life.

His Servants ſeeing this his devout way of living, applied themſelves to the imitation of his Auſterity, and abandoning all greatneſs and vanities of the World, applied themſelves to ſolitude and mortification, their ſuperfluous Garments they beſtowed upon the Poor, giving to thoſe whoſe neceſſities required them.

Their food is Bread made of Barley, and Pray frequently with Faſting, and their Priors apply themſelves to a faculty of Preaching.

Their principal Convents are in Cities of *Perſia*, eſpecially *Choraſan*.

Their Cloathing is of a courſe thick Cloth, upon their heads they wear a Cap of Wooll, with a Turbant round it, and about their necks a white Linen Cloth ſtriped with red. In the Deſarts they converſe with Lions and Tigres, ſalute them and make them tame, and by the miraculous power of Divine aſſiſtence entertain diſcourſe with *Enoch* in the Wilderneſs; This and many other wild diſcourſes they make of this *Edhem*; but becauſe there are but few of this Order in *Conſtantinople*, being moſt appropriated to *Perſia*; I could not receive ſo particular an account of their Rule and Inſtitutions, as I have done of others.

CHAP. XIX.

The Order of Bectaſh.

THE original Founder of this Religion, is of no ancient memory or ſtanding, nor had his Birth or Education amongſt the *Santones* of *Arabia*, from whence moſt of theſe ſuperſtitious pretenders have had their beginning; but one of thoſe that was an Army-Preacher, that could fight as well as pray, of whom my Learned *Hogia* gives me this account.

In the time, ſays he, *that the Warlike and Victorious* Sultan Amurath *paſſed with his Army into* Servia, *and overcame* Lazarus, *the Deſpot of that Countrey, and ſlew him in Battel*, Bectaſh *was then a Preacher to* Amurath, *who amongſt other his Admonitions forewarned him of truſting the* Servians; *but* Amurath *out of his couragious ſpirit relying on his own Wiſedom and Force, admitted a certain Nobleman called* Vilvo, *upon pretence of doing him homage, to approach near him and kiſs his hand, who having his Dagger ready and concealed, ſtabbed* Amurath *to the heart, and with that blow made him a Martyr.* Bectaſh *knowing that this treacherous death of his Prince, muſt needs alſo be the cauſe of his, for being ſo near his perſon, and propheſying of this fatal ſtroke, ſought not to prevent it, but made preparations for his own death. And in order thereunto provided himſelf with a white Robe with long Sleeves, which he proffered to all thoſe which were his Admirers, and Proſelytes, to be kiſſed as a mark of their obedience to him and his Inſtitutions; from this action the cuſtome hath been introduced of kiſſing the ſleeve of the Grand Signior.*

Vid. Chap. 20. l. 1.

The Religious of this Order wear on their heads white Caps of ſeveral pieces with Turbants of Wooll, twiſted in the faſhion of a Rope; they obſerve conſtantly the hours of Prayer, which they perform in their own Aſſemblies; they go Cloathed in White, and praiſe the Unity of God, crying, Hu, *(which is, may he live) and by theſe means obtain the Grace of God.*

This Santone *hath many millions of Diſciples and Followers; now all the* Janizaries *of the* Ottoman *Port are profeſſours of the ſame Religion. This* Bectaſh *at his death cut off one of his ſleeves, and put it upon the head of one of his Religious men, part of which hung down on his ſhoulders, ſaying, After this you ſhall be* Janizaries, *which ſignifies a new Militia; and from that time begun their original inſtitution; ſo this is the reaſon why the* Janizaries *wear Caps falling behind after the manner of Sleeves, called* Ketche. *This* Hagi Bectaſh *was a perſon exceedingly attractive in his converſation, holy to admiration, a Man of great Worth, and Majeſtick in his comportment; he was buried in the City* Kyr, *where they have many Convents and Religious followers, who always praiſe and adore God: and thus far my* Hogia *informs me.*

But whatſoever he ſays, this Order is the moſt abhorred in the World by the *Kadizadeli*, becauſe that *Bectaſh* left it to the free will of his Diſciples, either to obſerve the conſtant hours of prayer, or not; by which great liberty and licentiouſneſs is entred amongſt the *Janizaries*, who are Souldier-like, not over zealous or devout in their Prayers, little attendant to the Offices of devotion. In ſome Songs which this *Bectaſh* is ſaid to have compoſed, it is often repeated, *That none hath known God, becauſe none hath ſeen him:* And for this reaſon the moſt zealous *Mahometans* call the *Janizaries Kefereſis*, which ſignifies without Faith; and a certain *Mufti* called *Ebuſnud* delivered his Sentence or *Fetfa*, to the queſtion demanded him; If a *Muſſelman* or Believer ſhould ſay to a *Janizary*, *thou art a Pagan*, what puniſhment he ſhould merit by the Law; he replied, that a man is an Infidel, who holds a *Janizary* for a true Believer.

Some Fryars of this Order of *Bectaſh* do in all publick Shews and Solemnities march near the perſon of the *Janizar Aga*, crying continual, *Hu, hu*, with their Daggers drawn. They are a moſt licentious ſort of people, much given to *Sodomy*, for which the ignorant and looſe ſort of *Janizaries* are willingly their Diſciples; and are now grown into that vaſt multitude, as is almoſt impoſſible to extirpate them or their Vices; though corroſives are laid to eat away this Gangreen in the Militia, which goes creeping on with an unſenſible pace; as we ſhall diſcourſe more largely in the next Book of the *Turkiſh* Militia.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Order of Herewi *or* Hizrevi.

IN the time of *Orchanes* the ſecond King of the *Turks*, who Governed thirty five years, and Reigned eighty three, and died in the *Hegira* of *Mahomet* ſeven hundred and ſixteen, there lived in *Pruſa*, then the Regal Seat, a famous

Santone

Santone called *Herewi*, who uſed to walk up and down, and as an act of charity to buy the Livers and Lights of Beaſts to feed Cats and Dogs; he profeſſed poverty and ſevere mortification with Tears and Sighs, and he acted with that fervency that the Angels leaving Heaven, came to be witneſſes of his holy Penance.

The fame of which moved *Sultan Orchanes* to diſcourſe with him, and to know the ſtory of his paſt life; which he ſmiling began to recount, and told him, that he formerly was a King derived from the Line of *Mahomet*, had compaſſed with his Arms the Rivers of *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, had governed Provinces with his Sword and Sceptre, had been triumphantly adorned with pretious Stones and glittering Arms, and had made the World tremble at the very mention of his name. But at laſt conſidering the vanity of this world, he reſolved on a ſolitary life, and to renounce all the follies and ſmall ſatisfaction of Riches and empty Honours. At which ſaying, *Sultan Orchanes* was amazed, and ſaid, *We ought not to deſpiſe thoſe who under the guiſe and appearance of mad and diſtracted perſons wander through the World, for their Vertues are rare; and in this man particularly I diſcover ſo much of ſanctity, that I judge my ſelf unworthy of the name of one of his Servants.* And this is the reaſon why Fools, and Frantick people have ever ſince been had in honour and reverence amongſt the *Turks*, as thoſe whom Revelations and Enthuſiaſms tranſported out of the ordinary temperament of humanity.

This *Herewi* was very learned and experienced in Chimiſtry; and to thoſe who profeſſed his Order, and entred into the regular life of his Religion, inſtead of Aſpers he beſtowed Gold; he wore a Green Veſt, and lived very abſtemiouſly; he mended his own Cloaths, and dreſſed the Dyet for his Convent. He endowed many *Moſchs*. and ſeveral Hoſpitals of Charity at *Grand Cairo* and *Babylon*. His Sepulchre is at *Pruſa*, which is greatly viſited by Pilgrims, and adorned by the Bounty and Munificence of thoſe who reverence the Memory of this holy *Santone*.

This is the beſt relation I could procure from one of the *Seighs* or Preachers, and one that was Prior of this Order, whoſe example, as the original Copy, others of this Order imitate. They have a Monaſtery in *Conſtantinople*, as all the others beforementioned; beſides which in this Capital City nor in any parts of the *Turkiſh* Dominions in *Europe*, have I obſerved any *Teke* or Monaſtery, where *Turks* profeſs to lead a religious Life, but is one of the Orders before-mentioned; ſome others there may be about *Babylon* and *Egypt*, and remoteſt parts of *Aſia*, whoſe names and conſtitutions I have not repeated here, who have (as I am informed) ſomewhat more of ridiculous and ſuperſtitious work amongſt them than I have declared in the account I have given of thoſe I have been acquainted with in the parts I have travelled; yet it is obſervable they all of them pretend to Poverty as the neareſt way to arrive to the happineſs of Paradiſe; but with their Poverty (as I have ſeen in ſome of their *Tekes* where I have been, eſpecially thoſe removed from Cities) they mix ſo much negligence in their living, not caring for neatneſs in their Houſes, but leave things in a diſorderly and confuſed manner, as teſtifies their lazineſs as well as poverty; and are not like the Cells of *Capuchins*, who having nothing to attend to beſides their Prayers and Gardens, improve all things with that advantage, as graces Poverty, and convinces the World that in a moderate enjoyment of it there is more ſatisfaction, than in thoſe vexations which attend the diſpoſal and government of riches, and the ſatiety of opulency and plenty. It is worth noting alſo, that on the Monuments of *Santones* and in the Gardens, or before the Gates of theſe Religious, there is always ſome ridiculous adornment, ſuch as agrees with the fancy of Bedlams; as Crowning the Hearſe of the Dead with Beads and Horns, and Ribbons, and pieces of Tinſel, &c. and their doors with the like; accounting it a chief diſpoſition to Divine Service to have a mind endued with an humour inclining to the fancy of Hypocondriacal or diſtracted Heads; to that I ſhall not enlarge farther in this Diſcourſe, not glut my Reader with ſo inſipid and fulſome a ſubject.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Marriages and Divorces; and how far Concubinage is indulged amongſt the Turks.

THE ſtate of Marriage is accounted both honourable and holy amongſt the *Turks*, by which the Race of Mankind is beſt encreaſed and maintained; yet the Prieſt, as I may call him, or their Church man, hath the leaſt hand in the Solemnity; the matter, as an action wholly Civil, is performed before the *Caddée* or Judge; not unlike the manner practiſed in *England* for ſome few years, according to that abſurd Act of Marriages by a Juſtice of Peace; and is in the nature of a Recognizance, whereby the Husband doth perſonally oblige himſelf before the Judge to take ſuch a Wife, and in caſe of his death or divorce, to endow her with a certain Eſtate to remain to her own diſpoſal. The Woman is not there preſent, but appears by her Father or ſome of her neareſt Relations, and is afterwards by a great attendance of Women brought covered, ſitting aſtride on Horſeback under a Canopy to the Habitation of her Bridegroom, who remains at the Gate with open Armes to receive her; there is great rejoicing and feaſting hereat, the night before ſhe is brought to the company of her Husband; but when the precedent ceremonies to the Marriage are performed and completed, the Houſe is all ſilent, and ſhe is brought into the Bride-Chamber by an Eunuch (if ſhe be of Quality) if not, by ſome Women of near Relation, and delivered to her Husband, who is himſelf to untie her Drawers, and undreſs her for his bed, not unlike the cuſtome amongſt the *Romans* of *Zonam Solvere*.

Polygamy is freely indulged to them by their Religion as far as the number of four Wives, contrary to the common report, that a *Turk* may have as many Wives as he can maintain; Though *Mahomet* had nine Wives, and *Hali* had fourteen, as being men more ſpiritual, and of a more elevated degree, had greater privileges and indulgences for carnal enjoyments.

This reſtraint of the number of their Wives is certainly no Precept of their Religion, but a rule ſuperinduced upon ſome politick conſiderations, as too great a charge and weakning to mens eſtates, every one that takes a Wife being obliged to make her a Kabin or Dowry, as we have ſaid before; or elſe for better regulation of the Oeconomies, and

and to prevent and abate ſomewhat of the Jealouſies, Striſes and Embroilments in a Family, which muſt neceſſarily ariſe between ſo many Rivals in the affection of one Husband who is obliged by Law and Covenants to deal and beſtow his benevolence and conjugal kindneſs in an exact proportion of equality. And leſt this confinement to a certain number of Wives, ſhould ſeem a reſtriction and impeachment of that liberty and free uſe of Women which they ſay God hath frankly beſtowed on Man, every one may freely ſerve himſelf of his Women Slaves, with as much variety as he is able to buy or maintain; and this kind of Concubinage is no ways envied or condemned by the Wives, ſo long as they can enjoy their due maintenance, and have ſome reaſonable ſhare in the Husband's Bed, which once a week is their due by the Law: for if any of them have been neglected the whole week before, ſhe challenges Thurſday night as her due, and hath remedy in that caſe againſt her Husband by the Law: and if ſhe be ſo modeſt as not to ſue him for one weeks default, ſhe is yet ſo ingenious to contrive a ſupply of her wants: And whereas the Women are Educated with much retiredneſs from the converſation of men, and conſequently with greater inclinations towards them, and with no principles of vertue, of moral honeſty or Religion, as to a future Eſtate relating to the rewards or puniſhments of their good or bad actions; they are accounted the moſt laſcivious and immodeſt of all Women, and excell in the moſt refined and ingenious ſubtilties to ſteal their pleaſures; And as in Chriſtendom the Husband bears the diſgrace and ſcandal of his Wives incontinency, here the Horns are by the vulgar adjudged to the Father, Brother, and Wives Kindred; the Bloud of her Family is tainted and diſhonoured, and the Huſband obtaining a Divorce, quits himſelf of his Wife and diſhonour together.

No queſtion but the firſt Inſtitutour of this eaſie Religion, next to the ſatisfaction of his own carnal and effeminate inclination, and this taking freedom amongſt his Diſciples; his main conſideration was the encreaſe of his people by *Polygamy*, knowing that the greatneſs of Empires and Princes conſiſts more in the numbers and multitudes of their People, than the large extent of their Dominions. This freedom (if it may be called ſo) was granted at the beginning of the World for the propagation and encreaſe of Mankind; and the Jews had that permiſſion and indulgence to their looſe and wandring affections; and we read that the Eaſtern parts of the World have abounded with Children of divers Mothers, and but one Father; and that ordinarily a Great Perſonage in *Egypt* hath been attended with an hundred luſty Sons in the Field, proceeding from his own Loins, well Armed, and daring in all attempts of War. But yet this courſe thrives not ſo well amongſt the *Turks* as formerly; whether it be thought their accurſed Vice of *Sodomy*, or that that God bleſſes not ſo much this State of life, as when the paucity of Mankind induced a ſort of a neceſſity and a plea for it.

But chiefly through the irreconcilable emulation, and rivalry which is amongſt many Wives, thoſe Witchcrafts and Sorceries (which in this Countrey are very frequent) are prepared againſt the envied fruitfulneſs each of other, that either they make an Abortive Birth, or otherwiſe their Children pine, and macerate away with ſecret and hidden charms, by which means they are now obſerved not to be ſo fruitfull and numerous, as is the Marriage bed of a ſingle Wife; nor is the family ſo well regulated, and orderly, as under the conduct and good Houſe-wifry of one Woman, but, contrarily filled with noiſe, brawls and diſſentions, as paſſes the Wiſedom of the Husband to become an equal Umpire and Arbitratour of their differences; which conſideration reſtrains many, though otherwiſe inclinable enough to gratifie their Appetites, from incumbring themſeves with ſo great an inconvenience; and I have known ſome, though childleſs, have adhered to a ſingle Wife, and preferred Quiet and Repoſe, before the contentment of their Off-ſpring.

The Children they have by their Slaves, are equally eſteemed with thoſe they have by their Wives; *Neque vero Turcæ minus honoris deferunt natis ex concubinis aut pellicibus quam ex uxoribus, neque illi minus in bona paterna juris habent*, Busbeq. *Ep.* 1.

But yet with this difference in eſteem of the Law, that unleſs the Father manumiſſes them by his Teſtament, and confers a livelihood upon them by Legacy, they remain to the Charity of their Elder Brother that is born from the Wife, and are his Slaves, and he their Lord and Maſter; and it is with them, as in the Civil Law, *Partus ventrem ſequitur*; So that from the Loins of the ſame Father, may proceed Sons of a ſervile and ignominious condition.

There is alſo another ſort of half Marriage amongſt them, which is called *Kabin*, when a man takes a Wife for a Month, or for a certain limited time: and an agreement is made for the Price before the *Cadee* or Judge: and this Strangers oftentimes uſe, who have not the Gift of Continency, and are deſirous to find a Wife in all places where they travel, and is the ſame which they term in *Spain* to be *Emancibado*, or *Caſado de Media Carta*, onely the act there is not made allowable by the Laws as in *Turkey*.

There is another ſort of Marriages commonly uſed amongſt the *Turks* (if we may give it that honourable Title) which is, the conjunction of an Eunuch with a Woman; ſuch as are wholly diſarmed of all parts of virility, do notwithſtanding take many Wives, and exerciſe Luſts of an unknown and prodigious nature.

There is alſo one point or reſtriction of Matrimony in the *Turkiſh* Religion which is obſervable; that is a *Mahometan* may marry himſelf with what Woman ſoever, though eſteemed an Infidel, as a Chriſtian, Jew, or any other different profeſſion, ſo it be of thoſe who are of a Learned Religion of which Books are wrote to defend and maintain it; but ſuch Women as are of a Religion which hath nothing in it of Learning or of written Law, as the Sect of *Meiuzee*, who adore the Fire, conſerving it always burning in their Temples, and are to be found in the parts of *Perſia*, but principally in ſome Countries of the *Mogul*; and alſo the Gipſie Women are prohibited (of which great numbers are amongſt the *Turks*:) a Vagabond people without Religion, but what is fabulous and ridiculous; and having no Literature or knowledge amongſt them, are reputed as abominable amongſt the *Turks*.

And here the *Turks* upon occaſional diſcourſes of the ſeverity and ſtrictneſs of the Chriſtian Diſcipline

Diſcipline in matters of Concupiſcence, telling them that no Copulation is allowable but in the Marriage-Bed, and that reſtrained and confined to one Wife, without the additions of Slaves to ſatisfie with variety the corrupted fancy; that the very thoughts of Luſt and Concupiſcence pollute the purity of the Soul; *And that whoſoever looks on a Woman to Luſt after her, commits Adultery in his heart*; They preſently deride theſe our Precepts and our Laws, which Chriſtians not onely by their actions and corrupted lives contemn as invalid, but Authority it ſelf not by a ſimple connivence onely, but by indulgence and privileges, foments and encourages perſons walking contrary to that which *is* confeſſed to *be an* indiſpenſable Law. For proof whereof they mention the Stews of *Italy*, Whoredom made an allowable Trade and Profeſſion in *Venice*, *Naples* and the City of *Rome*, and the *Gantoneras* in *Spain*, and framed into a Politick Body (as it is related and apprehended by the *Turks*) from whence Taxes and Impoſitions are raiſed: The *Turks* comprehend not the Politick grounds hereof, with which in *Italy* this Maxim is defended; nor is it fitting to produce the reaſons, or argue it with them; ſince the benefit which accrues to the *Roman* Church, and the Profits that ariſe thence, being employed in maintenance of Gallies and Forces againſt Infidels, is the beſt can be ſaid to hallow this permiſſion; but 'tis an improper argument with a *Turk*, to excuſe this Licence and Authority to ſin upon conſiderations of being better able to War againſt the Profeſſours of his Religion. And therefore the *Turk* will hardly be convinced but that this manner of Concubinage hath much more of Sanctity, Order and Policy in it, as being free from Diſeaſes and Foulneſs, than the wandring Luſts of Stews, or impudence of *Corteſans*, made bold and hard-foreheaded by conceſſion of Authority.

Pudet hæc opprobria Nobis
Et dici potuiſſe, &c.

Amongſt all the privileges that the *Sultan* enjoys above his Subjects, this one hath leſs than they, that he cannot marry; but yet he hath as many Women as ſerves his uſe, though never ſo libidinous, or are requiſite for the Oſtentation and great Magnificence of his Court, according to the cuſtome of the Eaſtern Princes, who placed a great part of their Pomp in the multitude of their Women. This diſuſe of Marriage in the *Sultan*, hath been a Mixim of ſtate, and reckoned amongſt the *Turks*, *inter Arcana Imperii*, from the time of *Bajazet* untill this very Age: the reaſons hereof are diverſly related, *Busbequius* ſaith, That *Bajazet* after the great Victory obtained againſt him by *Tamerlane*, to his other great misfortunes and diſgraces, had this one added, of having his Wife *Deſpina*, whom he dearly loved, to fall into the hands of the Conquerour, whoſe ignominious and undecent treatment before the eyes of her Husband, was a matter of more diſhonour and ſorrow, than all the reſt of his afflictions: So that ever-ſince that time, the *Sultans* to free themſelves from being capable of that diſgrace on occaſion of like fortune, take no feminine companion of their Empire in whom they may be more concerned than as in Slaves, or the loſs of Goods, Riches, or Eſtate. But in my opinion, this Policy is of a deeper reach and deſign, than the conſiderations of matters ſo meerly poſſible; for as I have heard, the onely ſign and ceremony of a *Sultans* making a Wife, is the endowing her with Riches agreeable to her condition and quality, not called *Kabin*, which is *Dowry*, but *Paſhmaluck* or Money for her Shooes; which beſides Preſents, Jewels, and rich Garments for her ſelf, and great attendance, her Revenue ought to be equal to that of a *Valede* or Mother of the Grand Signior, which is four or five hundred thouſand Dollars yearly Rent; ſo that were this cuſtome in uſe, and meeting with the diſpoſition of ſome Princes that are Amorous and Prodigal, the chief Revenue of the Empire would be expended in the Chambers of Women, and diverted from the true Chanels in which the Chanel ought to run for nouriſhment of the Politick body of the Commonwealth. Beſides, were it the cuſtome for *Sultans* to take Wives, it would contradict that main principle of Policy amongſt them, of avoiding Alliances and Relations of the Grand Signior abroad. And this was the principal reaſon of the murther of *Sultan Oſman*, tenth Emperour of the *Turks*, contrived by the Rebellion and Toleration of the Souldiery: it being objected that he had married a *Sultana*, whereof he had contracted Alliances, contrary to the fundamental Conſtitutions of the Empire.

The tye and ſolemnity of Marriage, and the nature thereof amongſt the *Turks*, is as before related: from which the Woman hath no ways to unlooſe her ſelf, whilſt the Husband maintains her with Bread, Butter, Rice, Wood and Flax to ſpin for her Cloathing; the Law ſuppoſes her ſo induſtrious a Houſewife as with her own labour to ſupply her ſelf: there are ſome other points pleadable in Law for Divorce in behalf of the Woman, as impotency, or frigidity in the Husband, and the like, but the man hath divers means to acquit himſelf, and can do it by ſeveral allegations; and may upon as eaſie terms, and on as light grounds ſue out his Divorce, as was permitted to the *Jews* in caſes of diſlike, or that ſhe found no favour in his eyes.

There are amongſt the *Turks* three degrees of Divorce, every one of which is made before the *Kadee* or Juſtice, and by him drawn out and regiſtred. The firſt ſeparates the Man and Wife onely from the ſame Houſe and Bed, the maintenance of a Wife being ſtill continued; The ſecond not onely divides them in that manner, but the Husband is compelled to make good her *Kabin*, which is a Joynture or Dowry promiſed at her Marriage, ſo as to have no intereſt either in him or his Eſtate, and to remain in a free condition to marry another. The third ſort of Divorce which is called (*Ouch Talac*) is made in a ſolemn and more ſerious manner, with more rigorous terms of ſeparation, and in this caſe the Husband repenting of his Divorce, and deſirous to re-take his Wife, cannot by the Law be admitted to her, without firſt conſenting and contenting himſelf to ſee another man enjoy her before his face; which condition the Law requires as a puniſhment of the Husbands lightneſs and inconſtancy, and as an evidence to ſhew that though the *Turkiſh* Law is very indulgent and open in the free choice and enjoyment of Women, yet that it puniſhes ſuch as unadviſedly fruſtrate the ſolemn points thereof, with remarkable notes of infamy and diſgrace. Notwithſtanding ſome afterwards repenting of their Divorce, have been contented with the condition, and have choſen ſome handſome Youth to enter into the Bed of their Wife. It is a merry Story that

is told of one, who in this caſe being put to a great ſtreight, reſolved to call the firſt man he conveniently met, to this Office, that ſo as one unknown, his reputation might be the leſs concerned: the man he firſt lighted on, happened to be a *Kaickgee* or Boat-man, who it ſeems ſo well ſatisfied and pleaſed the Wife, that ſhe afterwards renounced all intereſt in her Husband, and reſolved to adhere to her new Lover, of whom ſhe ſuppoſed ſhe had ſufficient proof and acquaintance with already to eſteem a better Husband than her former. There are but few amongſt the *Turks*, though ſome are found, who ſo heartily repent of their Divorce, and ſo fond of their ſeparated Wives, as to be contented to take them with the foregoing Condition: for it is reputed a kind of an Abomination; and when they would ſignifie any matter far alienated or eſtranged, they call it *(Ouch Talac)* ſomething ſo divided and ſeparated as to be a Sin and Prophanation ſo much as to covet or deſire it.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the other parts of the Turkiſh *Religion.*

Of Circumciſion.

CIrcumciſion is not reckoned amongſt one of the five Points which conſtitute a true *Mahometan* believer, but 'tis onely (as we have ſaid before) propoſed as a tryal and proof of man's obedience to the more neceſſary parts of the Law. This Rite of Circumciſion is not received by them as an Article or Precept delivered expreſly from the *Alcoran*, but by tradition and ancient practice and uſe amongſt the *Arabians*, before the time of *Mahomet*, derived originally from *Iſhmael* or *Eſau*, whoſe Progeny they are, and from thence give themſelves the name of *Iſhmaelites*. The *Arabian* Doctours affirm that *Mahomet* himſelf was born with his Navel cut, and naturally circumciſed; perhaps to equal the ſame Story which the Jews report of *Moſes*, and ſome others of the Patriarchs; and it ſeems in thoſe Countries where Circumciſion is in practice, that it is not unuſual for Children to be ſo born; who are therefore called Sons of the Moon, on whom the virtue of the Moon hath more than ordinary manner of influence. *Credebant ſiquidem Arabes, quod ille qui ſub lunæ radiis naſceretur, contrahi perinde ac circumciſum præputium:*

Pocokii *nota de Arabum moribus.*

The *Turks* never circumciſe their Children untill the age of ſeven years and upwards; and then they do it by a Barber or Chirurgion, it not being eſteemed a matter appropriated to the Office of the *Emaum* or Prieſts; for (as we have ſaid before) they make no ſuch diſtinction as Clergy and Laity; I mean as to any ſpiritual Character of Prieſthood; for a man may cry upon the Steeple to day, and like their Paſtour be the firſt to lead his Congregation to their Prayers, and expound the *Alcoran* in the Pulpit; and next day be expelled his Pariſh, and become free to any other ſecular Employment or Profeſſion: They obſerve ſome Ceremonies amongſt them on this occaſion, often differing according to the Country and place; but commonly the child is ſet on Horſeback in his beſt Cloaths attended with his School-fellows and Companions, who with loud ſhouts repeat ſome words in the *Alcoran*; and being brought home, and the act of Circumciſion performed, he is carefully attended for his Cure, and in the mean time there is a Feaſt or Banquet prepared for the Gueſts; thoſe who of riper years become *Mahometans* in ſome places are carried about the Town on Horſeback, with a Dart in their left hand pointing to their heart, ſignifying that they will rather ſuffer themſelves to be paſſed through with that Inſtrument, than renounce that Faith they then profeſs. And this Circumciſion is an admiſſion and introduction of them into the number of the Faithfull, as it is amongſt the Jews, and Baptiſm with the Chriſtians.

Ceremonies at the Circumciſion.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the five neceſſary Points which are required to conſtitute a true Mahometan.

Of their Waſhings.

THough *Mahomet* ſaith in the *Alcoran* that his Religion is founded in Cleanneſs, and that it is half of his Law; yet much before *Mahomet*'s time Waſhings were obſerved according to the ſame preſcriptions by the *Arabians*, who deſcending from *Iſhmael*, maintained by tradition the practice of Waſhings: and he had no other ſhare in this invention, than that it was enforced by his Authority on the Profeſſours of his Sect. The *Turks* are certainly a very cleanly people in their exteriour manner of living; as in their Waſhings relating to their holy exerciſes and duties, they are very preciſe and ſuperſtitious: ſome of them believing that the very water purifies them from the foulneſs of their ſins, as well as from the uncleanneſs of their bodies: There being three ſorts of Waſhings obſerved by them.

The firſt is called *Abdeſt*, which is a preparation for their Prayers, entring the *Moſch*, or reading the *Alcoran*; they firſt waſh their hands and armes, then their neck, their forehead, the crown of their head, their ears, their teeth, the face, under the noſe, and laſt of all their feet; but if the weather be cold, not convenient to uncover them, it is ſufficient, if they make ſome evidence thereof by any other outward ſignification.

The ſecond is called *Guſul*, which is the cleanſing of the Bath after copulation or nocturnal pollutions; untill which time a man is called *Giunub*, that is, his prayers are accounted abominable before God, and his Society to be avoided by Men.

The third is *Taharet*, which is a Waſhing after the eaſe or evacuation of nature; to this homely office they deſign the three laſt fingers of the left hand; and upon this account they call Chriſtians *Taharatſis*, which is as much as one defiled and impure for want of this manner of cleanſing. And waſhing is ſo uſual and frequent amongſt them both before and after Meat, as hath cauſed a common Proverb amongſt them, *That God hath created Meat, that men may have occaſion often to waſh their hands.*

Secondly,

Secondly, *Of their Prayers.*

After their Waſhing follow their Prayers, which *Mahomet* to recommend to his Diſciples the force and virtue of Prayer, calls it in his *Alchoran* the Pillar of Religion, and the Key of Paradiſe, and enjoined the performance five times in the ſpace of twenty four hours, *viz.* between the day breaking and Sun-riſing, called *Sabanameſee.* Secondly, at Noon, called *Ulemanaſee.* Thirdly, at the middle hour, between the Noon and the ſetting of the Sun, called *Kindinamaſee.* Fourthly, at Sun-ſetting, called *Acſhanamaſee.* Fifthly, at an hour and half in the night, called *Yachinamaſee*; this action they perform with very much reverence and devotion, and hold that they ought to be ſo intent and fixed in their thoughts on this religious act towards God, that no buſineſs of the World, though the execution of the *Sultan*'s Decree ſhould in the ſame moment be commanded, or fire ſhould burſt forth in the very Chamber where they remain, or an armed Enemy within their Gates or Camp, they ought not yet to be diverted, or break abruptly off their Prayers, to extinguiſh or oppoſe themſelves againſt their inevitable Deſtruction; nay, if they do but Cough, or Spit, or Sneeze, or rub any part of their Face, or Hands, where a Fly bites, during their Prayers, they muſt begin them again, for they are void, and eſteemed to be of no effect. It is much in my opinion that Infidels ſhould be poſſeſſed with that awe and ſenſe of the Divine Majeſty in the time of their Audience with Him; and yet that Friers and others of the *Roman* Church obliged to their Office, as the *Turk* to his *Namas*, ſhould perform it ſo perfunctorily, as to mix the diſcourſe of buſineſs with the Repetition of their Breviary, and joyn with their Reſponſals Anſwers and Reſolutions of queſtions are made them; and ſo ſatisfie themſelves in the *Opus operatum*, as if it were more important to comply with his command who impoſed the Office than with his who primarily enjoyned the ſacrifice of prayer.

The form of their Prayers is not extracted out of the *Alchoran*, onely the Collections of Sentences, as in the Name of God, God is Great and Mercifull, and the like, are deduced from thence (as Chriſtians do from the fountain of the Holy Scriptures) the reſt is compiled by the four Doctours we have before mentioned, *viz. Ebbubecher*, *Omar*, *Ozman* and *Ali*; whoſe names are wrote in golden Characters on the Walls of moſt *Moſchs*: Herein they obſerve many poſtures and geſtures of their Body; as placing their hands one on the other before them, bending the body, kneeling, touching the Ground with their forehead, moving the head to each ſide, and the like; in which it is difficult to make diſtinction of thoſe meerly invented and ordained by *Mahomet*, from thoſe which were primarily in uſe amongſt the ancient *Arabians*: But that the orderly Ceremonies in their Prayers may be better deſcribed, it will be to our purpoſe to hear what *Busbequius* relates of the whole *Turkiſh* Army, whom he had ſeen drawn up orderly in the Field at their Devotion. *I ſaw* (ſaid he) *in that Plain, a great multitude of Heads folded up in Turbants, who with profound ſilence attended to the words of a Prieſt their Conductour; all of them being drawn up in rank and file, and covering with their extended Orders the whole Plain, ſeemed to have framed a Wall or Bulwark by the regular diſpoſition of their Bodies: their Cloathings were of light colours, and their Turbants comparable to the whiteneſs of the Snow, and the variety of the different colours of their Garments, fed the eyes with a ſtrange pleaſure: in this manner ſo immovable they ſtood, as if they had grown in the place where their feet were fixed, no coughing, hemming, nor voice was heard, nor ſo much as any motion was perceived of their heads; every one at the name of* Mahomet *pronounced by the Prieſt, bowed his head to his knees; and at the name of God reverently proſterated himſelf, and kiſſed the Earth: and thus the* Turks *with devout ceremony and profound attention perform their whole Duties; ſuppoſing that Prayer to become fruitleſs, which is interrupted by ſcratching the Head, rubbing the Hands, or any other geſture not eſſential to their Prayers.* But of all Nations and Religions that I have known, they are the moſt hypocritical; they are thoſe who love to pray in the Market-place, and in the Corners of the Streets, to have praiſe of Men; for it is obſervable with the *Turks*, that where they find the moſt Spectatours, eſpecially of Chriſtians, to chuſe that place how inconvenient ſoever, to ſpread firſt their Handkerchief, and then begin their Prayers. The ſubſtance of their Prayers conſiſts for the moſt part in praiſes of the Divine Power and Attributes; mixing therewith Petitions for the ſafety of his Prince and his Dominions, and for Diſſention and Wars amongſt Chriſtians, which part they conceive God hath greatly gratified them in, and rejoycing upon the rumours of Wars and diſturbances in Chriſtendom, as an effect of the Divine facility and conceſſion to their Prayers: They know well by experience, what *Tacitus* reports of the *Roman* Policy; That, *Omne ſcelus externum cum letitia habendum, ſemina etiam odiorum incende*; and as the *Romans* deſtined *Armenia* to be a prize held up, and the Stage alſo, on which the Tragedy of the ruine of the Eaſtern Nations were to be acted, *Eandem Armeniam ſpecie largitionis turbandis barbarorum animis præbuerint*; ſo the *Turks* forbore for ſeveral years the total Conqueſt of the Provinces of *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia* and *Valachia*; reſerving them for the *Cadmean* Fields, wherein the *Hungarians*, *Germans*, *Polonians*, and the People of thoſe Countries themſelves might deſtroy one the other, and make his entrance to the poſſeſſion of them the more facile, and leſs bloudy.

Epiſt. 3.

Lib. 12. *Hiſt.*

Thirdly, *Of their* Ramazan.

The third neceſſary point of their Religion, is the obſervation of the Month of *Ramazan*, or a Faſt in that whole Month, in which time they can neither eat, drink, or take any thing in their Mouths, whilſt the Sun is above the *Horizon*; afterwards, upon ſhutting in of the Evening, that the *Emaum* lights the Lamps, which in that Month are expoſed round the Steeple of every *Moſch*, they have liberty to eat: moſt part of the night they ſpend in Feaſting, reſerving commonly their greateſt Delicacies and beſt proviſions for the conſolation of that Faſt; their buſineſs and employments they attend moſt to in the night, paſſing the day as over-tedious in ſleeping, ſo that their Faſt is nothing but a changing the day into night. This Month they call ſacred and holy, and the time when the Gates of Paradiſe are opened, and of Hell are ſhut: and ſo ſtrict is the impoſition of this Faſt, that it is no leſs than Death for a *Turk* to be accuſed of the breach thereof. In this Month to drink Wine

is eſteemed an inexpiable crime; and ſuch who give themſelves that liberty at other times, do yet, not to give ſcandal, abſtain from it fourteen days before the beginning of this Month: and Women, and other of the more ſuperſtitious ſort, begin fifteen days their Faſt before it is enjoyned by the Precept of their Prophet. But ſuch as are ſick, or have any infirmity, or are travellers in their journey, have a permiſſion to eat; but with that condition, as to remain obliged at other times of their health and convenience to make good thoſe days of the *Ramazan*, of which they remain indebted to the performance of their Law.

Mr. *Pocock. Note de Arabum moribus.*

The Inſtitutions of this Month of *Ramazan*, proceeded from *Mahomet* himſelf, in the ſecond year of his Prophetick Office, which he did not aſſume untill he fully had compleated forty years, having before in imitation of the Jews Faſt of *Aſhura*, *Levit.* 16. ver. 29. in memory of the overthrow of *Pharaoh* and his Hoſt in the Red-Sea, enjoyned to the *Arabians* the ſame time of Abſtinence: but afterwards apprehending it diſhonourable to be beholding to the Jews for the invention of a Faſt, inſtituted the *Ramazan*, the time of which is governed by the courſe of the Moon, and falls out commonly ten days ſooner than in the preceding year, ſo that this Faſt with time comes to run through all the Months, and is more eaſie to the *Turks* when it happens in the ſhort days of the Winter, rather than in the Summer, when the days are long and hot, which become tedious to the ordinary ſort of people, who for neceſſity are forced to labour, and yet for the quenching thirſt dare not refreſh their mouths with a drop of water.

Fourthly, *Of their Zacat.*

Which is another neceſſary point to the conſtitution of a *Mahometan*, which is the beſtowing Alms according to certain rules preſcribed by four principal Doctours of their Law: the word *Zacat* ſignifies as much as Encreaſe, becauſe the Alms procure the bleſſing of God, and multiply the ſtore of the Mercifull. According to this command every man is obliged to give one in a hundred of all their Eſtate to the relief of the poor; and though this Precept is enjoined as an ingredient to conſtitute a true *Mahometan*, yet covetouſneſs and Policy ſo much prevail with the *Turks*, that the Rich are both unwilling to part with ſo much of their Eſtate, and fearfull to evidence their Wealth by a true calculate according to the *Zacat*; ſo that the Poor are the beſt obſervers of this injunction, the Rich conceiving it ſuperfluous, and never intended by God to make the performance of Religion a ſnare to their Eſtates.

Fifthly, *Of their Pilgrimage to* Mecha.

Which is enjoyned to every one who hath Riches and Freedom from great Offices and Charges of Government, to perform it; being a Type or ſignification of their paſſage out of this world into the next. The number of thoſe who yearly undertake this Pilgrimage is uncertain, though moſt commonly are regiſtred from divers parts where the *Mahometan* Religion is profeſſed, above Fifty Thouſand Souls; theſe Pilgrims depart about the latter end of *May* from *Conſtantinople*, and meet with thoſe from *Anatolia*, *Caramania*, and others of that quarter of the World at *Damaſcus*: thoſe from *Perſia* aſſemble at *Babylon*: thoſe of the parts of *Egypt* at *Grand Cairo*; and all unite upon a Mount not far diſtant from *Mecha*, where they obſerve divers Ceremonies, as making *Corban* or Sacrifice, which they do by killing Sheep, and ſending part thereof as Preſents to their Friends, and diſtribution thereof amongſt the Poor. They alſo here ſtrip themſelves of their Garments, and being covered onely with a Blanket, go in proceſſion through the Mountains, in ſignification that they muſt now leave all their ſins and affections of the World behind them. Here alſo they leave their Chriſtian Slaves, that ſo they may not prophane the Holy City with the Uncircumciſed.

The chief Commander over the Pilgrims (for amongſt ſo conſiderable a number of people, there muſt be rule and Government) is appointed by the Grand Signior, and is called *Sur-Emini*, by whom he ſends 500 *Zechins*, an *Alcboran* Emboſſed with Gold, carried on a *Camel*, and as much black Cloath as ſerves for Hangings for the *Moſchs* at *Mecha*; and this is yearly preſented from the *Sultan* to that place: when the new Hanging is ſet up, that of the former year is pulled down, and is by the Pilgrims torn in pieces: ſome getting more and ſome leſs, carry any rag of it home, as a Relique and token of their Pilgrimage, which ſerves them in place of the *Caabe*, to which they turn their faces at the time of Prayers. The *Camel* which carried the *Alcboran*, at his return home is decked with flowers and other ornaments, and having performed this holy Journey, is ever after exempted from all labour and ſervice.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Bairam *and Ceremonies uſed at that time by the chief Officers to the* Grand Signior.

THE *Bairam* is the Feaſt of the *Turks*, of which there are two in the year; one immediately following the Faſt of *Ramazan*, as our *Eaſter* doth the *Lent*, which is called the great *Bairam*; the other is the little *Bairam*, which happens about ſeventy days after the former; at which time the people for three days ceaſe from their labour: preſent one the other, rejoice and take greater liberty than at other times; which no queſtion but was invented by *Mahomet*, for relaxation of the bodies and minds of his Followers, as well as in imitation of the Chriſtian Feaſts.

The *Bairam* is then conceived to begin at the firſt appearance of the new Moon after the *Ramazan*; which is ſometime deferred a days time, if the weather prove cloudy, that the Moon is not viſible; if longer the Sky be obſcured, according to the courſe of nature, it is preſumed that the Moon is begun, and ſo their Feaſt begins alſo; which is publiſhed at *Conſtantinople* by the diſcharge of the great Guns at the point of the *Seraglio* upon the Sea-ſhore, at which time the Lights or Lamps on the Steeples of the *Moſchs* are extinguiſhed or omitted to be lighted, and Drums and Trumpets are ſounded in all publick places of the City, and Courts of great Perſons: ſo that every one betakes himſelf to Mirth or Paſtime as his own inclination or convenience leads him.

But

But that which will be moſt curious to the obſervation of the judicious Reader, is the relation of the Ceremonies uſed in the *Seraglio* at this Feaſt by the ſeveral Officers of State to the Grand Signior, and to one another; which are ſo formal, preciſe, and conſtant to the leaſt motion of every Member of the Body, as will clear the *Turks* from that opinion which paſſes of them in the World, of being rude, uncivil, and void of all Ceremony or Courtſhip in their comportment and behaviour; which according to the beſt information I could procure, is for the moſt part in this manner.

The Antiport leading to the Lodgings of the *Kapa Agaſi* (or chief Eunuch who commands the Pages) being adorned with rich Carpets, Cuſhions, and other Furniture after their faſhion, on the *Vigil* or *Eve* before the *Bairam*, all the Prime Officers of State belonging to the Empire then at *Conſtantinople*, aſſemble themſelves at the Grand Signior's *Seraglio* three or four hours before day, where as ſoon as day breaks, the Grand Signior mounted on Horſeback, paſſes through the midſt of them, and goes to the *Moſchs* of *Santa Sophia*, where having ſaid his morning Prayer, he returns again to the *Seraglio*.

Being returned, he enters the *Haſoda* or Royal Chamber, and ſetting himſelf in his Seat of State, having the chief Eunuch of the Pages on his left hand, the Sons of the *Tartar Han* (which remain for Hoſtages in the *Turkiſh* Court) upon ſigns made to them, are the firſt who preſent themſelves before him to wiſh him a happy Feſtival; whom (as I have heard reported) he walks three Paces to meet, and they proſtrating themſelves, ſay, *Eiamiſcherif*, which is, *May theſe days be happy*; and ariſing kiſs his hand, and ſo retire. The next who makes his addreſs, is the Prime Viſier, who ſtanding on the right hand of the Grand Signior in the front of all the *Beglerbegs*, *Paſhaws*, and other great Officers, Complements the Grand Signior upon one knee, and nearer approaching, kiſſes his hand, and then ariſing takes the ſtation of the *Kapa Agaſi*, or Eunuch of the Pages. The next who follows in this Ceremony is the *Mufti*, who on the left hand fronts the Officers and principal Heads of the Law, as the *Kadeleſcheres* or Lords chief Juſtices of *Anatolia* and *Greece*, the *Nakib Eſchref*, principal Head or Primate of the Kindred of *Mahomet*, the *Mollahs*, Preachers called *Seighs*, and others. Then the *Mufti* bowing his head to the ground, holding his hands on his Girdle, kiſſes him on the left ſhoulder, and the Grand Signior ſteps one pace forward to meet him, and ſo retires to his place; then all the others in their ſeveral Orders take their turns to paſs this Ceremony, who are treated according to what the Prime Viſier informs the Grand Signior; for ſome kiſs his Hand, others the hem of his Veſt, ſome his Sleeve, others his Breaſt, thereafter as their Quality and Authority is, which is ſo full of variety and formal niceties, that there is a Book wrote expreſly treating of all the particularities of this Ceremony. The laſt of all who is called to perform his Complement, is the *Janizar Agaſi*, or the General of the *Janizaries*.

This part being thus far paſſed, the Grand Signior enters into a more retired Chamber of the *Seraglio*, where the *Arz Agalar*, or the four principal Pages are the firſt of the Court to do their obeyſance as before: then follow the Eunuchs and other Pages; In the mean time a Dinner is provided in the Chamber of the *Divan*, where the Officers of State having complied with their obligation, take a plentifull repaſt at the Grand Signior's charge; after which the Grand Signior makes a preſent to each of the ſixteen principal Officers of Sable Veſts, with which the Ceremony concludes.

Then is way made for the Coaches of the *Sultana's* who having been Cloyſtered in the old *Seraglio* the whole year before, are glad at the Feaſt of *Bairam* to have occaſion to make their Viſits to the Grand Signior in the firſt place, as being of his Kindred and Relations, and then to the Queen or Queen-Mother, and to the other *Sultana's* and Ladies, with whom they uſe variety of Ceremony according to their Condition and Quality; and there have liberty to remain for the ſpace of three days in Banqueting, and other divertiſements of Muſick and Diſcourſe.

It may well be obſerved from the premiſſes, how generally the World is miſtaken in the opinion is conceived of the Courtſhip uſed amongſt the *Turks*, commonly reputed by Travellers to be rude, coming much ſhort of that quaintneſs, bowings, cringings, and reverent poſtures uſed in *Chriſtendom*. It is true the *Turks* deportment even in the moſt vile and mechanick vulgar, though never ſo mean, is carried with a ſtrange kind of barbarity and rudeneſs towards the beſt of Chriſtians in thoſe parts; which proceeds rather from a ſort of pride and deteſtation taught them by their Religion, than from any want of being inſtructed in their duty of due reverence to their Superiours; for in their carriage one towards the other, they obſerve the rules and niceties of Complement with as much variety and exactneſs, as is exerciſed in *Rome*, or the moſt civilized Courts of Chriſtendom; and amongſt the chief Miniſters there is much preciſeneſs and caution uſed not to exceed the limits of that Ceremony which inferiours owe the ſuperiours, leſt they ſhould diſparage their own quality, or give occaſion to the World to believe their diſorderly ſubmiſſion to be a part of adulation. And therefore it is worthy the ſtudy of Chriſtian Miniſters employed in Embaſſies in the *Ottoman* Court, to be well informed in the rules and manner of their carriage in the preſence of the chief Miniſters of State; for uncovering the head, as in *Chriſtendom*, is amongſt them eſteemed ridiculous and affrontive, and the manner of little bowings and often inclinations of the body, taken as acknowledgments of the great diſtance there is between the Maſters they repreſent; and therefore a little Ceremony at the entrance, and the like at departure, with a ſteady and conſtant behaviour at the time of the Treaty or Diſcourſe, is the beſt rule for a Chriſtian Miniſter's which is interpreted amongſt *Turks* as the effect of gravity and eſtimation of themſelves; it being certain, that the contrary hath cauſed many Chriſtian Miniſters to fall lower in the reputation of the *Turks*, than they had deſerved for their wiſedom and dexterity in the management of the more ſubſtantial points of Affairs.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Prohibition of Swines Fleſh and Wine.

THE five foregoing Principles already treated of are (as we have ſaid before) the eſſential points required towards the conſtitution of a true *Mahometan*; other matters are proofs and trials of their obedience; amongſt which none is more enjoyned than the prohibition of Swines fleſh and Wine: which are called *Haram* things abominable and forbidden. The firſt in reality abhorred by them, and as diſpleaſing as the Fleſh of a Man to civilized People, or a Dogs thigh to ſuch as have been uſed to Delicacies and wholeſome Viands. But Wine of late years, though forbidden by the Law, hath gained a better reputation; and though accurſed by them, is yet accounted of ſo ſtrong a temptation, that the ſin is the more excuſable; and though the *Alchoran* poſitively inhibits the uſe thereof, and the Expoſitors of the Law have ſo far removed it from all poſſibility of becoming lawfull, that they have determined that if Wine be ſpilt on the ground, and in that place Graſs grows, and with that paſture a Sheep or an Ox is nouriſhed, thoſe Cattel become *Haram*, and are as abominable as the Fleſh of Swine.

But notwithſtanding the ſevere Prohibitions hereof by their Religion, Wine is ſo commonly uſed, that it is publickly drank without cautions or fear of giving ſcandal; the great Men, becauſe in Office, are more carefull how the World diſcovers what delight they take in that liquour, leſt the miſcarriages of their Office ſhould be attributed to the exceſs of Wine; or their knowledge of the uſe of that which deprives them of their reaſon, render them uncapable of their Truſt and Dignity. For the *Turks* account it impoſſible to drink Wine with moderation, and are ignorant of the benefit of it for Concoction of crude humours and indigeſtions of the ſtomach; and wonder to ſee it by *Engliſh*, *French*, or *Italians* tempered with Water; for unleſs they may drink it with full Bowls, and have ſufficient thereof, to give them their *Kaif*, (as they call it) that is to tranſport them into a diſſolute mirth, or the ridiculous actions of drunkenneſs, or to a ſurfeit or a vomit, they eſteem it not worth the drinking, and a provocation to the appetite and palate to remain with a deſire of demanding more.

But ſuch as would appear Religious amongſt them, and are ſuperſtitious, moroſe, and haters of Chriſtians, abſtain wholly from Wine, and are of a Stoical pride, melancholy temper, and cenſorious of the whole World. Theſe men who drink onely Water and Coffee, enter into Diſcourſes of State matters, cenſure the Actions, and paſs Characters on the Grandees and great Officers; *Aſſumta Stoicorum arrogantia, Sectaq; quæ turbidos, & negotiorum appetentes faciat. Tac. lib.* 14. And this was the reaſon why the great Viſier *Kuperli*, put down the Coffee-houſes in *Conſtantinople*, and yet privileged the Taverns; becauſe the firſt were melancholy places where Seditions were vented, where reflexions were made on all occurrences of State, and diſcontents publiſhed and aggravated; but Wine raiſed the ſpirits of men to a gay humour, and would never operate thoſe effects to endanger his condition as the Counſels which were contrived in the Aſſemblies of thoſe who addicted themſelves to a more melancholy Liquor.

The drinking Wine in young Men is eſteemed amongſt the extravagancies of Youth, but in old men is crime a more undecent, and ſcandalous in a higher degree. But why *Mahomet* ſhould ſo ſeverely forbid the uſe of Wine to his Diſciples, is recounted in a Fable on this occaſion; That their Prophet being once invited by a Friend to an entertainment at his houſe, changed in his way thither to be detained a while at a Nuptial Feaſt, where the Gueſts raiſed with the chearfull ſpirits of the Wine, were merrey, embracing, and in a kind temper each towards other; which pleaſing humour *Mahomet* attributing to the effect of the Wine, bleſſed it as a ſacred thing, and ſo departed. But it happened that in the evening returning again, and expecting to ſee the love and careſſes he had before bleſſed, to be augmented, he found the houſe to the contrary, full of Brawls and noiſe, fightings, and all confuſion; which he alſo having underſtood to be another effect of the Wine, changed his former Bleſſing into a Curſe, and for ever after made it *Haram*, or an abomination to his Diſciples.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of their Morality, Good Works, and ſome certain of their Laws worthy of obſervation.

THough according to the preceding Diſcourſe, the Character that may thence reſult from the nature and temperance of the *Turks*, doth not promiſe any long Treatiſe concerning their deep Morality, Vertues, and elevated Graces: yet in the minds of all Mankind, though never ſo barbarous, God having wrought the Law of Nature, and made that impreſſion of doing right to our Neighbour, which tends towards conſervation of the World; we may well expect to find the ſame Principles in the *Turks*; eſpecially their Victories and Spoils abroad, having procured them converſation with other Nations, and their Wars and Treaties with Chriſtians, having refined their minds in a good part of that rude temper they brought with them out of *Scythia*, it will not be ſtrange for us to find amongſt them, men whom Education hath made civil, poliſhed in all points of vertuous deportment, and made *Heroes* of their Age; though I muſt confeſs I cannot applaud the generality of this people with ſo high encomiums, as I have read in the Books of ſome ingenious Travellers, and do believe without partiality that they come ſhort of the good nature and vertues are to be found in moſt parts of *Chriſtendom*. Howſoever, wherein they conceive a great part of charity is placed, and meritorious Works, it will not be unworthy nor unpleaſant to conſider.

And in the firſt place, they eſteem it a good work to build Houſes, though from theſe they obtain a Rent, becauſe it is a habitation for thoſe who have no Lands or Eſtates, to have them of their own. But eſpecially ſuch as are Princes and great Men, who build *Chans* or Inns, which are receptacles for Travellers at night,

are

are ranked in the firſt Order of ſacred Benefactors, and are bleſſed and prayed for by the weary Gueſts, who have found repoſe and refreſhment through their Munificence: and in theſe Buildings the *Turks* are extraordinary Magnificent in moſt parts of the Empire, having united to many of them a ſtately *Moſch*, Baths, and Shops for Artiſans and Tradeſmen to ſupply all the neceſſities of the Travellers; and ſome of them are ſo endowed, that every night the Gueſts are entertained at free coſt with a convenient Supper, be their number more or leſs according as the *Chan* is capable to receive. The form of theſe Buildings is for the moſt part according to the model of the higheſt and ſtatelieſt of our Halls, covered with Lead, though not altogether ſo high Rooſed; yet ſome I have obſerved for their breadth and length very Magnificent; yet by reaſon they have been ſomewhat lower, have onely in that come ſhort of the pride of the ſtatelieſt Fabricks: though in few of them are Apartments for different Companies, yet every one is ſufficiently retired, having at a convenient diſtance different Chimneys for all parties of Gueſts to dreſs their Meat, and in the Winter for their Fire; the greateſt inconvenience to Men of watchfull ſpirits, and uſed to quiet retirements, is the want of ſleep, which until I have been over-tired with labour, and accuſtomed thereunto by divers days Journies, hath been always a ſtranger to my eyes, by reaſon of the moleſtation of various Companies, ſome of which are always awake, ſome mending their Carts, others dreſſing Meat, others upon their departure, that in thoſe publick places never want noiſe to diſturb thoſe who ſleep but of one ear: Theſe ſtately *Chans* or Inns, which with the *Moſchs* are the onely durable and magnificent Buildings of the Empire, are the Edifices of certain great Men, who fearing to be deprived of their Riches by a haſty death, ſhould they endeavour to continue them to their Family, chuſe to perpetuate their Names, and ſecure their conditions by theſe publick Works.

Thoſe who would appear of a compaſſionate and tender nature, hold it a pious work to buy a Bird from a Cage to give him his liberty; and hold it a mercifull action to buy Bread and feed the Dogs, of which there are a great number of diſeaſed Curs in all Streets appropriate to no Maſter, but are mangy and foul, and no ſmall cauſes of breeding the Plague, ſo frequent in all the Cities of the *Turks*. And this care of Dogs is accounted ſo charitable, that there are certain Laws made for the protection and maintenance of them: and it is a lighter offence to deny Bread to a poor Chriſtian who is famiſhed in his Chains, than to the Dogs of their Street, which are fit for nothing but to breed Infection; and ſome bind themſelves by a Vow to give ſuch a quantity of bread a day to the Dogs of ſuch a Street, others bequeath it by Teſtament; for they maintain their quarters from other wandring Curs, and join together in a ſtrange manner to preſerve certain limits free from others that are not whelped and bred amongſt them.

The *Camel* is another ſort of Beaſt to which the *Turks* bear not onely a love, but a religious reverence, accounting it a greater ſin to over burthen and tire them with too much labour, than the Horſe, becauſe it is the Beaſt moſt common to the holy parts of *Arabia*, and carries the *Alchoran* in Pilgrimage; that I have obſerved thoſe who have the government of the *Camels*, when they have given water to them in a Baſon, to take off the foam or froth that comes from the Mouth of the Beaſt, and with that, as if it were ſome rare Balſame, with a ſingular devotion to anoint their Beards, and thereat with a Religious ſigh, groan out, *Hadgi Baba*, *Hadgi Baba*, which is as much as, Oh Father Pilgrim! O Father Pilgrim! And thus having run through the moſt obſervable points of the *Turkiſh Religion*, it will be now time to take a view of their Hoſt and Militia, being that by which their Empire is more ſupported, than either by their Policy in Civil Government, or Profeſſion in Religion.

THE

THE THIRD BOOK,

Wherein is Treated of

The Turkiſh Militia.

CHAP. I.

Of the preſent ſtate of the Military Diſcipline in general amongſt the Turks.

WHoever is acquainted with the ſtate of the *Turkiſh* Empire, and hath duly conſidered the premiſſes of this foregoing Treatiſe, will eaſily judge that the main Sinews of the *Ottoman* Kingdom conſiſt in the force of the *Spahees*, *Janizaries*, and the other Auxiliaries; and that this Government being wholly founded upon Martial Diſcipline, and the Law of Arms, is moſt obliged to the Conſtitutions, and ſupported on the Props related in this following Diſcourſe: for this People having neither entred into the Poſſeſſion of this Empire, as into an uninhabited and deſart Land, as Colonies of other Nations have done into Countries new found or diſcovered; nor got admittance precariouſly from the *Græcian* Princes for the benefit of their Neighbourhood and Commerce; but have opened their way to Poſſeſſion and Government by meer force and power of the Sword; whereby their Conſtitutions, Laws, Cuſtoms and Manners of living are wholly agreeable to the warlike Diſcipline of a Camp, and to the quickneſs and ready execution of Martial Law. And if it be true in Morality, as it is in Nature, that things are conſerved by the ſame cauſe by which they are produced; it will neceſſarily follow, that this *Ottoman* Empire, which was begot by Arms, and had *Mars* its onely Father, will never be nouriſhed by ſoftneſs, and the arts and blandiſhments of Peace.

But he that takes a view of the *Ottoman* Armies, as deſcribed in various Hiſtories, renowned for their Chivalry and Diſcipline in the times of *Sultan Selim*, or *Solyman* the Magnificent, and deſigns thence to extract a draught, or Copy for his preſent ſpeculation, will find himſelf much at a loſs in framing true conjectures of the puiſſance of the *Turks*, or the Rules of their Government, by compariſon of former times with this preſent age. For that ancient ſublimity and comely Majeſty in the Empire is much abated; the Forces by Land decayed, and the Maritime power by ill ſucceſs and unskilfull and ſlothfull Seamen, reduced to an inconſiderable condition; the Countries are diſpeopled, and the Royal Revenue abated; nothing remains of thoſe plenteous ſtores and proviſions of War, nor that Regiment and Diſcipline continued in peace, none of that ancient obſervation of their Laws and Religion, nor that love and reſpect to the Militia, which is now become degenerate, ſoft, and effeminate; nor is the *Ottoman* Court ſo prone to remunerate the ſervices, and exalt the intereſt of the Cavalry, or maintain the reputation of the *Janizaries*. In brief, there are no Reliques of ancient Juſtice, or Generoſity of diſcreet Government, or Obedience to it, of Courteſie or Concord, of Valour or Counſel, nor yet of Confidence, Friendſhip, or generous Fidelity.

But though this Empire hath many of theſe diſtempers, and begins to grow factious, and yet ſlothfull, and deſirous to avoid the occaſions of War, as all Governments have been which in their youth and firſt beginnings were eager, active, and provoked through Poverty, in their riper years grown Rich, and Luxurious with Plenty, have declined afterwards as from the Meridian of their Greatneſs and Power; yet the *Turks* maintain ſtill the extent of their Dominions, and if they have loſt ground in one place, like the Sea, they have recovered it in another; if in *Aſia* the *Perſians* have taken from them *Rivan*, *Sebirvan*, *Tibris*, *Lyris* and *Ghenge*, it is but a recovery of their own Dominions; if they are diſpoſſeſſed in *Ethiopia* of *Eden*, and other parts of *Arabia Felix*, they have recompenced themſelves in *Europe*, by their footing in *Candia*; and in *Hungary*, by the late Conqueſt of *Newheuſel* and *Novigrade*; and in *Tranſilvania*, by the additions of *Janova* and *Waradin*.

But this Empire, as vaſt and large as it is, is yet diſpeopled, the Villages abandoned, and whole provinces as pleaſant and fruitfull as *Tempe* or *Theſſaly*, uncultivate and turned into a Deſart,

or Wilderneſs: all which deſolation and ruine proceeds from the Tyranny and Rapine of the *Beglerbegs* and *Paſhaws*; who either in their Journies to the poſſeſſion of their Government, or return from thence, expoſe the poor Inhabitants to violence and injury of their Attendants, as if they had entred the Confines of an Enemy, or the Dominions of a Conquered People.

In like manner the insolence of the Horſe and Foot is unſupportable, for in their marches from one Countrey to another, Parties of 20 or 30 are permitted to make excurſions into divers parts of their own Dominions, where they not onely live upon free quarter, but extort Money and Cloaths from the poor Vaſſals, taking their Children to ſell for Slaves, eſpecially the *Bulgarians*, and *Sclavians*, and the people of *Bosna* and *Albania*, which being ignorant of the *Turkiſh* Tongue; are ſold for *Ruſſians*, *Hungarians* or *Moſcovites*, ſo that rather than be expoſed to much miſery, and licence of the Soldiery, the poor people chooſe to abandon their dwellings, and wander into other Cities, or ſeek for refuge in the Mountains, or Woods of the Countrey. In fine, though generally the Military Offices are in the ſame form, and the Soldiery diſpoſed according to the ancient Rule and Canon, yet licentiouſneſs and negligence have ſo prevailed in the Officers, as to introduce that corruption which renders them wholly altered and eſtranged from their firſt Diſcipline: For the Commanders upon every light occaſion are contented to make Otoracks or Stipendiaries, ſuch as enjoy the pay and priviledges of a Soldier, and yet are excuſed from the Wars; which they eaſily purchaſe with a ſmall Sum of Money, for a ſcratch, or a fleſh-wound gained in the Wars; wholly againſt the Original Inſtitution, which deſigned that benefit onely for maimed and diſabled Soldiers; ſo that now there is ſo great a number of Soldiery luſty and healthfull, under the title of Dead mens pay, as diſfurniſhes the Grand Signior's Treaſury, and weakens his Forces.

The *Janizaries* alſo marrying freely, and yet diſpenſed with as to the abſence from their Duty and Chambers, apply themſelves to Trades and other Studies beſides the War, by which means having Children and Dependencies, they are forced by other Arts than their few Aſpers of daily pay, to ſeek the proviſion and maintenance of a Family; and their minds growing eſtranged from the War, are ſolicitous with the care and anxiety for a Wife and Children; and in my time, have ſo abhorred the thoughts of the War both in *Candy* and in *Hungary*, that many have offered great Preſents to be excuſed; and ſo general hath been the diſlike of all kind of Martial action for the reaſons before mentioned, that at firſt the very rumours and diſcourſe of War, and afterwards the reality thereof, cauſed ſo general a diſcontent, as had, if not prudently prevented and timely ſuppreſſed, burſt into a Mutiny of the Militia; whoſe meer enquiry but into the reaſons and grounds of the War, is little different from a Sedition.

Another Corruption hath the Covetouſneſs of the Officers produced for ſmall Preſents and Donatives, in owning many under the title and name of *Spahees* and *Janizaries*, which have no name or place in the Rolls, or Regiſters of the Soldiery; by which means many Offenders, and outlawed perſons are defended by the Military Priviledges; and the ancient honour due to Arms is proſtituted for the maintenance and protection of the raſcalities and ſcum of the World.

And this ſhall ſerve to have ſpoken in general of the preſent ſtate of the *Turkiſh* Soldiery: we ſhall now proceed to the particularities of the force and numbers of the *Turkiſh* Militia; and from whence and how they are raiſed.

CHAP. II.

Of the Turkiſh Militia.

IN the twelfth Chapter of the firſt Book we made an eſtimate of the Revenue and the Riches of all the *Beglerbegs* and *Paſhaws* of the Empire, be which might by collected the number of Soldiers which theſe great men are able out of their own Families to furniſh unto the Wars; it will be now time to make a juſt computation in its due place, of the Forces in particular, the numbers, the Countries from whence they are raiſed, the ſeveral Military Orders, and the true puiſſance of the *Ottoman* Empire; which is indeed ſo incredibly great and numerous, That with good reaſon they have formed it into a Proverb; *That no Graſs grows there where the Turkiſh Horſe hath once ſet his foot.* This ſpeculation is abſolutely neceſſary to a true deſcription of the Regiment of a Countrey; for the Martial Conſtitutions are the beſt part of the Political Science, and Civil Laws have no vigour unleſs they receive their Authority by the enforcement of the Sword: This conſideration is alſo neceſſary to the Art of a Stateſman, that he ill ſtudies the Geography of his Enemies Provinces, who knows not the utmoſt ſtrength it contains by Land and Sea, and is ill prepared to gain a perfect knowledge of the prudent Art wherewith a Nation or People is conſerved in Peace, who is ignorant of their Force, and Conſtitutions appropriated to the time of War. Wherefore we ſhall diſcourſe as ſuccinctly of this Subject as the matter will permit, and with the ſame certainty that one of the principal Muſter-Maſters of the *Turkiſh* Rolls, long practiſed and accurate in his Office, hath decyphered, from whoſe Report it ſelf I profeſs to derive my Authority in this following Relation.

The whole *Turkiſh* Militia then is of two ſorts; one that receives maintenance from certain Lands or Farms beſtowed on them by the Grand Signior; others that receive their conſtant pay in ready money. The great nerve or ſinew of the *Turkiſh* Empire is that of the * firſt rank, which are of two ſorts, *viz. Zaims*, which are like Barons in ſome Countries; and *Timariots*, who may be compared to the *Decumani* amongſt the *Romans*. Thoſe of the ſecond ſort, paid out of the Grand Signior's Treaſury, are *Spahees*, *Janizaries*, † *Armourers*, * *Gunners*, and Soldiers called *Levens*, who have no pay for life, or are enrolled amongſt the Military Orders; but onely make an agreement for five or ſix thouſand Aſpers for their Voyage, which being ended, they are disbanded.

* Called in Turkiſh *Mal-Mukarele.*

† *Gebegi.* * *Topzi.*

Of the Zaims *and* Timariots.

The nature of theſe two, and their Inſtitution is the ſame; the onely difference is in their Commiſſions or Patents, or rather we may call them the Conveyances or Evidences for their Lands, which they have from the Grand Signior: For the

the Rent of a *Zaim* is from 20m of Aſpers to 99999, and no further; for adding one Aſper more, it becomes the Eſtate of a *Sangiackbeck*, called a *Paſhaw*, which is from 100000 Aſpers to 199999; for adding one Aſper more, it becomes the Revenue of a *Beglerbeg*.

The *Timariots* are of two ſorts; one called *Tezkerelw*, who have their Evidences for their Land from the Grand Signior's Court, whoſe Rent is from 5 or 6000 Aſpers, to 19m999; for then with the addition of one Aſper they enter the number of *Zaims*: The other ſort is called *Tezkereiis*, who hath his Patent or Writing from the *Beglerbeg* of the Country, whoſe Rent is from 3000 to 6000 Aſpers.

The *Zaims* in all Expeditions of War are obliged to ſerve with their Tents, which are to be furniſhed with Kitchins, Stables and other neceſſary Apartments agreeable to their State and Quality; and for every 5000 Aſpers of Rent received from the Grand Signior, they are to bring a Horſe-man into the Field, which is called *Gebelu*; as for example, one of thirty thouſand Aſpers is to come attended with ſix, one of ninety thouſand with 18 Horſemen, and ſo proportionably: every *Zaim* is entituled *Kulitchgee*, or Sword-man; ſo that when the *Turks* calculate the ſtrength or numbers that a *Beglerbeg* is able to bring into the Field for the ſervice of his Prince, they make a computation upon ſo many *Zaims* and *Timariots* themſelves, which they call ſo many Swords, not numbring the people with which they come accompanied.

The *Timariots* are obliged to ſerve with leſſer Tents, and to be provided with three or four Baskets for every man that attends them; for their Office is, beſides fighting, as alſo of the *Zaims* and *Spahees*, to carry Earth and Stones for making Batteries and Trenches, whilſt the *Janizaries* are in skirmiſh with the Enemy. And for every three thouſand Aſpers Rent the *Timariots* are ſeſſed at a Man and Horſe, as the *Zaim* is for every five thouſand: And both one and the other of theſe Souldiers little differ from thoſe in *England* which hold their Lands in *Capite*, or the ancient Tenure of Knights Service.

Both *Zaims* and *Timariots* are diſpoſed into Regiments under command of Colonels, called *Alai-Begler*, who march with Colours and the * Kettle-Drum: theſe Colonels are again under the command of the *Paſhaws*, or *Sangiack-beg*, and he under the *Beglerbeg*; which Forces being united into one body, repair to the Rendezvous appointed by the † General, who is either the Grand Signior in Perſon, or the Viſier *Azem*, or ſome other eminent perſon qualified with the Title of Viſier.

* In Turkiſh *Tabl. Alem.*

† In Turkiſh *Serasker.*

Theſe two Orders of Souldiery are not onely appropriated to Land ſervice, but ſome alſo are deſtined to the Sea, who are called *Deria Kelemende*, and are under the command of the Captain *Paſhaw* or Admiral: but the *Zaims* are moſt commonly diſpenſed with as to the Sea-ſervice in their own perſons, upon the payment of ſo much Money, as they are eſteemed at in the Signior's Book, out of which *Levends* are raiſed, and enrolled in the Regiſters of the *Arſenal*; but the *Timariots* can never be excuſed from their perſonal duty and ſervice with their attendance of Souldiery, according to the value of their Lands.

Neither the one nor the other of theſe can be diſpenſed with from their ſervice at Land; no excuſe in time of the Grand Signior's Wars is lawfull or pleadable: if ſick, they are carried in Horſe-Litters or Beds; if Infants in Hampers or Baskets, and in the very Cradles accuſtomed to the hardſhip, hazard, and Diſcipline of War. And thus much ſhall ſerve in brief to have ſpoken in explication of the Nature of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*, which come under the general denomination of *Spahees*, and compoſe the beſt part of the *Turkiſh* Armies; we ſhall now proceed to declare, as far as can probably be computed, the number of theſe Horſe which fill up the vaſt Hoſt that hath overſpread ſo large a proportion of the World.

CHAP. III.

A Computation of the numbers of the Forces ariſing from the Zaims *and* Timariots.

IT were a work of too great labour conſidering the little ſatisfaction and delight it would afford the Reader, to proceed accurately in deſcribing the juſt numbers of thoſe which follow theſe *Zaims* and *Timariots*; it will be ſufficient to denote, that the ſmalleſt number of a *Zaim* is four Men, and is the greateſt of a *Timariot*, whoſe loweſt condition is obliged to maintain a ſingle Man, and the higheſt of a *Zaim* to ſerve with Nineteen; ſo that whoſoever will ſurvey this *Turkiſh* Hoſt, muſt make his Calculate a little more or leſs by conjecture and judgement.

And this difficulty is the more augmented, when I conſider the fraud is uſed by the Accomptants, Regiſters, and Muſter-Maſters of the Grand Signior's Enrollments, who are as well acquainted with the arts and ſweetneſs of making falſe Muſters as they are in the moſt ingenious places of *Chriſtendom*; and perhaps Policy may afford a connivence to this Fraud, for the ſake of a ſuperlative face of their Armies; which they love to expreſs by this uſual ſimilitude, *Asker, reml deria miſal*, As innumerable as the Sands of the Sea-ſhore: but in effect the noiſe is greater than the reality, and he that will ſum up their number, may find Arithmetick to make the Account, which by the vaſt extent of Tents, confuſion of Baggage, train of Servants, and Attendants of the Camp, appears infinite in the popular eſtimation. Beſides the *Turkiſh* Army admits of great increaſe and decreaſe by the many interlopers, as we call them, which the *Zaims* for their own honour introduce to fill up their numbers on a day of Muſter, or Appearance; ſo that one would admire to ſee, in ſo ſhort a time ſo apparent a decay in the *Turkiſh* Camp: which abuſe, the great and famous Viſier *Mahomet Kiupruli* with cruelty and extraordinary ſeverity endeavoured to remedy upon his expedition for recovery of *Tenedos* and *Lemnos*; and conqueſt of *Jansoa* in *Tranſilvania*; but it is impoſſible for one man to know, and ſee, and remedy all diſorders, and is amongſt the *Turks* called *Aain oin* a ſecret fraud, as difficult to be totally remedied as it is to be throughly diſcovered.

But that which makes the principal difference and various change herein, is the death of *Zaims* and *Timariots*; ſome of which holding an Eſtate onely for life, and others dying without Heirs of their Bodies, their Lands revert to the Crown: Which Eſtates being improved by the induſtry of the Poſſeſſours, above the primary valuation

in the Records, and afterwards falling into the hands of the Prince, are beſtowed again on others according to their true eſtimate, which is oftentimes double of the former. By which means, the number of the Grand Signior's Souldiery is increaſed; and it is a point very obſervable, that as other Princes looſe by the fall, and death of their Subjects, the Grand Signior is the onely gainer; for of the moſt that are ſlain in the day of Battel, the Eſtates accrue to him, in diſpoſal again of which he obſerves this Rule, to gratifie many with that which was before the proportion of a ſingle perſon.

Note.

But to come now to the expreſs and diſtinct account of the *Ziamets* and *Timariots* in every part and Government of the Empire, this Computation is extracted out of the Imperial Rolls, and Regiſters of the Grand Signior.

In the Government of *Anatolia* are reckoned as follows; in the

Zaims is the perſon, and *Zaimets* the Land for maintenance of the *Zaim*.

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Kiotahia	39	948	So that computing at the loweſt rate, 4 *Gebelues* to every *Zaim* with them and their followers, muſt make 1180
Sarhan	41	674	
Aidin	19	572	
Caſtamoni	24	570	
Hudawendighiar	42	1005	Doubling the number of *Timariots* at the laweſt rate makes 14880
Boli	14	551	
Menteſche	52	381	
Angura	10	257	
Karahiſar	10	615	
Tike ili	7	257	In all 16060
Riangri	7	381	
Hamid	9	585	For maintenance of which Army the Rents in the *Ottoman* Statutes are Aſpers 37310700
Sultan Oghi	7	390	
Kareſi	7	242	
Jenige hiſar	7	12	

Of

80 Aſpers makes a Dollar or a Piece of Eight.

Total of *Ziamets* are 295 and 7440 *Timariots*.

There was farther in paſt times allotted to the attendance of this Army about 6900 men for mending the Ways, bringing Proviſions, and ſervice of the Artillery; there was alſo an allowance for 1280 Cutlers, or Victuallers of the Camp, and for 128 Trumpeters and Drummers, which were Gypſies; but this was when *Anatolia* was a Frontier Countrey to the Chriſtians, and was therefore better fortified and accommodated; but ſince it is become one of the innermoſt parts of the Empire, that Rent is converted into the poſſeſſion of *Zaims* and *Timariots*, ſo that there is a farther addition of 330 *Ziamets* and 1136 *Timariots*.

In the Government of *Caramania* are reckoned,

Sangiacks 7.	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Iconium	18	512	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the loweſt rate are 292
Nighde	11	355	
Kaiſari	12	144	
Jeniſcheher	13	244	Of *Timariots* at the ſame accompt 4900
Akſcheher	6	122	
Kyrſcheher	4	470	
Akſerai	9	358	Wch makes in all 4892
Which make	73	2165	The Rent according to the *Ottoman* Statute is, Aſpers 1050175

In the Government of *Diarbekir* are reckoned 12 *Sangiacks*, beſides thoſe of *Kiurdiſtaw* and *Gurdia*, which are computed to make 1800 Men; but I find onely 9 denoted for the *Ziamets* and *Timariots*, viz.

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Amed	9	167	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the loweſt rate will make 424
Charpuit	70	163	
Ezani	10	122	
Sipurgk	0	1	
Neshin	1	5	*Timariots Gebelues* at the ſame rate will make 1080
Chaſenghif	5	30	
Tehemeſcherek	2	7	
Kuleb	3	24	1504
Sangidr	6	21	The Rent is not deſcribed of this Countrey in the *Ottoman* Statutes.
Which make	106	540	

In the Govern. of the *Beglerbeg* of *Damaſcus*, called in the Turkiſh *Scham*, are 7 *Sangiacks*.

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Damaſcus	87	337	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate 512
Jeruſalem	9	161	
Aglun	4	61	
Baburа	9	39	The *Gebelues* of *Timariots* 1746
Sifad	5	123	
Gaza	7	108	
Nabolos	7	44	In all 2258
Which make	128	873	

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Liwas*.

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Liwas	48	928	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate 432
Amaſia	19	249	
Teburum	16	310	
Buzadick	15	731	The *Timariots* 6058
Demurki	1	310	
Gianik	7	348	In all 6490
Arebkir	2	153	The Rent for maintenance hereof 13087327
Which make	808	3029	

In the Govern. of the *Beglerbeg* of *Erzrum* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Erzrum	56	2214	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate 488
Karabizar-ſcharki	32	904	
Kieſi	8	229	
Paſin	9	654	
Hanes Esber	3	435	The *Timariots* 1026
Tortum	10	495	
Mamervum	4	96	In all 11584
Melazkerd	0	272	
Tekman	1	253	
	122	5548	

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Wan* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Wan	48	147	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make 740
Adilgewar	29	101	
Ergiſch	0	14	
Senurighiul	32	203	The *Timariots* 1652
Tehobanlu	2	36	
Ghibokiche	30	160	In all 2392
Derekgher	27	79	
Ghiorluk	7	61	
Fanliagi	4	25	
	185	826	

In

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Maraſch* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Maraſch	10	118	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make 108
Malatia	8	276	
Aſab	9	118	
			The *Timariots* 1027
	27	512	1135

The Rent for maintenance, Aſpers 9420317

In the Government of *Cyprus* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Itchili	16	60	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make 160
Alaine	0	115	
Cyprus	9	308	
Schin	2	156	The *Timariots* 2134
Tarſus	13	428	2294
	40	1067	

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Tripoli* in *Syria* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Tripoli	12	87	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make 250
Hamſ	15	169	
Gebele	9	91	
Selemie	4	56	The *Timariots* 1140
Hamaz	23	171	1390
	63	570	

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Rika* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Rika	30	143	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make 240
Serug	9	291	
Biregek	15	109	
Ane	9	123	Of the *Timariots* 1332
	60	666	1572

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Trabezond* are no *Sangiacks* as is declared in the firſt Book; yet within the Juriſdiction of the City its ſelf are 56 *Ziamets*, and 398 *Timariots*; ſo as the computation of that place is of 920 Men.

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Aleppo* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Aleppo	73	295	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make 468
Adana	11	191	
Kelis	17	295	
Azir	2	91	Of the *Timariots* 2088
Edlis	7	86	2256
Meatre	7	86	
	117	1044	

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Tebilder* are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Olti	3	123	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former rate make 424
Erdehamburek	9	86	
Hagreek	2	23	
Hartus	13	39	
Ardnug	4	149	
Puſeuhaf	11	18	
Penbek	8	54	Of *Timariots* 1318
Tarchir	2	4	1742
Luri	9	10	
Oſtucha	1	7	
Achankiulk	11	37	
Achtala	6	6	
Iſin	4	14	
Penbeck	14	89	
Pertekrek	9	0	
	106	659	

In the Government of the Captain *Paſhaw*, or Lord-Admiral, are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Negropont	12	188	The *Gebelues* of the *Zaims* at the former proportion make 500
Mytilene	4	83	
Kogia ile	25	187	
Siſla	32	235	Of *Timariots* 2304
Karliili	11	119	2804
Galipoli	14	32	
Rhodes	5	71	
Betgai	5	146	For maintenance of which the Rent ſet down in the *Ottoman* Statutes is Aſpers 10800000
Mezeſtra	16	91	
	124	1152	

In the Government of the *Beglerbeg* of *Rumeli*, otherwiſe *Romania*, are,

Sangiacks	*Ziamets*	*Timariots*	
Sophia	337	1788	The *Zaims* with their *Gebelues* at the former proportion make 4300
Kioſtendill	48	1017	
Morea	100	242	
Alexandria of Epyrus	19	205	The *Timariots* 16388
Thirhala	26	525	This is the loweſt rate 20688
Siliſtra	75	432	
Nigheboli	60	344	
Vchri	60	342	
Aulona	68	489	But the ordinary computation of the *Zaims* and *Timariots* in this place with their *Gebelues*, is of about 30200 fighting men, or thereabouts; to which is added the Souldiers of the *Beglerbeg*, *Sangiacbegs*, and other Officers, which commonly amount to 2500. The Militia maintained with the Land of the Countrey may be computed at 32700; or 33900 men.
Janina	62	345	
Ilbaſan	18	138	
Tchirmen	20	130	
Solonica	36	262	
Wize	20	79	
Delunia	20	165	
Vskiup	20	344	
Kerkleſa	1	18	
Dukakin	10	53	
Widin	17	225	
Alagehizar	27	509	
Serzerin	17	225	
Waltcarin	40	317	
	1075	8194	

Beſides

Beſides this Militia in *Romania*, there is another ſort called *Jureghian* or *Jerukler*, who have their Eſtates in Fee from Father to Son, of which there are accounted about 1294 Families: There is alſo another ſort in the Province of *Dobridge*, called *Ogiacks* of which there are about 4000 Houſes: Of the ſame kind in the Province of *Kizlige* are 200 Houſes; In *Tchirmen* 351 of *Cingani*, which are the ſame as amongſt us the Race of the *Gypſies*; in *Wize* 170: So that the whole ſum of *Ogiacks* may arrive to the number of 4721, or at the moſt to 5000. Theſe are obliged every year to draw out of every thirty, five perſons, called *Eſchkingi* or Voluntiers, who are to join themſelves with the *Tartars* for making Excurſions into *Ruſſia*, *Poland*, or other parts; and ſo yearly they interchangeably take their courſe. The other twenty five remaining are called *Jamak*, and are not obliged perſonally to ſerve when the Grand Signior's Wars call them to employment; but then for every 5000 Aſpers Rent they poſſeſs of the Grand Signior's Lands, they are ſeſſed at one man, who are aſſigned to ſerve out of thoſe whoſe turn it was that year to have accompanied the *Tartars* in their Robberies. The Principal Office of theſe is to attend the Artillery, Baggage and Proviſions, to mend the Ways and Bridges for paſſage of the Army. To the like ſervice are obliged certain Families of *Bulgarians*, for carriage of Hay, and cutting Graſs, according to the ſeaſon of the Year.

The number of the *Zaims* and *Timariots* in the Governments of the *Beglerbegs* of *Buda*, *Temſwar* and *Boſna*, I find not particularly deſcribed in *Ottoman* Books; but however according to the beſt information, that Militia on the Confines of the Empire called *Serhadly*, amount to the number of about 70000 fighting men paid out of the Rents of the *Sangiacks* of that Country. But though the Militia of *Buda* be not ſet down in the Regiſters of more ancient date at *Conſtantinople*, becauſe it is as it were a principality independent both for its Eminency, Revenue, and large extent of Dominions: yet in that City it ſelf is ſtrict order obſerved, and the Rolls of their force moſt exactly known and computed; to which the *Turks* have a ſtrict eye it being a frontier Gariſon of much importance and the Key of *Hungary*; the Militia of which, as I learned from Officers of Note, during my reſidence in that place, was according to this preciſe Account; Of

Janizaries	12000
Spahees	1500
Zaims and *Timariots*	2200
Azaps, which are the meaneſt ſort of Souldiery	1800
Belonging to the Caſtle of *Buda*	1200
Jebegges, or *Armourers*	1900
The Guard of the Gate called *Cuchue Cappe*	500
Topgées, or *Gunners*	500
Muriolues, a ſort of Foot Souldiers	300
Souldiers belonging to the Powder-houſe	280
The Souldiery who are Servants to the *Paſhaw*	3000

In all 22180; to which adding the Militia of *Boſna*, and other parts of *Sclavonia*; and all along the Frontier Countries, which extend for above 800 Engliſh miles, the number may amount to no leſs than 70000 fighting Men. But we here diſcourſe onely of the number of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*, which whole ſum amounts to, of *Zaims* 10948, and of *Timariots* 72436, which makes in all 83380; but this is calculated at the loweſt rate, they may very well be reckoned to be one third more, beſides other Militia's of *Cairo*, or other Orders of Souldiery to be treated of in the following Chapters.

Theſe Partitions or Diviſions were firſt made by *Solyman* the Magnificent, as the beſt Rule and Method for an orderly diſpoſition of his Militia, and as the ſtrongeſt nerve of the *Ottoman* Force: but as with time in the moſt exact compoſitions of Diſcipline, corruptions through covetouſneſs and ambition of Officers are introduced; ſo alſo in the juſt diſpoſal of theſe Rents according to the ancient Inſtitutions: for the *Beglerbegs*, *Paſhaws*, *Treaſurers*, and other Officers, inſtead of beſtowing this maintenance to the Souldiers, according to their merits of Valour or long Service, reſerve it to prefer and gratifie their Servants and Pages, obliging them in recompence thereof under various Services; ſome that live at *Conſtantinople*, or near the Sea, to defray the Charges of all Boats and Veſſels which carry their Houſhold Proviſions; others that live in the Inland Countries agreeing with the Teaſurer of the Souldiery, without regard to the true Heirs, or any other conſideration, ſet to ſale theſe Rents to them who profer moſt; ſo that in time of Harveſt the *Paſhaw* ſends abroad his Officers to gather his Profits from the poor *Timariots*, with that oppreſſion and violence as cauſes diſturbances, differences and Law-Suits amongſt them, which being to be decided by Judges partly intereſſed in the quarrel, the Sentence is certainly determined on their ſide who have moſt Power and moſt Money.

The foregoing account of *Zaims* and *Timariots* is the moſt reaſonable one can be given: And becauſe we have reckoned them at the loweſt rate, making ſome allowance to the 83380, this Militia may amount to an hundred thouſand Men, which, as I have heard, is the utmoſt number of this ſort of Soldiery.

CHAP. IV.

Of certain Cuſtoms and Laws obſerved amongſt the Zaimets *and* Timariots.

AMongſt theſe Forces of *Ziamets* and *Timariots*, are in time of War and Action mixed certain Voluntiers or Adventurers call'd by the *Turks Gionulli*, who maintain themſelves upon their own expence in hopes by ſome ſignal Actions of Valour to obtain the ſucceſſion into a *Zaims* or *Timariots* Lands, as places are made void by the ſlaughter of the War. Theſe Men are often very hardy and ready to attempt the moſt deſperate Exploits, moved by a deſire of the Reward, and by the Perſuaſion, that at worſt dying in a War againſt Chriſtians, they become Martyrs for the *Mahometan* Faith. It is reported, that in one day, upon the aſſaults given to *Sorinſwar*, or the new Fort of Count *Serini*, one *Timariots* Farm was beſtowed eight times; one being ſlain it was conferred on another, and ſo on a third, and ſo the reſt; all which had the misfortune to fall, untill it reſted on the eighth, the others dying with the Title onely of *Timariots*.

The

The *Zaims* or *Timariots* being aged, or impotent, have in their life-time power to reſign up the Right of their Eſtates to their Sons, or other Relations.

It is not lawfull for a Peaſant or Clown to mount his Horſe, or girt his Sword like a *Spahee*, untill firſt he hath had part of his Education in the Service or Family of ſome *Paſhaw*, or perſon of Quality, unleſs it be on the Confines of the Empire, where having given evident teſtimonies of his Courage, he may then become Competitour for the vacant Farms of a *Zaim* or *Timariot*.

It is the Cuſtome of *Romania*, that a *Zaim* or *Timariot* dying in the Wars, his *Zaims* Rents are divided into as many *Timariots* Farms as he hath Sons; but if a *Timariot* hath no more than 3000 Aſpers Rent, it deſcends entirely to his eldeſt Son; but if it be more, it is proportionably divided amongſt the reſt of his Children.

But if they die of a natural death at their own homes, the Lands fall to the diſpoſal of the *Beglerbeg* of the Countrey, either to confer them on the Heirs of the deceaſed, or any of his Servants, or ſell them at the beſt advantage.

But in *Anatolia* there are many *Zaims* and *Timariots* whoſe Eſtates are Hereditary to them and their Heirs; and are not obliged to ſerve in Perſon in the War, but onely to ſend their *Gebeluers*, or number of Servants according to the value of their Eſtates; of which duty if they fail in the time of War, the years Rent is confiſcated to the Exchequer; and this Eſtate deſcends to the next of Kin, whether derived from the Male or Female Line.

CHAP. V.

The ſtate of the Militia in Grand Cairo, *and* Egypt.

THE guard and protection of the Kingdom of *Egypt* is committed to the charge of twelve *Begs*, ſome of which are of the ancient Race of the *Mamalukes*, confirm'd by *Sultan Selin* upon the taking of *Cairo*; theſe have the command of the whole Militia in their hands, whereby they are grown proud, powerfull, and ready upon every diſcontent to riſe in Rebellion; every one of theſe maintains 500 fighting men, well appointed for War and exerciſed in Arms, which ſerve but as their Guard, and for Servants of their Court; with which they go attended in Journies, in their Huntings, and publick Appearances; under the command of theſe twelve Captains are 20000 Horſe, paid at the charge of the Countrey, whoſe Office is by turns to convey yearly the Pilgrims to *Mecha*, and the annual Tribute of 60000 *Zechins* to the *Ottoman* Court, whether it be judged requiſite to ſend it either by Land or Sea; theſe are the ſtanding Militia of the Countrey, out of which, unleſs upon the foregoing occaſions, they are not obliged to other ſervice; their principal duty being to prevent the invaſion of the *African* Montaneers, who often make incurſion from the barren Rocks, into the fat and fruitfull Soils of *Egypt*. Beſides this Militia are computed 80000 *Timariots*, out of which they yearly tranſport about 2500 or 3000 men to the Wars of *Candy*; but to more remote Countries, or the late Wars of *Hungary*, I did not hear that this Soldiery hath uſually been called.

Theſe twelve *Begs* of *Egypt* are noble by bloud, enjoying an hereditary Eſtate deſcending from Father to Son; which richneſs joined with the command of a powerfull Army, hath rendred them ſo formidable and inſolent, that oftentimes they take upon them an authority to impriſon and depoſe the *Paſhaw* from his Office, and ſpoil him of all the Riches he hath collected in his three years Government: by which means are alway great jealouſies, and enmities between the *Paſhaw* and theſe *Begs*; Diſſentions and Rebellions to that high degree, that many times it hath been little different from an abſolute Revolt. *Ibrahim Paſhaw* was in the year 1664. impriſoned by them, and obtained his liberty for * 600 Purſes of Money; after whoſe departure the Brother of the ſaid *Ibrahim*, upon ſome certain pretences on the *Paſhaw*'s ſcore, falling into their hands, was impriſoned alſo, but ſhortly after obtained his releaſment by the Grand Signior's † Maſter of Horſe, who was ſent expreſly to compoſe the diſorders of *Egypt*, which were now proceeded to that degree, as without ſome ſatisfactory atonement could not be termed otherwiſe than a total defection; and therefore they reſigned up one called *Sulficar Bei* to juſtice, who * being brought to *Adrianople*, was immediately in preſence of the Grand Signior put to death. But the *Turk* hath alway on occaſion of theſe diſturbances and inſolences, diſſembled and connived at the diſorders, perceiving the diſtemper of that Kingdom to be ſuch, as can with much difficulty be redreſſed, fearing that were forcible remedies applied, they would cauſe ſo violent a commotion of humours, as would abſolutely rent it from the body of the Empire.

* About 100000 Dollars at *Cairo*.

† Called *Embrahorc*.

* In the month of *Feb.* 1664.

The Auxiliary Forces to the forementioned Militia of the Turks,

Are the *Tartars*, *Valachians*, *Moldavians* and *Tranſilvanians*, under the command of their reſpective Princes. Who are obliged to ſerve in perſon whenſoever called by the *Sultan*'s command. The *Tartars*, I mean of *Crim*, are to furniſh one hundred thouſand men; the *Tartar han*, or Prince, in Perſon to lead them, when the Grand Signior himſelf appears in the Field: but if the Army is commanded by the Viſier onely, then the Son of the *Tartar han* is to ſerve, or having no iſſue, the Army to the number of Forty or fifty thouſand fighting men, is to be conducted under the chief Miniſter. But the Princes of *Valachia*, *Moldavia* and *Tranſilvania* are never excuſed from perſonal attendance in the Camp, each of which reſpectively are to be attended with Six or ſeven thouſand Men apiece. And though the Prince of *Tranſilvania* called *Apaſi*, was in the laſt War againſt the Emperour not called out of the Confines of his own Countrey; it was with deſign that he ſhould keep that ſtation free from the irruption of the Enemy, not that he was diſobliged from his perſonal attendance on the Viſiers Camp.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Spahees.

HItherto we have treated of the *Turkiſh* Horſe that are maintained by Farms and Rents of Lands: now it will be neceſſary to diſcourſe of thoſe that receive their conſtant pay from the Grand Signior's Treaſury; and theſe are called *Spahees*, who may not improperly be termed the Gentry of the *Ottoman* Empire, becauſe they are commonly better educated, courteous, and refined than the other ſort of *Turks*, and are in number 12000. Of theſe there are two Orders, one called *Silachtari*, who carry yellow Colours; and the other *Spahioglari* or the Servants of the *Spahees*, and have their Colours red; theſe Servants have now obtained the precedency above their Maſters; for though the *Silachtari* are very ancient, and deduce their inſtitution from *Ali* their firſt Founder, who was one of the four Companions of *Mahomet*; yet *Sultan Mahomet* the Third, on a day of Battel in *Hungary*, ſeeing the *Silahteri* routed and put to flight, with violent paſſion and earneſtneſs endeavoured to ſtop their courſe; and perceiving the Servants of theſe *Spahees* to remain ſtill in body, incited them to revenge the ſhamefull cowardiſe of their Maſters, who immediately encouraged with the words of the *Sultan*, clapping up a red Flag, gave ſo bold an onſet on the Enemy, and with that ſucceſs as wholly recovered the glory of the day: in remembrance of which ſervice and notable exploit, the *Sultan* as diſpoſer of all Honours and Orders, gave ever after the prehemineence to theſe Servants before their Maſters; ſince which time this new inſtitution of *Spahaoglary* hath always been continued.

Theſe Light horſe-men are armed with their Scimetar and Lance, called by them *Mizrok*, and ſome carry in their hands a *Gerit*, which is a Weapon about two foot long, headed with Iron, which I conceive to be the ſame with the *Pila* amongſt the *Romans*, which by long exerciſe and cuſtome they throw with a ſtrange dexterity and violence, and ſometimes darting it before them in the full career of their Horſe, without any ſtop recover it again from the ground: they alſo wear a ſtreight Sword named *Chaddare*, with a broad Blade fixed to the ſide of their Saddle, which, or the Scimetar, they make uſe of when they arrive to hand-blows with the Enemy; many of them are armed with Bows and Arrows, and with Piſtols and Carbines; but eſteem not much of Fire-Arms, having an opinion, that in the Field they make more noiſe than execution; ſome of them wear Jacks of Male and Head-pieces painted with the colour of their Squadron; in fight they begin their onſet with *Allah*, *Allah*, and make three attempts to break within the Ranks of the Enemy, in which if they fail, they then make their retreat.

Compariſon of the *Spahees* of *Aſia* and *Europe*.

The *Aſian Spahees* are better mounted than commonly thoſe of *Europe*, though theſe being Borderers on the Confines of the Chriſtians, having learned much of Diſcipline by conſtant skirmiſhes and combats, are trained in the Art of War, and become the more valiant and experienced Soldiers.

But the *Aſiatick Spahees* were formerly the more rich, many particular Men of them bringing into the Field thirty or forty men apiece, beſides their Led-Horſes, Tents, and other accommodations proportionable to their Retinue; but theſe Cavaliers ſeemed too great and proud to the Viſier *Kupriuli*, for the condition of common Troopers, and infected with the Epidemical Spirit of Faction and Mutiny, which raged at that time amongſt all the Grandees of the Empire; which cauſed him to ſtrike off their heads with as little remorſe as one would do the tops of Poppies, until he had abſolutely made a deſtruction of them. Thoſe now which remain are poor and inconſiderable, contented to comrade ten or twelve in a company, for maintenance of a poor Tent, and two or three Horſes and a Mule for Baggage and Proviſions; theſe are more tame, and ſubject to the Cudgel, and can take a beating patiently on the ſoles of the feet, which is their puniſhment, as the *Janizaries* is to receive the blows on the Buttocks (that ſo this chaſtiſement may neither incommode the ſeat of the Horſemen, nor the marches of the foot) but if the crime be great and capital, they are ſent for by *Chiauſes*, or Purſuivants to appear before the Viſier, by whom being condemned and ſtrangled near the Walls of the Grand Signior's *Seraglio*, their bodies are afterwards, about two or three hours in the night, thrown into the Sea,* without other ſolemnity than the firing of one of thoſe great Guns next the Sea, which are planted under the Walls of the *Seraglio*, which ſerve for ſo many warning pieces for others Example.

Their Pay.

Their pay is divers, but in general it is from twelve to one huudred Aſpers a day: thoſe who proceed from the *Seraglios* of *Pera*, *Ibrahim*, *Paſhaw* and *Adrianople*, which are ſo many Nurſeries and Schools as well of the principles of War, as Literature; or have been Cooks Mates (for the Cook of theſe Societies is principal Officer of reſpect) or *Baltagees*, that is, Hatchet-men, who cut Wood for the Grand Signior's *Seraglio*, and are licenſed to live abroad with the title of *Spahee*, have the loweſt pay of twelve Aſpers a day; but thoſe who are extracted from the Ieſs, or greater Chamber of the Grand Signior's own *Seraglio*, called *Seni ſerai*, have 19 Aſpers pay; and if they are favoured with the title of an Office, they receive two or three Aſpers augmentation. But ſuch as are elected to the War out of more eminent Chambers, as the Landery, the Turbant-Office, the Diſpenſatory, the * Treaſury, the † Falconers Lodge and others (which we have mentioned in the deſcription of the *Seraglio*) have at firſt thirty Aſpers daily pay: an ‖ encreaſe of which is obtained ſometimes by the Viſiers, or Regiſters favour unto two Aſpers more; ſometimes by ſervices in the War, by receiving two Aſpers augmentation for the head of every Enemy he brings in; two Aſpers more for * intelligence of the death of any *Spahee*, out of the pay of the deceaſed; as alſo, at the Inſtalment of every Grand Signior, five Aſpers increaſe is given as a donative general to the whole Army of *Spahees*: and thus many of them by art, induſtry, and good ſucceſs, go augmenting until they arrive to an hundred Aſpers, and here is their *non plus ultra*, they can riſe no higher. They are paid quarterly from three months to three months; which they may omit to receive for nine months, but if twelve paſs, they can only demand the nine, the other quarter or more, is confiſcated to the publick Exchequer: Their place of payment is now in the Hall of the Viſier, which formerly was in the Houſes of the Pay-Maſters, and Treaſurer, but changed by the Viſier

* *Killer Odaſi.*
† *Haznæ Odaſi.*
‖ Called *Tarakí.*

* This is done, that the Grand Signior may not be cheated by having the Pay continued to thoſe who are dead.

Viſier *Cupriuli*, on occaſion of the diſorders and abuſes of the Officers which cauſed Mutinies and Diſturbances amongſt the Soldiery. For the rich *Spahees* living far diſtant, to excuſe themſelves from a long journey to the City, agreed with the Pay-Maſters that they for ſome certain part of their Income, ſhould without farther trouble to themſelves, take up their Dues, and make it over quarterly to their Countries of abode; theſe men thus taſting the benefit of this trade, agreed with others for ſome little gains to diſpatch them before the reſt; by which means and the payment onely on Wedneſdays and Saturdays, thoſe *Spahees* that came from remote parts, making ſo long attendance, had with their exceſſes in *Conſtantinople* ſpent as much as the principal ſumm they expected; of which growing ſenſible, at firſt they began to murmur, then to threaten the Pay-Maſters, and at laſt proceeded to open Mutiny, by forcing the doors, breaking the windows of the Officers, with many other inſolencies and diſorders, until *Kupriuli*, to remedy theſe abuſes, ordered the money to be given out in his preſence, and the Payment to be continued every day untill the Pay was ended.

Sons of *Spahees.*

The Sons of *Spahees*, preſenting themſelves before the Viſier, may claim the privilege of being enrolled in the Grand Signior's Books; but their Pay, which is the loweſt rate twelve Aſpers a day, is to iſſue forth from their Fathers proportion, but then they are in the road of preferment, and are capable by their ſervices and merits to make additions upon foundation of their own induſtry. Beſides the forgoing ways by which the *Spahees* gain their encreaſe of pay, I am given to underſtand that formerly they had another benefit, called *Gulamiie*, or ſafe Conduct Money, which was one *per cent.* of all Monies to thoſe whom the Collectours of the Grand Signior's Revenue ſummoned to convey the Treaſure for more ſecurity to the Capital City, beſides the maintenance of themſelves and their Horſes in the Journey; but this as too chargeable a deduction from the Imperial Revenue, was with time taken off, to the great diſcontent of the *Spahees* in general.

Accidental gains to the *Spahees.*

The Grand Signior going in Perſon to the Wars, according to the ancient cuſtome of other *Sultans*, beſtows a largeſs on the *Spahees*, of Five thouſand Aſpers a Man, which they call *Sadak Akchiaſi*, or a donative for buying Bows and Arrows; as alſo to the *Janizaries*, as we ſhall hereafter mention.

Their Diſcipline.

This Army of *Spahees* is in the War a mere confuſed multitude without any Government, or diſtribution into Troops or Regiments, but march in heaps, fight without order, little account kept of their preſence or abſence from the Camp; onely at the pay in the month of * *November* whoſoever appears not, unleſs favoured by the Officers, hath his name raced from the Grand Signior's Regiſter.

*Called in Turkiſh *Kaſſem Uloſaſt.*

Their duty in the War is to ſtand Centinel with a *Janizary* at the end of every Cord at the Grand Signior's Pavilion, as alſo at the Viſier's, armed with his Cimitar, Bows, Arrows, and Lance, mounted on Horſe-back; as the *Janizary* on foot with a Sword and Musket; and alſo the charge of the Treaſure for payment of the Militia, is committed in the Field to their cuſtody.

How they have loſt their honour.

This Order of Soldiers was in ancient times in great eſteem and honour in all parts of the Empire, by reaſon of their accompliſhments in Learning, refined Education in the Imperial Court, their nearneſs to Preferments, and acquaintance and Intereſt with the Grandees of the Empire: The place of the *Selihtari* in their marches to the War, was to flank the Grand Signior on the left hand, and the *Spahi Oglani* on the right, and were always the ultimate reſerve of the Battel, as the Life-guard to the *Sultan:* But like men not knowing how to comport themſelves in proſperity, growing mutinous and ambitious to have a hand in the Government, became Confederates with the *Janizaries* in conſpiracy againſt the Life of their true Sovereign *Sultan Oſman*; to which Treaſon adding other Inſolencies, they juſtly were deprived of the favour of *Sultan Morat*, and *Sultan Ibrahim*; the terrours alſo of their late Sedition remaining freſhly ſtill impreſſed in the memory of this preſent Emperour *Sultan Mahomet*, when they complotted againſt his own and his Mothers Life, is the cauſe they have gone ſtill declining from the degree of their priſtine honour and eſteem; for the Prince as he is the Fountain of Honour, ſo is his countenance and favour the ſpirit and life which gives a luſtre and ſparkling to thoſe Titles and Riches he hath conferred; other Seditions haſtned the ruine of their reputation, and in the year 1657. when the Viſier *Mahomet Kupriuli*, on occaſion of his Expedition againſt *Janova*, ſummoned the *Aſian Spahees* to the Rendezvous in *Hungary*, who inſtead of yielding obedience to the command of their General, elected a new Captain, a *Spahee* of their own rank, called *Haſſan Aga*, preferred to be *Paſhaw* of *Aleppo*, whoſe name at that time, I remember, upon the hopes of the diſſentions he might create amongſt the *Turks*, was greatly famed and celebrated over all *Chriſtendom.* Theſe Combuſtions in *Aſia* headed by the chief Enemy to the Viſier, cauſed *Kupriuli* to leave many of his deſigns againſt *Tranſilvania* uneffected, and to clap up a Peace on reaſonable and moderate terms of honour, that ſo he might hinder the progreſs of a dangerous evil which now threatned and approached the Capital City; for by this time *Haſſan Paſhaw* being arrived near the Walls of *Scutari*, began to treat by way of Petition to the Grand Signior, and repreſent that out of his zeal to the good of his Majeſty and his Empire, he had undertaken a long march to inform him of the corruption of his Miniſters, and the miſcarriages of Government; his tender years as yet not having ripened his judgment to penetrate theſe evils, which with time his underſtanding would diſcover to be too inveterate and incurable. All the oppreſſions and aggrievances of the Soldiery he ſeemed to object to the cruelty and oppreſſion of *Kupriuli*, and in appearance, had nothing but thoughts of the honour and ſafety of the Grand Signior's perſon; and doubtleſs this man was unfit to manage ſuch a deſign; for he entertained ſcruples of Conſcience, and a remorſe and tenderneſs in ſpilling *Mahometan* Bloud, conſiderations which are incomptable with the condition of a Rebel; for who hath the impiety to draw his Sword againſt his Prince, muſt ſtop at no bars either of Divine or humane right to maintain it. This gave advantage to *Kupriuli* to effect his deſign upon his Enemy; for in the interim of this Treaty, *Mortaza Paſhaw* of *Babylon*, was commanded to poſſeſs the City of *Aleppo*, and *Haſſan*, after many fair meſſages and promiſes from the Grand Signior and the Viſier, was perſuaded to return again to *Aleppo*, to capitulate with *Mortaza* concerning thoſe points and aggrievances he ſought to have redreſſed; it

being alledged to him, that *Mortaza* had received inſtructions to treat, and a Plenipotentiary power to grant and firm as far as ſhould be reaſonable and honourable for the Grand Signior to condeſcend. *Haſſan* with this eaſie anſwer returned toward *Aleppo*; near which place he credulouſly committed himſelf into the hands of *Mortaza*, who no ſooner had him within his Tents, but he concluded all controverſies and capitulations by the deciſion of his head from his body; The whole Army of *Spahees* immediately, with the fall of their General, was ſcattered, and divided themſelves; but about three hundred of them being apprehended by *Mortaza*, were ſent to *Conſtantinople*, where, in the preſence of the Grand Signior, within the Walls of the *Seraglio* at *Scutari* they were all executed; ſince which their pride hath ever been declining, and their name became ſo odious amongſt the people, that upon the very nominating a *Spahee*, the vulgar were ready to run upon them with ſtones, or other Weapons that came next to hand; ſo that now the *Spahees* are much eclipſed in their ancient fame and honour.

There are beſides theſe two foregoing ſorts of *Spahees*, other four, the firſt called *Sag Vlefigi*, that is appointed to march on the right hand of the *Spahaoglani*, and carry white and red Colours. The ſecond is *Sol Vlefigi*, whoſe place is on the left hand of the *Selahtari*; which carry white and yellow Colours. The third *Sagureka*, that is Soldiers of Fortune that are to march on the right hand of the *Sag Vlefigi*, and carry green Colours. The fourth is *Sol Gureba*, whoſe place is to march on the left hand of the *Vlefigi*, and carry white Banners: but theſe four ſorts of *Spahees* are raiſed and liſted according to neceſſity and occaſions of War, and are obliged to all ſervices and duties; their pay is from 12 Aſpers to 20 a day, and are capable according to their merits, of being promoted to one of the ſuperiour Orders. There is alſo another ſort of more elevated *Spahees* called *Mutafaracas* who iſſue out from the *Seraglio* with more favour than the ordinary ſort of *Spahees*, and are four or five hundred in number, their pay is forty Aſpers a day, and have always the obligation or duty on them to ſerve and attend the Grand Signior when he goes in progreſs for pleaſure from one Village to another.

And thus much ſhall ſerve to have declared in brief concerning the inſtitution and diſcipline of the *Spahees*, alſo of the Militia of the *Turkiſh* Horſe; we ſhall now proceed to declare ſomething of their Infantry.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Janizaries.

THE next main ſinew of the *Ottoman* Power is the Order of *Janizaries*, which is as much as to ſay, the new Militia, and their Antiquity may be deduced from *Ottoman* the firſt King of the *Turks*; but becauſe they received honours and privileges from *Amurath* their third King, our *Turkiſh* Hiſtory accounts that to be the time of the firſt Original: it is certain that in his time they were modelized, and certain Laws preſcribed both for their education and maintenances when by the counſel of *Catradin*, otherwiſe called *Kara Ruſthenes*, *Amurath*'s Prime Vifier, it was ordained that for the augmentation of this Militia, every fifth Captive taken from the Chriſtians, above the age of fifteen years, ſhould be the dues of the *Sultan*, who at firſt were to be diſtributed amongſt the *Turkiſh* Husbandmen in *Aſia*, to learn and be inſtructed in the *Turkiſh* Language and Religion.

Their beginning.

Their number at firſt was not accounted above ſix or ſeven thouſand, now with time they are encreaſed to the number of twenty thouſand effective men: but were there a liſt taken of all thoſe who aſſume this title of *Janizary*, and enjoy their Privileges, though not their Pay, there would be found above 100000; ſix or ſeven go under the name of one *Janizary*, for gaining by this means a privilege of being free from all duties and Taxes, they beſtow a certain ſum of Money or annual Preſents on the Officers, in conſideration of which they are owned and countenanced as *Janizaries*. Their Habit is as the Picture repreſents, wearing always the Beard on the Chin and under Lip ſhaven, which ſome ſay they learned from the *Italians*; but certain it is, that this cuſtome is more ancient, than ſince the time of their Neighbourhood unto *Italy*: this manner of their ſhaving being generally uſed as a token of their ſubjection, and ſo all the Pages and Officers in the *Seraglio* of great Men, Orders of Gardeners, *Baltages* or Hatchet-men, and others, are diſtinguiſhed by this mark to be in ſervice, and obliged to the attendance of a Maſter: But when they are either licenſed from the War, or promoted to Office, or freed to their own diſpoſal, they immediately ſuffer their Beards to grow as a ſign of their liberty and gravity.

Their number.

Their Habit.

In former times this Militia conſiſted onely of the Sons of Chriſtians, educated in the *Mahomatan* Rites; but of late that Politick cuſtome hath been diſuſed, the reaſon of which ſome attribute to the abundance of people the *Turks* have of their own to ſupply all their occaſions: but I am induced rather to another opinion, having not obſerved the multitude which Hiſtories and Travellers tell us, that the *Turks* ſwarm with; and rather aſſign the neglect of this practice ſo prejudicial to Chriſtian Intereſt in theſe parts, to the corruption of the Officers, and careleſneſs in their Diſcipline.

The *Janizaries* of whom compoſed.

And though this election of *Janizaries*, out of the eldeſt and luſtieſt Sons of Chriſtians that inhabit *Europe* (for *Aſia* was exempted) is now diſuſed; yet ſuch as enter into this Order, whoſoever they are (unleſs the neceſſity of the preſent ſtate of the War be over urgent) are obliged to perform their Novitiate like *Tyrones Romani*, before they can be enrolled in the Regiſter of *Janizaries*, and are called *Agimoglas*. The chief Officers of theſe are called *Stambol Agaſi*, in whoſe care and charge it is to enure theſe men to all labours, pains, and fortifications, as to cut wood, carry burthens, endure heats, colds, and other ſufferings, which may render them obedient, temperate, vigilant, and patient of all the inconveniencies and miſeries of War.

The Novices.

The quarters many of theſe have in the Garden-Lodges of the Grand Signior's *Seraglio*'s (whereof there are many in and about *Conſtantinople*) to manure and dig the ground, learn the Art of Plantations, and Husbandry, and practiſe, as occaſion requires, meaner Offices of labour and ſervitude: others of them are placed in the three *Seraglio*'s (we have beforementioned in the Chapter of *Spahees*) *viz.* of *Pera*, *Ibrahim Paſham*, and *Adrianople*, where their principal art is the Myſtery of Plantation and delicious diſpoſal of Gardens into the variety of Knots, Walks, Groves, and Fountains; and though there

Their Quarters.

there are many of this Profeſſion who have no other thoughts to employ their minds, few of them are acquainted with any part of polite Husbandry, or know more than the ſeaſon to plant their Artichoaks or Colworts; as to the rules and ſymmetry of ſetting Trees, ordering the Labyrinths of Knots, making pleaſing Walks, Fountains, and Groves; it is ſtrange a people that delight ſo much in Flowers, in Fields, and Arbours, and have themſelves or Anceſtours ruined many of the delightfull Paradiſes of Chriſtians, ſhould be ſo wholly ignorant and dull in the contrivance of what they love, as not to be able to borrow one example or model, which amongſt all the Grand Signior's Gardens in *Conſtantinople* may deſerve a better name than of a Wilderneſs.

Others of theſe *Agiamoglans* are made *Baltages* or Hatchet-men to cut out wood for the *Seraglio*; others are made Cooks and Officers in the Kitchin, ſuch, I mean, as can already ſpeak the *Turkiſh* Language, for thoſe that are ignorant in that ſpeech, or in the *Mahometan* Religion, are diſpoſed into remoter parts of *Anatolia*, where the *Janizaries* have Poſſeſſions and Authority; as to *Ciotabia*, where the * Lieutenant General of the *Janizaries* hath a Revenue; to *Karahizar* and *Angura*, where the *Stambol Agaſi* hath principal power; to *Menteſche*, *Sultan Ughi* and *Karoſi*, where the *Turnagibatch* and *Jaiabatchi*, who are chief Officers of the *Janizaries*, have Rents and Profits belonging to their Offices, and here they are employed in ploughing and ſowing the Ground, or other laborious exerciſes, until ſuch time as ſupplies for the Wars give them occaſion to draw out theſe men from their ſeveral ſtations; and then being called to the Chambers of *Janizaries*, they orderly march one after the other according to their ſeniority, one holding the end of his fellows Garment, appear before the Muſter-maſter, who having enrolled their names in the Grand Signior's Regiſter, they run as faſt as they can by their *Odabaſche* or Maſter of their Chamber, who gives every one as he paſſes a blow under the Ear, to ſignifie their ſubjection to him: and this is the Ceremony obſerved in creating *Janizaries*.

* Called *Kiahaia-Begh*.

The manner in making *Janizaries*.

Their Pay. At their firſt Enrolment ſome have but one Aſper a day, others four or five, unto ſeven and a half; and ſo with time and favour of their Officers, encreaſe to twelve Aſpers a day, which is the higheſt pay of any *Janizary*, and can have no other advance, unleſs good Fortune promote them to the degree of a *Kiahaia Begh*, which is as much as Lieutenant-General of the *Janizaries*, or any other eminent Office.

Their Diet & Cloathing. Beſides this Pay, they have their daily Proviſion and Diet from the bounty of the Grand Signior, and their Table ordered at conſtant hours, where they find their Rice, fifty drams of Fleſh, and one hundred of Bread their ordinary Commons, and eat in their reſpective Refectories like Monks in Convents, or Scholars in their Colleges; they receive alſo one Soldiers Coat yearly, of Cloth made at *Salonica* of a courſe thred, but warm and convenient, which in every Month of *Ramazan* is diſtributed to each Chamber; ſo that their Bellies are full, and Backs are warm, and in all points are better provided than the tattered Infantry which are to be ſeen in moſt parts of *Chriſtendom*. And thus this people being pampered without cares of ſeeking their Bread, grow often querulous and apt to take the fire of Sedition with every ſpark of diſcontent in their Officers; the beginnings of which they commonly make known at their Aſſemblies of the publick *Divan*, whither four or five hundred of them are obliged four times a week, that is Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and Tueſday, to accompany the *Janizar Aga*, or their General; at that place they have their Commons from the Grand Signior's Kitchin, which when they have any ſubject of diſcontent, they evidence by ſlighting, kicking down their Plates of Rice, and ſhewing better ſtomachs to be revenged, than to their Entertainment; which Mutinies the Grand Signior and principal Miniſters having found oftentimes fatal, endeavour by fair promiſes and ſatisfactory compliance with their deſires to pacifie in their firſt motion.

Mutinies.

The General of this Militia is called *Janizar Agaſi*, and is always elected from the Royal Chamber of the *Seraglio*; becauſe it being an Office of great charge, it is thought neceſſary to be intruſted to one whoſe Education and Preferment hath made a Creature of the Court; which Policy hath been the ſuppreſſion of divers Mutinies amongſt the *Janizaries*, the diſcovery of their Combination, and an engagement to a ſtronger dependency on the favour of the *Seraglio*. When this General either dies by a natural death, or the Sword of the Grand Signior's Juſtice or Authority, his Riches, like that of other *Paſhaws*, is not confiſcated to the *Sultan's* Exchequer; but the Inheritance accrues to the publick Treaſury of the *Janizaries*; which how dangerous it is to a State to have a Militia endowed with Revenues appropriated to their Officers (as already we have declared they poſſeſs in ſome parts of *Anatolia*) and a Bank of Wealth united to the maintenance of a licentious Sword, the *Ottoman* Princes have by ſad effects rather felt, than able by virtue of their abſolute Power to remedy.

Hazoda.

The *Janizar Aga*.

The publick Treaſury of the *Janizaries*.

The ſecond chief Officer is the *Kirhaia Begh*, Lieutenant-General.

Officers.

The third is *Seghban baſchi*, the Overſeer of the Carriage of the Soldiers Baggage.

The fourth is the *Turnagi Baſhee*, or Guardian of the Grand Signior's Cranes.

The fifth is the *Samſongi Baſhee*, chief Maſter of the Grand Signior's Maſtives.

The ſixth is the *Zagargi Baſhee*, Maſter of the Spaniels.

The ſeventh is the *Solack Baſhee*, Captain of the Archers, or of ſuch of the *Janizaries* who go armed with Bow and Arrows.

The eighth is *Subaſhi* and *Aſſasbaſhi*, who are chief of the Sergeants and Bailiffs, and attend always at the Grand Signior's Stirrop when at any time on ſolemn occaſions he ſhews himſelf to the people.

The ninth is the *Peikbaſhi*, or Commander of that ſort of Pages which are called *Peiks*, who wear Caps of beaten Gold, of which there are 60 in number, who march at Solemnities together with the *Solacks* near the perſon of the Grand Signior.

The tenth is *Meizurga*, or the head Baily of the *Janizaries*.

Theſe eight laſt ariſe from the order of the *Janizaries*, and have their ſeveral Commands in the Army, though the Grand Signior, to augment their Power and Honour the more, bellows on them Titles and Wealth in other Offices.

The *Janizaries* Chambers of which there are no others but in *Conſtantinople*) are in number 162, of which 80 are of ancient Foundation, and are called *Eskai Odalar*; and 82 called *Jeni Odalar* or of the new Chambers; over moſt of which is a *Tchorbagi*

The *Janizaries* Chambers.

or Captain. In theſe Chambers thoſe that are not married enjoy their Lodgings and Habitation; and twice a day find their Repaſt, as we have before-mentioned: And thus inſtead of Monaſteries of Fryars, the *Turk* maintains Convents and Societies of Soldiers; who are trained up with all modeſty and ſeverity of Diſcipline.

Officers of the Chambers.

The principal Officers of theſe Chambers are, Firſt, the *Odabaſhee*, or Maſter of the Chamber, who in the Wars ſerve as Lieutenants of the Company.

Second is *Wekilharg*, or Expenditour for maintenance of the Chamber.

The third is *Bairackter*, or Enſign-bearer.

Fourth is *Aſhgee*, or the Cook of the Chamber.

Fifth is *Karakullukgee*, or the under-Cook.

Sixth is the *Saka*, or the Water-carrier.

The Cook is not onely an Officer to dreſs the Diet and Proviſion of the *Janizaries*, but is alſo a Monitor or Obſerver of their good behaviour; ſo that when any one of them commits a Crime, the Cook is the Officer that executes the puniſhment. The under Cook ſerves alſo for an Apparitor, and is he who ſummons the married *Janizaries* at their ſeveral Dwellings in *Conſtantinople*, when their Officers command their attendance.

Janizaries married.

The greateſt part of the *Janizaries* conſiſts of Batchellours or ſingle Men; for though Marriage cannot be denied to any of them, yet it is that which determines their Preferments, and renders their Seniority uncapable of claiming a right to Offices, or Military Advancement; for being incumbred with Wife, and other Dependencies they are judged in a condition not capable to attend the Diſcipline of the War, or ſervice of the Grand Signior; and therefore as to other duty. In the times of Peace, beſides their appearance every Friday in their Chambers, and preſence of their Officers, they wholly are diſpenſed with.

In the Wars this Militia is conſidered as the moſt valiant and beſt Diſciplined Soldiery of the *Turkiſh* Camp, and therefore are kept as a Reſerve, or march in the main Body of the Army. In times of Peace their Quarters are many times changed, to keep them in employment, from one Caſtle or Gariſon to another, as to *Buda*, *Kaniſia*, *Temeſwar*, to *Rhodes*, *Canea*, and other parts: ſome of them are appointed to keep Courts of Guard at all Gates and Avenues of *Conſtantinople*, to prevent the Inſolencies and Injuries their Companions are apt to offer to Chriſtians, Jews, and others in the Streets, who at ſome times, being heated with Wine, have in open Market forced Women whilſt their Comrades have with their * Daggers drawn ſtood over them to defend them from the people; to prevent which diſorders, the *Janizar Agaſi* accuſtoms to ride the Streets attended with about 40 *Mumigies*, or Bailiffs of the *Janizaries*, where meeting any guilty of ſuch like Crimes, or other Enormities, he ſeizes them and carries them to his Court, where after examination of their fault, he orders them to be beaten, or if their Crime be great, to be ſtrangled, or ſowed in a Sack and thrown into the Sea; but always their puniſhment is inflicted privately, perhaps becauſe they are jealous of a Mutiny.

* Called *Haniarres.*

Serdars.

In every Province the *Janizaries* have their *Serdars*, who are Colonel or chief of all the *Janizaries* within that Juriſdiction, who greatly abuſe their Office by taking into their protection any that preſent or pay them for this Privilege; by which means they have grown ſo powerfull and rich, that ſome time paſt the Command of the whole *Ottoman* Empire hath repoſed in the hands of this Militia.

Their Arms are Muſquets and Swords, they fight confuſedly in the Field, and with no more order than the *Spahees*; onely ſometimes they draw themſelves up into *Cunei*, obſerved amongſt the *Romans*.

And thus much ſhall ſerve to have ſpoken of the Inſtitution and Diſcipline of the *Janizaries*: We ſhall now proceed to declare how this Militia is decayed, and upon what grounds it is not maintained in its ancient honour and flouriſhing Eſtate.

CHAP. VIII.

Whether the maintenance of an Army of Janizaries *according to the Original Inſtitution, be now agreeable to the Rules of Polity amongſt the* Turks.

THIS Problem I find firſt moved by *Buſbequius*, once the *German* Emperour's Ambaſſadour to *Conſtantinople*, who pretends to ſpeak the Grand Signior's ſenſe in this particular, on occaſions of difference which the inſolent rudeneſs of the *Janizaries* had cauſed between themſelves and his Family: For *Ruſan Paſhaw* then Prime Viſier, admoniſhed him friendly to condeſcend to any terms of compoſition, for that Law could not avail where Soldiers ruled; and the powerfull *Soliman* himſelf, who then reigned, trembled at nothing more than the apprehenſion of ſome ſecret Ulcer of perfidiouſneſs, which might lie concealed within the retetiement of the *Janizaries*. *Epiſt. 3. de Legatu Turcico.*

But as there is no queſtion, but a ſtanding Army of veterane and well Diſciplined Soldiers muſt be always uſefull and advantageous to the Intereſt of a Prince; ſo, on the contrary, negligence in the Officers, and remiſneſs of Government, produces that licentiouſneſs and wreſtineſs in the Soldiery, as betrays them to all the diſorders which are dangerous, and of evil conſequence to the welfare of a State.

And ſo it hath fared with the *Ottoman* Empire, which riſing onely by the power of Arms, and eſtabliſhed on the bloud of many valiant and daring Captains, gave Privileges, Honours and Riches to the Militia, and at all times encouraged their proweſs and forwardneſs by Rewards, and Connivance at their Crimes; by which indulgence and impunity, theſe men ill-principled in rules of Vertue, and unequally bearing proſperity, and the favour of the Prince, have for a long time been gathering a ſtock of ill humours ready to receive any contagion of ſeditious deſign, and to maintain it with an impudence contrary to the *Janizaries* for ſome ages, which may equal the levity of the *Roman* Soldiery, untill they ſhamelefly ſet their Empire to ſale, and forgot both their old obedience to the Senate, and reverence to their new Emperours.

The death and ruine of many Grandees, and of the *Sultan* himſelf by ſuch like Seditions, hath at length by dear experience taught the principal Miniſters how unſafe, it is to permit an Army lodged in the bowels of the Capital City, of a diſpoſition favourable to it ſelf, envious,

vious, and impatient of any other, jealous, and always at enmity with the Court; rich and powerfull, with Poſſeſſions and Rents appertaining to its Commanders in *Anatolia*, and a Treaſury of unknown ſums, which have deſcended to the common Bank by the deceaſe of their Generals or *Janizar-Aga*'s; and therefore have by degrees, and as prudently as might be, begun to diminiſh the ſtrength of this Militia, by the deſtruction of the veterane Soldiers, and ruine of their reputation by various arts, in the eſtimation of the world.

The particular means whereby the *Janizaries* have been ſtudiouſly deſtroyed, are by many ways evident; for *firſt* they are expoſed upon every obſcure Service, and drawn forth to encounter every Aſſault of the Empire; as the Wars of *Candy* have exhauſted the flower of this Militia, the Battels at Sea buried vaſt numbers, who were formerly reſerved for times of eminent exploits and glory.

Secondly, Which deſtruction of the veterane Soldiers hath created other miſchiefs to this Order, in point of Diſcipline, as prejudicial as the former; for as the *Agiamoglans* were obliged to perform ſix or ſeven years Novitiate, now by reaſon of the conſtant neceſſities to ſupply the Wars, they overskip the orderly formalities of the firſt Inſtitution, and create them *Janizaries* after a year; or half a years ſervice. And others I have known educated in Mechanick profeſſions, and from framing Timber and carrying Burthens in the Arſenal, have at once for the ſervice of *Candy* been created *Janizaries*, who neither know how to manage a Musket, nor are otherwiſe Diſciplined to any exerciſe of Arms.

Thirdly, That *Europe* may not be diſpeopled by the triennial ſeiſure of Chriſtian Children for the Grand Signior's ſervice, which in *Turkiſh* is called *Deuſchirme*, the politick Cuſtome and principal conſervation of the Diſcipline of *Janizaries* is; as we have ſaid before, wholly forgotten, and inſtead thereof election is made of Vagabonds, that proffer themſelves out of *Aſia*, or other parts, who having paſſed five or ſix months like Novices, are afterwards made *Janizaries*; and being ignorant in the uſe of Arms, and unaccuſtomed to labours and ſufferings, run from their Colours, and renounce their Order, which has been in times paſt one of the moſt honourable in the whole Empire.

Fourthly, The old veterane Officers, which had by degrees and ſteps proceeded to honour methodically from inferiour Soldiers, have either by their own ſeditious ſpirits, or jealouſies of the Prince, been diſpeeded from this World; and in their places the Sons of *Conſtantinopolitan Janizaries* ſucceeded, who have been bred up with ſoftneſs and effeminacy; and their *Tchorbagees* or Captains have not obtained their Commands by time by valour, but Buy their Places with Money and Preſents to their Prime Officers.

Fifthly, And to forward the decay of this Militia, and to take off their warlike and haughty Courages, the confinement to their Chambers is not ſevere, but liberty given upon colour of Poverty, and impoſſibility of livelihood on their mean Pay, to attend other Trades and Services, whereby the exerciſe of Arms and thoughts of the War is converted to Mechanick Arts, and an intention to ways of maintenance of themſelves and Families.

Sixthly, Hope of reward and fear of puniſhment, which are the incitements to worthy actions and reſtrictions from the vileſt crimes, are rarely held up to the *Janizaries* in theſe times for their encouragement or terrour; for without Money to the ſuperiour Officers none of them obtains Preferment; nor can any worn out with age and wounds procure diſmiſſion from the War with the enjoyment of the uſual ſtipend, who are called by the Turks *Oturak*, and by the Latins *Exauctorati*; and on the contrary the Children of Officers born in *Conſtantinople* are often made *Oturaks* in their Cradles, and luſty Youths are with favour and Money exempted in the flower of age from the labours of War, and yet enjoy the benefits due to a toileſome Militia.

And yet, as if all the connivance at theſe various diſorders and ſubverſion of the good inſtitutions of the Soldiery were not ſufficient to impoveriſh their ſpirits, to mould them into a more effeminate temper, and cauſe them to loſe their intereſt and reputation: it is the common opinion that the Viſier *Kupriuli* laid the deſigns for the late War with *Germany* before his death, and enjoined it to his Son to proſecute, with an intention, amongſt other expectations of benefit to the Empire, to complete the final deſtruction of the ancient *Spahees* and *Janizaries*, ſo as to be able to lay a foundation of a new Diſcipline, which may more eaſily for the future reſtrain the *Turkiſh* Militia within the compaſs of better modeſty and obedience: which deſign hath taken ſo ſevere effect in the War of *Hungary*, in the year *1664.* that the bloudieſt part of ſlaughter in the Battels fell on the *Janizaries* and *Spahees*, and by how much more any were more bold and forward in their attempts, by ſo much more fatal and haſty was their ruine; ſo that it is reported, that the valianteſt Soldiers of the Confines, the veterane and beſt diſciplined of the *Spahees* and *Janizaries*, and the beſt number of their ſkilfull Commanders and expert Captains periſhed promiſcuouſly together, to the great damage and weakning to the *Ottoman* Power; ſo that now it is not probable that a new Militia ſucceeding, capable of receiving other Cuſtoms and Laws, and neither remembring nor concerned in former Mutinies, will adventure to follow the ſeditious practices of their Predeceſſours; for men are commonly modeſt at their firſt entrance into any condition; and unleſs debauched by corruption and Government, are eaſily contained within the bounds of reaſonable moderation. And yet notwithſtanding that the pride of the *Turkiſh* Religion is reduced to ſo low an abatement of their power, and to a condition eaſily for the future with with good management to be ruled; yet this preſent *Sultan Mahomet* ſtill retaining the memory and impreſſion of the amazement he ſuffered in his infancy on occaſion of a dangerous combination and conſpiracy of the *Janizaries*; will never confide himſelf to their guard, nor be reconciled to *Conſtantinople*, in conſideration of the many Chambers it contains of that loathed Militia, which have been ſo many Nurſeries and Seminaries of Treaſons complotted againſt himſelf, and his other Progenitors.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Chiauſes.

THESE having both offenſive and defenſive Arms aſſigned them, may be reckoned in the number of the Militia, though their Office being chiefly in relation to Civil Proceſſes and Laws, they may deſerve rather the name of Purſuivants or Serjeants. They are in number about 5 or 600, their pay is from 12 to 40 Aſpers a day; and chief Officer is called *Chiaus Baſchee*, to whoſe cuſtody Priſoners of Quality are committed; their place of Attendance is the Palace of the Prime Viſier, to be ready on all occaſions to carry Letters and Commands to any part of the Empire; ſuch Chriſtian Renegadoes as become *Turks*, they moſt commonly for their Incouragement and ſubſiſtence in the *Mahometan* Superſtition, admit into this Rank; becauſe having commonly an endowment of other Languages beſides the *Turkiſh*, are moſt ſerviceable on meſſages into foreign Countries; and ſometimes are ſent with the Title of Ambaſſadours; as one was once into *England*, *France*, and *Holland*. Their Arms are a Scimetar, a Bow, and Arrows, and a Truncheon with a knob at the end, called in *Turkiſh Topous*; thoſe of theſe Officers that are Servants to the Viſier or *Beglerbegs* carry this Truncheon covered with Silver, called in *Turkiſh Tebeughian*; but the *Chiauſes* of ſimple *Paſhaws* onely of Wood: their Harveſt they make upon the occaſions of Law Suits and Differences between one party and another, being Apparitors or Serjeants to call the guilty perſon to juſtice; or if the buſineſs comes to compoſition, they commonly are in the midſt to perſuade both ſides to reaſon, in which action they want not their Fees or acknowledgment of labour from both Parties.

CHAP. X.

Of the other parts of the Turkiſh *Militia, the* Toptchi.

THESE are Gunners, called ſo from the word *Tope*, which in *Turkiſh* ſignifies a Cannon; and are in number about 1200 diſtributed in 52 Chambers; their Quarters are at *Tophana*, on the place of Guns in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*; few of theſe are expert in their art, and are ill practiſed in the Proportions and Mathematical part of the Gunners Myſtery; for were they as skilfull as many Ingeneers in the World, they might doubtleſs with that vaſt Train of Artillery they either march with in their Camp, or found in their Trenches, give much more annoyance to the Chriſtian Forces: And therefore knowing their own imperfections in this exerciſe, when Chriſtian Gunners are taken in the War, they entertain them with better uſage than other Captives, quartering them in the Chambers appropriated to that Profeſſion, allotting them with others a pay from 8 to 12 Aſpers a day; but becauſe this is too inconſiderable a maintenance to allure men who are otherwiſe principled, moſt of them as occaſion offers, deſert the ſervice of the *Turk*, and fly to their own Countrey.

Their Officers are,

1. The *Topgibaſchi*, or General of the Ordinance.
2. The *Dukigibaſchi*, or the Chief of them that found the great Guns.
3. The *Odabaſchi*, the Chief of all the Chambers of the Gunners in the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*.
4. Is the *Kiatib* of their Muſter-Maſter, who is always a *Spahee*.

Their Guns are the biggeſt, and as well caſt and moulded as any in the World; for the laſt Expedition in *Hungary* there were 40 Pieces of new Gannon caſt and tranſported by way of the Black Sea, and thence by the *Danube* unto *Belgrade* and *Buda*. Their Gunpowder is made but in ſmall quantities about *Conſtantinople*, but comes from divers places of *Europe*; but that from *Damaſcus* is moſt eſteemed. The biggeſt ſize of their Bullets are from 36 to 40 Inches Diamiter, but theſe are moſt commonly of Stone, which they make uſe of in the Caſtles or Block-houſes ſituate on the Sea, as at the Caſtles upon the *Helleſpont*, called anciently *Seſtos* and *Abidos*, and at the Forts at entrance of the Black Sea. Once an *Engliſh* Man, Gunner of a Ship which lay at *Conſtantinople*, had the curioſity and confidence to meaſure the dimenſions of theſe Bullets; but being apprehended in the very act, was impriſoned for a Spy; but by the interceſſion of our Ambaſſadour then Reſident, with much labour and ſome expence was at length releaſed.

Of the Gebegees.

Theſe are Armourers; ſo called from the word *Gebees*, which ſignifies in *Turkiſh* as much as Arms of Back and Breaſt; they are in number 630 diſtributed into 60 Chambers, and have their Quarters near the Church of *Santa Sophia* in *Conſtantinople*; their Office is to conſerve the Arms of ancient times from ruſt, by cleaning and oyling them, ſo as to remain as Trophies for ever of the *Turkiſh* Conqueſts: Their pay is from 8 to 12 Aſpers a day; their Officers are firſt the *Gebegibaſchi*, who is their Commander in chief. 2. The *Odobaſhees*, who are ſo many Maſters of the Chambers. On all expeditions theſe Armourers are neceſſary Officers, and oftentimes in days of Battel diſtribute forth the antique Arms, of which they have a care, into the hands of the *Janizaries*: but of theſe, the men that are indifferently rich, and have favour and friends, enjoy their pay with eaſe at their own homes; and like other * *Ogiacks* are capable of being made *Otmachs*, or retaining their Penſion with a diſpenſation from the War.

* *Ogiacks* ſignifies a Family, as alſo a Military Family; ſo *Spahi Ogiagbi*, the Order of the *Spahees*; *Soviſcheri Ogiaghi*, the Militia of *Janizaries*, &c.

Of the Delees.

Delee ſignifies as much as a mad fellow, or a Hector; theſe are the Prime Viſier's Lifeguard, and are in number from 100 to 400, more or leſs, according as the Viſier is more or leſs rich and ſplendid in his Retinue; their Pay is from 12 to 15 Aſpers a day; they are by Nation of *Boſna*, or *Albania*; their Habit is very

very ridiculous according to this Picture; they are men choſen for their great ſtature and ſtomachs; they ſpeak big, talk of nothing but killing and adventurous exploits, but in reality their heart and courage is not eſteemed proportionable to their bulk and bodies: in the City they march before the Viſier on foot, and make way for him to the *Divan*; on journies they are too heavy and lazy not to be well mounted; they have a Captain over them called the *Delibaſchi*, their Arms are a Lance after the *Hungarian* faſhion, a Sword, and Pole-Axe, and ſome of them carry a Piſtol at their Girdle. This ſort of people being naturally more faithfull than the *Turks*, and more inclinable to the Viſier *Kupriuli*, for being of the ſame Country, he maintained 2000 of them for his Guard: which was ſo great a curb to the *Janizaries* and the other Militia, that they were never able to execute any Conſpiracy againſt him. The ſame courſe his Son the preſent Viſier follows, and is doubtleſs next the Grand Signior's favour, his principal ſecurity.

Of the Segbans *and* Sarigias.

It is not to be omitted that the *Beglerbegs* and *Paſhaws* maintain always a Militia called *Segbans*, to whoſe cuſtody the charge of the Baggage belonging to the Horſe is committed; and a ſelect number called *Sarigias*, to whoſe care the Baggage of the Infantry is entruſted; theſe ſerve on foot with Muskets like *Janizaries*, and the others on Horſe-back like Dragoons in *Chriſtendom*; their Pay beſides their Meat is 3 or 4 Dollars a Month. The *Beglerbegs* have oftentimes on occaſion of their Rebellions enrolled many of this ſort of Militia to encounter the *Janizaries*; the which was practiſed in theſe late times by *Ipchir Paſhaw*, *Haſan Paſhaw*, and *Murteza Paſhaw*, who having liſted great numbers to fight under this denomination, the Viſier *Kupriuli* for terrour and more eaſie deſtruction of this people, proclaimed through all *Aſia*, that ſtrict inquiſition ſhould be made after the *Segbans* and *Sarigias*, and that it might be lawfull for any one to kill and deſtroy them without mercy; by which means many were butchered in ſeveral places, and 30000 of them revolted to the *Soſi* of *Perſia*.

The Muhlagi *and* Beſli,

Are the Servants of *Beglerbegs* and *Paſhaws*; the firſt make profeſſion of a principal art in Horſemanſhip, and exerciſe themſelves in throwing the *Gilid*, which is a Dart much uſed amongſt the *Turks*, in the true management of which there is a great dexterity; and becauſe there are conſiderable rewards beſtowed on thoſe who are expert herein, the *Turks* practiſe it on Horſeback as their onely exerciſe and ſtudy: very much delight herein the Grand Signiors have always taken, and to be Spectatours of the Combats between the ſervants of ſeveral *Paſhaws* born in different Countries and Nations, who from a Principle of honour to their Nation, and hopes of Preferment, contend with that heat and malice one againſt another, as ſurpaſs the cruelty of the ancient Gladiators; and not onely limbs or eyes are loſt in the skirmiſh, but oftentimes ſacrifice their bloud and life for the paſtime of their Prince. Such as are obſerved to be bold, active and dextrous at this Game, are preferred to the degree and benefit of a *Zaim* or *Timariot*. The *Beſlees* are Footment, who for their great abilities in walking and running, attain oftentimes to be made *Janizaries*.

And thus we have now, with as much brevity as may be, run through the ſeveral Degrees, Numbers, Inſtitutions, Laws, and Diſcipline of the *Turkiſh* Militia by Land: whoſe farther progreſs into *Chriſtendom*, and damage to the Chriſtian Cauſe, may the Almighty Providence ſo diſappoint, that his Church corrected and grown more pious by this chaſtiſement, may at length be relieved from the Rod and Yoke of this great Oppreſſour.

CHAP. XI.

Certain Obſervations on the Turkiſh Camp; and the Succeſs of the laſt Battel againſt the Chriſtians.

IN the year of our Lord 1665. the Earl of *Winchelſea*, our Lord Ambaſſadour for certain Affairs of His Majeſty and the Company of Merchants, having commanded me to meet the great Viſier in his return from the Wars in *Hungary*; through ill, or rather uncertain information of the Viſier's motion, I was forced to proceed as far as *Belgrade* in *Servia*, on the Confines of *Hungary*, 23 days Journey from *Conſtantinople*, where finding a good part of the *Turkiſh* Army encamped near that City, for better convenience and expedition of my buſineſs, I entred within the Quarters of the *Spahees*, and pitched my Tent as near the Viſier's, and the other principal Officers as conſiſted with due reſpect; in which place I remained ſeven days, untill the Army removed towards *Adrianople*; and not having fully compleated my buſineſs there, I marched and remained other 13 days together with the Army: in which time I had leiſure to make ſome reflexions on the Order of the *Turkiſh* Camp.

In the front of the Camp are quartered the *Janizaries*, and all others deſtin'd for Foot-ſervice, whoſe Tents encompaſs their *Aga* or General: In the body of the Camp are erected the ſtately Pavilions of the Viſier, of his *Kahiia* or chief Steward or Counſellour, the *Reis effendi*, or Lord Chancellour, the *Teſterdar Paſcha*, or Lord Treaſurer, and the *Kapiſler Kahiaſee* or Maſter of the Ceremonies; which five Pavilions take up a large extent of ground, leaving a ſpacious Field in the midſt, in the centre of which is raiſed a lofty Canopy, under which Offenders are corrected or executed, and ſerves to ſhelter from the Sun or Rain ſuch as attend to the *Divan*, or other buſineſs with the Officers of State. Within the ſame ſpace of ground alſo is the *Haſna* or Treaſury, in ſmall Cheſts one piled on the other, in form of a Circle, for guard of which 15 *Spahees* every night keep watch with their Arms in their hands. Near theſe quarters are the Tents of *Paſhaws*, *Beghs*,

Beghs, *Agaes*, and Perſons of Quality, who with their Retinue ſolely make up a conſiderable part of the *Turkiſh* Army. In the Rere are the quarters of the *Spahees*, and others that attend the Horſe ſervice as *Segbans*, *Sarigias*, and others: On the right hand of the Viſier without the Camp are placed the Artillery, and Ammunition; which in the time I was there was inconſiderable, the great Cannon remaining in *Buda* and in the City of *Belgrade*, onely 40 or 45 ſmall Field-pieces of Braſs (as I reckoned them) each drawn by four Horſes, marched with the Viſier, more at that time for ſtate and oſtentation, than for real ſervice. The Pavilions of the great Viſier, and other Perſons of principal Office and Quality, may rather be called Palaces than Tents, being of a large extent, richly wrought within, adorned beyond their Houſes, accommodated with ſtately Furniture, with all the convenience of the City and Countrey, and in my opinion far exceed the magnificence of the beſt of their Buildings; for being but for few years continuance, the maintenance of them is beyond the expence of Marble and Porphyry, or the perpetual Edifices of *Italy*, durable to many *Olympiads* and *Myriads* of years. With theſe Houſes and movable Habitations, which with the Poſts that ſupport them, are of that great weight and bulk, the *Turkiſh* Army marches daily, four, five, and ſometimes ſix hours Journey; all which Baggage is carried on Horſes, Mules, and Camels; The great Perſons are furniſhed with two ſets of Tents, one of which as the Viſier riſes, is advanced the *Conack* or days Journey beyond; ſo that in the morning leaving one Tent, another is found at noon ready furniſhed and provided at arrival; which is the reaſon why the *Turkiſh* Camp abounds with ſuch multitudes of Camels, Mules, and Horſes of Burthen, with ſo many thouſand Attendants on the Baggage, which are of a vaſt expence, and if duly conſidered, is a matter of the greateſt ſtate and magnificence in the *Turkiſh* Empire.

Though it is reported by thoſe who are Soldiers, and have experienced the Valour of the *Turks* in fight, that their Victories are obtained by multitudes of men, rather than by Art, or Military Diſcipline; however the Conqueſts they have made on the parts of *Chriſtendom*, is a demonſtration undeniable of ſome ſupereminent Order in their Army, which recompences the defect of Knowledge in the Myſtery of War; and this Regulation (in my opinion) proceeds from nothing more than the ſtrict prohibition of Wine upon pain of death (two Men being executed during the time of my Reſidence there for bringing a ſmall quantity of it in the Field) for hereby men become ſober, diligent, watchfull and obedient. In the *Turkiſh* Camp no brawls, quarrels, nor clamours are heard; no abuſes are committed on the people by the march of their Army; all is bought and paid with money, as by Travellers that are Gueſts at an Inn; there are no complaints by Mothers of the Rape of their Virgin-daughters, no Violences or Robberies offered on the Inhabitants; all which order tends to the ſucceſs of their Armies, and Enlargement of their Empire. As on the contrary, the ſloth of the *Germans* and other Nations in their Counſels againſt the *Turks*, the liberty given to the Chriſtian Soldiery, or rather the difficulty to correct, proceeds from nothing more than the intemperance in Wine, which moves in the Soldiery a luſt and promptitude to all evils, and is occaſion of the horrid outrages they commit, quarrels among themſelves, and diſobedience to their Officers, and betrays oftentimes a whole Army to ruine by ſurpriſal; for how can thoſe men be watchfull, whoſe heads are charged with the fumes of Wine, and not yield opportunity of ſad advantages to ſo awakned an Enemy as the *Turk*? *Busbequius* who had been Ambaſſadour from the Emperour to the Grand Signior in two ſeveral Embaſſies, and had known and ſeen the vigilance of the *Turkiſh* Camp, attributes much of their ſucceſs againſt the *Germans* to the ancient Vice of Intemperance of his Countrey: *Neque vero*, ſaith he, *graviore imperio Turcæ Græcos premant, quàm nobis dominantur vitia, luxus, crapula.* And ſo ſenſible are the *Turks* of the abuſes and diſorders which ariſe in their Camp by the uſe of Wine, that they endeavour all that is poſſible to debar their people from it, and therefore two or three days before the Army arrives at any place, Officers are diſpatched before to ſeal all Taverns, and make proclamation againſt the ſale of Wine: for though it be againſt their Law to drink Wine, yet Drunkenneſs is now become ſo common a Vice amongſt them (as we have already declared in the ſecond Book) that ſcarce one in ten but is addicted to a brutiſh intemperance therein.

The Camp is always free from ordure and filth; there being holes digged near every Tent, which are encompaſſed about with Canvas for the more privacy and accommodation in mens neceſſary occaſions; and whenſoever theſe places become noiſome and full, they are covered with Earth, and the Canvas removed; ſo that the whole Camp is clear of all excrements of men, as alſo kept more free from other ſtench (which may cauſe putrefaction) than the moſt orderly Cities of the World. If the march be in the Summer-time, and the weather hot, the Beaſts of Burthen and Baggage begin to travel about ſeven a clock in the evening, and the *Paſhaws* and great Viſier preſently after midnight; who are accompanied with ſo many Lights as equal almoſt the brightneſs of the day. Thoſe that carry theſe Lights are *Arabians* from the parts of *Aleppo* and *Damaſcus*, Men uſed to travel on foot, who are in *Turkiſh* called *Maſſalageeler*, over whom is a ſuperintendent or chief, called *Maſſalagibaſhee*, whoſe Office it is to govern and to puniſh theſe people, and is liable to anſwer for their diſorders: the Lights they carry are not Torches, but a bituminous oily ſort of Wood, which they burn in an Iron Grate, carried on a Staff made in the form of our Beacons; and of the ſame faſhion with thoſe Lights we ſee drawn in ancient Hangings and Pictures which repreſent Night-pieces of *Roman* Stories.

And ſince I have diſcourſed ſomething of the *Turkiſh* Camp in this return homewards, it will not be much from my promiſe to acquaint the Reader with what chearfulneſs and alacrity the Army marched this way after their ill ſucceſs: and alſo to declare the occaſion that put a Hook into the Noſtrils of this great Oppreſſour, and diverted him for the preſent from the farther ſpoil of *Chriſtendom*. After the taking of the Caſtle called *Serinſwar* by the great Viſier, built by Count *Serini* (the which was the firſt original and occaſion of the War) and the defeat of the *Paſhaw* of *Buda* near *Lewa* by Count *Suſa* Goyernour of *Gomorra*; the Viſier made many and various attempts to paſs the River *Raab*, to make ſome Conqueſts in the parts of *Croatia* and

Styria,

Styria, but by reaſon of the Forts the Chriſtians had made along the Banks of the River, in every adventure loſt conſiderable numbers of Men; at which loſs of Men and time, and the ill ſucceſs near *Lewa*, the Viſier being greatly moved, made another adventure on the *27th* of *July*, 1664. advancing with the groſs of his Army as far as *Kerment*, a place between the River *Raab* and *Terne*; endeavouring there to make his paſſage with better ſucceſs; but by the valour of the *Hungarians* and the aſſiſtence of the General *Montecuculi*, were repulſed with extraordinary ſlaughter.

On the firſt of *Auguſt* following the *Turk* made another conſiderable attempt, and paſſed over in one place 6000 *Janizaries* and *Albania*, and in another where the River was fordable and not above ten paces broad, the whole body of the *Turkiſh* Horſe crouded over in vaſt numbers, which cauſed the Chriſtians to join their Forces into one Army, and retreat farther into the Countrey, and put themſelves into a poſture of giving Battel to the Enemy.

As ſoon as the *Turkiſh* Army had thus waded over the water, the night following fell ſo much Rain, and ſuch a Deluge came pouring down from the Mountains, that the River which was fordable the day before, did now over-ſwell its own Banks, and not paſſable without Floats and Bridges. As ſoon as the Army had thus paſſed the River, the great Viſier diſpatched immediately Meſſengers to the Grand Signior to acquaint him of his progreſs and paſſage; which news he knew would come very gratefull; becauſe in all Letters from the Grand Signior he was urged by threats and poſitive commands to proceed forward in his march, and not to ſuffer the impediment of a narrow ditch to be an interruption to the whole *Ottoman* force which was never before reſtrained by the Ocean. The Grand Signior having received this intelligence, as if the whole Victory and Triumph over the World conſiſted in the paſſage over the *Raab*, was tranſported with ſuch an extraordinary joy and aſſurance of Victory, that all *Hungary* and *Germany* were already ſwallowed in his thoughts; and when by a ſecond Meſſage he received intelligence, that a Forlorn Hope of the Enemy, conſiſting of 1000 Men, was cut off, the *Ottoman* Court was ſo tranſported with the joy and aſſurance of Victory, that to anticipate the good news, the Grand Signior commanded that a ſolemn Feſtival ſhould be celebrated for the ſpace of ſeven days and ſeven nights, called by the *Turks*, *Dunalma*; in which time the whole nights were ſpent in Fire-works, ſhooting great Guns, Vollies of Muskets, ſound of Drums and Trumpets, Revelling, and what other Solemnities might teſtifie their joy and triumph. But ſcarce three nights of vain dream had paſſed, before the Grand Signior awakened by intelligence contrary to what was preſaged and expected, of the defeat of the beſt part of his Army, ſhamefully commanded the Lights to be extinguiſhed; and the remaining four nights appointed for joy, to be turned to melancholy and darkneſs. And indeed this raſh joy was the more ſhamefull and ridiculous, by how much more fatal and deſtructive the loſs was to the *Turks*. For they being now got over the River, and the Chriſtians drawn up in Battalia, a moſt furious Fight began, which from nine a clock in the morning, untill four in the afternoon, continued with variable fortune; at length the *Turks* aſſailed by the extraordinary valour of the Chriſtians, which were now of equal number to them, began to give back and put themſelves into a ſhamefull flight, leaving dead upon the place about 5000 men, and the glory of the day to the Chriſtians: the *Turks* who always fly diſorderly, knowing not the art of a handſome retreat, crouded in heaps to paſs the River, the Horſe trampling over the Foot, and the Foot throwing themſelves headlong into the Water, without conſideration of the depth, or choice of places fordable after the great Rains; thoſe ſinking, catching hold of others that could ſwim, ſunk down and periſhed together; others both Men and Horſe through the rapidneſs of the ſtream were carried down the River and ſwallowed up in the deeper places: The water was died with Bloud, and the whole face of the River was covered with Men, Horſe, Garments, all ſwimming promiſcuouſly together, no difference was here between the valiant and the cowardly, the fooliſh and the wiſe, counſel, and chance, all being involved in the ſame violence of calamity: *Non vox & mutui hortatus juvabant, adverſante unda, nihil ſtrenuus ab ignavo, ſapiens à prudenti, conſilia à caſu differre, cuncta pari violentia involvebantur*; ſo that the waters devoured a far greater number than did the Sword; whilſt the great Viſier ſtanding on the other ſide of the River, was able to afford no kind of help or relief, but as one void of all counſel and reaſon, knew not where to apply a remedy. This defeat, though in *Chriſtendom* not greatly boaſted, by reaſon that the deſtruction of the *Turks*, which was moſt by water, was partly concealed to them; yet the *Turks* acknowledge the ruine and ſlaughter to have been of a far greater number than what the Chriſtian Diaries relate, confeſſing that ſince the time that the *Ottoman* Empire arrived at this greatneſs, no ſtories make mention of any ſlaughter or diſgrace it hath ſuffered to be equalled to the calamity and diſhonour of this. On the *Turks* ſide were ſlain *Iſhmael Paſhaw*, lately of *Buda*, and *Chimacam* of *Conſtantinople*, by a ſhot from the Enemy in his paſſage over the River, the *Spahee lar Agaſee* or General of the *Spahees*, and ſeveral other *Paſhaws* and Perſons of Quality fell that day, 15 pieces of Cannon were taken, with ſome Tents and other rich Spoils: Of the Chriſtians were ſlain near 1000; thoſe of Note were Count of *Naſſau*, Count *Charles* of *Braconſtorf* Captain of the Guards to *Montecuculi*, Count *Fucher* General of the Artillery, with many other Gentlemen of the French Nation, who deſerve ever to be chronicled for their vertue and valour.

The *Turks* were with this news greatly aſhamed, and dejected, having but two days before demonſtrated exceſſes of joy, congratulated the happy news one to the other, ſending Preſents abroad after their manner, derided the Chriſtians living amongſt them with the news, exprobriated them with a thouſand injuries, applauded their own vertue and valour, and the righteouſneſs of their Cauſe and Religion. But on a ſudden, intelligence coming contrary to their expectations, ſuch a dampneſs fell upon their ſpirits, that for ſome days there was a deep ſilence of all news at *Conſtantinople*; they that the day before ſought for Chriſtians to communicate to them the Miracles of their Victory, now avoided their company; aſhamed of their too forward joy, and the liberty they had taken to contemn and deride the low condition of the Chriſtian Camp. And now the

ill news not being able to be longer concealed, Prayers, and Humiliation were appointed publickly to be made at all the Royal *Moſchs* both at *Conſtantinople* and at *Adrianople*, where all the *Emaums* or Pariſh Prieſts with their young Scholars were commanded to reſort, ſinging ſome dolefull Chapter of the *Alchoran*.

The minds of the Soldiery after this defeat were very much diſcompoſed, tending more to Sedition than to obedience, every one took licenſe to ſpeak loudly and openly his opinion, that the War was commenced upon unjuſt and unlawfull grounds; that Comets lately ſeen to fall were prodigious foretelling the ill ſucceſs of the War; that the total eclipſe of the Moon, which portends always misfortunes to the *Turks*, ſhould have cauſed more caution in the Commanders of engaging the Army, untill the malignity of that influence had been overpaſſed; and calling to mind the ſolemn Oath with which the Sultan *Solyman* confirmed his Capitulations with the Emperour, particularly vowing never to paſs the *Raab* or Places where the *Turks* received their defeat, without a ſolid or reaſonable ground of War; all concluded that this Invaſion was a violation of the Vow, and an injury to the ſacred memory of that fortunate *Sultan*, and that all endeavours and attempts of this War would be fatal and deſtructive to the *Muſſelmen* or Believers, and the end diſhonourable to the Empire. This opinion was rooted with much firmneſs and ſuperſtition in the mind of the vulgar, and the rumours in the Camp (that the Viſier had been cauſe of the Soldiers flight, by commanding them to retreat after they were engaged, upon a falſe alarm that the Enemy in great numbers were coming to fall on the quarters where the Viſier's perſon remained; and that this errour was the firſt original of the ſlaughter that enſued) augmented their diſcontents and animoſities againſt the Government. The Soldiery beſides was greatly terrified and poſſeſſed with the fear of the Chriſtians, and amazed upon every alarm; the *Aſian Spahees* and other Soldiers having Wives and Children, and Poſſeſſions to look after, were grown poor, and deſired nothing more than in peace and quietneſs to return to their home; ſo that nothing could come more grateful to this Camp, no largeſſes nor hopes could pacifie the minds of the Soldiery more than the promiſes and expectations of Peace. And this was the true cauſe that brought on the Treaty of Peace between the Emperour and the *Turk* in ſuch an inſtant, contrary to the opinion of moſt in the World; and gave occaſion to the Viſier to embrace the Propoſitions offered by the *Rheningen*, then Reſident for the Emperour (who was carried about according to the motions of the *Turkiſh* Camp, to be ready to improve any Overtures of Peace that might be offered;) the Viſier to ſhew his real intentions, flattered and careſſed this Reſident with the Preſent of a Horſe richly furniſhed, a Veſt of Sables, and a commodious Tent, whilſt the Propoſitions and Condeſcentions on the *Turkiſh* part were diſpatched to *Vienna*, which were returned again with an entire aſſent to moſt of the Articles; and thoſe wherein there might be any difference, were to be referred untill the arrival of the Extraordinary Ambaſſadour, who was ſuppoſed might reach the *Ottoman* Court by the end of *April*. The *Aſian Spahees* were overjoyed at the news hereof, and immediately obtained licenſe to depart, and moſt of the Militia was diſperſed, every one with joy betaking himſelf to his own home. But this Ambaſſadour miſſing of his time allotted for his arrival, above a month later than he was expected put all things into a ſtrange combuſtion. I was then in the Camp when it was whiſpered, that the Treaty was at an end, that the Chriſtians had deluded them, and cauſed them to disband their Army, that ſo they might fall upon them with the greater advantage; the misfortune of which (according to the cuſtome of the Commonalty) was charged on the heads of the Governours; and the too much credulity of the Viſier. But at length on the 28 of *May* 1665 news coming that the Ambaſſadour from the Emperour was arrived at *Buda*; the Viſier the next day departed from *Belgrade* with his whole Army, which I accompanied as far as *Niſſa* about nine days march towards *Adrianople*; and there having put an end to my buſineſs, and wearied with the ſlow pace, and heats, and other inconveniencies of an Army, I took my leave of the great Viſier, and proceeded farther by longer journeys to attend the Court at *Adrianople*: and that I may give my Reader an account of theſe Countries, and the nature of the people that inhabit them, I hope it will not be judged much beſides my purpoſe if I entertain him a little with a Relation of ſome part of my Journey to *Belgrade*.

On the 29*th* of *April* 1665. I departed from *Adrianople* towards *Belgrade*; and on the firſt of *May* I lodged at a Village called *Semeſge*, the firſt Town I came to, inhabited by *Bulgarians* who are Chriſtians, that day being a Feſtival: the Women upon the arrival of Gueſts came running from their Houſes with Cakes of dough bread which they called *Togatch*, onely laid upon the Coals between two Tiles, which they ſoon kneaded and prepared for the ſtomachs of Travellers; others brought Milk, Eggs, and Wine to ſell, and what elſe their homely Cottages afforded, which they preſſed on us with much importunity, the younger and handſomer challenging a priority in the ſale of their Proviſions before thoſe who were ancient and more homely: Theſe Countrey Laſſes had that day put on their holy Garments, which put me in mind of thoſe dreſſes I have ſeen in Pictures of the ancient Shepherdeſſes in *Arcadia*, being a looſe Gown of various colours with hanging Sleeves; their Armes had no Sleeve but that of their Smock, which though it were of Canvas or ſome very courſe Linen, was yet wrought with many works of divers colours; their hair was braided, hanging down at length behind, which ſome had adorned with little Shells found upon the Sea ſhoar, tied at the end with fringes of Silk, bobs, and taſſels of Silver; their heads were covered with pieces of Silver Coin of different ſorts ſtrung upon thread, and their Breaſts were in the ſame manner decked; thoſe being moſt honoured, and eſteemed moſt rich, who were beſt adorned with theſe Strings of Coin, and Bracelets on their Wriſts, with which every one, according to her ability, had dreſſed and made her ſelf fine. Amongſt theſe we paſſed with plenty of Proviſion, and a hearty welcome; for theſe people called *Bulgarians* inhabit all that Countrey to the Confines of *Hungary*; they Till all that ground, Paſture vaſt numbers of Cattel, and are induſtrious and able Husbandmen, by which means, and the liberty they enjoy by the ſmall number of *Turks* which live amongſt them, they paſs their time with ſome reaſonable

reaſonable comfort, and are more commodious in Wealth than they ſuffer to appear outwardly to the envious eyes of the *Turks*. Their Language is the old *Illyrian* or *Sclavonian* Tongue, which hath much ſimilitude with the *Ruſſians*; becauſe this people is ſaid to come originally from beyond the River *Volga*, and ſo by corruption are called *Bulgarians* or *Volgarians*. On the third of *May* we arrived at *Philippolis*, where we were civilly entertained at the Houſe or Monaſtery of the Metropolite, or Greek Biſhop of that place. By this City runs the River *Hebrus*, having its original from the Mountains *Rhodope*, in ſight of which we travelled towards *Sophia*, of which *Ovid* thus ſpeaks,

Qua patet umbroſum Rhodope *glacialis ad* Hæ-
Et ſacer amiſſas exigit Hebrus *aquas.* (mum,

The City of *Philippolis* is ſituate in a large and open Plain, and level, whereon are great numbers of little round Hills, which the Inhabitants will have to be the Graves of the *Roman* Legions ſlain in thoſe Fields. A certain *Greek* had once the melancholy dream of much Treaſure buried in one of theſe Hills; and this fancy ſo often troubled him in his ſleep, that it took a ſtrong impreſſion in his mind whilſt he was waking, and ſo far troubled him, that he could take no reſt nor contentment until he had eaſed his mind to the *Naſir-Aga*, who is he who overſees the Waterworks, and places of Pleaſure belonging to the Grand Signior in that Countrey. The *Turk*, though he had a great mind to the Treaſure, durſt not yet open the ground, until he had acquainted the Grand Signior with the mind of the *Greek*, who upon the firſt intimation diſpatched away Officers (ſo apt the *Turks* are in matters of Profit to catch even at a ſhadow) to open this Hill; to which the Countrey Villages were ſummoned, and whilſt they digged very deep, not well underſtanding the manner and art of Mining, the Earth broke from the top, and buried ſeventy perſons in the ruins; and ſo the work ended, and the *Greek* awaked from his dream. This Town hath one part of it built on the ſide of a Hill; two others are alſo near it, which appear like Bulwarks or Fortifications on that ſide the City; all the reſt of the Countrey thereabouts being a dead Plain or Level. At this place remains no other Antiquity beſides the ruins of two ancient Chapels, built of Brick, in the form of a Croſs, one of which the *Greeks* hold in great devotion, and report to be the place wherein St. *Paul* preached often to the *Philippians*; and with that opinion they often reſort thither, eſpecially on the Days of Devotion, to ſay their Prayers: The Walls of the City are likewiſe very ancient, over the Gates of which is writ ſomething in the *Greek* Character; but Time hath ſo defaced it, that to me it ſeemed no longer legible; And ſo ignorant are the *Greeks* alſo, even ſuch as were born in that City, and are Prieſts and Colories (which are the ſtricteſt ſort of Religious Men amongſt them) who have nothing more to do than to attend to their Office and Studies, that they cannot give any reaſonable account of the original of that City, who it was built by, or any thing elſe of the Hiſtory of it, and with much admiration they hearken to us, when we tell them any thing what our Books relate concerning it.

From hence I departed towards *Sophia*, paſſing in this Journey the *Montes Hemi*, called by the Turks *Capi Dervent*, which is as much as the Gate of the narrow way; the aſcent thereunto is rugged and ſharp, commodious for Robbers, who there have ſuch Caves and places of refuge, that they defie very conſiderable Forces that are ſent againſt them. On the top of this Hill is a Village of *Bulgarians*, where the Women uſed to the diverſity of Travellers, are become free in their diſcourſe, and only entertain ſtrangers, whilſt their Husbands are in the Field, or with their Cattel, or fly away for fear of ſome injury from the *Turks*. Deſcending hence is a very narrow incloſure, on both ſides being environed with high Mountains and Woods, which is a ſhady and melancholy Journey for the ſpace of two hours; to this place the *Heydouts*, or *Heyducks* (as that people call them) frequently reſort in great numbers out of *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia*, *Hungary*, and other parts, which taking advantage of theſe cloſe Woods, diſcharge Vollies of Shot on the ſtrongeſt Caravans, and rolling Stones from the Mountains in the narroweſt paſſages, do as much execution as with Cannon; for, as I have underſtood, in one of thoſe *Defvents* (for there are many of this nature in the Journey to *Belgrade*) 18 Thieves only killed above 300 Merchants, who for ſecurity united together, and their whole Baggage and Goods became a prey to the Robbers. In theſe places, thus fortified by Nature, the Inhabitants reſiſted the force of the *Grecian* Emperours, and killed *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* after he had ſubjected the City of *Conſtantinople*. Amongſt theſe *Bulgarians* is a ſort of people which they call *Paulines*, who had in former times ſtrange confuſed notions of Chriſtianity, pretending to follow the Doctrine of St. *Paul*, uſed Fire in the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and preferred this Apoſtle before his Maſter Chriſt: but there being ſome Roman Prieſts in thoſe parts, that obſerving the ignorance of theſe poor people, and their willingneſs to be inſtructed, took the advantage, and reduced them all to the Roman Faith, to which now they are ſtrict and ſuperſtitious adherers.

Through thoſe narrow *Dervents* before ſpoken of, we arrived after three days of weary Journey at *Sophia*, a place ſo wholly *Turkiſh*, that there is nothing in it that appears more antick than the *Turks* themſelves; it is ſituated in a pleaſant Plain or broad Valley, between two high Mountains, the higheſt of them wearing a ſnowy head in the heat of the Summer Solſtice, which is the reaſon that that City is cool and wholeſome, but of a ſubtile penetrating Air, being ſupplied with admirable waters of eaſie digeſtion, which come pouring down in great abundance from the Mountains, and ſupply the Town with plentifull ſtreams in all parts of it, and are ſaid to be waters of thoſe Fountains which *Orpheus* delighted in. There are beſides theſe cool Waters, certain Baths naturally hot, to which the *Turks* reſort very frequently, being of the ſame nature and virtue with ours in *England*. From this place we made nine long days Journey to *Belgrade*, in which paſſage there is nothing more memorable than the deſolation of the Countrey; and being there arrived, we pitched our Tent in the Camp, where after ſix days we marched back with the Army, to whom nothing could come more joyfull than their return home, and the concluſion of the War; by which may be obſerved in ſome manner, how far the nature of the *Turks* is degenerated from the ancient warlike diſpoſition of the *Saracens*.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Turks Armata, *or* Naval Forces.

HAving particularly run over the Force of this formidable Enemy and ſcourge of Chriſtianity by Land, we are now to take a view according to the true method of this Diſcourſe, of the ſtrength of their Fleets and Maritime Forces; which though to a Nation ſituated on the Continent, are not ſo neceſſary or prevalent to defend themſelves from their Neighbours, or tranſport their Power and Conqueſts into other Dominions, as they are to a People whoſe Habitation is encompaſſed by the Sea; yet certainly a Prince can never be ſaid to be truly Puiſſant, who is not Maſter in both Elements; for not to expatiate on the common Theme of the Riches and Power which ariſe from Navigation, it is ſufficient, conſidering how often the mighty force of the *Ottoman* Empire hath been foiled and baffled by the ſmall Republick of *Venice*, for want of true knowledge or ſucceſs, or application of their minds to Maritime Exerciſe, to demonſtrate of what efficacy in moſt deſigns is a well provided and regulated Fleet.

The *Turks* are now very much weakned in their Naval Forces ſince the War againſt *Candy*, and are ſo diſcouraged in their hopes of ſucceſs at Sea, that Ships and Galeaſſes, called by them *Mahumes*, are wholly in diſuſe amongſt them; whether it be that they want able Seamen to govern them, or that they deſpair of being able to meet the *Venetians* in open Sea (for which thoſe Veſſels of Battery are onely in uſe) they are fallen into a fancy of light Gallies, a ſign that they intend to truſt more of their ſafety to their Oars than their Arms; of which in the year 1661. (after the loſs of 28 well-provided Gallies wreck'd with their Men in the Black Sea) the Viſier *Kupriuli* built thirty others for reparation of that loſs, but of that green and unſeaſoned Timber, that the firſt Voyage many of them became unſerviceable for the Leaks; and the reſt, at the return of the Fleet in the month of *October* following, were laid up amongſt the old and worn Veſſels.

It may ſeem a difficult matter to aſſign the true reaſon why and by what means the *Turks* come to be ſo decayed in their Naval Forces, who abound with ſo many conveniencies for it, and with all ſorts of materials fit for Navigation, as Cordage, Pitch, Tar, and Timber, which ariſe and grow in their own Dominions, and are eaſily brought to the Imperial City with little or no danger of their Enemies. For Timber, the vaſt Woods along the Coaſt of the Black Sea, and parts of *Aſia*, at the bottom of the Gulph of *Nicomedia* ſupply them: Pitch, Tar, and Tallow are brought to them from *Albania* and *Walachia*; Canvas and Hemp from *Grand Cairo*; and Biſket is in plenty in all parts of the *Turks* Dominions. Their Ports are ſeveral of them convenient for building both Ships and Gallies; the Arſenal at *Conſtantinople* hath no leſs than One hundred thirty ſeven *Voltas*, or Chambers for Building, and ſo many Veſſels may be upon the Stocks at the ſame time. At *Sinopolis* near *Trapeſond* is another Arſenal: at *Midia* and *Anchiale*, Cities on the Black Sea, are the like; and many parts of the *Propontis*, the *Helleſpont*, and the *Boſphorus*, are ſuch Ports and Conveniencies for Shipping, as if all things had conſpired to render *Conſtantinople* happy, and not onely capable of being Miſtreſs of the Earth, but formidable in all parts of the Ocean: and yet the *Turk* for ſeveral years, eſpecially ſince the War with *Candia*, and their defeats at Sea have not been able at moſt to Equippe a Fleet of above 100 Sail of Gallies, of which 14 are maintained and provided at the charge of the *Beyes* of the *Archipelago*, for which they have certain Iſles in that Sea aſſigned them.

The *Turks* do neither want Slaves to bogue at the Oars of the Gallies; for *Tartary* ſupplies them with great numbers; beſides, divers perſons in *Conſtantinople* make it a Trade to hire out their Slaves for the Summers Voyage for 6000 Aſpers running the hazard of the Slaves life, who returning home ſafe, is conſigned to the poſſeſſion of his Patron: and if want ſtill be of the *Chiurma*, as the *Turks* call it, or Slaves for the Oar; a collection is made in ſeveral Provinces of the luſtieſt and ſtouteſt Clowns, called by the Turks *Azabs*, but by the other Slaves *Chakal*; theſe are choſen out of certain Villages, one being elected out of every 20 houſes, the hire of which is 6000 Aſpers, for payment whereof the other 19 Families make a proportionable Contribution; upon receipt of their Pay they give in ſecurity not to fly, but to ſerve faithfully for that years Expedition: But theſe Men unuſed to the ſervice of the Sea, unskilfull at the Oar, and Sea ſick, are of little validity; and the ſucceſs of their Voyage may be compared to that in the Fable of the Shepherd, who ſold his Poſſeſſions on the Land to buy Merchandiſe for Sea-negotiations. The Soldiers which are deſtin'd to Sea ſervice are called *Levents*, who come voluntarily and enter themſelves in the Regiſters of the Arſenal, obliging themſelves to ſerve that Summers Expedition for 6000 Aſpers, and Biſket for the Voyage; the ſtouteſt and moſt reſolute of theſe fellows are thoſe called *Caxdaglii*, who are a certain ſort of Mountainers in the Countrey of *Anatolia*, near *Troy*, whoſe Countrey I once paſſed through, with ſome apprehenſion, and more than ordinary vigilance and caution to preſerve my life; for being all Robbers and Free booters, we admitted no Treaties or Diſcourſes with them but with our Arms in our hands. Others there are alſo obliged to Sea-ſervice, who are *Zaims* and *Timariots*, and hold their Lands in Sea-Tenour; but being not bound to go in perſon themſelves, they bring or ſend their Servants (called in *Turkiſh Bedel*) to ſupply their place, every one providing one, two, or more, according to the value of his Lands, as we have before declared in the Chapter of the *Zaims* and *Timariots*. Some *Janizaries* are alſo drawn out for Sea-ſervice, and ſome *Spahees* of the four inferiour Banners, and not to make too bold with the Veterane Soldiers, command onely ſuch to Sea as are new and green Soldiers, lately regiſtred in the Rolls of the *Spahees*.

The Auxiliaries of the *Turks* Forces by Sea, are the Pyrates of *Barbari*, from thoſe three Towns of *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, and *Algier*; but theſe of late years have diſuſed the cuſtome of coming into the *Turks* aſſiſtence; yet oftentimes they ply towards the *Archipelago*, and to the *Levant*, but it is to ſupply themſelves with Soldiers, and recruits of people for increaſe of their Colonies.

The

The other part of Auxiliary Forces is from the *Beyes* of the *Archipelago*; being 14 in number, every one of which commands a Galley, and for their maintenance have the Contribution of certain Iſlands in that Sea allotted to them; the which are better manned and armed than thoſe of *Conſtantinople*, but theſe neither, are not willing too much to expoſe their Veſſels to fight or danger, in regard that being built and maintained at their own charges, and their whole ſubſtance, they are the more cautious how they venture all their Fortune in the ſucceſs of a Battel: Theſe *Beyes* alſo give themſelves up much to their delights and pleaſure, and employ more thoughts how to pleaſe their Appetites, than to acquire glory and fame by the War; what they gain in Summer, when joyned with the groſs of the *Turkiſh* Fleet, is the Prize of the Grand Signior; but what chance throws upon them in the Winter, is their own proper and peculiar Fortune.

The Gunners of the *Turkiſh* Fleet are wholly ignorant of that Art, for any perſon who is either *Engliſh*, *French*, *Dutch*, or any other Chriſtian Nation, they deſign to this Office, whether he be skilfull or unskilfull in the management of Artillery; having an opinion that thoſe people are naturally addicted to a certain proneneſs and aptitude in Gunnery; in which they find their errour as often as they come to skirmiſh with their Enemy.

The chief Admiral or Generaliſſimo of the *Turkiſh Armata*, is called the *Captain Paſhaw*; his Lieutenant General is called *Terſhana Kiahaſi*; the next Officer is *Terſane Emini*; or Steward of the Arſenal, who hath the care of providing all neceſſaries for the Navy; but this place being bought, as almoſt all other Offices, occaſions a neceſſity in theſe perſons to rob Mails, Anchors, Cables, and other Proviſions of the Fleet to ſatisfie the Debts they contracted for the Purchaſe of their Places: In the like manner doth every *Reis* or Captain of a Galley keep his hand in exerciſe as often as convenience offers; theſe are all for the moſt part *Italian* Renegadoes, or the Race of them born and educated near the *Arſenal*. The Officers command their *Chiurme* or Slaves in corrupted *Italian*, which they call *Franze*; and afford them a better allowance of Biskot than is given to the Slaves in the *Venetian Armata*.

The *Turks* now deſpairing of being equal to the Chriſtian Forces by Sea, and to be able to ſtand with them the ſhock of a Battel, build light Veſſels for robbing, burning, and deſtroying the Chriſtian Coaſt, and afterwards to ſecure themſelves by flight, and alſo to tranſport Soldiers, Ammunition, and Proviſions, for ſuccour of *Candia*, and other places of their new Conqueſts near the Sea-ſhoar.

The Arſenal at *Venice* is ſo greatly eſteemed by the *Turks*, that they ſeem not to deſire the conqueſt of that place for any other reaſon more than the benefit of the Arſenal; as a perſon of great quality amongſt them ſaid once, that had they made a Conqueſt of *Venice*, they would not inhabit there, but leave it to the *Venetians*, in regard that the City affords not freſh Water, which is neceſſary for the uſe of their *Moſchs*, and their Waſhing before Prayer; but that the *Arſenal*, and a Tribute would ſatisfie the deſires of the Grand Signior.

But the *Turks* are not likely to be Maſters of this Sea of *Neptune*, whilſt they ſo unwillingly apply their minds to Maritime Affairs, who being conſcious of their former ill ſucceſs at Sea, and how little uſe they make of thoſe advantages they have for ſhipping, acknowledge their Inabilities in Sea Affairs, and ſay, *That God hath given the Sea to the Chriſtians, but the Land to them.* And no doubt the large Poſſeſſions and Riches they enjoy on the ſtaple Element of the Earth, is that which takes off their minds the deep attention to matters of the Sea, which is almoſt ſolely managed by Renegadoes amongſt them, who have abandoned their Faith and their Countrey. And it is happy for Chriſtendom that this faintneſs remains on the Spirits of the *Turks*, an averſion from all Naval Employment; whoſe numbers and power the *Great God of Hoſts* hath reſtrained by the bounds of the Ocean, as he hath limited the Ocean by the Sands of the Sea-ſhoar.

THE CONCLUSION.

BY the Diſcourſe made in the three foregoing Books, it will evidently appear what ſort of Government is exerciſed amongſt the *Turks*, what their Religion is, and how formidable their Force; which ought to make the Chriſtian World tremble to ſee ſo great a part of it ſubjected to the *Mahometan* Power, and yet no Mean thought of to unite our Intereſts, and compoſe our Diſſenſions, which lay us open to the inundation of this flowing Empire: To which I ſhall add this one thing very obſervable, That the Grand Signior wages his War by Land without any charge to himſelf, an advantage not to be parallel'd by the Policy of any Government I ever heard or read of before; for his *Spahees* and *Janizaries* are always in Pay, both in War and Peace; his *Zaims* and *Timariots* have their Lands to maintain them; and other Militia's enjoy the fixed Revenue from their reſpective Countries: and yet notwithſtanding through the expence of the Naval Forces, the building Gallies, and the like, matters not provided for thoſe who laid the firſt foundation of this Government, the Revenue of the Empire hath been bankrupted, and by the corruption of the Officers, or ill management, been ſold for 3 years to come, until all was redeemed and reſtored again by the wiſedom of that famous Vifier *Kuprili*, whom we have occaſion ſo often to mention in the foregoing Treatiſe.

We cannot now but pity thoſe poor Borderers in *Hungary*, *Styria*, *Croatia*, and other parts ſubject to the Incurſions of this cruel Enemy; ſince we know in the laſt War not three *Engliſh* miles from *Vienna*, many poor people have been ſurprized and fallen into the hands of the *Tartar* and *Turk*, and ſold afterwards into perpetual ſlavery; this conſideration ought to move us, who are barricado'd and fortifi'd by the Seas from the violence of our Enemies, to bleſs God we are born in ſo happy and ſo ſecure a Countrey, ſubject to no dangers but from our ſelves, nor other miſeries but what ariſe from our own freedom and two much felicity; we ought to conſider it is a bleſſing, that we never have felt any ſmart of the rod of this great Oppreſſour of Chriſtianity, and yet have taſted of the good and benefit which hath proceeded from a free and open Trade, and amicable Correſpondence and Friendſhip with this People; which have been maintained for the ſpace of eighty years, begun in the Reign of Queen *ELIZABETH* of bleſſed memory, preſerved by the Prudence and admirable Diſcretion of a ſeries of worthy Ambaſſadours, and daily improved both in buſineſs and reputation by the excellent Conduct and Direction of that Right Worſhipfull Company of the *Levant* Merchants, hath brought a conſiderable benefit to this Kingdom, and gives employment and livelihood to many thouſands of people in *England*; by which alſo His Majeſty without any expence, gains a very conſiderable increaſe of His Cuſtoms.

The ſenſe of this benefit and advantage to my own Countrey, without any private conſiderations, I have as a Servant to that Embaſſie, or the obligations I have to that worthy Company, cauſe me to move with the greateſt ſedulity and devotion poſſible to promote and advance the Intereſt of that Trade: And as ſome ſtudy ſeveral ways, and preſcribe Rules by which a War may be moſt advantagiouſly managed againſt the *Turk*; I, on the contrary, am more inclinable to give my judgment in what manner our Peace and Trade may beſt be ſecured and maintained; knowing that ſo conſiderable a welfare of our Nation depends upon it, that a few years of Trades interruption in *Turkey* will make all ſorts of people ſenſible of the want of ſo great a vent of the commodities of our Countrey. And therefore as I am obliged to pray for the glory and proſperity of His Majeſty our gratious Sovereign: ſo likewiſe, as that which conduces to it, for the continuance of the Honour of this Embaſſie in *Turkey*, and the profitable returns of the *Levant* Company.

FINIS.

THE

CONTENTS

Of the ſeveral

CHAPTERS.

The Firſt Book.

Chap. I. *THE Conſtitution of the Turkiſh Government, being different from moſt others in the World, hath need of peculiar Maxims and Rules whereon to eſtabliſh and confirm it ſelf,* Page 1

Chap. II. *The abſoluteneſs of the Emperor is a great ſupport of the Turkiſh Empire,* 2

Chap. III. *The Leſſon of Obedience to their Emperor is taught by the Turks as a Principle of Religion, rather than of State* 4

Chap. IV. *A True Relation of the Deſigns managed by the old Queen, Wife of Sultan* Ahmet, *and Mother of Sultan* Morat, *and Sultan* Ibrahim, *againſt her Grand-Child Sultan* Mahomet, *who now Reigns; and of the Death of the ſaid Queen and her Complices* 6

Chap. V. *The Education of Young Men in the* Seraglio, *out of which thoſe who are to diſcharge the great offices of the Empire are elected; it being a Maxim of the Turkiſh Polity, To have the Prince ſerved by ſuch whom he can raiſe without envy, and deſtroy without danger* 12

Chap. VI. *Of the Method in the Turkiſh Studies and Learning in the* Seraglio 15

Chap. VII. *Of the Platonick Affection and Friendſhip the Pages in the* Seraglio *bear each to other* 16

Chap. VIII. *Of the Mutes and Dwarfs* 17

Chap. IX. *Of the Eunuchs* ibid.

Of the black Eunuchs, and Apartments of the Women 17, 18

Chap. X. *Of the* Agiamoglans 19

Chap. XI. *Of the* Viſier Azem, *or* Prime Viſier, *his office; the other ſix* Viſiers *of the Bench; and of the* Divan, *or place of Judicature* 20

Chap. XII. *Of the Offices, Dignities, and ſeveral Governments of the Empire* 23

Chap. XIII. *In what manner the Tartar* Han *depends on the Turk* 26

Chap. XIV. *Of the Tributary Princes to the Turks,* viz. *the* Moldavians, Valachians, Tranſilvanians, Raguſeans, *&c.* 28

Chap. XV. *The deſolation and ruin which the Turks make of their own Country in* Aſia, *and the parts moſt remote from the Imperial Seat, eſteemed one cauſe of the conſervation of the Empire* 31

Chap. XVI. *All hereditary Succeſſion in the Government, as alſo the preſervation of an Ancient Nobility, againſt the Maxims of the Turkiſh Polity* 32

Chap. XVII. *The frequent exchange of Officers, as ſetting up one, and degrading another; a Rule always practiſed as wholeſome, and conducing to the welfare of the Turkiſh State* 35

Chap. XVIII. *The ſeveral Arts the Turks uſe for increaſe of their People, is a principal Policy, without which the greatneſs of their Empire cannot continue nor be encreaſed* 37

Chap. XIX. *The manner of Reception of Foreign Ambaſſadors amongſt the Turks, and the eſteem is had of them* 39

Chap. XX. *How Ambaſſadors and publick Miniſters govern themſelves in their Negotiations and Reſidence amongſt the Turks* 43

Chap. XXI. *How Chriſtian and other Foreign Princes in particular ſtand in the eſteem and opinion of the Turk* 44

Chap. XXII *The regard the Turks have to their Leagues with Foreign Princes* 46

The

The Second Book.

Chap. I. *Of the Turks Religion in general* 49
Chap. II. *The Toleration in that Mahometaniſm in its Infancy promiſed to other Religions, and in what manner that agreement was afterwards obſerved* ibid.
Chap. III. *The Arts wherewith the Turkiſh Religion is propagated* 52
Chap. IV. *The Power and Office of the* Mufti, *and the Turkiſh Government in Religious Matters* 53
Chap. V. *Of the* Mufti's *Revenue, and from whence it doth ariſe* 55
Chap. VI. *Of the* Emirs ibid.
Chap. VII. *Of the Endowments of the Royal* Moſchs, *and in what nature Tithes are given for maintenance of their Prieſts and Religion* 56
Chap. VIII. *Of the nature of Predeſtination according to the Turkiſh Doctors* 57
Chap. IX. *Of the difference of Sects, and diſagreement in Religion amongſt the Turks in general* 58
Chap. X. *Of the two prevailing Sects,* viz. *of* Mahomet *and* Hali, *that is, the Turk and the Perſian; the Errors of the Perſian recounted, and confuted by the* Mufti *of* Conſtantinople 59
Chap. XI. *Of the ancient Sects and Hereſies amongſt the Turks* 61
Chap. XII. *Of the new and modern Sects amongſt the Turks* 63
Chap. XIII. *Of the* Derviſes 67
Chap. XIV. *Of the Order of* Ebrbuhare 69
Chap. XV. *Of the order of* Nimetulahi 70
Chap. XVI. *Of the order of* Kadri ibid.
Chap. XVII. *Of the order of* Kalenderi 71
Chap. XVIII. *Of the order of* Edhemi ibid.
Chap. XIX. *Of the order of* Bectaſſe 72
Chap. XX. *Of the order of* Hizrevi, *or* Herewi ibid.
Chap. XXI. *Of the Marriages, Divorces, and how far Concubinage is indulged amongſt the Turks* 73
Chap. XXII. *Of other parts of the Turkiſh Religion, and firſt of Circumciſion* 76
Chap. XXIII. *Of the five neceſſary Points which are required to conſtitute a true Mahometan,* viz. 1. *Waſhings.* 2. *Prayers.* 3. *Obſervations of the* Ramazan. 4. *The* Zacat. 5. Pilgrimage ibid.
Chap. XXIV. *Of the Feaſt of* Bairam, *and the Ceremonies uſed at that time by the chief Officers and Miniſters towards the Grand Signior* 78
Chap. XXV. *Of the Prohibition of Swines Fleſh and Wine* 80
Chap. XXVI. *Of their Morality, Good Works, and ſome certain account of their Laws, worthy obſervation* ibid.

The Third Book.

Chap. I. *Of the preſent ſtate of the Military Diſcipline amongſt the Turks* 81
Chap. II. *Of the Turkiſh Militia in general* 82
Chap. III. *A Computation of the Forces ariſing from the* Zaims *and* Timariots 83
Chap. IV. *Of certain Cuſtoms and Laws obſerved amongſt the* Zaims *and* Timariots 86
Chap. V. *Of the ſtate of the Militia in* Grand Cairo *and* Egypt, *and the Auxiliary Forces to the forementioned Militia of the Turks* 87
Chap. VI. *Of the Spahees* 88
Chap. VII. *Of the Janizaries* 90
Chap. VIII. *Whether the maintenance of an Army of Janizaries according to the original inſtitution, be now agreeable to the Rules of Polity amongſt the Turks* 92
Chap. IX. *Of the* Chiauſes 94
Chap. X. *Of the other parts of the Turkiſh Militia,* viz. *the* Toptchi, Segbans, *and* Serigias, Gebegee, Muhlagi, Beſli, *and* Delees ibid.
Chap. XI. *Certain Obſervations on the Turkiſh Camp* 97
Chap. XII. *Of the Turks* Armata, *or Naval Forces at Sea* 102
The Concluſion 104

FINIS.

THE

ALCORAN

OF

MAHOMET,

Translated out of *Arabick* into *French*,

BY THE

Sieur du Ryer, Lord of *Malezair*, and Resident for the *French* King, at

ALEXANDRIA.

And newly *Englished*, for the satisfaction of all that desire to look into the *Turkish* Vanities.

To which is prefixed, the

LIFE of MAHOMET,

THE

PROPHET of the *TURKS*, and AUTHOR

OF THE

ALCORAN.

WITH

A Needful Caveat, or Admonition, for them who desire to know what Use may be made of, or if there be danger in Reading the *ALCORAN*.

LONDON,

Printed, and are to be Sold by *Randal Taylor*, near *Stationers-Hall*.

MDCLXXXVIII.

THE TRANSLATOR TO THE Chriſtian Reader.

THERE being ſo many Sects and Hereſies banded together againſt the Truth, finding that of *Mahomet* wanting to the Muſter, I thought good to bring it to their Colours; that ſo viewing thine enemies in their full body, thou maiſt the better prepare to encounter, and I hope overcome them. It may happily ſtartle thee, to find him ſo to ſpeak *Engliſh*, as if he had made ſome Conqueſt on the Nation; but thou wilt ſoon reject that fear, if thou conſider that this his *Alcoran*, (the Ground-work of the *Turkiſh* Religion) hath been already tranſlated into almoſt all Languages in Chriſtendom, (at leaſt, the moſt general, as the *Latin*, *Italian*, *French*, &c.) yet never gained any Proſelyte, where the Sword, its moſt forcible, and ſtrongeſt argument hath not prevailed: And indeed the greateſt Doctors of their Religion have never alledged any thing for the truth thereof; but the ſucceſs of their Wars, and greatneſs of their Empire, than which nothing is more fallacious: for that which both in former, and theſe latter Ages hath been common to the bad with the good, cannot be a certain evidence of the juſtice of a Cauſe, or the truth of Religion.

Thou ſhalt find it of ſo rude, and incongruous a compoſure, ſo farced with contradictions, blaſphemies, obſcene ſpeeches, and ridiculous fables, that ſome modeſt, and more rational *Mahometans* have thus excuſed it; that their Prophet wrote an hundred and twenty thouſand ſayings, whereof three thouſand only are good, the reſidue (as the impoſſibility of the Moons falling into his ſleeve, the Converſion and Salvation of the Devils, and the like) are falſe and ridiculous. Yet is the whole eſteemed ſo ſacred, that upon the Cover thereof is inſcribed — *Let none touch it but he who is clean.* Nor are the vulgar permitted to read it, but live and die in an implicite faith of what their Prieſts deliver; which indeed (as ſaith the learned *Grotius*) is a manifeſt argument of its iniquity: For that Merchandiſe may juſtly be ſuſpected, which will not be ſold, unleſs unſeen: and though all Men are not alike perſpicacious in the knowledge, and diſcerning of things, ſome by arrogancy, and vain conceit of themſelves, others by affection; Some by cuſtom, being drawn into error: yet ſhould we believe that the way to eternal life cannot be underſtood by them, who without any reſpect of profit or preferment, ſeek it, ſubmitting themſelves, with all they have, to God, imploring his aſſiſtance, we ſhould ſin againſt his infinite goodneſs. Therefore (*Chriſtian Reader*) though ſome, conſcious of their own inſtability in Religion, and of theirs (too like Turks in this) whoſe proſperity and opinions they follow, were unwilling this ſhould ſee the Preſs, yet am I confident, if thou haſt been ſo true a votary to orthodox Religion, as to keep thy ſelf untainted of their follies, this ſhall not hurt thee: And as for thoſe of that Batch, having once abandoned the Sun of the Goſpel, I believe they will wander as far into utter darkneſs, by following ſtrange lights, as by this *Ignis Fatuus* of the *Alcoran*. Such as it is, I preſent to thee, having taken the pains only to tranſlate it out of *French*, not doubting, though it hath been a poyſon, that hath infected a very great, but moſt unſound part of the Univerſe, it may prove an Antidote, to confirm *in thee the health of Chriſtianity*.

Grotius de ver. Rel. Chriſt.

THE FRENCH EPISTLE TO THE READER.

THE Book is a long conference of God, the Angels, and Mahomet, *which that falſe Prophet very groſly invented; ſometimes he introduceth God, who ſpeaketh to him, and teacheth him his Law, then an Angel, anon the Prophets, and frequently maketh God to ſpeak in the plural, in a ſtile that is not ordinary. He declaimeth againſt ſuch as worſhip Idols, particularly againſt the Inhabitants of the City of* Mecca, *and againſt the* * Coreis, *who were enemies to his deſign. He intituled this Book the* Alcoran, *as one would ſay, the Collection of Precepts: He likewiſe termed it* El Forcan, *that is, that diſtinguiſheth good from evil: He divided it into many Chapters, to which he gave what inſcription he thought good: he moſt commonly intituled them with words that are in their firſt line, without regard to the matter they treat of, and ſpeaketh little of their Inſcription; He divided it into many ſigns, or Verſes, that contain his ordinances and fables, without obſervation either of the conſequence, or connexion of the diſcourſe, which is the cauſe that thou ſhalt find in this Book, a multitude of incongruous pieces, and divers repetitions of the ſame things. It hath been expounded by many Mahometan Doctors, their expoſition being as ridiculous as the Text; They affirm the original of the* Alcoran *to be written upon a Table, kept in Heaven, that the Angel* Gabriel *brought this Copy to* Mahomet, *who could neither write nor read, and ſtile him Prophet, or Apoſtle, in honour. Thou ſhalt find at beginning of ſome Chapters letters of the* Arabick *Alphabet, which ſome Men will not expound: They fear to utter things that may diſpleaſe their falſe Prophet: Moſt of their Doctors affirm thoſe letters to be the firſt letters of the Names of God. Thou ſhalt find the expoſition in this verſion: Thou wilt wonder that ſuch abſurdities have infected the beſt part of the World, and wilt avouch, that the knowledge of what is contained in this Book, will render that Law contemptible.*

* The Coreis were a powerful family in *Arabia*, in *Mahomet*'s time.

A SUMMARY OF THE Religion of the *Turks*.

THE *Turks* believe one ſole God, in one ſole Perſon, Creator of Heaven and Earth, the rewarder of the good, and puniſher of the wicked; who hath created Paradiſe for the recompence of the righteous, and Hell for the laſt puniſhment of crimes. They believe that *Mahomet* was a very great Prophet, whom God ſent into the World to teach men the way of ſalvation, and call themſelves *Muſulmans*, that is to ſay, recommended to God, or ſaved.

They believe the Decalogue of *Moſes*, and are obliged to obſerve it; they celebrate Friday as the Chriſtians Sunday, that day they aſſemble in Temples at noon, to pray.

They are obliged to pray five times a day, *viz.* in the morning, at noon, at the evening, when the Sun ſetteth, and an hour within night.

They faſt the Month, or Moon, which they call *Ramazan*; during this Month, they neither drink nor eat all the Day, until the Sun be ſet, but in the Night drink and eat, according to their appetites, Fleſh and Fiſh, except the Fleſh of Swine, and Wine, that is at all times forbidden them; after this faſt they have the feaſt of great *Bairan*, as the Chriſtians Eaſter after Lent. They are great founders of Temples, and Hoſpitals, and are obliged to give to the poor the firſt day of the year, the tith of what they have gained during the preceding year.

They believe, that after being well waſht, ſaying ſome prayer appropriate to that Ceremony; they have alſo the Soul purified from all Filthineſs and Sin, which is the cauſe that they waſh and bath often, eſpecially before they pray.

They have no Sacrament, but Circumciſion; they cauſe their Children to be circumciſed at the age of ſeven or eight years; and when they can pronounce theſe words *La ilha illa allha Mehemet raſoul allha*, that is, There is but one God, *Mahomet* is his Prophet and Apoſtle; this is their profeſſion of faith; nevertheleſs there is no mention of Circumciſion in all the *Alcoran*; they ſay they obſerve it in imitation of *Abraham*, whoſe Law is recommended to them by *Mahomet*: they believe that the *Alcoran* was brought to him

him at ſeveral times by the Angel *Gabriel*, in the City of *Mecca*, and that of *Medina*, becauſe the Jews and Chriſtians had altered the Holy Scriptures, and the Law of God.

They are permitted to have four Wives, married at the ſame time, and as many Concubines as they are able to maintain.

They can put away their Wives when they think fit, paying them what they promiſed them in contract of marriage; and marry again at their pleaſure; but the Women are bound to tarry until they are aſſured that they are not with Child before they marry again, and their Husbands are obliged to keep, and take the care of the Children. The Children which they have by their ſlaves are indifferently eſteemed with thoſe of their Wives, and are all held as legitimate.

They have Temples, Colleges, and Hoſpitals well revenued; they have covents of Religious, that live exemplarily; obey their Superiours without contradiction, and dance after the ſound of Flutes and other inſtruments when they make their prayers.

They have moreover another ſort of Religious Vagabonds through the World, clothed like fools of that Country; they often go naked, and cut their skin in many places, are held to be holy perſons, and live by alms, which are never refuſed them; both the one and the other ſort of Religious are called *Dervis*, they are known by their habit, and can retire and marry when they pleaſe.

They deny Jeſus Chriſt to be God, or the Son of God; neither believe they in the Holy Trinity: they ſay, that Jeſus Chriſt was a great Prophet, born of the Virgin *Mary*, a Virgin both before and after her delivery; that he was conceived by divine inſpiration, or by a divine breath, without a father, as *Adam* was created without a Mother; that he was not crucified, that God took him into Heaven, and that he ſhall come again on earth at the end of the World to confirm the Law of *Mahomet*; they likewiſe affirm that the Jews thinking to crucifie Jeſus Chriſt, crucified a man among them that reſembled him.

They pray to God for the Dead, they invoke their Saints, of whom they have a large Legend, nevertheleſs they believe not Purgatory; and many among them imagine that the Soul and body remain together in the grave until the day of Judgment.

A great queſtion among *Mahometans.*

They have *Mecca* and *Medina*, that are two Cities of *Arabia*, in great veneration, becauſe *Mahomet* was born at *Mecca*, and buried at *Medina*: they make thither great pilgrimages, and believe that Land to be Holy: They bear likewiſe ſingular reſpect to the City of *Jeruſalem*, for that it hath been the Birth-place, and habitation of many Prophets.

They uſe no Clocks; at the hour of their prayers their Prieſts aſcend the higheſt part of a Tower, that is in a corner of the Temple, and with a loud voice call the people to prayer, ſinging prayers, compoſed for that purpoſe.

WE the Conſuls, Governors, Protectors, and Defenders of the Priviledges, Freedoms, and Liberties of the City of Marſeillis; *do certifie, and atteſt to all to whom it ſhall appertain, that Mr.* Andrew du Ryer, *Lord of* Malezair, *Gentleman in Ordinary of the Kings Chamber, and heretofore Conſul to his Majeſty in* Egypt, *hath executed the charge for the ſaid Conſulſhip like a Man of honeſty and honour; no complaint having been made at any time, or his adminiſtration, or deportment during the time of his abode there, and that he exerciſed that office; Neither was any complaint ever made of the ſaid Mr.* du Ryer *during the time he ſojourned at* Conſtantinople *for the ſervice of his Majeſty; but all the Captains and Officers of Merchant Veſſels, and of others that negotiated in the ſame parts, received of him all favour, as in matters that concerned them, as in affairs that did relate to the ſervice of his Majeſty, and the advantage of his Subjects traffick: in teſtimony of which, We have drawn and ſigned theſe Preſents, and have put and affixed to them, the Seal, and accuſtomed Arms of this City.*

At *Marſeillis* the 12. day of *Feb.* 1633.

De Bourgongne, Conſul.
I. Savornin, Conſul.
Meinardet, Conſul.

By the ſaid Conſuls Boet.

To Mr. *du Ryer*, Lord of *Malezair*, Gentleman in Ordinary of the Kings Chamber at *Conſtantinople.*

SIR,

HAving heard by the report of many Merchants of this City, the good offices that you have daily performed towards them of our Nation, and particularly our fellow Citizens, who all unanimouſly much commend your affection, and ſingular care to protect and defend them; We thought our duty to return

you by theſe lines, a thouſand thanks, and that the more affection, for that your courteſie, and not their merits, carried you to all thoſe good offices, of which they and we ſhall ever keep a perpetual memory, to render you any acknowledgment when occaſion ſhall be offered, and give you a teſtimony by our ſervices, that you have not caſt your Seed upon barren Ground: In the mean time, Sir, we beſeech you, be pleaſed to continue to us the honour of your friendſhip, and effects of your favour, as we ſhall deſire in all emergent occaſion to teſtifie that we are really,

Sir,

Your moſt affectionate Servants,
the Conſuls, Governors of the
City of *Marſeille*.

Monthonlian, Francis Nappollon, Du Pont.

From *Marſeille* this 24. of *Auguſt*, 1632.

A Tranſlation of the Command of the *Grand Seignior*, concerning Mr. *Malezair*.

ILluſtrious and Excellent Commanders, refuge of the great Triumphant, Eminent, Glorious, and Honourable Lords, endued with the ſpecial Graces of God, Baſhaws, or Vice-Roys, Beys, or Governors, that are upon the Roads of our moſt Auguſt Port to the Realm of France, *God perpetuate your glory, juſt Judges of the* Muſulmans; *Minerals of Vertue and Knowledge, that are upon the Road of our moſt Auguſt Port to the Realm of* France, *God increaſe your Vertues, Honourable and truſty Governors, Captains of Frontiers and Caſtles, Captains and Patrons of Gallies and Veſſels, Cuſtomers that are upon the Road of our moſt Auguſt Port to the Realm of* France, *God augment your Honours and Glory. When this moſt Auguſt command ſhall come to you, know, that the Lord of* Ryer, *a Gentleman of* France, *is ſent from us into* France *for many important Affairs; when he ſhall arrive, going and coming to the places of your command, by Sea, or by Land in our Ports, our Cities under our Caſtles, and in any other place whatſoever, I command you to receive with all affection, and good reception, and ſuffer no diſpleaſure to be done to him, directly, or indirectly. You ſhall cauſe to be given to him whatſoever ſhall be neceſſary for him in paying, and ſhall facilitate with your whole power his paſſage, with his two Servants, his Coffers, and Baggage; and when he ſhall have performed in* France *what hath been commanded him, and ſhall return to our moſt Auguſt Port, you ſhall do in like manner, and ſhall be careful not to violate this our High command, or capitulations; Thus know him, and having ſeen theſe my moſt Auguſt command, you ſhall leave it in his hands, and ſhall give full and intire credit to this my moſt illuſtrious mark.*

Given at *Conſtantinople* the laſt day of the Month of *Diel Heget*, 1041. Sealed above with the Mark, or the Seal of the Grand Seignior, *Amurat Sultan*, and Signed at *Baſ-Huſſein*.

THE

THE LIFE and DEATH OF MAHOMET,

THE PROPHET of the *TURKS*, and AUTHOR OF THE

ALCORAN.

MAHOMET, the Son of *Abdalla*, a vicious Pagan, was born *Poſthumus* at * *Jeſrah*, then a Village of *Arabia Fœlix*; his Mother a Jeweſs, both by Birth and Religion, dying when he was two years old, left him to his † Uncle *Abdal Mutalib*, who being of vile condition, and unable to give him education, above the common ignorance and irreligion of his Country, at the age of ſixteen years, abandoned him to fortune, or after the barbarous cuſtom of the *Arabians*, ſold him to the *Iſmaelite* Merchants, who expoſing him to ſale in the Markets, he was purchaſed by *Abdemonople*, a wealthy Merchant; He after ſome obſervation, and experience of his wit and induſtry, withdrew him from the common drudgery of a ſlave, to employ him with his other Factors in Commerce, and finding him apt for thoſe Affairs, gave him the conduct of his Camels into *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Perſia*, and elſewhere. By which, in a ſhort time, he became ſo expert in his Trade, that as he encreaſed the wealth and profit of his Maſter, ſo he gained his good will and affection.

* Now a City called *Medina-talnabi*, [*i.e.*] the Town of the Prophet.

† Some will have him to be his Grandfather.

At that time *Heraclius* being Emperor of the Eaſt, and the ſeamleſs Coat of the Church torn by variety of Sects, and Hereſies, the Biſhops and Governors in *Conſtantinople* juſtly fearing Divine vengeance, by reaſon of the *Neſtorian* Hereſie, which, with that of the *Monothelites*, began afreſh to infect their Clergy, deliberated on ſome Eccleſiaſtical cenſure againſt them: When *Sergius* a Monk, and Sectary of *Neſtorius*, conſcious of his error, and dreading the puniſhment, fled ſecretly into *Arabia*, and found retreat and entertainment with *Abdemonople*, the Maſter of *Mahomet*, where finding ſlender hopes of propagating his infectious Hereſie (the Family being *Pagans*) and leſs of overthrowing his oppoſites in Religions, he reſolved to take revenge on Chriſtianity it ſelf, and to that effect began to practiſe on *Mahomet*, as a ſubject prepared to receive the impreſſion of his deſign.

In the mean time, *Abdemonople* died, his Riches being augmented through the care and induſtry of *Mahomet*, who having before inſinuated into the favour of his Miſtris *Ajiſſa*, by Preſents of rare Toys, procured in his Travels, by them, or through Sorcery (of which he was held guilty, and laboureth to purge himſelf in his *Alcoran*) ſo charmed her affection, that of her ſlave, he was advanced to be Lord both of her Perſon and Fortunes.

Being thus grown opulent, he ſometime continued his Trade, but then willing to take eaſe, as he had, during the Voyages through ſeveral Countries, been a ſeeker, and inquiſitive concerning the diverſity of Religions profeſſed through the Univerſe; ſo now (though irreſolute which to follow) he rejected all, as vain, and fooliſh, except *Judaiſm* and *Chriſtianity*; and approving the latter as the beſt, accordingly framed his life, aſſuming a ſpecious form of Sanctimony, which bred admiration in them that conſidered his former Education, and gave him a repute above his expectation. But this haſty Fruit was ſoon corrupted, and with the touch of Ambition (like the Apples of *Sodom*) ſoon vaniſhed into ſtink and filthineſs.

For *Sergius*, as ſubtile, as malicious, obſerving his diſpoſition, and withal, after ſome diſcourſe concerning the two Religi-

ons, of both which he found him excellently ignorant, ſeeing it no difficulty to diſtill into him the poyſon of his Hereſie, eaſily perſwaded him, That Jeſus Chriſt was but Man ſimply, that for the merit of his vertues he was held as Deified: that the ſufferings of his death were but humane inventions; that he was tranſported from this life to an immortal, and glorious, by another way than that of Death; That there is but one God, in one Perſon; ſo that the Faith of the Chriſtians is vain, and invented, and that of the *Jews* too looſe, and lean, through their own obſtinacy. That the *Arabians* being a dull and ignorant people, inclining neither to the one nor the other, but all (as many as had been touched with the fame of his new ſanctity) admiring his perfections; The *Jews* and *Chriſtians* being likewiſe enemies to each other, and the *Chriſtians* at variance among themſelves; He might in that juncture of affairs, aſſume the title of a Prophet ſent from God, to diſabuſe the one, and the other, and ſave the World by another Law. This Counſel of *Sergius* took the deſired effect, and *Mahomet*'s thoughts, before enflamed with his new gotten wealth, and fame, now entertained more ardent deſires of being eſteemed a Prophet, looking upon all other attributes of Religion, and ſanctity, as vile and abject.

To this effect, on a ſudden he retires to a ſolitary Cave, not far diſtant from *Mecca*, while *Sergius* proclaimed the vain perfections of his Life, and filled the ears of the people with the noiſe of his deſervings. The term of two years expired, *Mahomet* again appears to the World, and as if newly returned from the Oracles of Heaven, ſtileth himſelf a Prophet ſent from God, who willing through his mercy, to withdraw him from that precipice of his everlaſting ruine, and admoniſh him of his error, afflicted his body with the falling ſickneſs, which *Mahomet*, inſtead of repenting, made an advantage to promove his wicked deſign. For his Wife lamenting to ſee her ſelf yoaked to one ſo diſeaſed, and tormented with an hideous infirmity, he excuſed it, and eaſily wrought in her a belief, that being conſtrained frequently to converſe with the Angel *Gabriel*, his frail body, unable to abide the ſplendor of his heavenly preſence, fell into that diſtemper, and at the departure of the Divine Ambaſſador, recovered its former condition. His Wife believing this, was not wanting to divulge the rare qualities of her husband, his admirable ſanctity, and frequent converſe with the Angel, which gained him the eſteem of a Prophet in his own houſe, and reverence among his Neighbours.

That this Infant-repute of his Holineſs might be the better ſtrengthned, *Mahomet* thought it requiſite to promulgate ſome Chapters of his *Alcoran* (as a Remonſtrance of his Commiſſion) which as he ſaw occaſion, he ſhaped (though ill-favouredly) to his deſigns, giving out that he received them from the Angel *Gabriel*, as the Counſel and precepts of God, who for that he had not ſaved Men, either by the Law of *Moſes*, the Pſalms of *David*, or the Goſpel of *Jeſus Chriſt*, did now promiſe them infallible Salvation by the means of the Alcoran, which though rudely, yet cunningly contrived, as complying with the looſe humor of the *Arabians*, enjoyning nothing ſtrict or burthenſome, but leaving all to liberty; as the ſole means to allure them to a belief of it, induced firſt the Parents and allies of his Wife, then the more ignorant and meaner ſort to embrace it, and eſteem *Mahomet* as the Meſſenger of God ſent to guide them into eternal felicity, and the enjoyment of Paradiſe, which the eaſier to enſnare them, he feigned to be full of ſuch pleaſures as fall under ſenſe, and a plentiful fruition of thoſe delights, that in thoſe more barren and deſert parts of *Arabia* they exceedingly wanted.

Having thus drawn to his devotion, a numerous, though vulgar party of the people, who in opinion of his Prophetical Function were prompt to his obedience; he thought it altogether as eaſie to obtain a Kingdom, as he had found it not difficult to attain to the title of a Prophet; and to effect this, having before, under pretence of Reformation of Religion, gained many followers, while more ſtood as lookers on, not at all regarding that Decoy; he reſolved to yoak to it that other concomitant in popular diſturbances, liberty, proclaiming it to be the will of God, that all Men ſhould enjoy it, and that the Edict might be firſt obeyed in his own family enfranchized his Slave, called Zeidi.

This bait, as it inhaunced his fame, ſo it added to his retinue; for as multitudes, affecting novelty, and a mutation of condition, daily added themſelves to his party; ſo ſlaves from all parts of *Arabia* forſook their Maſters, and fled to him as their Redeemer, and embraced his Law, as the means of their ſalvation. Theſe through a fond conceit of his piety, ready to ſacrifice their lives at his command, he divided into troops, and ſent to rob the Caravans of Merchants that travelled through the deſarts; and by this means, having added to his treaſure by ſpoil; and his retinue daily encreaſing by a multitude of Fugitives and Vagabonds, who by reaſon of this liberty, to act any villany, reſorted to him; he at length took up thoughts of imploying them

them in the confirmation of his Law, which he knew to be the ready way to his eſtabliſhment, in that power to which he aſpired.

To this purpoſe, he marcheth with his Troops towards *Medina* (the place of his Birth and Burial) to preach in a *Synagogue* of Jews there inhabiting. Theſe leſs ſtupid than the *Arabians*, could not endure his impoſtures, and inſtead of believing, did handſomly beat him, and drive his train from the Town. This repulſe rather irritating than terrifying him, he drew all his force into the field, and aſſailed the *Jews* in two ſeveral conflicts; in one of which, by a wound on the face with a ſword, that broke out his fore teeth, He ſigned the Articles of his Law with his Blood, and continued a long time as dead in a ditch; but being reſcued by his Slaves, and recovered of his wound, he again fought and vanquiſhed them, and converted their Synagogue into a Temple, for his own uſe.

The fame of his exploits increaſing; with the number of his Sectaries (to whom ſome Princes, and eminent perſons of the Country began to encline, giving him their Daughters in Marriage) awakned the Nobles of *Mecca*, particularly the family of *Coreis*, who wiſely judging a new form of Religion, propagated by a new way, force of arms, muſt inevitably introduce a new Government, of which *Mahomet*, of baſe and obſcure beginnings, would be chief, as the Author, oppoſed themſelves to his deſigns, expelled all ſuch as ſeemed to favour him out of the City, and ſeveral times gave him battel; in which he ſo valiantly deported himſelf, that though he was ſometimes put to the worſt, yet he more often prevailed; and giving freedom to ſuch priſoners as would embrace his Law, incorporated them into his Army, ſtrengthning himſelf, and weakning his enemies. Being in fine a compleat Conqueror in the field; he aſſaulted the City of *Mecca*, took it, and after ſome ſlaughter of the Nobility, his enemies; proclaimed impunity to all that would acknowledge him a Prophet of God, by whoſe favour (as he affirmed) and appointment, not by his own valour, he had attained to that honor. After this proclamation many for fear of preſent danger, and apprehenſion of future bondage, more out of ignorance, embraced his belief, and he enjoyed the vain felicity, to ſee himſelf a General of an Army, Lord of a vaſt Country, and to be eſteemed, and reverenced as a Prophet.

About that time *Heraclius* the Emperor, diſpoſing himſelf rather to improve the Hereſie of the *Monothelites*, than to defend the Confines of the Empire, not only permitted *Mahomet* to domineer in *Arabia*, but gave advantage to *Coſroes*, the *Perſian* King, to invade his dominions: but at length awakened by the alarms of ſo puiſſant an Enemy, levied a ſtrong Army, and ſummoned the * *Saracens* (a people ſo called from their inhabiting the Deſart) to his aſſiſtance. The *Perſian* vanquiſhed, and the *Saracens* expecting the ſalarie of their labours, and with ſome importunity demanding it, were anſwered, that the Emperor had not ſufficient Treaſure to pay the *Chriſtian* Troops, and therefore thoſe Heathen Dogs muſt attend the convenience of their Prince. Incenſed by this contempt, they retired and marched by the way of *Africk*, where finding *Mahomet* buſie to enlarge his Power; he aggravated their diſcontents, affirming it to be the will of God, that all Men ſhould enjoy their Liberty, that God was offended at their oppreſſions, and willed them to oppoſe the tyranny of the *Chriſtians*, and that whoſoever died in that holy War, his ſoul ſhould be inſtantly tranſported to Paradiſe. Theſe motives raiſed them to a reſolution of making defection; ſo that they elected *Mahomet* their General, who incontinently deprived the Emperor *Heraclius* of his Tribute, and his Officers (who were ſlain in demanding it) of their lives. After this act, the whole Province, with that of *Egypt*, revolted, and the people generally eſteeming the ſucceſs of *Mahomet*'s arms (which he was diligent to employ) as a ſure teſtimony of the goodneſs of his Cauſe, embraced his Religion.

* *Sarra* ſignifies in their tongue a Deſart, and *Saben* to inhabit. See *Sands* his Travel.

Heraclius having neglected to ſtrangle this rebellion in its birth, endeavoured to extinguiſh it, being now grown to conſiderable ſtrength; and to that end ſent an Army under the conduct of *Theodoſius* his Favorite; his Army was twice overthrown, the General ſlain, and the *Mahometans* purſuing their victories, took from the *Greeks*, the Countries of *Egypt*, *Syria*, and other Provinces of *Africa*, where *Mahomet* encreaſed his Triumphs, and erected his Trophies.

Being now grown impotent, rather through his inordinate life, than burthen of years, he retired full of glory, as a King and Prophet, to *Mecca*, where he reſolved to end his days, having affirmed in the *Alcoran* to be the moſt holy City of the World: as that wherein ſtood the Temple of *Abraham*, built miraculouſly by *Angels*, to be the Sanctuary of all that repair thither in Pilgrimage. And therefore it was, that when he had by his Armies taken the City of *Antioch*, he durſt not enter into it in perſon, leſt by the delightful and fertile ſituation of it, he ſhould have been entited to deſert *Mecca*, and contradict his own Prophecy. His life now drawing to a period, a Pleuriſie ſurpri-

zed him; On the ſeventh day, for *Criſis* of his diſeaſe, he became frantick. *Haly*, one of his ſucceſſors, aſtoniſht at his diſtemper and frenzy, not eſteeming it one of the rare qualities of a Prophet, and Redeemer (as he ſtiled himſelf) of ſo much People, derided him, yet willing to conſtitute his Law, that he might inherit his Power, carefully concealed it, and according to his commands (yet living) watched his Body after his deceaſe. For he told his followers that he ſhould riſe again the third day, and aſcend to Heaven. They obſerved this, and guarding his Corps four days entire, with impatient expectation of his Reſurrection, were at length compelled, by reaſon of its putrefaction, to take him up, and bury him at *Medina*, where his Reliques are annually viſited by the ſuperſtitious Pilgrims of his Religion.

Thus *Mahomet*, the Prophet of the *Turks*, and Author of the *Alcoran*, died on the twelfth day of the Month * *Rabeg*, in the great climacterical year of his Age, having abuſed Men with his horrible impoſtures, full 23 years, dwelling in the eſteem of a Prophet; ten at *Mecca*, and thirteen at *Medina*. His coming was ſome years after the year of our Saviour 600. *Heraclius* being Emperor at *Conſtantinople*, *Sadinion* Biſhop of *Rome*, *Clotaire* King of *France*, *Viteric* of *Spain*, and *Edbald* of *England*. He was of ſtature not tall, large Sinews, brown colour, and broad Face, his Head diſproportioned to his Body: yet may we well imagine the beauty of his Body to ſurpaſs that of his Mind, which was full of deceit, vicious, and cruel, never ſparing any thing to advance his luſt (in which he equalled himſelf to forty Men) or to procure his revenge. He was (as himſelf confeſſed) altogether illiterate, and though by Nature ſubtile, and quick-witted, yet often puſled for the invention of deluſive Miracles, to confirm the *Arabians* in their Belief. For he continually preached to them, that God had ſent him to confirm his Law by force of Arms, and not by Miracles, yet the People inſtantly demanding them, as ſigns of his Miſſion, he was conſtrained firſt to tell them of a certain Voyage to Heaven; which was briefly thus. The Angel *Gabriel*, with threeſcore and ten pair of Wings, came to him by Night, as he was in Bed with his Wife *Ajiſſa*, told him, God had ſent for him; he going down with this Angel, found at his door an Heterogeneous Beaſt, called *Elborach*, half Aſs, half Mule, but much ſwifter than either: (for it would go as far at one ſtep as the moſt quick-ſighted could ſee) this Beaſt, or Believer of the *Alcoran*, would not let *Mahomet* mount him, unleſs he would firſt promiſe to pray for him, which the charitable Prophet did, and was in the twinkling of an Eye brought by him to *Jeruſalem*, where the Angel *Gabriel* tied the Beaſt with his Girdle to a Rock, and taking *Mahomet* on his Shoulders, carried him to Heaven-gate. They knocked, and the Porter underſtanding *Mahomet* to be there, inſtantly opened, and bade him welcome. In this firſt Heaven he ſaw Angels, of divers and monſtrous ſhapes: ſome compoſed of Fire and Snow, others of Fire alone, every of them diverſly ſhaped; among the reſt, one with the head of a Cock, whoſe Feet touched one Heaven, and Head another (each Heaven being diſtant from the other, a Voyage of five hundred years) and when he crows (which is his Language) he moves the Cocks of the Earth to crow: This Angel recommended him to another, he to a third, and ſo one to another, until he came to the Heaven, where God kept his reſidence. God courteouſly received him, asked him how his People did, how they entertained his Law, and familiarly laid his Hand upon his Shoulder, which was ſo cold, that it pierced to the marrow of his Back-bone. God had ſoon done with him, only telling him how often his People ſhould make their Prayers, which were ſo many, that as he was returning, in the fourth Heaven, *Moſes* adviſed him to go back to God, and entreat him that fewer Prayers might ſerve his turn, for his People were not able to make ſo many; which he did, and after many returns, brought the number to five. This done, he went back to his *Elborach*, which in a moment brought him to his Houſe in *Mecca*, where he went to bed again to his Wife, ſhe not once dreaming her Husband would leave Heaven for her company, or thinking he had been there; all this he performed in the tenth part of a Night. The *Turks* at this day fondly believe this as a Truth; but the *Arabians* of his time requiring him to do as much in their view, he (unwilling to take again ſo long a Journy) replied, Praiſed be God, I am Man, and an Apoſtle. He had other ſlights, which in ſight of the People, by Art or Sorcery, he performed, and they ſtupidly believed, and entertained as Miracles: as a Pigeon being by him taught to come and pick a Peaſe out of his Ear, he told them it was the Holy Ghoſt that came to tell him what God would have him do; ſo an Ox brought him a Chapter of the *Alcoran* upon his Horns, in a full Aſſembly. He likewiſe perſwaded them, that being at dinner at the Houſe of one that pretended to be his Friend (who had an intent to poyſon him, or he at leaſt was

* June.

ſo

ſo informed) a ſhoulder of Mutton ſerved in to the Table, forewarned him that he ſhould not eat of it; and though many were preſent, none but he heard or underſtood the Language of the Mutton, and yet he permitted one of his deareſt Friends to eat of it, and die impoyſoned. Such, and many of the like nature were his Miracles: As the bowing of Trees, ſhaken by ſome ſudden guſt of Wind; the howling of Wolves, and braying of Aſſes, which is their Language, deſiring *Mahomet* to pray for them; and he Prophetically underſtanding, as religiouſly performed. His cuſtom was often to inculcate into the Ears of his Auditors, that God gave him commiſſion to fulfil his own deſires in all things; and to that purpoſe introduceth God ſpeaking to him, To thee, O Prophet! It is permitted to lie with all Women that are given thee, or thou doſt purchaſe, thy Aunts and Kindred, and all good Women that freely deſire thy company; and this is lawful for thee alone. His Iſſue was one onely Son, called *Caſſim*, who died before him, and many Daughters; *Fatima* the eldeſt (in high eſteem at this day among the *Arabians*, and honoured as the royal root of *Aben Alabecy*) was Wife to *Haly*. *Zeineb* the ſecond, was married to *Oſmen*, after Son to *Mahumias*, and perhaps to both ſucceſſively, for they both ſucceeded in the Empire of *Arabia*; to her is attributed the original of the other Family of *Aben Humeia*. *Imiaultim* and *Naphiſſe* are diverſly mentioned by the moſt faithful Hiſtorians; ſome delivering them as his Daughters, others as his near Kindred. On the Seal which he uſed, were engraven theſe words, *Mahomet, Meſſenger of God*. Heaven ordained him to be a ſcourge for the puniſhment of Chriſtians, who in multitudes at that time had forſaken the Truth, to follow the Sects and Hereſies of the *Arrians*, *Donatiſts*, *Neſtorians*, and others. The day of his death was no leſs prodigious, than the courſe of his life, a Comet, reſembling a Sword, appearing at high noon, pointing from South to North, when it was beheld the ſpace of thirty days, which that age interpreted to portend the fatal riſing and ſplendor of the *Arabian* Empire.

FINIS.

A need-

A needful Caveat or Admonition for them who deſire to know what uſe may be made of, or if there be danger in reading the *Alcoran*: By *Alexander Roſs*.

GOod Reader, the great *Arabian* Impoſtor now at laſt after a thouſand years, is by the way of *France* arrived in *England*, and his *Alcoran*, or gallimaufry of Errors, (a Brat as deformed as the Parent, and as full of Hereſies, as his ſcald head was of ſcurf) hath learned to ſpeak *Engliſh*. I ſuppoſe this piece is expoſed by the Tranſlator to the publick view, no otherwiſe than ſome Monſter brought out of *Africa*, for people to gaze; not to dote upon; and as the ſight of a Monſter or miſhapen creature ſhould induce the beholder to praiſe God, who hath not made him ſuch; ſo ſhould the reading of this *Alcoran* excite us both to bleſs God's goodneſs towards us in this Land, who enjoy the glorious light of the Goſpel, and behold the truth in the beauty of holineſs; as alſo to admire God's Judgments, who ſuffers ſo many Countreys to be blinded and inſlaved with this miſhapen iſſue of *Mahomet*'s brain, being brought forth by the help of no other Midwifry than of a *Jew* and a *Neſtorian*, making uſe of a tame Pigeon (which he had taught to pick corn out of his Ears) inſtead of the holy Ghoſt, and cauſing ſilly people to believe, that in his falling ſickneſs (to which he was much ſubject) he had conference with the Angel *Gabriel*.

I know the publiſhing of the *Alcoran* may be to ſome dangerous and ſcandalous; dangerous to the Reader, ſcandalous to the higher Powers, who notwithſtanding have cleared themſelves by diſliking the publiſhing, and queſtioning the publiſhers thereof: but for the danger, I will deliver in theſe enſuing Propoſitions my opinion, yet with ſubmiſſion to wiſer judgments.

1. Though it may be dangerous to ſuch as like Reeds are ſhaken, and like empty clouds carried about with every wind of Doctrine; yet to ſtaid and ſolid Chriſtians, the reading of *Mahomet*'s Hereſies will be no more dangerous, than the reading of thoſe errors which are recorded in Scripture, for in them are mentioned many damnable errors and abominations of the *Egyptians*, *Canaanites*, *Hittites*, *Sidonians*, and other *Gentiles*, and of the *Hebrews* themſelves, of the *Sadducees* who denied Spirits, Angels, and the Reſurrection.

2. Is there more danger in reading the *Alcoran*, than in reading the Errors of ancient and modern Hereticks? ſurely *Tertullian*, *Irenæus*, *Epiphanius*, *Auſtin*, and other Fathers were not of this opinion, who have left upon record to poſterity, the damnable Hereſies of *Arians*, *Eutychians*, *Neſtorians*, *Macedonians*, and others: and in the *Alcoran* there are not ſuch dangerous errors as among the *Tetratheites*, *Angelites*, and *Thebdoſians*, who held there were four Gods, or the *Tritheites*, who affirmed there were three, or the *Gnoſticks*, *Manicheans*, *Cerdonians*, *Marcionites*, who maintained there were two contrary gods, the one good, the other bad; whereas the *Alcoran* ſets down there is but one true God; and although it denieth with *Arius*, the Divinity of Chriſt, yet it holds him a great Prophet; not doth it ſpeak ſo blaſphemouſly of Chriſt as the *Simonians*, who held *Simon Magus*; or the *Ophites*, and *Manicheans*, who ſaid, the Serpent was Chriſt; or *Menander*, who affirmed himſelf to be Chriſt, and the Saviour of the World. Beſides; Are not the damnable Hereſies of the modern *Familiſts*, who deny Chriſt's Divinity, making as many Chriſts as there be illuminated Elders in their Congregations? are not alſo the Hereſies of the *Socinians*, *Anti-trinitarians*, *Adamites*, *Servetians*, *Antiſabbatarians*, and many others expoſed to the view of all that will read them? why then may not the *Alcoran*? Beſides, are Men debarred from reading the *Greek* and *Latine* Poets? nay, are not many of them tranſlated into our Engliſh tongue? as alſo the modern Hiſtories of the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*, wherein are more damnable Tenets than any in the *Alcoran*, and they who have read the *Jewiſh* Talmud, and *Cabala*, will find them as ridiculous pieces as the *Alcoran*.

3. If there were any lovelineſs, beauty, excellency, or any thing elſe in the *Alcoran* that might win the mind, and draw the affection after it, I ſhould hold the reading of it dangerous, but whereas it is ſuch a miſhapen and deformed piece, I think the reading of it will confirm us in the truth, and cauſe us love the Scripture ſo much the more: for as a beautiful body is never more lovely than when ſhe is placed near a Black-More, neither is truth more amiable than when it is beſet with Errors. *Oppoſita juxta ſe poſita clarius eluceſcunt*, the Gem receives luſtre from the *foil*, the Stars from the night, and Fire is moſt ſcorching in Froſt; even ſo by an Antiperiſtaſis

is Philoſophy indeed for a Hog. Fourthly, of Lyes, for he belyeth God, in making him Author of his Impiety and Hereſies; he belyes Chriſt, in ſaying he was conceived by the ſmell of a Roſe; he belyeth the Holy Ghoſt, in affirming that he inſpired *Mahomet* to write the *Alcoran*; he belyeth the Virgin *Mary*, calling her the daughter of *Amram*, and ſiſter of *Moſes*, confounding her with *Miriam*, whereas there were ſo many generations between; he belyeth the Goſpel, in ſaying it is corrupted by Chriſtians; he belyeth Chriſtians, when he ſaith they worſhip many gods, and that they give to God a companion, when they acknowledge the Divinity of Chriſt; he belyeth the *Jews* in ſaying they make *Eleazer* a god; he belyes the Patriarchs, in ſaying that *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, believed his *Alcoran*, being ſo many thouſand years before he was born, or his *Alcoran* had any exiſtence; he belyes alſo the Apoſtles, in making them his Scholars, who lived near ſix hundred years before he was born: by all which we may ſee who was the Compiler of this *Alcoran*, not the God of Truth, but the Father of Lyes; not Chriſt and his Apoſtles, whoſe weapons in propagating the Goſpel, were powerful Preaching, Miracles, and patience in Suffering; not the Sword, the chief means that *Mahomet* uſeth to force his *Alcoran*, an inſtrument forbid by Chriſt, but uſed by him who hath been a murtherer from the beginning; but I will not take upon me the task of refuting the *Alcoran*, being already refuted by *Cantacuzenus*, *Richardus* the Monk, *Cuſa* the Cardinal, *Woodmanſtadius*, *Savanorola* and others. I only thought good, upon intreaty of ſome learned and religious Men, to prefix this brief Caveat, that the Reader might be the better armed to encounter with any rub or difficulty he ſhall meet with in the reading thereof. But before I end, give me leave to clear my ſelf again in this point, that it is not my meaning all ſhould have the liberty to read the *Alcoran* promiſcuouſly. I know with the Apoſtle, that though all things be lawful, yet all things are not expedient, there are Children as well as Men in underſtanding; the Nurſe may uſe that Knife which the Child may not, and that Sword which may without danger be handled by a ſober Man cannot without danger be touched by a mad Man; there are as well queaſie as ſtrong ſtomachs, and what is Meat to the one may be Venom to the other; though *Mithridates* could without hurt eat Poyſon, others may not preſume to eſcape ſo; it is lawful for any to look upon a Monſter, but it is not expedient for conceiving Women; that Iron which an Oſtrich can digeſt, may deſtroy the ſtomach of other Creatures; how many have been deceived in gathering Hemlock for Parſly? It is not for every Man to meddle with Apothecaries Drugs, he may chance meet with Poyſon as ſoon as an Antidote; if all Men were like Bees, to ſuck Hony even out of Henbane, there might be no danger in reading the *Alcoran*, but moſt Men are like Spiders, ſuck ſecurely Poyſon even out of the ſweeteſt Roſes; therefore they only may ſurely and without danger read the *Alcoran*, who are intelligent, judicious, learned, and throughly grounded in Piety, and principles of Chriſtianity; but weak, ignorant, inconſtant, and diſaffected minds to the Truth, muſt not venture to meddle with this unhallowed piece, leſt they be polluted with the touch thereof, as they were who came near to a leprous Body; and if we will not venture to go into an infected Houſe without preſervatives, much leſs ſhould any dare to read the *Alcoran*, that is not ſufficiently armed with Grace, Strength, and Knowledge, againſt all temptations. God grant we may walk in the light of the Goſpel whilſt we have it, that we may not be overwhelmed with the diſmal night of *Mahometan* darkneſs, which God may juſtly inflict upon us; for our ſins, rents and diviſions are no leſſer than thoſe were of the *Greek*, and *Aſiatick* Churches, and doubtleſs except we repent we ſhall all periſh with them, who for deſpiſing Gods ſacred Oracles, are now taught to reverence every piece of paper they find, which they are made believe ſhall be put under the ſoals of their feet when they walk over the burning grate to their fools Paradiſe, as *Busbequius* in his Epiſtle tells us, who lived long amongſt them, and was well acquainted with their opinions; but what I have written here concerning the *Alcoran*, I ſubmit to the judgment and wiſdom of thoſe who ſit at the Stern, and can ſee more than the Paſſengers.

A Table.

A TABLE.

Chapter. Folio.

THE *Life and Death of* Mahomet. i
A needful Caveat or Admonition to the Reader. vi
1. *Chapter of the Preface, containing Seven Verſes, written at* Mecca. 1
2. *The Chapter of the Cow, containing Two hundred fourſcore and ſeven Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
3. *The Chapter of the Lineage of* Joachim, *containing Two hundred Verſes, written at* Medina. 10
4. *The Chapter of Women, containing One hundred and ſeventy Verſes, written at* Medina. 16
5. *The Chapter of the Table, containing One hundred and twenty Verſes, written at* Medina. 21
6. *The chapter of Gratifications, containing One hundred ſixty and fifteen Verſes, written at* Medina. 26
7. *The Chapter of Priſons, containing One hundred and ſix Verſes, written at* Mecca. 30
8. *The Chapter of the Spoil, containing Seventy and five Verſes, written at* Medina. 36
9. *The Chapter of Converſion, containing One hundred twenty and ſeven Verſes, written at* Medina. 38
10. *The Chapter of* Jonas, *containing One hundred and nine Verſes, written at* Mecca. 42
11. *The Chapter of* Hod, *containing One hundred twenty and three Verſes, written at* Mecca. 45
12. *The Chapter of* Joſeph, *containing One hundred and thirteen Verſes, written at* Mecca. 48
13. *The Chapter of Thunder, containing Forty and three Verſes, written at* Mecca. 50
14. *The Chapter of* Abraham, *containing Fifty Verſes, written at* Mecca. 52
15. *The Chapter of* Hegir, *containing Seventy and ſeven Verſes, written at* Mecca. 53
16. *The Chapter of the Bee, containing One hundred and eight Verſes, written at* Mecca. 54
17. *The Chapter of the Voyage by night, containing One hundred and eleven Verſes, written at* Mecca. 57
18. *The Chapter of the Cave, containing One hundred and ten Verſes, written at* Mecca. 60
19. *The Chapter of* Mary, *containing Fourſcore and eighteen Verſes, written at* Mecca. 62
20. *The Chapter of Beatitude, and of Hell, containing One hundred and thirty Verſes, written at* Mecca. 64
21. *The Chapter of the Prophets, containing One hundred and twelve Verſes, writen at* Mecca. 66
22. *The Chapter of Pilgrimage, containing Seventy und ſeven Verſes, written at* Mecca. 68
23. *The Chapter of True-believers, containing One hundred and eighteen Verſes, written at* Mecca. 70
24. *The Chapter of Light, containing Seventy and four Verſes, written at* Medina. 71

Chapter. Folio.

25. *The Chapter of the* Alcoran, *containing Seventy and ſeven Verſes, written at* Mecca. 73
26. *The Chapter of Poets, containing One hundred twenty and ſeven Verſes, written at* Mecca. 74
27. *The Chapter of the Piſmires, containing Fourſcore and thirteen Verſes, written at* Mecca. 76
28. *The Chapter of Hiſtory, containing Fourſcore and eight Verſes, written at* Mecca. 78
29. *The Chapter of the Spider, containing Sixty and nine Verſes, written at* Mecca. 80
30. *The Chapter of the* Grecians, *containing Sixty Verſes, written at* Mecca. 82
31. *The Chapter of* Locman, *containing Thirty and four Verſes, written at* Mecca. 83
32. *The Chapter of Worſhip, containing One hundred and thirty Verſes, written at* Mecca. 84
33. *The Chapter of Bands, and Troops of Soldiers, containing Fourſcore and ſeven Verſes, written at* Medina. 85
34. *The Chapter of* Saba, *containing Fifty and four Verſes, written at* Mecca. 86
35. *The Chapter of the Creator, containing Forty and five Verſes, written at* Mecca. 88
36. *The Chapter intituled,* O man, *containing Fourſcore and eight Verſes, written at* Mecca. 89
37. *The Chapter of Orders, containing Fourſcore Verſes, written at* Mecca. 90
38. *The Chapter of Truth, containing Fourſcore and eight Verſes, written at* Mecca. 92
39. *The Chapter of Troops, containing Seventy and five Verſes, written at* Mecca. 93
40. *The Chapter of the True Believers, containing Eighty and five Verſes, written at* Mecca. 95
41. *The Chapter of Expoſition, containing Fifty and four Verſes, written at* Mecca. 96
42. *The Chapter of Counſel, containing Fifty and three Verſes, written at* Mecca. 98
43. *The Chapter of Ornament, containing Eighty and nine Verſes, written at* Mecca. 99
44. *The Chapter of Smoke, containing Fifty and nine Verſes, written at* Mecca. 100
45. *The Chapter of Genuflexion, or Knee bowings, containing Fifty and nine Verſes, written at* Mecca. 101
46. *The Chapter of* Hecaf, *containing Thirty and five Verſes, written at* Mecca. 102
47. *The Chapter of the Combat, containing Fourſcore and eight Verſes, written at* Mecca. 103
48. *The Chapter of the Conqueſt, containing Twenty and nine Verſes, written at* Mecca. 104
49. *The Chapter of Incloſures, containing Eighteen Verſes, written at* Medina. 105
50. *The Chapter of the Thing judged, containing Forty and five Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
51. *The Chapter of the Things diſperſed, containing Sixty Verſes, written at* Mecca. 106

A TABLE.

Chapter. Folio.

52. *The Chapter of the Mountain, containing Thirty and nine Verſes, written at* Mecca. 107
53. *The Chapter of the Star, containing Sixty Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
54. *The Chapter of the Moon, containing Fifty and five Verſes, written at* Mecca. 108
55. *The Chapter of the Merciful, containing Eighteen Verſes, written at* Medina. 109
56. *The Chapter of Judgment, containing Fourſcore and nineteen Verſes, written at* Medina. ibid.
57. *The Chapter of Iron, containing Twenty and nine Verſes, written at* Medina. 110
58. *The Chapter of the Diſpute, containing Twenty and two Verſes, written at* Medina. 111
59. *The Chapter of Exile, containing Twenty and four Verſes, written at* Medina. 112
60. *The Chapter of Tryal, containing Eighteen Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
61. *The Chapter of Array, containing Fourteen Verſes, written at* Mecca. 113
62. *The Chapter of the Aſſembly, containing Eleven Verſes, written at* Medina. ibid.
63. *The Chapter of the Wicked, containing Twelve Verſes, written at* Medina. 114
64. *The Chapter of Deceit, containing Eighteen Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
65. *The Chapter of Divorce, containing Eighteen Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
66. *The Chapter of Prohibition, containing Twelve Verſes, written at* Medina. 115
67. *The Chapter of Empire, containing Thirty Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
68. *The Chapter of the Pen, containing Fifty and two Verſes, written at* Mecca. 116
69. *The Chapter of Verification, containing Fifty and two Verſes, written at* Mecca. 117
70. *The Chapter of the Aſcent, containing Forty and four Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
71. *The Chapter of* Noah, *containing Twenty and eight Verſes, written at* Mecca. 118
72. *The Chapter of Devils containing Twenty and eight Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
73. *The Chapter of the Fearful, containing Twenty Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
74. *The Chapter of the Wrapped, containing Fifty and ſeven Verſes, written at* Mecca. 119
75. *The Chapter of the Reſurrection, containing Forty Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
76. *The Chapter of Man, containing Thirty Verſes, written at* Mecca. 120
77. *The Chapter of them that are ſent, containing Fifty Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
78. *The Chapter of News, containing Forty Verſes, written at* Mecca. 121
79. *The Chapter of them that take away, containing Forty and ſix Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
80. *The Chapter of the Blind, containing Forty and two Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
81. *The Chapter of Roundneſs, containing Twenty and nine Verſes written at* Mecca. 122
82. *The Chapter of the opening of Heaven containing Seventeen Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
83. *The Chapter of them that weigh with falſe weights, containing Thirty and Six Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
84. *The Chapter of the Cleft, containing Twenty, and five Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
85. *The Chapter of the Sign Celeſtial, containing Twenty Verſes, written at* Mecca. 123
86. *The Chapter of Star, or of the North Star, containing Seventeen Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
87. *The Chapter of the High and Mighty, containing Seventeen Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
88. *The Chapter of the Covering, containing Twenty and ſix Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
89. *The Chapter of the Morning, containing Thirty Verſes written at* Mecca. 124
90. *The Chapter of the City, containing Twenty Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
91. *The Chapter of the Sun, Containing Fifteen Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
92. *The Chapter of Night, containing Twenty Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
93. *The Chapter of the Sun riſing; containing Ten Verſes, written at* Mecca. 125
94. *The Chapter of Joy, containing Eight Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
95. *The Chapter of the Fig, containing Eight Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
96. *The Chapter of Blood congealed, containing Seventeen Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
97. *The Chapter of Glory or Power, containing Five Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
98. *The Chapter of Inſtruction, containing Eight Verſes, written at* Medina. ibid.
99. *The Chapter of the Earthquake containing Eight Verſes written at* Medina. 126
100. *The Chapter of Horſes, containing Eleven Verſes, written at* Mecca *and* Medina. ibid.
101. *The Chapter of Affliction, containing Eleven Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
102. *The Chapter of Abundance, containing Eight Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
103. *The Chapter of the Evening.* ibid.
104. *The Chapter of Perſecution, containing Seven Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
105. *The Chapter of Elephants, containing Five Verſes, written at* Mecca. 127
106. *The Chapter of* Coreis, *containing Four Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
107. *The Chapter of the Law, containing Seven Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
108. *The Chapter of Affluence, containing Three Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
109. *The Chapter of Infidels, containing Six Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
110. *The Chapter of Protection, containing four Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
111. *The Chapter of the Cord of Palm, containing Eleven Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
112. *The Chapter of Salvation; containing Four Verſes, written at* Mecca. ibid.
113. *The Chapter of Separation, containing Five Verſes, written at* Mecca. 128
114. *The Chapter of the People, containing Six Verſes written at* Mecca. ibid.

THE

riſtaſis truth is fortified by error. Who can think that the ſight of a Hob-Goblin, or deformed Vizard ſhould draw the Child from the Nurſe or breaſt of the Mother to embrace it; whereas the ſight thereof will rather cauſe the Child hold faſter by the Mother. The wiſe *Spartans* oft-times brought Drunkards into the room, where their ſons were, not that they ſhould be induced thereby to love, but to abhor drunkenneſs, which they could not have done, had they not ſeen the unſeemly and rude carriage, the undecent behaviour, and uncompoſed geſtures of the drunkard. When *Ziſca* had deſtroyed the *Adamites* of *Bohemia*, he preſerved two alive that they might reveal to the World the wicked errors of that Sect. Who is ſo mad as to prefer the embracements of a filthy Baboon, to his beautiful Miſtreſs, or the braying of an Aſs to a Conſort of Muſick? he deſerves the ears of *Midas* that will prefer the Cuckows ſong to the ſweet notes of the Nightingale.

4. Though the *Alcoran* be received among many Nations, yet this reception proceeds not from any love they bear to it, or any lovelineſs they find in it, but partly out of fear, being forced by the Sword, partly out of a prepoſterous deſire of liberty and preferment, and partly out of ignorance, as not being ſuffered to read the Scriptures, nor to hear Philoſophy, by which the errors thereof may be detected, nor to enquire into the abſurdities thereof, or to diſpute and queſtion any thing in it: for which cauſe alſo it is not ſuffered to be Printed, nor are Chriſtians permitted to enter into *Mecca*, leſt the abſurdities and impieties of their Religion ſhould be manifeſted: and thus are thoſe ſilly ſouls kept in blindneſs and ignorance, and therefore I never read that any Nation did voluntarily receive the *Alcoran*, except the theeviſh *Saracens* of *Arabia*, becauſe it was a friend both to their theevery and lechery, as permitting multiplicity of Wives and Concubines, and a reward for thoſe that ſhall murther and rob.

5. The *Alcoran* is tranſlated into *French* and other vulgar Tongues, and the chief heads thereof by *Purchas* in his Pilgrimage, by *Heylin* in his *Geography*, and by others, into our own tongue without ſcruple or exception; and I pray you, why is the *Arabick* tongue, the language of that falſe Prophet, and in which he write his *Alcoran*, ſo much learned and taught in Schools and Chriſtian Univerſities, but that by it, we may come to the knowledge of *Mahomet*'s Laws and Religion? and how ſhould we know this little horn in *Daniel* that ſpake high and proud things againſt the Almighty, if we read not his life and Doctrine?

6. There is a kind of neceſſity we ſhould know evil as well as good, *falſhood* as well as Truth, that we may avoid the one, and ſo much more love the other; he that hath ſmelled a ſtinking weed will ſmell with more delight the ſweet *Roſe*; he that reads the *Alcoran* will find it ſmell worſe than *Mahomet*'s carkaſs did, which after his death lay putrifying upon the ground, which his diſciples permitted for many days together, hoping he would have been as good as his word, who made them a promiſe that he would riſe again the third day; but at laſt finding he had forgot himſelf, and that his body ſmelled not ſo ſweet as *Alexander*'s did after his death, they were forced to bury it, or otherwiſe the Dogs who were beginning to bury him in their guts, had ſaved them a labour; though Sugar be ſweet in it ſelf, yet it is much more ſweet to him that hath taſted Aloes, and though *Italy* in it ſelf be a delicious Countrey, and garden of the World, yet it is much more delightful, pleaſant, and beautiful, to him who hath paſſed over the mountainous, craggy, and rugged Alpes: Did not the Prodigal love the bread of his Fathers houſe evermore the better after he had been fed on huſks with Swine? doubtleſs we ſhall find, that after we have fed a while upon the courſe huſks of the *Alcoran*, with the *Arabian* Swine, we ſhall with much more eagerneſs covet after the plenty of our Fathers houſe, exhibited to us in his Word, where we ſhall find the hidden Manna, the bread of Life, that came down from Heaven.

7. Books of *Palmiſtry*, Phyſiognomy, judicial Aſtrology, Necromancy, and other ſuperſtitious and impious Arts have been permitted to come abroad, that Men might ſee the vanity of thoſe Arts, the knavery and wickedneſs of the Artiſts, the fooliſhneſs of credulous people, who ſuffer themſelves to be deluded by them, and the malice of Satan the arch enemy of mankind, whoſe delight is to abuſe, delude, and deſtroy Men: why then may not the *Alcoran* be read, that Men may ſee the vanity, impiety, and fooliſhneſs of it, by which the World have been ſo many years cheated and abuſed?

8. They that learn Arts and Sciences, deſire the knowledg, not only of the good things, but of the evil things alſo, and the abuſes of them, to the end they may avoid them; therefore Logick ſpeaks as well of ſophiſtical and fallacious ſyllogiſms, as of demonſtrative and topical; Ethicks treat of Vices as well as of Vertues; Natural Philoſophy handleth the natures, not only of uſeful and beneficial creatures, but alſo of hurtful and venomous, as of Serpents; Phyſick ſpeaks of poyſons as well as of cures; Hiſtorians deſcribe both the ver-

tuous and vicious actions of Princes; in Divinity we learn, not only what God and good Angels are, but alſo what Sathan is and his wicked Angels; in Navigation we muſt know, not only what places are Navigable, but alſo what are not; how ſhall we avoid Rocks, Quick ſands and Shelves if we know them not? even ſo Chriſtian Religion permits not only the reading of Scripture but alſo of heretical and heatheniſh books, as is ſaid, that we may know what to embrace, what to ſhun; therefore if you would know what be the damnable errors to be avoided by Chriſtians, read the *Alcoran*, and you ſhall find in it the ſink of all, or moſt part of ancient Hereſies.

9. In reading of the *Alcoran*, though it be, as *Cato* ſaid of the three Roman *Embaſſadors*, that were to go to *Antiochus*, head leſs, heartleſs and footleſs, the one being maimed in his head, the ſecond a fool, and the third lame in his Feet: I ſay, though it be without head or tail, as we uſe to ſpeak, being immethodical and confuſed, contradictory in many things, written in a rude Language, the Author himſelf being no Languiſt or Scholar, nay, not able to read or write, though alſo it conſiſt of lyes and ſenſleſs follies, yet this benefit we may reap; I ſay, in reading of it, that we ſhall be forced to admire and praiſe the goodneſs of God towards us Chriſtians who having ſuffered a great part of the World to ſit in the valley of the ſhadow of death, to be oppreſſed with Cimmerian, yea more than palpable *Egyptian* darkneſs; hath placed us in the Temple, where we have the Golden Candleſtick of his Word, and a clearer and more durable Lamp than that of *Salomon*'s Temple, yea even the Sun of righteouſneſs ſhining upon us in the land of *Goſhen*, whileſt a great part of the World doth follow the Antichriſtian beaſt, we follow the Lamb upon mount *Sion*; while they hear the voice of Satyres, Oſtriches, and Schrich Owls, we hear the voice of the Turtle, and the Songs of Sion in our own Land: whilſt they feed on huſks with Swine, and drink the corrupted puddles of *Mahomet*'s inventions, we are fed with Angels food, and eat cœleſtial Manna, and drink of the pure river of life clear as cryſtal: Again, we may tremble at the reading of this *Alcoran*, when we conſider the ſeverity of God's Judgments, and the fierceneſs of his anger, who for the contempt of his Goſpel, in thoſe Countries where *Mahomet* is worſhipped, hath ſuffered ſo many millions of people to be deluded, blinded, abuſed, and inſlaved by that falſe Prophet, to believe his lyes, and by loathing the ſweet Evangelical Manna, to devour greedily the poyſonable Quails of his doctrine, and with it the wrath of God which hath faln on them whilſt the fleſh is between their teeth, ſo that they muſt needs periſh everlaſtingly. Who would have thought that thoſe Countreys which were honoured by God's own preſence, by the Oracles of the Prophets, by the preſence, miracles, and preaching of Chriſt, by the planting of the Apoſtles, by the blood of ſo many Martyrs, ſhould be thus beſotted, and enſlaved by the tyranny of this grand Impoſtor? When we think on thoſe things, let us work out our ſalvation with fear and trembling, and let him who thinks he ſtandeth, take heed leſt he fall: they were not greater ſinners than we, therefore doubtleſs except we repent we ſhall all likewiſe periſh; the remiſſneſs of *Heraclius* Government, his falling into the Hereſie of the *Monothelites*, the contempt of the Goſpel, the ſlighting of the Paſtors, the wickedneſs of the people, the continual Schiſms, rents, jars, and diviſions of their Churches, were both the cauſes and occaſions of theſe miſeries which have faln upon them; let us take heed then we be not partakers of their ſins, leſt we alſo partake of their plagues.

10. The reading of the *Alcoran* will enable us to beat *Mahomet* with his own weapons, to cut off the head of this *Goliah* with his own Sword, and to wound this unclean bird with quills pickt out of his own wings, for even unwittingly and unwillingly he is forced to acknowledg many truths of Chriſtian Religion, in affirming there is but one true God the Creator of all things, and though he goeth about to overthrow the Doctrine of the Trinity, yet he doth plainly confirm it; when he ſpeaks of God, of the Word, and of the Spirit, which three indeed are one in eſſence, though diſtinct in ſubſiſtence; though he laboureth to overthrow the Goſpel, yet he confirms it, when he calls it good, full, right, a light, and a guide to ſalvation: for if it be full, good, *&c.* what need was then of his *Alcoran*? and though he endeavoureth to overthrow Chriſt's Divinity with *Arius* and *Neſtorius*, and the *Jews* his ghoſtly Fathers, yet he affirms it, in calling Chriſt the Word; for as the internal word of the mind is coeternal with the mind, ſo is Chriſt the Word of his Father, coeternal with the Father; he eſtabliſheth alſo the Article of Chriſt's Conception and Nativity, affirming him to be conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, and born of the Virgin *Mary*, whom he confeſſeth to have been a pure Virgin, both before and after Chriſt's birth: ſo he confirms the Article of Chriſt's aſcenſion into Heaven; and divers other points of Chriſtianity, to whom we are more beholding for his reverend

verend eſteem of Chriſt, than the Jews who revile and blaſpheme him.

11. In reading the *Alcoran*, though we find much dung, yet in it we ſhall meet with ſome gold, as *Virgil* did in reading of *Ennius* his Verſes. *Æſop*'s Cock found a precious ſtone in a dunghil; where is much droſs, ſome pure metal will be found; even ſo in the dirt of the *Alcoran* you ſhall find ſome jewels of Chriſtian Vertues; and indeed if Chriſtians will but diligently read and obſerve the Laws and Hiſtories of the *Mahometans*, they may bluſh to ſee how zealous they are in the works of devotion, piety, and charity, how devout, cleanly, and reverend in their Moſques, how obedient to their Prieſts, that even the great Turk himſelf will attempt nothing without conſulting his Mufti: how careful are they to obſerve their hours of prayers five times a day where ever they are, or however imployed? how conſtantly do they obſerve their Faſts from morning till night a whole month together; how loving and charitable the Muſſemans are to each other, and how careful of ſtrangers, may be ſeen by their Hoſpitals, both for the Poor and for Travellers: if we obſerve their Juſtice, Temperance, and other moral Vertues, we may truly bluſh at our own coldneſs, both in devotion and charity, at our injuſtice, intemperance, and oppreſſion: doubtleſs theſe Men will riſe up in judgment againſt us; and ſurely their devotion, piety, and works of mercy are main cauſes of the growth of *Mahometiſm*, and on the contrary, our neglect of Religion, and looſneſs of converſation, is a main hindrance to the increaſe of Chriſtianity; is it not a ſhame that they ſhould read over their *Alcoran* once every month, and we ſcarce read over the Bible in all our life? that they ſhall give ſuch reverence to their *Alcoran*, as to honor the very Camel that carried it to *Mecca*, and to lay up for holy reliques the napkins and hankerchiefs that rubbed off the ſweat from his skin; and we ſhall prefer laſcivious Poems, and wanton Ballads to the ſacred word of Almighty God? do we not make our ſelves unworthy of ſuch an ineſtimable treaſure?

12. The *Turks* are our neighbors, and their Territories border upon the dominions of Chriſtendom: there have been continual Wars, and will be ſtill between us: it concerneth every Chriſtian who makes conſcience of his ways to examine the cauſe, and to look into the grounds of this War, whether they be juſt or not, which cannot be known but by reading the *Alcoran* in which we ſee the *Mahometans* to be the enemies of the Croſs of Chriſt, in denying his Death, and of his Divinity, alſo in that they deny his Godhead: we ſhall find ſo many paſſages in it repugnant to, and deſtructive of Chriſtian Religion, that Chriſtian Princes are bound to oppoſe the enemies thereof; after the example of thoſe glorious Emperors, *Conſtantine*, who made War againſt the Heathen Princes, *Maxentius*, *Maximinus* and *Licinius*; of *Theodoſius* the elder againſt the Tyrant *Eugenius* the worſhipper of *Hercules*, of *Theodoſius* the younger againſt the *Saracens*, of *Honorius* againſt the *Goths*, all enemies of Chriſt, by whoſe aſſiſtance they got notable victories, and glorious triumphs. *Euſeb. in vit. Conſt. & l. 9. c. 9. Hiſt. Theod. l. 5. c. 24. Socrat. l. c. 7. 18. Aug. l. 5. de civit. dei, c. 23.*

13. We cannot do better ſervice to our Countrymen, nor offer a greater affront to the *Mahometans*, than to bring out to the open view of all, the blind *Sampſons* of their *Alcoran*, which hath maſtered ſo many Nations, that we may laugh at it, of which even their own Wiſe Men are aſhamed, and are ſorry it ſhould be tranſlated into any other language: for they are unwilling that their grand Hypocrite ſhould be unmasked, or that the Viſard of his pretended holineſs ſhould be taken off, whoſe filthy nakedneſs muſt appear when he is deveſted: they know that words and works of darkneſs cannot endure the light: *Trepidantq; immiſſo lumine manes*, the infernal Ghoſts tremble at any glimpſe of light; and the wild Beaſts return to their dens, ſaith *David*, when the morning appears, not daring to ſeek their prey but in the dark night of ignorance; this great thief *Mahomet* hath deſtroyed many thouſands, and under the Lyons skin, this Aſs hath affrighted his beaſtly minded *Saracens*, therefore let us take away the ring from this *Gyges*, by which he hath made himſelf inviſible, and let us with *Hercules*, pull out this thieving *Cacus* out of his dark den where he uſeth to hide and ſhelter himſelf, and expoſe his deformed carkaſs to the publick view, that we may wonder at it: and in detecting his errors, we follow the practice of Chriſt, who diſcovered to the World the damnable Tenets of the Scribes, Phariſees, Hypocrites. *Pſal. 10. 4. Vt jugulent homines, ſurgunt de nocte latrones.* *Mat. 15.*

14. The *Turks* are prepoſterouſly zealous in praying for the converſion, or perverſion rather, of Chriſtians to their irreligious religion; they pray heartily, and every day in their Temples, that Chriſtians may imbrace the *Alcoran*, and become their Proſelytes, in effecting of which they leave no means unaſſaied by fear and flattery, by puniſhments and rewards; now, is it fitting that they in charity and zeal ſhould exceed us? we are bound to pray, and indeavour heartily for their converſion, from darkneſs to light, from error to truth; but how ſhall we do this, if we know not the dangerous and damnable eſtate they are in, which we cannot know but by reading their *Alcoran*?

15. In reading the *Alcoran* we ſhall ſee what is the force of ſuperſtition, and with what violence Men are carried headlong in the defence and maintenance even of the moſt abſurd & impious opinions; what *Hecuba* is more deformed than the *Alcoran*? yet how do the *Turks* fight and ſtruggle, toil and care, hazard life and liberty, eſtates and all for it, as if it were the moſt beautiful *Helena* in the World! theſe Men cannot endure the Image of Chriſt, or of a Saint in their Temples, calling this Idolatry, and yet they are the greateſt Idolaters in the World themſelves: for never was there ſuch an Idol as the *Alcoran*, no Man muſt touch it, till firſt he be waſhed, and that being done, he muſt not touch it with his naked hands, but with a clean linen cloth; the Prieſt muſt kiſs it, and bow to it; he muſt when he reads in it hold it up on high, for it is a ſin to hold it lower than his girdle: Every piece of Paper that a *Turk* finds, he muſt uſe reverendly, becauſe the *Alcoran* is written in paper, the Mule that carries it to *Mecca* is held in great veneration, ſo that he or ſhe is ſanctified all the year after that can but touch him, and that handkerchief which wipeth off his ſweat is a holy relique: thus do they ſtrain at a Gnat and ſwallow a Camel.

Rev. 20. 16. 16. In reading the *Alcoran* & Turkiſh *Story*, we ſhall ſee who were *Gog* and *Magog* that made War againſt the *Saints*, even the *Turks* an obſcure people of *Scythia*, therefore called *Gog*, becauſe they were hid and unknown a long time, and the *Saracens*, who were a known people, and the open enemies of the Church, therefore called *Magog*; theſe treacherouſly combined together, oppreſſed firſt the *Perſians*, and afterward the *Greek* Empire, with the famous Churches of *Aſia*, *Greece*, and *Egypt*; we ſhall alſo find that by the Star which fell from Heaven, and opened the bottomleſs pit, whoſe ſmoke darkned the Sun, and out of which came the *Locuſts*, whoſe terror is deſcribed by St. *John*, is meant *Mahomet* that great deſtroyer, as his name ſignifieth, anſwering to the name Rev. 9. *Apollyon*, and *Abaddon*: for never was there ſuch a deſtroyer, who by his peſtilent doctrine hath deſtroyed ſo many Souls, and by the ſword of his Locuſts hath deſtroyed ſo many bodies, and ruinated ſo many goodly Countries.

17. If you will take a brief view of the *Alcoran* you ſhall find it a hodg-podge made up of theſe four ingredients. 1. Of Contradictions. 2. Of Blaſphemy. 3. Of ridiculous Fables. 4. Of Lyes: firſt, of Contradictions he doth ordinarily ſay, and unſay the ſame thing; one while he tells us, that he was the firſt that ever entred into *Paradiſe*, and elſewhere he ſays he found Men and Women there; ſometimes he affirms that *Jews* and *Chriſtians* ſhall be ſaved by their own Religion, and ſometimes again, that none can be ſaved who embrace not his *Alcoran*; In one place following the Opinion of *Origen*, or rather of the *Origeniſts* he affirmed that all the Devils ſhall be ſaved; in another place he ſaith, only thoſe Devils ſhall be ſaved who hearken to, and obey his *Alcoran*. Secondly, of Blaſphemy, for he blaſphemeth God, in ſaying that he prayeth for *Mahomet*, intimating hereby that he is inferior to that God he prayeth to; he makes God alſo ſwear by Flies, Worms, and ſuch baſe Creatures, as if he were their inferiour, whereas God having none greater than himſelf, ſwears only by himſelf; He blaſphemes the Father, in ſaying he cannot have a Son, becauſe he, is not married, as if there were no other generation but what is carnal; he blaſphemes the Son with *Arius*, in denying his Divinity; he blaſphemes the Holy Ghoſt with *Macedonius*, affirming him to be the Creature of a Creature; he blaſphemes God alſo, in making him the Author of his *Alcoran*, bragging that his name is written upon the Throne of God, in that he is the greateſt of the Prophets, who hath more knowledge than all the Men and Angels of the World: and many other bragging words he uttereth of himſelf, by which we may ſee he is that *little* Horn which did ſpring up among the ten Horns of the great and terrible Beaſt of the *Roman* Empire, deſtroying three of the *Roman* Horns, to wit, the *Aſians*, *Grecians* and *Egyptians*; this is the Horn that hath many Eyes, as being crafty and vigilant, but his mouth ſpeaks proud things, in blaſpheming and bragging, as we have heard. Thirdly, of ridiculous Stories, and which are more unſavory than the *Golden Legend*, or *Lucian's* true Narrations; he tells us that he divided once the Moon, one half whereof fell into his lap, (this was not then the Man in the Moon, but the Moon in the Man) the other on the ground; theſe two pieces he ſouldred again. Perhaps in memory of this lying Miracle, the *Turks* uſe yet the half Moon for their Arms: He tells us of a great Army of Men and Angels raiſed by *Salomon*, but much hindred in their march by an Army of Flies, which *Salomon* rebuked, where we have a witleſs conference between *Salomon* and the Fly; he tells you a ſtrange Story of *Noah's* Ark, how there the Hog was generated of the Elephants dung, and a Rat of the Hogs dung, which gnawing a hole in the Ark, at which *Noah* was affrighted; he touched the Lyon on the Forehead, out of whoſe Brains leaped out a Cat, as (*Minerva* did out of *Jupiter's*) which cauſed the Rat to run away: this

is

THE ALCORAN OF MAHOMET.

CHAP. I.

The Chapter of the Preface, containing ſeven Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful; Praiſed be God, gracious and merciful: King of the Day of Judgment. It is thee whom we adore; it is from thee we require help. Guide us in the right way, in the way of them that thou haſt gratified; againſt whom thou haſt not been diſpleaſed, and we ſhall not be miſ-led.

CHAP. II.

The Chapter of the Cow, containing Two hundred fourſcore and ſeven Verſes, written at Mecca.

See *Erpenius* his Grammar.

IN the Name of God, Gracious and merciful. I am the moſt wiſe God. There is no Error in this Book; it guideth into the right way thoſe that are righteous, who believe what they ſee not, who make their Prayers with affection, and diſpenſe in Alms a part of the Goods that we have given them. Such as believe the things that are inſpired into thee, in thoſe that have been Preached before thee, and at the end of the world are not ignorant they are guided by their Lord, and ſhall be bleſſed. Miſery is upon unbelievers. Whether thou reprove them, or do not reprove them, they will not be converted. God hath ſhut up their heart, their ears and eyes, and they ſhall ſuffer great torments. Many men ſay, we believe in God, and the Day of Judgment, and do not believe: they think to deceive God, and them that believe in God; certainly they deceive themſelves, and know it not. God will augment the infirmity which they have in their heart, and they ſhall undergo the rigours of an infinite pain, by reaſon of their lying. When it was ſaid to them, Pollute not the earth, they ſaid, We are true obſervers of the Law of God; notwithſtanding, they were they that polluted the earth, but they knew it not. When it was ſaid to them, Believe ye as the world believeth? They ſaid, Shall we believe as fools believe? they themſelves are fools, and know it not. When they met with ſuch as believed in God, they ſaid, We believe as you do: And when they returned towards the Devils, their Companions, they ſaid, We believe as you, and mock at thoſe men: Certainly God mocketh them, and continueth them in their Errours, to their confuſion. They that have purchaſed Error, for the right way, have gained nothing in their commerce, and are not well directed; they are like to ſuch as kindled fire, and when it hath enlightened what is about them, God hath deprived them of light, and left them in darkneſs, deaf, dumb, blind, and they ſhall never be converted: or as a cloud of Heaven, full of darkneſs, thunder, and lightning, they ſtop their ears with their fingers, by reaſon of the noiſe, and for fear of death; but God ſeeth the unbelievers, he cauſed lightning to approach, that raviſhed from them their ſight; they have followed what appeared to them, and are detained in darkneſs: But if God had pleaſed, he had deprived them, both of hearing, and ſight; for he is Omnipotent. O People, worſhip your Lord, who created you, and all that were before you; it may be that you will fear him that hath extended the Earth, that raiſed the Heaven, and cauſed Rain to deſcend; that cauſed the production of Fruits to enrich you. Say not, That God hath a Companion equal to him, becauſe you know the contrary. If you doubt that I have ſent my ſervant, come, and bring ſome Chapters like to the *Alcoran*, and call to witneſs the Idols that you adore; if you are good men, if you have not done it, or cannot perform it, Fear the fire of Hell prepared for Infidels, and Idolaters; and declare to true believers, who do good works, That they ſhall enjoy the immenſe pleaſures of Paradiſe, wherein flow many Rivers; they ſhall there find all ſorts of fair and ſavory Fruits, which God hath prepared for them; they ſhall conſider, if they be like to ſuch as they had before in the world: They ſhall there have Wives, fair, and delicate, and ſhall dwell, in eternal felicity. God is not aſhamed to compare a little *Puny to an extream Greatneſs: Now, ſo it is, that true believers know, that it proceedeth from their Lord. The wicked demand, what God doth mean by that compariſon? He by this means miſ-leadeth; and directeth many men; but miſ-leadeth none, but the diſobedient:

See the Explication of *Geladin.*

See *Geladin.*

* The Puny is a ſlinking Worm, frequently growing in Beds in hot Countries.

Such as pervert his Teſtament, and his Promiſes; ſuch as retrench his Commandments, and defile the Earth, are damned. Why will you be impious, ſeeing that God hath given you life after death? He will cauſe you to die, he will raiſe you again, and you ſhall all return before him to be judged. He it is, that created whatever is upon Earth, and aſcending to Heaven, hath ordained ſeven Heavens, knowing all things. Remember to inſtruct men, that thy Lord ſaid to his Angels, I would create a Vicar upon Earth; and when they anſwered, Wilt thou there place him that ſhall defile it, and ſhed Blood, while we exalt thy Glory, and ſanctifie thee? I know, ſaid he, what you know not. He taught *Adam* the Names of all things, who diſcovered them to the Angels, to whom God ſaid, Declare to me the Names of all things that I have created, if you know them; they replyed, Praiſe is due to thy Divine Majeſty; we know nothing, but what thou haſt taught us, thou alone art knowing and wiſe. He ſaid to *Adam*, Declare to them the Names of all things that I have created. After he had taught them, God ſaid, Did I not tell you, that I knew what is not, neither in Earth, nor Heaven; and that I underſtand whatever you make manifeſt, and whatever you keep moſt ſecret? Remember thou, that we ſaid to the Angels, Humble your ſelves before *Adam*; they all humbled themſelves, except the Devil: He was already proud, and in the number of the wicked. We ſaid unto *Adam*, Dwell thou and thy Wife in Paradiſe, and eat there what thou likeſt, but approach not that Tree, leſt thou be in the number of the unjuſt. The Devil made them to ſin, and depart from the Grace in which they were; then we ſaid to them, Deſcend you enemies one to another, you ſhall have a dwelling upon Earth, and goods wherewith to live for a time. *Adam* begged pardon for his fault of his Lord; he pardoned him, becauſe he is gracious and merciful, and ſaid, Deſcend, and go all of you out of Paradiſe; there ſhall hereafter come to you, a guide from me. Such as ſhall follow him, ſhall be delivered from fear and affliction (at the day of Judgment;) ſuch as ſhall be impious, and conceal my Commandments, ſhall burn eternally in the fire of Hell. O Children of *Iſrael*, remember the Grace I have done you, I will ſatisfie my Promiſes, perform yours, fear me, and believe in what I have ſent from Heaven, confirming what was before taught you; be not the firſt impious, and forſake not my Law at any rate; fear me, and cover not the Truth with a lye, neither willingly conceal it; Make your Prayers at the time appointed, pay Tithes, and worſhip your Lord with them that adore him. Will you command people that have no care of their Souls, to do good? Will you meditate upon Scripture, with obſerving it? Entreat for ſuccour with Patience, and with Prayers; they abound not, but in them that are obedient, that believe they ſhall one day behold their Lord, and ſhall return before him to be judged. O Children of *Iſrael*, call to mind my favours. I have preferred you to all the world; fear the day, wherein one Soul ſhall not be chaſtiſed for another; when Prayer ſhall not be heard, neither ranſom, ſuccours nor protection be found for the wicked. Remember, that we delivered you from the hands of *Pharaoh*, who afflicted you through the violence of torments, who murthered your Children, abuſed your Wives; and that your Lord encreaſed your Miſeries, becauſe of the Enormity of your Crimes. Remember, that we divided the Seas to ſave you, and that we drowned *Pharaoh*'s men in your view; nevertheleſs, you worſhipped the Calf, when we detained *Moſes* with us forty Nights, in which you were extreamly to blame; after this, we pardoned you, it may be that you will give me thanks. We gave unto *Moſes* the Book, that diſtinguiſheth good from evil; perhaps you will be converted. Remember, that *Moſes* ſaid to his people, You were to blame for having adored the Calf; repent, and be converted to your Creator: Slay one another, that will be a thing acceptable to God; he will pardon your Crime, he is gracious and merciful. You ſaid, O *Moſes*, we will not believe thee, for that we ſee not God; then you were ſmitten with thunder, you ſaw your Miſery with your own eyes; nevertheleſs, we raiſed you after your death; perhaps you will give me thanks. We covered you with the ſhadow of Clouds, we cauſed Manna and Quails to fall upon you, and ſaid, Eat the good things we have given you. They did us no harm, when they murmured; they afflicted themſelves. We ſaid, Enter into that City, and eat therein what ſhall content you; enter in at the gate, with humility, and ſay, Remove our ſins from us. I will pardon your offences, and encreaſe the Graces of thoſe that are righteous: then the wicked altered their words that were taught them; but I ſent my indignation from Heaven upon them, according to their demerits. When *Moſes* demanded drink for his people, we ſaid, Smite the Rock with thy Rod, incontinently there ſprung forth twelve Fountains, and every man knew his place, where to drink: Eat, and drink the good things of God, and defile not the Earth any more. You ſaid unto *Moſes*, we are not ſatisfied with one ſort of meat; entreat thy Lord that he give us what the Earth produceth, Beets, Cucumbers, Garlick, Lentils, and Onions; he ſaid, Deſire you to change good for evil? Go down into *Ægypt*, you will there find what you require. They were beaten with diſgrace, and poverty, and returned into the wrath of God, for that they diſobeyed his Commandments, and unjuſtly ſlew his Prophets, for which they were greatly to blame. All thoſe that ſhall believe *Chriſtians*, *Jews* or *Samaritans*, ſuch as ſhall believe in God at the day of Judgment, and do good works, ſhall be recompenſed by their Lord, and be free from fear, and affliction, at the day of the Reſurrection. When we received your promiſe, to believe in the Old Teſtament, we raiſed a Mountain over you, to overſhadow you, and ſaid, Comprehend with affection, what we teach you, and remember; perhaps you will fear the fire of Hell, and diſobedience; nevertheleſs, you have gone aſtray; without the mercy of your Lord you ſhall be in the number of the damned. You know what befel thoſe that obſerved not the Sabbath; we ſaid unto them, Be ye abhorred, and deſpiſed as Apes; We left this puniſhment, as an Advertiſement to their Temporaries and Poſterity, and particularly, to be for an example to the true Believers. Remember thou, that *Moſes* ſaid unto the people, God commandeth you to ſacrifice a Cow. They anſwered, doeſt thou mock us? He replyed, God defend me from being in the number of the ignorant. They ſaid, Call upon thy Lord, that he inſtruct us what Cow that ought to be. He ſaid, it muſt be a Cow of a middle age, neither young, nor old, and

See *Kitab el tenoir.*

The *Alcoran* in the old and new Teſtament.

Gelaldin ſaith, the innocent ſlay the wicked.

We have pardoned you: ſee *Gelaldin.*

Gelaldin ſaith it is *Jeruſalem.* See *Kitab el tenoir.*

See *Gelaldin.*

See *Kitab el tenoir.*

and do what is commanded you; They ſaid, pray unto thy Lord, that he ſhew us of what colour it ought to be. It muſt, ſaid he, be of a bright, yellow colour, that it may delight the eyes of the beholders. They ſaid, invoke thy Lord, that he inſtruct us, what it ought to reſemble, and we ſhall (if it pleaſe him) be obedient to his Commandments. He ſaid, God anſwereth you, that it muſt be a Cow, that never bare the yoke, to till the earth, neither water the fields, round, and that hath never laboured, neither hath ſpot upon her Body. They ſaid, thou haſt now ſpoken truth; they then ſacrificed her, and it wanted not much, but they had not done it: When you have ſlain any one, you are then full of wrath, and become proud; God bringeth to light whatever you conceal; We ſaid, ſmite that dead Body with a piece of that Cow: ſo God raiſeth again the dead *, and manifeſteth to you his Miracles; it may be you will comprehend them, yet your hearts are hardned, more obdurate than Rocks:; for Rivers flow from Rocks, when they cleave and appear, or when they fall, and overturn by the permiſſion of his Divine Majeſty. God is not ignorant of your actions. Do you deſire the *Jews* ſhould believe you, becauſe many among them write the word of God, and alter it at pleaſure, after they have comprized it? When they meet with true Believers, they ſay, we believe in God, and being aſſembled, they ſay among themſelves, have you entertained thoſe true Believers, for that God hath inſtructed you, that they may find no excuſe againſt you at the day of Judgment, before his Divine Majeſty? Underſtand you not that they would excuſe themſelves upon what you have ſaid to them? Know they not that God knoweth whatever they conceal, and what they bring to light? There be ſome that know neither to read nor write, that underſtand nothing of Scripture, but what they have learned from the lies of their Doctors, yet they think to be knowing Men. Miſery is upon them that conceal the Scripture in their hands, that alter it, and ſay, that what they read proceedeth from God to profit any thing thereby. Miſery is upon them, becauſe of what their hands have written; Miſery is upon them, and upon what they have gained, in blaſpheming againſt God. They have ſaid, we ſhall continue in Fire but a certain number of days: Say unto them, have you capitulated with God? He will not act againſt his Promiſes: Will you ſpeak of God what you know not? Such as have gained ought, and were entangled in the ſin of their gain, ſhall for ever remain in the flames of Hell; and they that have faith in God, and do good works, ſhall eternally enjoy the delights of Paradiſe. Remember thou, that we taught the Commandments of the Law, and how we ſaid to the Children of *Iſrael*, worſhip one only God, do good unto your Father and Mother, to your Allies, Orphans, and the Poor: ſpeak mildly unto the People, make your Prayers at the time appointed, and pay your Tithes; neverleſs they were diſobedient, except ſome very few among them. When we received the Commandments of God, and that we ſaid, ſhed not your Blood, neither forſake your Houſes, you approved it, your ſelves are Witneſſes; Nevertheleſs you ſlew many, and conſtrained a great number to deſert their habitation, you aſſiſted each other in injuſtice, and impiety. If Slaves have recourſe to you, you ſhall redeem them, their deliverance is appointed you: Do you believe one part of the Scripture to abjure the other; The reward of any of you that ſhall do this thing, is ignominy in this World, and to be precipitated into the moſt grievous torments of Hell at the day of Judgment. God is not ignorant of your actions. Such as purchaſe the Life of the World, to quit Paradiſe, ſhall not be eaſed in their Miſeries, and be utterly deprived of ſuccours. Certainly, we gave the Law to *Moſes*, and after him ſent many Prophets; We inſpired knowledge into Jeſus the Son of *Mary*, and ſtrengthned him by the Holy Ghoſt, but you aroſe againſt the Prophets, that came contrary to your affections, you belyed one part, and ſlew another. The unbelievers ſaid, our heart is hardned; It is God that hath curſed them, by reaſon of their impiety, and few of them will believe the Commandments of his Divine Majeſty. When God hath ſent them any Book, confirming the Scriptures, which they before approved (*viz.* the Old Teſtament and the Goſpel) they demanded ſuccours when they met with the wicked, and being ſuccoured, they either underſtood it not, or would not receive it. The curſe of God is upon Infidels, eſpecially upon them that have ſold their Souls, and through Envy diſobeyed his Commandments: He beſtoweth his grace on whom he pleaſeth, they are returned in the diſpleaſure of his Divine Majeſty, who hath prepared for them grievous torments, becauſe of the Enormity of their Crimes. When it was ſaid to them, Believe in the Commandments of God; they ſaid, Do we not believe in what hath been commanded us? Nevertheleſs, they have no faith in the truth which God hath ſent, confirming the Prophecies and the Precepts that they before approved: Say unto them, had you heretofore ſlain the Prophets, if you had believed in his Law? *Moſes* certainly had cauſed you to ſee *Miracles*; but ye adored the Calf after his departure, wherefore you were greatly to blame. We received your Promiſe, to obſerve the Commandments of the Law, and raiſed a * Mountain over you; Underſtand with affection what we teach you, and hearken to what is commanded you; they anſwered, we have heard, and diſobeyed, and inclined their heart to the adoration of the Calf, becauſe of their impiety. Say to them, doth your faith command you to do it, if you believe in God? and life eternal? Think upon death, if you be righteous: They regard not their paſt errours, but God knoweth the unjuſt: Thou ſhalt find them with diligence, and deſire to live a long time; The wicked hope to live a thouſand years, but they ſhall be exempt from the Puniſhment to live long; God beholdeth all their Actions. Say to them, who is an Enemy to *Gabriel*? He by the permiſſion of God hath inſpired into * thee the *Alcoran* that confirmeth the ancient Scriptures, and guideth the good in the way of their Salvation, and declareth to them the joys of Paradiſe. He that is an Enemy to God, the Angels, his Prophets, to *Gabriel* and *Michaell*, ſhall be rigorouſly chaſtiſed, God is an Enemy to Infidels. We have ſent to thee clear, and intelligible Precepts, none will abjure them but the wicked; Some of them have acted againſt their own Promiſes, and the greateſt part is incredulous; Many of them that have knowledge in the written Law, have forſaken it, even when God ſent them any Prophet to confirm the Scriptures, that they had before received and approved: They caſt the Book of God behind

* The *Turks* believe that a man ſhall riſe again, being ſmitten with the tongue of that Cow.

See *Bedazi.*

See *Gelaldin.*

See *Kitab il tenoir.*

* The *Turks* believe that God raiſed a Mountain over the *Iſraelites*, to overſhadow them.

* *Mahomet.*

hind their Backs, as if they knew it not, and adhered to what the Devils taught in the Reign of *Solomon*, (yet *Solomon* ſinned not, but the Devils only, that inſtructed the People in Magick) and what was taught by the two Angels, *Arot* and *Marot* in *Babylon*. Before they taught the people, they ſaid, We are not ſedition, neither be you impious. The people learned of them, what concerneth the Separation of the Man and the Woman, and what breedeth hatred betwixt them. They did not harm to any by their Magick; but through the permiſſion of God, the people learned of them what might hurt, and not be profitable to them; they inſtructed in Magick them that ſold their part in Paradiſe, at the loſs of their Souls, although they knew their errour, that they had before believed in God, and feared his Divine Majeſty. Repentance inſpired by God is exceeding profitable, if they underſtood to know it. O you that fear God, ſay not, honour us; ſay, regard us, and hearken to what is commanded you. To Infidels are prepared dolorous torments; the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* deſired not that God ſhould ſend you good, but God very liberal, gratifieth with his mercy whom he pleaſeth: he will not alter his Commandments, neither forget them; he will moreover teach others more profitable, or of the like nature; know you not that God is Omnipotent? underſtand you not that to God appertains the Kingdom of Heaven, and of Earth; who except God will be your Protector? Will you queſtion your Prophet, as *Moſes* was heretofore queſtioned? He that ſhall change faith into impiety, ſhall forſake the good way. Many that have knowledge in the Scripture, endeavoured to miſlead you through impiety and Envy; notwithſtanding they are not ignorant of the Truth; forgive them, and beware of them, untill God hath (otherwiſe) diſpoſed, he is Omnipotent. Make your Prayers at the time appointed, and pay your Tithes, you ſhall find before God the good that you do for your Souls; he beholdeth all your Actions. They have ſaid, that none but the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* ſhall enter into Paradiſe, it is their falſe invention; ſay unto them, if you be good Men, bring your Reaſons on the contrary, he that reſigneth himſelf to God, and is a juſt Man, ſhall be recompenſed by his Divine Majeſty, there needeth not be any fear for him, he ſhall not be tormented in the fire of Hell. The *Jews* ſay, the *Chriſtians* are void of reaſon; and the *Chriſtians* affirm the *Jews* to be without reaſon, nevertheleſs they ſtudy the Scripture, ſo ſpeak the ignorant, God will determine their difference at the day of the Reſurrection. Who is more unjuſt, than he that hindred, that God be remembred in Temples, and that ſtudieth nought but their deſtruction? Such men cannot enter therein, but with fear and terrour; they ſhall have on Earth ſhame upon the Forehead, and, in the other World ſhall ſuffer exceeding great torments. The Eaſt and Weſt are Gods, whitherſoever men turn themſelves, the Face of God doth there meet them, his Divinity extendeth through the whole Earth. They ſaid, believe you that God hath a Son? Praiſed be God on the contrary; whatever is either in Earth or Heaven, appertaineth to his Divine Majeſty, and all things obey him; he hath created Heaven and Earth, and when he willeth any thing, he ſaith, Be thou, and it is. The unbelievers ſaid, if God ſpeak not to us, or if thou performeſt no Miracles, we will not believe thee; their Predeceſſors have ſaid as much, and their words have been like unto their hearts; we have cauſed Miracles to appear to the righteous, and have ſent thee to preach and inſtruct the people; inquire not why thoſe that ſhall deſcend into Hell will not believe thee; the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* will not be ſatisfied of thee, until thou follow their opinion; ſay unto them, there is no better guide in the World than God: take heed leſt thou follow their Appetites, after that thou haſt comprehended the knowledge which we inſpired into thee, who except God, will be thy defender? They whom we have taught the Scripture, that ſtudy and read it with truth, believe the contents of it; and they that do not believe, are damned. O Children of *Iſrael*, call to mind the favour that I did you, I preferred you before all the World, fear the day wherein one Soul ſhall not be able to aſſiſt another, when a Ranſom ſhall not be accepted, neither excuſe; and when the wicked ſhall not be protected. Remember thou, that *Abraham* requeſted of the Lord an accompliſhment of his Word; he ſaid to him, I will eſtabliſh thee among the people, to teach them the Myſteries of my Law: and he ſaid, what ſhall become of my Linage? He anſwered, Paradiſe ſhall not be open to the unjuſt. We have eſtabliſhed the Temple of *Mecca* for a ſure refuge of the people, in Repentance; he made his Oratory at *Abraham*'s *place; and we have commanded *Abraham* and *Iſmael* to keep clean my houſe for them that ſhall repair thither in Proceſſion, with humility and adoration. When *Abraham* received this command, he ſaid, Lord fortifie this City, and enrich its people with all good things, and all the inhabitants thereof, that ſhall believe in thy Divine Majeſty, and the day of Judgment. God ſaid, I will for a time enrich the Infidels alſo, and precipitate them into the fire of Hell, where they ſhall remain to all Eternity. When *Abraham* and *Iſmael* raiſed the Foundations of the Temple of *Mecca*, *Abraham* ſaid, Lord accept our Vows; thou underſtandeſt all, and knoweſt all things: Lord give us the grace to be obedient to thy Commandments, and let a people iſſue from our Loyns that may obſerve thy Law: Shew us the way we ought to follow, and have mercy upon us; thou art gracious and merciful: Lord ſend to this thy people a Prophet of their Nation, to preach to them thy Commandments, to inſtruct them in Scripture and knowledge, and to purifie them, thou art Omnipotent and wiſe. No man ſhall abandon the Law of *Abraham* but to his own damage, I have choſen him in this World, and he is in the other, in the number of the juſt. Remember thou, that his Lord ſaid to him, Be thou obedient to thy Lord, and truſt thou in him; he ſaid, I reſign my ſelf to God, Lord of the Univerſe: He commanded *Jacob* and his Children to follow the Law of God. My Children, God hath taught you his Law, truſt you in him, be obedient to him even unto death. Were you preſent when *Jacob* was near unto death? and when he ſaid to his Sons, Whom will ye adore after me? They anſwered, We will worſhip thy God, the God of our Fathers, *Abraham*, *Iſmael*, and *Iſaac*, one ſole God; we reſign our ſelves to his pleaſure. The good that thoſe men gained, remained to them, and the evil that you ſhall commit, ſhall be againſt you; enquire not after what they did. They have ſaid, Be ye either *Jew*, or *Chriſtian*, you ſhall follow the right way. Say unto them, contrariwiſe,

Arot and *Marot* Magicians.

The *Jews* and *Chriſtians* who have the written Law: See *Geladin.*

Abraham's place is an Oratory in the Temple of *Mecca*.

wiſe, The Law of *Abraham* is moſt juſt, he was not of the number of them that believed in many Gods. Say ye, We believe in God, in what he inſpired into *Abraham*, *Iſmael*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, and the Tribes, in what was taught *Moſes*, *Jeſus*, and all the Prophets, we rely upon God. If they believe as you do, they ſhall not erre; if they abandon your faith, they will have a controverſie with you, but God ſhall protect you; he underſtandeth whatever they ſay, and what they do; he hath purified his Law, and what better Purification is there, than that of his Divine Majeſty? Say unto them, Will you diſpute with us concerning God, who is your, and our Lord? We will anſwer with our Actions, and you ſhall anſwer with yours; all our confidence is in his Divine Pleaſure. Will you ſay, that *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, and the Tribes, were *Jews* or *Chriſtians*? Are you more knowing than God? Who is more unjuſt, than he that concealeth the Miracles that he hath ſeen to proceed from God? He is not ignorant of all your Actions. The good that thoſe men have done, remain to them; and the evil that they ſhall commit, ſhall be againſt you: enquire not after what they did. Some ignorant among the people will ſay, Their Prophet doth not appoint them to turn the face to that ſide, to which they turned heretofore, when they made their Oriſons. Say unto them, The Eaſt and Weſt belong unto God; he directeth in the right way whom he pleaſeth. As we have conducted you into the right way; we have likewiſe commanded you to do that which is juſt; that you be witneſſes againſt the people at the day of judgment, and the Prophet witneſs againſt you. I have not ordained, that you turn your face as heretofore, when you made your Oriſons, to the end, they may be known that follow the Prophet, from them that return to their impiety. It will be irkſome to the people to turn to that ſide, except to ſuch as God hath guided into the right way. God will not make vain your belief; he is gracious and merciful to his people. I ſee that thou lifteſt up thy face to Heaven, turn which way ſhall pleaſe thee; but turn thou towards *Mecca*, whereſoever thou art: They, to whom heretofore the knowledge of Scripture was given, knew that the Truth proceeded from their Lord; what they do is not concealed from God, when thou ſhalt meet them; and that they will not turn themſelves, as thou, in making their Prayers; do not thou likewiſe turn, as they, they turn not all the ſame way, follow not their Appetites, having comprehended the knowledge that hath been inſpired into thee, leſt thou fall into the number of the unjuſt. Many, to whom we have given the knowledge of the written Law, underſtand it perfectly, as alſo do their Children; nevertheleſs, they conceal the Truth, and are not ignorant that it proceedeth from thy Lord: Be not thou of the number of them that doubt. Turn thy ſelf always towards *Mecca*. Do good whereſoever thou art, God will be with thee; he is Omnipotent. From what place ſoever thou goeſt forth, turn thy face towards *Mecca*: This is reaſonable, and ordained by thy Lord. Whatſoever you do, is not hid from God; whereſoever you are, turn towards *Mecca*, that none may find wherewith to reprove your actions, but the unjuſt; fear not them, but fear me. I will accompliſh my Grace upon you, and you ſhall be guided through the right way. We have ſent unto you a Prophet of your Nation, that ſhall teach you my Commandments, and puriſie you. He ſhall inſtruct you in the Scripture, in knowledge, and in what you underſtand not. Remember me, I will remember you; praiſe me, and be not in the number of the wicked. O ye that are * True believers! implore ſuccour with Patience and Prayers. Certainly, God is with ſuch as are patient: Say not, that thoſe that are ſlain for the defence of their Law, are dead, contrariwiſe they are alive, but you know it not. I will try you, and afflict you through the loſs of your Goods, and diſeaſe of your Perſons: Paradiſe ſhall be for them that ſhall be patient, and ſhall ſay in their affliction, We are given up unto God; and ſhall return before him to be judged; his Grace ſhall be upon them, and they ſhall not erre. * *Safa* and *Meroa* are Tokens of his power: He that ſhall go on Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, ſhall not do amiſs to viſit thoſe two places; he that obeyeth, ſhall do well. God rewardeth them that do good works, and knoweth all things. I will lay my Curſe upon ſuch as conceal my Commandments, they ſhall be accurſed above whatever is in this world; except them that ſhall be converted, that ſhall do good works, and bring to light what they concealed, I will give them my Grace; I am gracious and merciful: The wicked that died in their impiety, ſhall be eternally accurſed of God, of Angels, and of all the World, they ſhall never be eaſed in their torments, and ſhall be, without end, deprived of protection. Your God, is one ſole God; there is none other God, but God gracious and mertiful. The Creation of the Heavens, and the Earth, the difference of the day and the night, the Ship that ſaileth on the Sea for the advantage of Commerce, the Rain that falleth from Heaven, to give Life to the Earth after it's death, the diverſity of Winds, and the Clouds that move, between Heaven and Earth, are Signs of the Unity of God, to thoſe that can underſtand it. There be, that adore Idols, and love them: the True believers love but one ſole God. When thou ſhalt ſee the wicked, know, they ſhall one day ſee the puniſhment of other Crimes. All ſtrength and Vertue proceedeth from God, moſt ſevere in his Chaſtiſements. When that a part of them that had embraced the true Law, ſeparated themſelves from the Company of True believers, and that any miſchief befel them, they could not re-unite themſelves: Then they ſaid, in their affliction, If we another time meet our Companions, we will ſeparate our ſelves from them, as they have ſeparated themſelves from us: Thus ſhall God give them to underſtand their Errour, with exceeding ſorrow, and they ſhall be eternally confined in the fire of Hell. O ye people! eat what is good and ſavoury in the Earth, and follow not the ſteps of the Devil; he is your open enemy, he will command you that which is evil, and filthy; and to ſpeak of God what you know not. When it was ſaid to the Infidels, obey the Commandments of God, they ſaid, We will follow the ſteps of our Fathers; we will obſerve, what they obſerved: ſurely their Fathers were unwiſe, and miſled; they are like to *him* that cryeth, and underſtandeth nothing of what is ſpoken, but the voice; they are deaf, dumb, blind, and without judgment. O ye, that believe in God, eat the good things that he hath given you, and give him thanks, if it be him that you

C worſhip.

See *Gilaldin.*

These are the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* that follow the written Law.

* So the *Turks* ſtile themſelves.

* *Safa* and *Meroa* are Mountains near *Mecca*

See *Kitab el tenoir.*

worſhip. He forbiddeth you to eat Carrion, Blood, Swines fleſh, and whatever is not killed, in pronouncing the name of his Divine Majeſty, except it be in extreme neceſſity, and in this caſe, it ſhall not be reputed diſobedience, nor ſin; God is benigne, and merciful: what they eat, that conceal the Word of God, for any profit or advantage, ſhall be nothing but matter of fire in their bowels, God ſhall not ſpeak to them at the day of judgment, but with fury; he will not purifie them, and they ſhall ſuffer rigorous torments. They that have purchaſed Errour for the right way, and puniſhment for pardon, ſhall burn in the fire of Hell; for that God hath ſent the moſt true Book that containeth his Commandments; they that impugne what is contained in that Book, are in an exceeding great Errour, far from the truth. It is not juſtification to turn the Face, making your Prayers towards the Eaſt or Weſt; he ſhall be juſtified, that ſhall believe in God, the day of judgment, the Angels, the Scriptures, and the Prophets; and that in Charity ſhall impart ſome part of his Goods to his Parents, to Orphans, to the Poor, to Pilgrims, and to Slaves. Such as believe in God, and have his fear before their Eyes, perſevere in their Prayers, pay Tithes; they ſatisfie their Promiſes, and are patient in their adverſities. O ye that believe! the *Talio* is commanded you in murther, the free for the free, the Slave for the Slave, the Woman for the Woman. But if any one pardon the blood of his Brother, he ſhall proſecute the Malefactor, according to what he ſhall ſee moſt advantagious, through damages and intereſts: It is a facility which God hath given you, through his mercy. He that ſhall do injury to the Malefactor, having received ſatisfaction of him, ſhall ſuffer grievous torments; at the day of Judgment you ſhall find life in the *Talio*. O you that are wiſe! it may be you will fear God: He commandeth you to make your Teſtament, when you approach unto death; give Legacies of your ſubſtance to your Father, and Mother, your near Kindred, and beſtow Alms on the poor. If any man alter your Teſtament, the ſin ſhall be upon him, and upon all them that ſhall alter it: God underſtandeth, and knoweth all things. If any one feareth that there is an Errour in the Teſtament, that oppoſeth Reaſon, he ſhall do well to reconcile the parties with affection, God is gracious and bountiful. O ye that believe! Faſting is commanded you, as it was them that were before you; you ſhall fear God, and Faſt, particularly, a certain number of days; but if any one among you is ſick, or in travel, at the time of Faſting, he ſhall count the days that he faſted not, and ſhall fulfil them at another time. Such as are not of ſtrength to Faſt, ſhall ſatisfie for Faſting, through Alms; he that ſhall obey, ſhall do well: If you Faſt, you ſhall do well. Faſt the month of * *Ramazan*, in which the *Alcoran* deſcended from Heaven, to guide men into the right way; it containeth Precepts of Divine Right, and diſtinguiſheth good from evil, all thoſe that live to this Month, ought to Faſt. He that is ſick, or in a Voyage, ſhall accompliſh the days that he Faſted not another time, at his Conveniency: God willeth that his Law ſhould be light unto you, and not a Burthen; his Will is, that you obſerve the days of Faſting, and that you return him thanks, for that he hath guided you in the right way, perhaps you will give him thanks; I will be near unto my Servants, when they ſhall enquire of thee concerning the Myſteries of my Law; I will hear their Supplications when they invoke me, that they may perſevere in obedience to my Commandments; peradventure they will follow the right way. It is lawful for you to know your Wives the night of Faſting, they are neceſſary to you, as your Cloathes, and you are to them as neceſſary as their Garments: God knoweth, that otherwiſe you ſhould have betrayed your Souls; he is bountiful to you, and hath pardoned you, know them, and perform what God hath appointed you. Eat and drink, until you may diſtinguiſh a white thread from a black by the light of the morning, then begin to faſt until night; Know not your wives when you are in the Temple; Such are the limits preſcribed of God, tranſgreſs them not: So God manifeſteth his Commandment to the people; perhaps they will have the fear of his Divine Majeſty before their eyes. Diſpend not your Goods unprofitably, and with Vanity, and corrupt not the Judges with Gifts, and Preſents, to eat maliciouſly the ſubſtance of another, they will queſtion you concerning the new Moon, ſay ye, That it is the ſign of the time appointed for Pilgrimages; It is not reaſonable that you ſhould enter the houſe of another a back way, he that fears God, doth well to enter through the gate. Fear God and you ſhall be happy; Fight for his Law againſt them that aſſault you, and do wrong to no man, he loveth not them that are unjuſt, flye Infidels whereſoever you find them, and expel them out of the place, from which they ſhall have driven you; Sedition is worſe than murther; fight not againſt them at *Mecca*, until they aſſault you; if they there fight you, kill them, ſuch is the puniſhment of Infidels: if they ſet a period to their infidelity, God will be to them gracious and merciful: Fight againſt them to avoid Sedition: Faith proceedeth from God: If they deſiſt from their impiety, you ſhall exerciſe no hoſtility againſt them, but only againſt the wicked: If they fight you in the Month of *Mharam*, you ſhall fight them alſo in that ſame Month, and obſerve Reciprocation in honours. Offend them that ſhall offend you in that Month, in the ſame manner that they ſhall have offended you. Fear God, and know that he is with them that fear him, diſpend for his Glory, and throw not your ſelves into your own deſtruction; do good, he loveth thoſe that do good, accompliſh the Pilgrimage appointed, if you be not hindred by your enemies, or have not Conveniency to perform it; Shave not your heads, until you arrive at the place appointed for Sacrifices; if any of you be diſeaſed, or ſick in the head, he ſhall there give ſatisfaction by faſting, Alms, and Sacrifices, when you ſhall be in a place of ſafety, and ſecure from your enemies. Such as ſhall be hindred to accompliſh Pilgrimage, and ſuch as have not means to ſatisfie for the Sacrifices ordained, ſhall faſt three days, during the time of Pilgrimage, and ſeven days at their return, which is in all ten days, if they be not inhabitants at *Mecca*, with their Wives and Families. Fear God, and know, that he is ſevere in his puniſhments; Pilgrimage ought to be performed in a certain Month, they that ſhall deſire to perform it, at the time preſcribed, ſhall not know their Wives, they ſhall be humble, and ſhall have no quarrel in that Voyage; God knoweth all your good Actions, he ſhall augment your faculties,

The *Talio* is a pain equal to the offence.

* *Ramazan* is their Eaſter, which continueth thirty days; during which they Faſt.

See *Gelaldin*.

See the explication of *Chaſai*.

culties, he is a great rewarder. Oh you that are wiſe, fear me, you ſin not in demanding good from your Lord, and making Merchandize in that Voyage. When you ſhall depart from the Mountain of *Arefat*, remember God in that of *Mouchar*, remember how he hath guided you, and how you were before out of the way; paſs through the place, through which that people were wont to paſs, and implore pardon of God, he is gracious and merciful. Having finiſhed your Oriſons, remember God with affection, as your Fathers remembred you; There be among the people, that ſay, Lord give us good in this World, and have no part in the other. Others there be, that ſay, Lord beſtow on us the good of this World, Paradiſe in the other, and deliver us from the fire of Hell; They ſhall all find the good and the evil that they have done, God is exact to keep account; He that ſhall advance his Voyage two days, ſhall not ſin, neither he that ſhall retard it, if he fear God; Fear God, and know, that you ſhall all one day appear before his Divine Majeſty to be judged. There be men whoſe Speech will be pleaſing to thee in this World, they will call God to witneſs what is in their hearts, nevertheleſs they are very pernicious, when removed from thee, and travelling upon the earth, they there commit filthineſs, and ruine both Village and Fruits. God loveth not diſorders; When it was ſaid to them, fear God, Pride, with ſin, poſſeſſed them, but Hell ſhall be their habitation. Some there be among the people, that ſell their own Perſons, out of a great deſire to pleaſe God, ſurely he is gracious to them that ſerve him. Oh ye that believe in God! be obedient to his Commandments, and purſue not the ſteps of the Devil, he is your open Enemy; if you ſin againſt God, having once learned his Commandments, know, that he is Omnipotent to chaſtiſe you, and prudent in all his works. Will the wicked expect that God ſhould appear to them in the obſcurity of a Cloud? Or elſe the Angels with Command to extirpate them, they ſhall be aſſembled before his Divine Majeſty to be judged. Demand of the Children of *Iſrael*, how many Miracles were made appear to them? He that altereth the grace he ſhall have received of God, ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed. The wicked eſteem the Life of the World, and ſcorn thoſe that believe in God; but ſuch as believe God, ſhall be above them at the day of Judgment; he enricheth with innumerable good things whom he pleaſeth. The World was all of one Religion, before impiety took place: God ſent his Prophets to inſtruct the people, to ſhew them their Errour, and declare to them the joys of Paradiſe; he ſent with them, the Book of truth, to judge the differences among men, no man contradicted the Contents of it, but * ſuch as had knowledge of the Scripture, and this cauſed the Envy that is riſen among them; God guided them that obſerved his Commandments, and ſuch, as with his permiſſion, obeyed his Will, he directeth in the right way whom it pleaſeth him. Do ye believe to enter Paradiſe, unleſs that happen to you, that befel your Predeceſſors? They were touched with Miſeries, and Diſeaſes, and trembled, until that very inſtant that the Prophet ſaid to the true believers that were with him; When ſhall Divine ſuccour come? notwithſtanding Divine ſuccour was not far off; They ſhall queſtion thee concerning what they ought to expend; Say unto them, you ſhall aſſiſt with your goods, your Father and Mother, your Allies, Orphans, the Poor, and Pilgrims. God will underſtand all the good you ſhall do; Fighting is enjoyned you, although it be againſt your Will; it may chance that you will ſhun that which is profitable to you, and likewiſe love what is pernicious to you, God knoweth what you know not. They ſhall ask of thee, if they ſhall fight in the Month of *Maharam*; ſay unto them, great Battels ſhall happen in this Month, that ſhall ſhut up to the people the way of the Law of God; and impieties, that ſhall hinder the multitude to go to *Mecca*. *To drive the people from *Mecca* is an exceeding great ſin: Sedition is worſe than murther; The wicked ſhall not ceaſe to fight you, until they have, if they can accompliſh it, miſled you from your Religion. His good works among you, that ſhall quit his Law, and die an Infidel, ſhall be vain in this World, and himſelf be confined in the fire of Hell; Such as believe in God, that ſeparate themſelves from the impious, that abandon their Houſes for the ſervice of his Divine Majeſty, and that fight for the Faith, hope for his Mercy, he is gracious and merciful. They will enquire of thee concerning Wine, and Games of hazard; ſay unto them, that it is in them a very great ſin, and yet of Utility to Men; but the evil that they cauſe, is much greater than the profit they reap. They will demand what they ought to expend in good works; ſay unto them, what ſhall remain to you, your own Affairs being done. So God teacheth you his Commandments, peradventure you will call to mind the things of Earth and Heaven. They will enquire concerning Orphans; ſay unto them, if their ſubſtance be intermingled with your own, do them no wrong, they are your Brethren in God, he knoweth them that do good, and thoſe that do Evil: if it had pleaſed him, he had detained much more from you, for he is Omnipotent and juſt. Marry not women that believe in many Gods, until they believe in one ſole God; a Slave that is a true Believer, is of more value than a free Infidel, notwithſtanding ſhe is beautiful. Infidels ſhall be ſummoned to Hell fire, and God calleth men to Paradiſe, and to his mercy, through his meer good Pleaſure, and declareth to them his Commandments, perhaps they will remember them. They will enquire of thee concerning the Monthly terms of Women; anſwer, that they are unclean; ſeparate your ſelves from your Wives when they are menſtruous, and come not nigh them until they be purified; when they ſhall be clean, approach them, according to what God hath commanded: he loveth them that repent of their Errours, that are clean and purified; your Wives are your Tillage, go to your Tillage at your Pleaſure, and do good for your Souls; you ſhall one day find it, fear God and preach his Commandments to the true Believers. Your Religion doth not permit you to ſwear by God in vain, and oftentimes to juſtifie your ſelves; God underſtandeth and knoweth all things, he will not regard what you ſhall ſpeak at Random, that ſhall not be hurtful to any, but he will ſee what it ſhall be in your heart. He will be gracious and merciful; to ſuch as ſhall ſwear, not to touch their Wives for the ſpace of four Months, if they return to them; he is gracious and merciful; but if they deſire to repudiate them, he underſtandeth, and knoweth all things. Women divorced, ſhall tarry until their Terms be paſt four times, before they Marry again, it is not permitted

Bedaci ſaith, paſs where *Adam* and *Abraham* paſſed.

See *Kitab el tenoir.*

* The *Jews* and *Chriſtians.*

See *Gelaldin.*

them to conceal what God hath created in their Womb, if they believe in his divine Majesty, and the Day of Judgment; if they flie from their Husbands, they shall be brought again to them, which is a thing reasonable. They ought to honour them; and their Husbands likewise ought to honour them, but the Husbands have a degree of advantage above them. God is Omnipotent, and most wise in what he ordaineth. Divorce the first and second time, ought to be performed with mildness, courtesie, and good deeds; it is not lawful for you to take any thing from your Wives, of what you have given them, if you both fear a disability of not satisfying the Commandments of God; but if you both fear to transgress the bounds prescribed by God, you shall do well to accord together, such are the commandments of his Divine Majesty, transgress them not, such as transgress them are exceedingly to blame. He that shall have repudiated his Wife thrice, shall not resume her, until she hath been married to another that hath divorced her: then they may return to each other, and marry again without Sin, if they think themselves able to continue within the limits prescribed by God, which he manifesteth to the wise and prudent. When you shall repudiate your Wives, appoint them the time they must tarry, before they again marry, take them with civility and modesty, and in the like manner dismiss them, give them presents according to your abilities, and take them not, to abuse nor torment them; they that do this, offend their own Souls. Mock not at the Commandments of God: Remember his favours, and how he hath taught you Scripture, Knowledge, and the mysteries of his Law; Fear God, and know that he understandeth all your actions. When you repudiate your Wives, appoint them they ought to tarry, before they marry again, and hinder them not to marry according to the Commandments of God. These things are preached to them among you that believe in God, and in the Day of Judgment, it is requisite so to make use of them. God knoweth what you know not. The Women shall give suck to their Children two years entire; if they desire to accomplish the time appointed to suckle them, the Father shall nourish and cloath the Wife; and his Children, according to his faculties; expend not, but according to the measure of your goods: the Father and Mother shall not necessitate themselves for their Children: the heir shall perform what is above ordained, (he shall entertain his Father and Mother according to his abilities;) if the Parents desire to wean their Children before two years be expired, they may do it without offending God, if they both agree to it. If you cause your Children to be nursed by other Women than your own Wives, God will not be offended, in giving them their sallary, according to reason and honesty: fear God, and know that he seeth what ever you do. Widows shall tarry four months and ten nights after the death of their Husbands, before they marry again; this time being accomplished, they shall do what shall seem good to them, according to reason and honesty, God knoweth all your actions. You will not offend God in speaking a word in secret to Women that you research in marriage, although you conceal in your mind your design to espouse them; he understandeth what ever you think of them; know them not secretly, until you have pronounced the words appointed by the Law; and enter not the bonds of marriage, until the time set down in writing be accomplished, God knoweth whatever is in your hearts: take heed unto your selves, he is gentle and gracious to them that fear him. It is no sin to repudiate your Wives, before you have touched them; you shall give them some presents, and do good unto them, according to the proportion of your wealth, or poverty; and civilly intreat them, as is the custom of honest Men. If you repudiate them before you have touched them, and have bestowed on them any presents of garments, moveables, and other things, they shall have the moity, if they release it not to you, or if the Husband, remitting with his own hand the tie of marriage, doth not leave to them the whole, of courtesie: it is requisite to gratifie them, and to forget nothing of the benefits between you, God beholdeth all your actions: stand upon your guard, when you make your prayers, especially, that at noon, and be obedient unto God. If you fear your enemies, and cannot place your selves on your knees, neither perform the Ceremonies that are appointed you; omit not to say your prayers on foot, or on horseback, and being freed from fear, remember God, and how he hath taught you what you know not. Such as die, shall be good to their Wives by their Testament; they shall bestow in them wherewith to live during the time they must tarry before they marry again; drive them not from your houses: If they willingly depart, the sin of what they shall do in their own persons, shall not be upon you: God is Omnipotent, and just; you shall likewise do good to your Wives that you have divorced, according to your power, it is a thing reasonable among such as fear God: Thus God teacheth you his Commandments, perhaps you will learn them. See you not them that departed their houses for the fear they had of death? they are thousands in number; God hath said to them, die: after this, he raised them again: God is the Benefactor of the People, but the greatest part return him no thanks for his favours. Fight for his Law, and know, that he understandeth and knoweth all things. Who is he that will afford him a good turn? He will augment him with multiplicity of increase; he giveth good, and taketh it away from whom it pleaseth him; you shall all return before him to be judged. Knowest thou not, that a company of the Children of *Israel*, after the death of *Moses*, said to their Prophet, send us a King, we with him will fight for the Law of God? He answereth them, have you disobeyed the Commandments of God? If they enjoyn you to fight, you will not do it: They said, we have no greater desire, than to fight for the glory of his Divine Majesty; we for this Cause have abandoned our houses, and those of our Parents: nevertheless, when they were commanded to fight, they all, except some few of them, retired; but God knoweth them that sin against him. Their Prophet said to them, God hath sent *Saul* to be your King; they answered, why shall

See Gelaldin.

shall he be our King? we rather deserve the Royalty than he, he is not rich enough; he replied, God hath chosen him to command you; he hath encreased his knowledge, and Stature, he giveth Royalty to whom he listeth, he is liberal and prudent in all his Actions. Their Prophet said to them, the sign of his Reign shall be, that the Ark shall appear to you from God, to confirm your hearts; wherein shall be contained the remainder of what the people of *Moses* and *Aaron* left, and it shall be born by Angels; this shall be to you the sign of his Reign, if you believe in God. When *Saul* went forth with his Troops to fight his Enemies, he said, God shall try you by a River; he that shall drink of that River, shall not be mine, unless he drink with his hand; they all, except some few of them drank at their Pleasure; and having past that River with the true Believers, they said, we have not this day strength sufficient to resist *Goliah* and his Troops; but such as believed in God, and feared his Divine Majesty, said, how often through the permission of God, hath a small Troop defeated a great Army? He is with them that are patient: when they saw *Goliah* with his Troops appear; they said, Lord, give us patience, confirm our steps, and give us Victory over the Infidels. They, through the permission of God, vanquished their Enemies; *David* slew *Goliah*, and God gave him the Royalty, and knowledge of future things. Had not God raised the people one against the other, the whole Earth had been full of disorders; such are the Miracles of God, as I declare to thee with truth; thou art indeed one of the Prophets of his Divine Majesty. We have conferred our graces on the Prophets, on some more than on others; many have spoken to their Lord, and some have been more elevated than others. We gave knowledge to Jesus the Son of *Mary*, and fortified him through the Holy Spirit. Had it pleased God, the Prophets that came heretofore, had not been slain, after they had taught his Commandments. Men were of different Opinions; some believed in God, others were impious; had it pleased God, they had not been slain, but he doth what pleaseth him. O ye that are true Believers! dispense in Alms some part of your wealth that we have given you, before the day arrive, wherein you shall find no Ransom, Alms, Protection, nor Prayers that can succour you. Certainly Infidels are greatly to blame. God! There is but one only God, living and eternal; think not that he slumbereth or sleepeth; whatever is in Heaven or in Earth is his; who shall intercede for thee with his Divine Majesty unless by his permission? He knoweth all the Actions of men, and whatever they have done; they know nothing, but what it hath pleased him to teach them. The largeness of his Throne containeth Heaven and Earth, and the Conservation of both is not troublesome to him, he is Omnipotent and glorious. The Law ought not to be abjured, it manifesteth the difference of Faith and Impiety: He that believeth not in *Tagot*, or the Devil, and hath Faith in God, layeth hold on the strongest knot, that cannot be dissolved, broken, or cut asunder. God understandeth and knoweth all things; he aideth and assisteth them that believe in his Unity; he will cause them to come out of darkness, and will guide them into light: the wicked shall have *Tagot*, and the Devil for their Protector; he shall cause them to forsake the light, and shall lead them into darkness: such men shall remain eternally in the fire of Hell. Consider you not his Action, to whom God had given the Royalty? When he disputed concerning God with *Abraham*, *Abraham* said to him; My Lord is he that giveth life, and death; He said I, even I, give life and death to my Subject, when I see good: *Abraham* answered, God causeth the Sun to rise in the East, make thou it to arise in the West; then the Infidel was confuted, God is not a guide to unjust Persons. Hast thou considered the action of him that came into a Village desolate and ruined, and said, How is it that God can be able to give life unto this Village after it's death, and re-establish it after so great a ruine? Then God caused him to die, after the space of an hundred years raised him again, and said to him, How long hast thou continued here; he answered, I have sojourned here a day and a half; On the contrary, thou hast been here an hundred years; consider thy Meat and Drink, that they are not altered through length of time; and behold, thine Ass is dead, see his bones, that are white; thou shalt become an example to all the World, and to Posterity; see the bones of thine Ass; I will recollect and reveſt them with flesh: Seeing this Miracle, he said, I affirm that God is Omnipotent; Remember thou, that *Abraham* said, Lord shew me how thou reviveſt the dead; God said, Doeſt thou not believe my Omnipotency? He answered, yea, Lord, but hear my Praver for the repose of my heart; God said, Take four Birds, cut them altogether in pieces, and carry the pieces upon those Mountains; this done, call them, they shall speedily return to thee; God knoweth all things, and is most prudent in all his works. The action of them that dispend their Goods for his glory, is like unto a Grain of Corn that produceth seven ears, and every ear an hundred Grains: God multiplieth the wealth of whom it pleaseth him, he is liberal and omniscient: Such as dispend their substance for his glory, without repining, and reproach, shall be recompensed by his Divine Majesty, and be delivered from fear and affliction at the day of Judgment. Good words and pardon are preferred to Almes, followed with repentance: God is most rich and merciful. Oh ye that believe in God! render not your Alms unprofitable through repining and reproach, as do those, that give Alms with Ostentation and hypocrise; they believe, neither in God, nor the day of Judgment, their good works are like to a Rock, whereon was little Earth, there fell great Rain that carried it away, and left nothing thereon: their Labour shall be in vain, and they reap no merit, for God loveth neither the Hypocrites nor the impious. The action of such as do good, to please God or to save their Souls, is like to a Grain sown upon an high place, whereon fell great and small Rain, that caused it's Fruit to multiply: God beholdeth all your Actions. Is there any one among you that desireth to have a Garden enriched with Palms, and Grapes, wherein flow many Fountains and Rivolets, and that is filled with all manner of Fruits, that old Age should overtake him with young and infirm Children, and that an hot wind come, and burn up his Garden? God so teacheth you his Mysteries; peradventure you will bear them in mind: Oh ye that believe! dispend in pious works, and give Alms of the wealth you have acquired, and of the Fruits of the Earth that God hath given you; desire not wealth ill got-

See *Gelaldin.*

That is *Nebrot.* See *Gelaldin.*

ten; or wherewith to give Alms; ſuch are not received but to your ſhame; And know, that God is moſt rich, and worthy of praiſe. The Devil will cauſe you to fear Poverty, and will command you filthineſs, and God promiſeth to you his Grace and Mercy; he is munificent, and omniſcient, he giveth knowledge to whom it pleaſeth him, and to whom knowledge is given; on him is beſtowed an exceeding great Treaſure, which none but the wiſe do value; God beholdeth your alms, and vows, and the wicked ſhall be deprived of protection at the day of Judgment. If you ſuffer your alms to appear, it ſhall not be amiſs; if you conceal them, you ſhall do well, that will cover many of your ſins; God knoweth all your actions. You are not obliged to lead Men into the right way, God guideth whom he liſteth; the good and the alms that you perform, ſhall be for your Souls; give not alms but for the love of God, you ſhall be rewarded for the good works that you ſhall do, and no injuſtice ſhall be done againſt you; Be benefactors to the poor, that are not accommodated for the ſervice of God, and that cannot labour. The ignorant believe them to be rich, by reaſon of their probity and goodneſs, you ſhall know them by their Phyſiognomy, and in that they demand nothing with importunity; God will know the good you ſhall do towards them; They that give alms, by day or by night, ſecretly or publickly, ſhall be rewarded of God; there needeth be no fear for them, they ſhall be exempt from affliction at the day of Judgment; Uſurers ſhall riſe again, like to Men poſſeſſed with Devils, becauſe they have ſaid, that traffick is like unto Uſury; God permitteth traffick, and prohibiteth uſury; he to whom the word of God cometh, and who hath abandoned Uſury, what is paſt, is to himſelf, God will pardon his fault; but he that ſhall return to exerciſe Uſury, having once abandoned it, ſhall be puniſhed in the fire of Hell; God abhorreth Uſury, he loveth them that are alms-givers, and hateth Infidels; Such as believe in God, that do good works, and that make their prayers at the time appointed, and pay their Tyths, ſhall be rewarded by his Divine Majeſty, they ſhall be delivered from fear and affliction at the day of Judgment. O ye that believe in God! have the fear of him before your eyes, and forſake Uſury, if you will obey his Commandments; if you do not this, God and his Prophet will make War upon you; if you be converted, your principal remains unto you; Do injuſtice to no Man, it ſhall not be done unto you. If your debtors be unable to pay you, and are in want, you ſhall do well to ſtay their conveniency; if you give them alms, you ſhall do well; fear the day when you ſhall return before God, and that every one ſhall be payed, without injuſtice, of what he ſhall have gained. O ye that believe in God! when you ſhall charge your ſelves with any debt, cauſe an act to be drawn; the Notary ſhall write the Contract between you, conformable to Juſtice, and ſhall not refuſe to write it, as God hath inſtructed him, but the debtor ſhall entirely ſatisfie what he ſhall owe, and ſhall have the fear of his Lord before his eyes; if he that is a debtor is a fool, or ſick, and is unable of himſelf to diſcharge it, his Guardian, or he that ſhall overſee his affairs, ſhall give ſatisfaction for him. Call with you two witneſſes, if you cannot find two Men, one with two Women ſhall ſuffice, whoſe teſtimony you ſhall accept; if the one be wanting to her duty, the other ſhall cauſe her to remember; theſe witneſſes ſhall not refuſe their teſtimony, notwithſtanding they be called in a great number. Make no difficulty to write your teſtimony, whether it concern little or much, and limit the time wherein payment ought to be made; ſuch writings are juſt before God, give more efficacy to teſtimony, and are requiſite to avoid your complaints one of another; If your merchandize be preſent, you ſhall take it between you at the ſame time, then ſhall you not ſin in not drawing a writing, or contract. Call witneſſes when you ſell or buy; neither the witneſſes, nor the Notary ſhall receive any damage; If you ſhall do that which is forbidden, you ſhall do very ill: Fear God, he will teach you his Commandments, he knoweth all things. If you are in a journey, and cannot find a Notary, you ſhall give earneſt; If one truſteth in the other, he that ſhall be truſted in, ſhall ſatisfie his promiſe, and fear God his Lord; no Man ſhall conceal his teſtimony; he that ſhall conceal, ſhall ſin in his heart; God knoweth all your actions. Whatſoever is in Heaven, or in Earth, belonging unto God, whether you conceal, or reveal what is in your minds, he ſhall require an account of you, he pardoneth, and chaſtiſeth whom it pleaſeth him, he is Omnipotent. The Propfet believed in all that God ſent to him, as likewiſe all the true believers: Such as believe in God, the Angels, and Scriptures, and generally all the Prophets, without exception, ſay, We have heard and obeyed; Pardon us, O Lord! Thou art our refuge; God requireth of no Man more than he is able to perform; the good that a Man ſhall do, ſhall be for himſelf, and the evil that he doth ſhall be likewiſe againſt him. Lord excuſe us, if we have forgotten thee, or ſinned; Lord charge us not with any heavy burthen, as thou didſt charge them that were before us; charge us not with that which we are not able to ſupport, blot out our ſins, and give us thy mercy; Thou art our Lord, give us victory againſt the Infidels.

CHAP. III.

The Chapter of the Lineage of Joachim, *containing two hundred Verſes, written at* Medina.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful; I am the moſt wiſe God. God! There is but one only God, living, and eternal; He hath ſent to thee the Book that containeth truth, and confirmeth the Scriptures, that were ſent before it. He ſent the Old Teſtament, and the Goſpel, that were heretofore guides to the People; He hath ſent the *Alcoran*, that diſtinguiſheth good from evil; they that believe not in the Law of God, ſhall be ſeverely chaſtiſed. He is Omnipotent and revengeful; Nothing is hid from him in Heaven, or in Earth; It is he that formed you in the Wombs of your Mothers, as it pleaſed him; there is no God, but the Omnipotent, and Wiſe God. He it is that ſent to thee the Book, whoſe precepts are neceſſary, they are the original, and foundation

See *Kitab el tenoir.*

dation of the Law, like in purity one to the other, and without contradiction. Such as in their heart incline to depart from the truth, do often follow their inclination, desirous of Sedition, and to understand the explication of the *Alcoran*; but none understand it's explication, but God, and such as are profound in learning, they say, we believe in God, all things proceed from his Divine Wisdom, nevertheless none remember, but the wise. Lord cause not our hearts to erre, after thou hast guided us into the right way; give us thy mercy, thou art most bountiful towards thy Creatures. Lord thou art he that shalt assemble the World at the Day of Judgment, at which day nothing shall be found doubtful, when thou wilt not go against thy Promises, and when wealth and Children shall not serve to the wicked, but to kindle the fire of Hell. The Infidel Lineage of *Pharoah*, and those that preceded him, blasphemed and abjured the Law of God, but he surprized them in their sin; he is grievous in his Chastisements. Say to the Infidels, they shall be vanquished, and shall be gathered together into the fire of Hell, that is prepared for them. You have an example in the two Troops that fought for the glory of God, they beheld with their eyes, Infidels become true Believers, like unto themselves; God strengtheneth with his Aid, whom it pleaseth him; this shall be for example to such as shall clearly see. The love and desire of Women, of Children, of Riches, abundance of Gold, and of Silver, of Horses, Cattel, and of Tillage, are pleasing to Men; such are the Riches of the life of this World, but the most assured refuge is in God. Say unto them; I will declare unto you things much better for them, that shall have the fear of God before their eyes: they shall dwell eternally in Paradise, where flow many Rivers, with Women beautiful, and Lean, and all manner of Content. God beholdeth them that adore him, and that say, Lord we believe in thy Law, pardon our sins, and deliver us from the torments of Fire. The Patient, the persevering, true Believers, the obedient, the good Men, such as beg Pardon of God in the Morning; the Angels, the Learned, that love Justice, testifie that there is but one only God. The Law of Salvation, is a Law pleasing to his Divine Majesty; no man contradicteth this Truth, among * such as know the written Law, but through Envy. He that shall not obey the Commandments of God, shall find his Divine Majesty very exact to call him to an Account. If the impious dispute with thee; say to them, I am wholly resigned to the Will of God, with all such as have followed me. Ask of such as know the written Law, and them that know it not, if they resign themselves to God; if they do, they will follow the right way; if they go astray, thou hast none other Obligation, but to preach to them; God beholdeth them that adore him. Declare grievous torments to those that conceal his Commandments, that kill the Prophets, and injure them that instruct the people in Justice; the good Works that they do, shall be unprofitable to them on Earth, and they shall be in the other World deprived of protection. Seest thou not a party of them that know the written Law, how they were called to a Lecture of the Book of God, to the end they might judge with Equity the differences that are among them? but many are returned to their sin: they contemned the Scripture, in that they said, the fire shall not touch us, but for a certain number of days; They are deceived in their blasphemies, what will become of them, when we shall assemble them at the day of Judgment, when nothing shall be doubtful, and every one shall be recompensed, as he shall have merited? No injustice shall be done unto them. Say, Lord, thou possessest the Kingdoms of the World, thou givest Royalty to whom thou seest good; from thy hand, O Lord, proceedeth all good, thou art Omnipotent, thou causest day to enter the night, and night the day; thou causest life to come out of death, and death out of life; thou enrichest without measure whom thou seest good. The Believers shall not obey the unbelievers, to the exclusion of true Believers; he that doth this thing, observeth not the law of God; but if you fear your Enemies, God willeth that you fear him also, he is the assured refuge of the righteous; say to them whether you conceal what is in your heart, or whether you manifest it, God knoweth all things; he knoweth all that is either in Heaven or Earth, he is Omnipotent; think on the day wherein every one shall find the good and the evil that he hath done, then shall you desire to be cleansed from your sins, and that the number of your good works exceed that of your evil, God willeth that you fear him, he is gracious to them that worship him. Say to them, If you love God, follow me, God shall give you life, and pardon your sins, he is gracious and merciful. Say to them, obey God and his Prophet; If they return in their sin, God will very severely punish them, he loveth not Infidels. God elected *Adam*, and *Noah*, the Lineage of *Abraham*, and the Lineage of *Joachim*, the one proceedeth from the other, God knoweth and understandeth all thing. Remember thou, how the Wife of *Joachim* said, Lord I vow unto thee the Fruit that is in my Womb, free, and exempt from all Affairs, to serve thee in thy Temple: Accept him from me, who offer him to thee with affection; thou understandest and knowest all things: When she was delivered, she said, Lord I am delivered of a Daughter, thou knowest thou hast given her to me; I have named her *Mary*, I will preserve through thine assistance, her and her Posterity from the malice of the Devil; accept her Lord, with a pleasing Acceptation, and cause her to produce good Fruits. *Zachary* had the care of the Education of this Daughter, and whersoever he went into his Oratory, he there found a thousand sorts of different Fruits of divers Seasons. He said one day, O *Mary*! whence do these good things proceed? she answered, they proceed from God, who enricheth without measure whom he pleaseth. Then *Zachary* prayed to the Lord, and said, Lord give me a Progeny that may be pleasing to thee, and that may observe thy Commandments: Lord hear my Prayers. The Angels called him, and said to him; I declare to thee from God, that thou shalt have a Son, called *John*, he shall affirm the *Messias* to be the word of God, that he shall be a great Person, Chaste, a Prophet, and one of the just: Lord, answered *Zachary*, how shall I have a Son, I am old, and my Wife is barren? The Angel said to him, so God doth as pleaseth him: Lord, said *Zachary*, give me some sign of the Conception of my Wife: The sign that I will give thee, answered the Angel, shall be, that thou shalt not speak in three

See *Gelaldin.*

See *Kitab el tenoir.*

See *Gelaldin.*

* The *Jews* and *Christians.* See *Gelaldin.* The *Jews* and *Christians.* The *Arabians.*

See *Kitab el tenoir.*

days, but by ſigns; Remember thou thy Lord often, praiſe him evening and morning. Remember thou, how the Angels ſaid, O *Mary*, God hath choſen and purified thee above all Women of the World; O *Mary*, obey thy Lord, praiſe him, and worſhip him with them that worſhip him. I relate to thee how the matter paſt: thou wert not with the Miniſters of the Temple, when they caſt in their pens to draw lots, and to ſee which of them ſhould have the care of the education of *Mary*, neither when they entred upon this difficulty. Remember thou how the Angels ſaid, O *Mary*, God declareth unto thee a word, from which ſhall proceed the Meſſias, named Jeſus, the Son of *Mary*, full of honour in this World, and that ſhall be in the other, of the number of Interceſſors with his Divine Majeſty; he ſhall ſpeak in the Cradle, as a Man betwixt thirty and fifty years, and ſhall be in the number of the juſt: She ſaid, Lord, how ſhall I have a Child, without the touch of a Man? he anſwered, So God doth as pleaſeth him; when he createth any thing, he ſaith, Be thou, and it is. I will teach him the Scriptures, the Myſteries of the Law, the Old Teſtament, and the Goſpel, and he ſhall be a Prophet ſent to the Children of *Iſrael*. Jeſus ſaid to the Children of *Iſrael*, I come to you with evident ſigns of my miſſion from your Lord, I will make unto you of the ſlime of the Earth, the figure of a Bird, I will blow upon it, incontinently it ſhall be a Bird, and by the permiſſion of God, ſhall flie; I will heal them that are born blind, and the leprous, I will raiſe again the dead, I will teach you what you ſhall eat, and what you ought not to eat; this ſhall ſerve you for inſtruction, if you believe in God; I am come to confirm the Old Teſtament, and what hath been taught you heretofore. Certainly it is lawful for you to eat things that have been heretofore forbidden. I am come to you with ſigns of my miſſion, that teſtifie that I am truly ſent from your Lord; fear God, and obey me, God is my Lord, and your Lord, worſhip him, this is the right way. When Jeſus knew their impiety, he ſaid, Who ſhall ſuſtain the Law of God in my abſence? The Apoſtles anſwered him, we will ſubſtain the Law of God, we believe in his unity; be thou a witneſs before God, that we reſign our ſelves wholly to the pleaſure of his Divine Majeſty. Lord we believe in what thou haſt commanded, and we have followed the Prophet, thy Apoſtle, write us in the number of them that profeſs thy Law. The *Jews* conſpired againſt Jeſus, and God cauſed their conſpiracy to turn againſt them, he knoweth the deſigns of Conſpirators. Remember thou, how the Lord ſaid, O Jeſus, I will cauſe thee to die, I will elevate thee to my ſelf, and remove thee far from Infidels, and prefer thoſe that have obeyed thee, to Infidels, at the day of Judgment. That day ſhall aſſemble you all before me; I will judge the differences between you, and will puniſh the impious, in this World, and in the other; none among them ſhall be of power to protect them, I will reward them that ſhall have believed in my Law, and have done good works; God loveth not the unjuſt. I relate to thee theſe myſteries, and teach thee the *Alcoran*; Jeſus is with God, as is *Adam*, God created him of the Earth; he ſaid, Be thou, and he was: this truth proceedeth from thy Lord, be not thou of the number of them that doubt; If any one diſpute with thee concerning thy Doctrine, ſay to them, Come, call together your Children and ours, your Wives and ours, let us aſſemble and addreſs our prayers to God; I will lay the curſe of his Divine Majeſty upon lyers. This Diſcourſe is moſt true, there is no God, but God alone the Omnipotent, and Wiſe. If they depart from his Commandments, he ſhall well obſerve the unbelievers; ſay to them, * O ye that know Scripture! come with words alike true between you and us; Do I worſhip other than God? I do not aſſociate him with any one, and acknowledge none other Lord but him; but if they turn aſide from the way of faith; God knoweth them that ſhall pollute the Earth; Say to them, be ye witneſſes that we believe in God. O ye that underſtand Scripture, diſpute not the Law of *Abraham*, to wit, if he obſerved the Old Teſtament, or the Goſpel, they were taught after him, perhaps you will acknowledge your error. Oh ye that have diſputed what you knew not! *Abraham* was no *Jew*, nor Chriſtian, he profeſſed the unity of God, he was a true believer, and not of the number of Infidels: The People, and particularly thoſe that followed him, of his time, as alſo the Prophet *Mahomet*, and all true believers have known the truth of his Law. Part of them, to whom heretofore was given the knowledge of Scripture deſired, ſeduced you from the right way, but they themſelves erred, and they knew it not. O ye that know the Scripture! do not maliciouſly conceal the Commandments of God, cover not the Truth with a lye, neither willingly hide it. Many of them that knew the written Law, ſaid, From the break of day, believe in what hath been taught them, that believe in the Law of God: Nevertheleſs, at evening, they were themſelves of the number of Infidels, peradventure they will be converted. Believe not, but ſuch as follow your own Law; Say to them, The true guide, is the guide of God. The knowledge that was given to you, was not given to any other, but to you: If the Infidels ſhall diſpute againſt you, before your Lord, at the day of Judgment; ſay to them, Grace proceedeth from the hand of God: He is bountiful, and omniſcient; he pardoneth whom he pleaſeth, and is altogether merciful. If thou intruſteſt thy wealth to the hands of many of them that know the written Law, they will faithfully reſtore it to thee: There be alſo many of them that will not reſtore it, if thou take not heed; becauſe they have ſaid, They have no belief in the *Arabians*, they blaſpheme againſt God, and know their blaſphemies. He that ſhall ſatisfie what he hath promiſed, and ſhall fear God, ſhall be beloved of God; he loveth ſuch as have fear of him before their eyes; ſuch as pervert his Commandments for any profit, ſhall have no part in Paradiſe; he will not protect them, neither regard, or pardon them at the day of Judgment; and they ſhall be rigorouſly puniſhed. There be of them, that alter the Scripture in reading it, and will make believe that what they read, is in the Scripture, although it be not; they blaſpheme, and know it well. God gave not to Man the Scripture, knowledge, and prophecies, to ſay to the People, Worſhip me inſtead of God; but indeed, to ſay, Obſerve exactly what you have learned in Scripture, and what you read. God doth not command you to adore Angels, nor Prophets; Will he command you impiety, having

O Mahomet.

* The *Jews* and *Chriſtians.*

having inſtructed you in his Law? Remember that he received the promiſe of the Prophets, to preach his Commandments without fear, and that he hath taught you Scripture, and knowledge; and that after this, came a Prophet, that confirmed the Doctrine that was taught you, that you might believe his words. Have you not approved it? Have you not received what was promiſed unto you? We have received it; be therefore witneſſes againſt your ſelves, and againſt them that have followed you, and I will be a witneſs againſt you, and againſt them. Such as go aſtray from the right way, ſhall be wicked; Deſire they to obſerve any other Law, than that of God? Whatever is in Heaven, or Earth, obeyeth him; either willingly, or by force: And you ſhall all one day appear before him, to be judged: Say to them, We believe in God, in what he hath inſpired into us, in what he inſpired into *Abraham*, *Iſmael*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, and the Tribes, in what was ordained by *Moſes*, by *Jeſus*, and generally all the Prophets from God; and we are wholly reſigned to his pleaſure. The Sacrifices of them that deſire to follow other Law, than the Law of Salvation, ſhall not be accepted; they ſhall be in the other World, in the number of the damned. God guided not thoſe that followed impiety, after they had profeſſed his Law; and having ſeen, and teſtified that the Prophet is true, by ſigns, clear and evident, that appeared to them. God guideth not the unjuſt, they ſhall be for ever curſed of his Divine Majeſty, of Angels, and of all the World; they ſhall find no relaxation of their torments, and at the Day of Judgment be deprived of protection; except ſuch as ſhall be converted, and do good works, God ſhall be to them gracious and merciful. Such as ſhall be impious towards Jeſus, having believed the Books of *Moſes*, and ſhall augment their impiety againſt *Mahomet*, ſhall never be converted, they ſhall err eternally. All the treaſures of the Earth ſhall not be able to ſave the wicked that die in their impiety, great puniſhments are prepared for them, and none of them ſhall be able to protect them. You ſhall not be juſtified, until you have diſpenſed in pious works, part of the goods you poſſeſs. God will take notice of the alms you beſtow. All meats were permitted the Children of *Iſrael*, except what *Iſrael* forbad to himſelf, before the Old Teſtament; Say to them, Come, and bring the Old Teſtament, and conſider it, it will appear if you ſpeak the Truth. Theſe that ſhall afterwards blaſpheme againſt God, ſhall be exceedingly to blame. Say, God hath ſpoken Truth, follow ye the Law of *Abraham*, that is pleaſing to him: He profeſſed the unity of his Divine Majeſty; he was not of them that believed in many Gods. The Temple of *Mecca* is the firſt that God eſtabliſhed on Earth, to be therein adored; he bleſſed it, and Men ſhall there find the inſtructions of the right way, with clear and evident ſigns of his omnipotency; to wit, * *Abraham*'s place: He that ſhall enter into this Temple, ſhall be in a place of ſafety and priviledge. God hath commanded that Pilgrimages be made thither, by ſuch as ſhall be able. He that is impious, muſt know that God hath not to do with him. O ye that have knowledge of the written Law, do not willingly conceal the Commandments of God, he knoweth all your actions; Say to them, O ye that have the knowledge of Scriptures, divert not from the way of Salvation them that believe in the Law of God; you deſire to alter, and pervert it, but God is not ignorant of what you do. O ye that believe, if you obey many of them that have the knowledge of the written Law, they will miſlead you into the number of the wicked. How can you be of the impious, ſince you are taught the Commandments of God, and that his Prophet, and his Apoſtle is among you? He that reſigneth himſelf to God, is in the right way. O ye that fear God, die in the profeſſion of his Unity, imbrace his Law, and remember the favour he hath ſhewed you: you were all enemies of each other; he hath united your hearts, and through his ſpecial Grace you continued united to each other as good Brethren: you were upon the brink of a pit of fire, from which he withdrew you. Thus God manifeſteth to you his mercies, perhaps you will follow the right way. Some there be among you, that exhort the People to do good, they command to do that which is honeſt, and abſtain from what is unreaſonable; theſe Men ſhall be happy: Be not like them that have abandoned the Truth, and followed lies; notwithſtanding the Truth was know to them, they ſhall ſuffer great torment in the day wherein the viſage of the good ſhall be white, and that of the wicked ſhall be black. It ſhall be ſaid to them that have black viſages; Have you followed impiety, after you made profeſſion of the Faith? Taſte this day the torment due to your ſin. Such as ſhall have white viſages, ſhall be in the favour of God; in which they ſhall eternally continue. See there the Myſteries of the Law of God, which inſtructeth thee with Truth. God willeth that no injuſtice be done to his People; whatever is in Heaven or in Earth, appertaineth to him, he diſpoſeth all things. There hath appeared no Nation on the Earth that hath followed a better way than you; forbid ye to do that which is not reaſonable, and believe in one only God; If thoſe that heretofore had knowledge of the written Law, had believed in God, they had done very well; there be among them that believe what is veritable, but the greateſt part are impious. They ſhall not hurt you, but with their tongue, and ſhall find no protection againſt you; if they fight you, they ſhall turn their backs; they were beaten with ſhame and ignominy, where they made a ſtand, except, when they embraced the Law of God, and obſerved the precepts that were taught the faithful: When they returned in the wrath of God, they were beaten with poverty; becauſe they believed not the word of his Divine Majeſty, but ſlew his Prophets without reaſon, and diſobeyed his Commandments. They that heretofore had knowledge of the written Law, are not all alike: there be among them that perſevered in obedience, and in the night meditate on the miracles of God, worſhip him, and believe in his Divine Majeſty, and the Day of Judgment; preach honeſty, prohibit to do things diſhoneſt, and apply themſelves to good works; certainly, they are good Men. Hide not the good works which you perform, God knoweth ſuch as have his fear before their eyes. Riches and Children ſhall be unprofitable to Infidels with God, they ſhall eternally dwell in the fire of Hell: The Alms that they give in this World, are like to a Wind exceeding hot, or extreamly

See *Kitab el tenoir.*

See *Kitab el tenoir.*

See *Kitab el tenoir.* * *Abrahams* place (ſay the *Turks*) is a Stone kept in the Oratory of *Mecca*, upon which, *Abraham* aſcended, when he raiſed the foundations of the Temple of that City: the marks of his feet are upon the Stone to this day.

The *Jews.*

extreamly cold, that fell upon the Tillage of them that did injury to their own Souls, and wholly deſtroyed it. God did no injuſtice to them, they were miſchievous to themſelves through their ſins. O ye that believe in God, eſteem no man to be elected of God, that is not of your Religion: The wicked endeavoured to bring you into their diſorders, malice appeared in their mouth, and that which their heart cheriſheth, is yet greater; We have taught you the Commandments of God; if you obſerve them, you ſhall protect your ſelves from the malice of Infidels. O ye! you love them, and they love not you; you believe generally in the Scriptures, and they believe not what you believe: When they met you, they ſaid, We believe in God; and when they were gone from you, they bit for anger their Fingers ends: Say to them, Die with your Choler, God knoweth what is in your hearts. If good happen to you, they are diſpleaſed; and when evil befalleth you, they rejoyce: If you have patience, and fear God, their malice ſhall not hurt you; God knoweth all their Actions. Remember the morning, when ſome of thy people deſerted the true Believers in the Field of battel; and when two of thy Companions forſook the fight, God was their Protector: All true Believers ought to truſt in him. He protected you at *Beder*, where you were a few Men ill armed, perhaps you will fear him, and give him thanks for that favour. Say to the true Believers, ſufficeth it not, that God ſuccoureth you with three thouſand of his Angels: Truly, if you have patience, and fear God, he will come to ſuccour you at need, and your Lord will aſſiſt you with five thouſand of his Angels ſent from Heaven; he will not ſend you this aſſiſtance but to declare to you his Protection, and to confirm your hearts. Victory proceedeth from his Divine Majeſty: He is Omnipotent, and prudent in all his works; he will extirpate in this World one part of the wicked, or will ſo ſharply reprehend them, that they ſhall become deſperate. Thou haſt nothing to do, whether he ſhall pardon, or chaſtiſe them, becauſe they are wicked: Whatever is in the Earth, and in Heaven, is his, he pardoneth as he ſeeth good; he is gracious and merciful to the righteous. O ye that believe! be not Uſurers, and fear God; peradventure you will obey his Commandments; Fear the fire of Hell prepared for Infidels. Obey God, and the Prophets, his Apoſtles, your ſins ſhall be forgiven you; beg pardon ſpeedily of your Lord. The extent of Paradiſe containeth Heaven and Earth; it is prepared for the good. God loveth them that give Alms in joy, and in affliction; that ſubdue their Paſſion, and forgive ſuch as offend them: he loveth them that do good, and that after the Commiſſion of any ſin, remember his Divine Majeſty, and implore his Pardon. Who but God forgiveth ſins? Such as perſiſt not in their Errours, and acknowledge their ſins, ſhall be recompenſed with the mercy of God, and enjoy his favour in Paradiſe. There were heretofore Laws and Means to conduct men into the right way; but conſider what hath been the end of Infidels. The *Alcoran* was ſent to inſtruct the World, to guide men in the right way, and to preach to the good. Diſhearten not, neither afflict your ſelves in fighting; you ſhall be Victorious if you believe in God; if you have been wounded, the like hurts have befaln the impious. God ſo diverſifieth days among men, to the end he may know them that are truly zealous in his Law; and that among you, Witneſſes be taken againſt the malice of Infidels. God loveth not the unjuſt, he forgiveth ſins to thoſe that believe, and extirpate Infidels. Do you believe to enter Paradiſe, and that God knoweth not them that fought gallantly? He knoweth them that were patient in adverſity, and perſevered in obedience to his Commandments. You expected death before you met it; you ſaw it with your Eyes, and were Victorious. Certainly *Mahomet* is the Prophet, and Apoſtle of God; there were many Prophets before him; when they died, or were ſlain, you returned upon your ſteps to impiety: They that return upon their ſteps, do no harm to God; he will reward only ſuch as acknowledge his favours; and men cannot die without his permiſſion, and that in a time preſcribed and predeſtinate. I will give the good things of this World to whom it pleaſeth me, and will abundantly recompence them that praiſe me. How many Prophets, and men with them, that were not dejected through their afflictions that befel them, in fighting for the Law of God? They were not weakned, neither humbled to the Infidels. God affecteth them that are patient in their adverſities, and ſuch as perſevere in his Law. They ſaid in their afflictions, Lord pardon our ſins, confirm our ſteps, and protect us againſt the Infidels. God giveth them the Riches of the Earth, and the Treaſures of Heaven; he loveth them that do good. O ye that believe in God, if you obey the wicked, they will cauſe you to return upon your ſteps, you ſhall return to the number of the damned; truly God is your Lord, he is the beſt Protector; I will put fear into the hearts of Infidels, becauſe they have without reaſon adored many Gods, and the fire of Hell ſhall be their habitation. God hath made the truth of his Promiſes to appear to you, when by his permiſſion you ſlew the Infidels, until you were weary of fighting; nevertheleſs you contradicted what the Prophet ordained, you diſobeyed him, after he had cauſed you to ſee what you deſired with affection. There be among you that covet the Goods of this World, and others that love the good things of Heaven; God hath withdrawn you from the Infidels, to try you, he hath pardoned your ſins, he is bountiful to them that obſerve his Commandments. When you retreated from the Combat, and yielded without reaſon, the Prophet recalled you, and gave you to know your Errour, with a thouſand pains; afflict not your ſelves with the loſs of the ſpoil that eſcaped you at the day of Victory, neither with the miſchief that befel you when you were vanquiſhed, God knoweth all your Actions. After your Labour, he ſent you great repoſe, part of you ſlept in all ſafety, and the reſidue ſuffered themſelves to be carried away at their Pleaſures, they had thoughts of God contrary to the truth. Think on the ignorant, that ſay, Have we ſeen any of the ſuccour that God hath promiſed? Say to them, all things proceed from God. They conceal in their Souls what they publiſh not, and ſay, had we been free of our own Wills, we had not been ſlain; ſay to them, although you had ſtayed in your Houſes, and in your Beds, death would have taken away them that were arrived at the hour of their Deſtiny; God approveth what is in your hearts, and knoweth what you have in your Souls: Certainly the

Beder is a place between *Mecca* and *Medina* where *Mahomet* gained a Battel.

Benou Seliméth.

Benou Artéth.

At the Battel of *Beder.*

Devil

Devil ſeduced them that fled, when the two Armies were in Battel, and that, becauſe of ſome ſin they had committed; nevertheleſs God pardoned them, he is gracious and merciful to his people. O ye that believe! be not like the Infidels, that ſaid, ſpeaking of their Brethren that were ſlain in the Army; that had they continued in their Houſes, they had not dyed; God putteth this ſorrow in their heart, becauſe of their impiety; he giveth life and death, and beholdeth all your Actions; if you be ſlain for his Law, or die in his favour, it ſhall be more advantagious to you than all the Treaſures of the World; and if you dye, or be ſlain, fighting for the Faith, you ſhall appear before his Divine Majeſty to be rewarded: Through the grace of God thou haſt rendred them docile; although thou be ſevere to them, they will not depart from thee, pardon them, pray for them. Take their Advice in occaſions offered, and being reſolved to do any thing, truſt thou in God; he loveth them that truſt in him, he protecteth you; none ſhall obtain Victory over you; if he abandon you, who ſhall protect you? All the faithful ought to reſign themſelves to the Will of his Divine Majeſty. It is not Lawful for the Prophet to deceive; he that ſhall be a deceiver, ſhall appear at the Day of Judgment with his deceit, to be judged; then ſhall men be payed with what they have gained, no injuſtice ſhall be done to them that ſhall have loved God, and Hell ſhall be the habitation of them, that through deceit ſhall return in the diſpleaſure of his Divine Majeſty; They ſhall not be all equally entreated, God ſhall appoint them their Rank and place, he beholdeth all their Actions, he aſſuredly rewarded the true Believers, when he ſent them a Prophet of their own Nation to preach to them his Commandments, and inſtruct them in the *Alcoran*; they before his coming were in a manifeſt Errour: When any miſchief befel you, it alſo befel the Infidels; you have demanded, when doth this miſchief come? it proceedeth from your ſelves, certainly God is Omnipotent. What befel you when the two Camps encountred, hapned through the permiſſion of God, to diſtinguiſh the true Believers, that diſpenſe their Goods with affection for the glory of his Divine Majeſty, from them that abandoned the fight; when it was ſaid to them, Come, fight for the Faith, and anſwered, had we thought of fighting, we had not followed you; then were they nearer to impiety, than to the Faith; nevertheleſs, they had not all of them that in their heart, that was in their mouth, God knoweth what they keep ſecret: There be of them that ſaid to their Brethren, Stay, and go not to the Combat; your Companions had not been ſlain, had they obeyed us; ſay to them, Deliver your ſelves from death, if you can avoid it, continuing in your Houſes. Believe not that thoſe that were ſlain for the Faith are dead: on the contrary, they are alive with God; they rejoyce, for that ſuch as ran to hinder them to fight, did not meet them; fear not for them, they ſhall rejoyce eternally in the favour of God, he will abundantly reward them that fight for his Law. Thoſe that obeyed God and the Prophet, after being overcome, that did good works, and feared his Divine Majeſty, ſhall receive great rewards. When it was told them, the people have conſpired againſt you, take heed to your ſelves; this Diſcourſe increaſed their Faith; and they ſaid, it ſufficeth that God is our Protector, they were filled with the grace of God, no more evil befel them, and they obſerved the Commandments of his Divine Majeſty. He is gracious to them that obey him. The Devil will cauſe in you a fear of the Infidels, fear them not; but if you be good men, fear me. Afflict not your ſelves to ſee the wicked run to impiety, they hurt not God, he will not give them reſt in the other World, where they ſhall be ſeverely chaſtiſed. Increaſe the wealth of Infidels to augment their pain, they ſhall in the end feel grievous torments. God will not leave the faithful in the ſtate that you are in; he will one day ſeparate the good from the evil; he doth not teach you what is to come; he, for that effect chuſeth among the Prophets whom he ſeeth good. Believe therefore in God, and his Prophets; if you believe in God, fear to offend him, you ſhall be rewarded. Believe that ſuch as are too ſparing, and avaritious of the wealth that God hath given them, do well; on the contrary, they do very ill, what they ſpare without reaſon, ſhall ſtrangle them at the day of Judgment. The inheritance of Heaven and Earth is Gods, he knoweth all things. Certainly God heard the Speech of them that ſaid, God is poor, and we are rich; he hath ſaid, I will write what they have ſpoken, and keep an exact account of the Murther they have unjuſtly committed on the Perſons of the Prophets; I will ſay to them at the day of Judgment, taſte of the torments of Hell fire, which you have deſerved. God doth not lead into darkneſs them that worſhip him. There be that ſay, God hath commanded us not to believe the Prophets, until their Sacrifice be conſumed by fire: Say to them, there came to you Prophets heretofore with Miracles that you demanded, you had not ſlain them, had you been righteous; if they belye thee, know, they belyed the Prophets that were before thee, that came with Miracles, the Pſalter, and the Book of Light. Every man ſhall taſte of death, and your reward ſhall be payed at the Day of Judgment; he that ſhall depart from the fire of Hell, and enter into Paradiſe, ſhall be happy. The wealth of this World is but matter of Pride, that you may be tryed in your Riches and Perſons. Hearken not to the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, that have known the written Law before you, neither to them that believe in many Gods, they offend God through their blaſphemies; if you have patience, and fear God, you ſhall make a very good reſolution. God hath accepted the Speech of them that know his written Law, when they promiſed him to preach to the people his Commandments, and not conceal them; nevertheleſs they have contemned them, and changed them for profit of little value, and have gained nothing but miſery; think not that ſuch as rejoyce of the evil they have done, and affect to be commended for what they have not done, have eſcaped the puniſhment of their Crimes, they ſhall certainly ſuffer great torments. The Kingdom of Heaven and of the Earth is Gods, he is Omnipotent; the Creation of Heaven and Earth, the difference of day and night are evident ſigns of his Omnipotency, to ſuch as have judgment. Such as have, remember God, ſtanding, ſitting, or lying down, and conſidered the Creation of Heaven and Earth, have ſaid, Lord, thou haſt not created theſe things in vain; bleſſed be thy Name, deliver us from the torments of Hell fire, thou wilt render miſerable him that thou ſhalt thither precipitate, and the wicked ſhall be de-

See Gelaldin.

prived of protection at the Day of Judgment. Lord, we have heard them that ſay, Believe in your Lord, we believe in thy unity, pardon our faults, blot out our ſins, and give us grace to die in the number of the juſt; beſtow on us what thou haſt promiſed by the Prophets, and ſuffer us not to be miſerable at the Day of Judgment; thou doſt not contradict what thou doſt promiſe. The Lord heard them, and ſaid to them, I will not ſuffer your works to be loſt, as well of Men as of Women. I will blot out the ſins of them that went out of *Mecca*, to ſeparate themſelves from the wicked; I will cover the offences of them that forſook their Houſes, that aſſembled to fight for the Faith, and were ſlain; I will open to them the Gate of Paradiſe, wherein flow many Rivers, to recompence their good works. There is with God great reward: envy not the Infidels, whom thou ſhalt ſee poſſeſs a little wealth in the Earth, Hell is prepared to be their habitation; and ſuch as fear God ſhall dwell eternally in Gardens, wherein run many Rivers, with all manner of content. God is a great rewarder of the juſt. Among them that know the written Law, there be, that believe in God, in what was afore time taught you, and in what was preached to them, ſurely they obey God, and forſake not his Law: They ſhall receive a great reward from God, he is exact in his account. O ye that are true believers, be patient in your adverſities, perſevere to do well, fight for the Faith, fear God, and you ſhall be happy.

CHAP. IV.

The Chapter of Women, containing one hundred and ſeventy Verſes, written at Medina.

Kitab el tenoir.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. O ye People, fear your Lord that created you of one ſole perſon, and created his Wife of his Rib, of whom iſſued many Men and Women. Fear God, by whom you ſwear, and ſay, the Belly * of your Wives, God exactly obſerveth your actions. Give unto Orphans what appertaineth to them, and render not evil for good; devour not their ſubſtance, it is a very great ſin. If you fear to do injury to Orphans, fear alſo to do wrong to Women; marry thoſe that pleaſe you, two, three, or four: if you apprehend you ſhall not be able to entertain them equally, marry but one, or the ſlaves that you ſhall have acquired; this is moſt neceſſary, to the end you offend not God. Give to Women their Dowry with a good will; if they give to you any thing that is pleaſing to you, receive it with affection, and civility. Beſtow not on fools the wealth that God hath given you for ſubſiſtence; aſſiſt Orphans, give to them the Garments that ſhall be neceſſary for them, and entertain them honeſtly; inſtruct them until they have attained to years of diſcretion, and are capable of marriage; if you belive they demean themſelves wiſely, reſtore to them their faculties, and devour them not unjuſtly before they be of age. He that ſhall be rich, ſhall abſtain from their goods, and he that is poor, ſhall take with honeſty, according to the pains he ſhall undergo for them: when you make to them reſtitution of their goods, take witneſs of your action, God loveth good accounts. The Children ſhall have a good part of what their Father, and Mother and Parents left after their deceaſe, of little or of much, there appertaineth to them a portion prefixed and limited. When they divide their goods, the kindred ſhall have care of the poor and Orphans; do good to them, and honeſtly entertain them. Such as fear to leave after them a weak progeny of little Children, ought to fear to wrong Orphans, they muſt fear God, and courteouſly entertain them. Thoſe that unjuſtly devour their ſubſtance, ſwallow fire into their Bowels, and ſhall burn in a great fire. God recommendeth to you your Children, the Son ſhall have as much as two Daughters; if there be more than two Daughters, they ſhall have two thirds of the ſucceſſion of the Dead; if there be but one, ſhe ſhall have the moiry, and her kindred a ſixth part of what ſhall be left by the dead: if there be no Children, and the kindred be heirs, the Mother of the dead ſhall have a third; if there be Brethren, the Mother ſhall have a ſixth, after ſatisfaction of the Legacies contained in the Teſtament, and of debts. You underſtand not to whom it is moſt requiſite to do good, to your Children, or to your Father and Mother, give them their Portion ordained of God. The moity of what their Wives ſhall leave belongeth to you, if they have no Children; if they have, you ſhall have the fourth part of what they ſhall leave, after payment of the Legacies and debts; they ſhall have the fourth of your ſucceſſion, if you have no Children; if you have, they ſhall have the eight portion. If a Man or Woman be the heirs of each other, and have neither Father nor Mother, nor Children, and have a Brother or Siſter, each of them ſhall have a ſixth part of the ſucceſſion; if they be more, they ſhall ſhare the third, after payment of Legacies and debts, without fraud, following what God hath ordained, he knoweth all your actions, and is prudent in what he ordaineth, it is ſo ordained by his Divine Majeſty. He that ſhall obey him, and his Prophet, ſhall enter into Paradiſe, where many Rivers flow, and ſhall dwell in eternal felicity; he that ſhall diſobey God and his Prophet, ſhall be caſt headlong into the fire of Hell, where he ſhall ſuffer ignominious torments. If your Wives commit adultery, take four witneſſes of their fault, that be of your Religion; if they bear witneſs, keep them priſoners in your Houſes until death, or until God ſhall otherwiſe ordain; puniſh Whoremongers, Concubines, and Adulterers; if they repent of their fault, do them no harm, God is gracious and merciful to them that repent. Converſion dependeth on God, he is merciful to them that commit ſin ignorantly, and ſpeedily repent, he is Omniſcient, and moſt Wiſe. Pardon is not for them that do wickedly to the very hour of their death, we have prepared great torments for them that ſhall die impious. O ye that believe in God! it is not lawful for you to inherit what is your Wives by force, take not violently away what you have given them, unleſs they be ſurprized in manifeſt adultery; ſee them with civility, if you have an averſion from them, it may chance that you have a thing, wherein God hath placed much good; but if they deſire to repudiate your Wives, to take others, and that you have given them any thing, take not any thing that appertaineth to them. Will you take their wealth with a lie, and a manifeſt ſin? How

* The ancient *Arabians* ſwore by the name of God, and the Belly of their Wives, becauſe they feared their ſterility.

See *Bidaci.*

ſhall

ſhall you take it, ſince you have approached each other, and that you have promiſed to uſe them civilly. Marry not the Wives of your Fathers; what is paſt was inceſt, abomination, and a wicked way. Your Mothers are forbidden you, your Daughters, Siſters, Aunts, Nieces, your Nurſes, and your Foſter-ſiſters, the Mothers of your Wives, the Daughters that your Wives have had by other Husbands, of whom you ſhall have a particular care: The Daughters of Women that you ſhall have known, are alſo forbidden you; if you have not known them, it will be no ſin: the Wives of your Sons are likewiſe prohibited, and two Siſters; for what is paſt, God is gracious and merciful: Married Wives are likewiſe forbidden you, except the women Slaves, that you ſhall have acquired. God hath ſo commanded you, except what is above forbidden, it is lawful for you to marry at your Pleaſure. If you deſire women for money, and neither commit Concubinage, nor Adultery, give them their Salary for which you ſhall agree, ſo you ſhall not offend God, he is Omniſcient, and moſt Wiſe. He that ſhall not be able to eſpouſe women of Free-condition, ſhall marry ſuch women or maids, that are Slaves, as ſhall pleaſe him. God knoweth the Faith of the one, and other. Marry your Wives with the permiſſion of their Parents, and give them their Dowry with honeſty: If women of Free-condition, that have committed neither Concubinage, nor Adultery, ſecretly nor publickly, flie into ſecond Nuptials, and come to commit Adultery, they ſhall be doubly puniſhed, more than the Daughters of Love. The Marriage of Slaves is for them that fear Whoredom: If you abſtain from Marrying them, you ſhall not do amiſs. God is gracious and merciful; he is willing to teach you his Law, and direct you in the way of them that preceded you; he is gracious and merciful to his people. Such as follow the Appetite of the wicked, decline extreamly from the Truth. God willeth that his Law be Light unto you, for that man was created weak. O you that believe in God, devour not your ſubſtance among you with Uſury; but if you Traffick, be peaceable in your Affairs; ſlay not one another, God is merciful to them that obey him: He that diſobeyeth, through malice and injuſtice, ſhall burn in the fire of Hell; it is an eaſie thing to God to puniſh them. If you depart from mortal ſins, I will cover your Faults, and cauſe you to enter into Paradiſe: covet not through Envy, what God hath given to your Neighbour; men and women ſhall have the wealth they have gained; beg Grace of God, he knoweth all things. Give to your Aſſociates what appertaineth to them. We have ordained a Portion, prefixt to the one and the other, in the ſucceſſion of your Father, Mother, and Kindred, God ſeeth all. The men ſhall have Authority over the women; they ſhall have them in their keeping; they ſhall have in their power the wealth that God ſhall give them; and ſhall have care of what ſhall be convenient to be expended for them. Diſcreet and obedient Wives obſerve, in the abſence of their Husbands, the Commandments of God, make Remonſtrances to them that ſhall be diſobedient, and remove them from your Bed, chaſtiſe them. If they obey you, ſeek not occaſion to abuſe them unjuſtly. God is moſt high, and moſt mighty. If you fear there may happen ſome difference between a Man and his Wife, ſend to them ſome of their Kindred, to put an end to their Quarrel, and reconcile them. God will give this Peace to them, he is Omniſcient. Worſhip God, and ſay not that he hath a Companion equal to him; do good to your Father, and Mother; your Kindred, Orphans, the Poor, your Neighbours, Pilgrims, your Friends, and your Slaves. God loveth not the Proud. We have prepared rigorous torments for them that are avaricious, that recommend Avarice to the people, that conceal the Graces that God hath beſtowed on them, and that are impious. Such as diſpend their wealth with Hypocriſie, believe neither in God, nor the Day of Judgment; and thoſe that ſhall have the Devil for their Companion, will be in exceeding bad Company; he ſhall not approach them, if they believe in God, and the Day of Judgment, and give in Alms ſome part of the Riches God hath given them. God knoweth them, and doth no injuſtice to any one, of the weight of a ſmall Ant. If the righteous do good of the quantity of a Piſmire, God ſhall multiply it, and give them a great reward. In what condition will Infidels be at the Day of Judgment, for that we have Witneſſes of all Nations againſt their impiety; and that we will call thee for a Witneſs againſt them of their Deportments? That day, the Infidels that have diſobeyed the Prophet, ſhall deſire to be conſumed, like to the Earth; and not to have concealed or altered, through their Diſcourſe, the Commandments of God. O you that believe, make not your Prayers, being drunk, until you know what you ſpeak; neither likewiſe being polluted, unleſs in paſſing on the way, until you be cleanſed; if you be in a journey, or ſick, or go to diſcharge your Belly, or have known your Wives, and find no water to waſh you, you ſhall lay hand upon the Sand, and wipe your Face and Hands. God is gracious and merciful to his Creatures. Seeſt thou not how thoſe that know the written Law, purchaſe Errour? how they deſire to miſ-lead you through their Riches, and divert you from the right way? God knoweth your Enemies, it is enough that he is your defender and Protector. Such as *Judaize*, alter the word of God, and ſay to the Prophet, we have heard, and diſobeyed thee, they heard without hearing; they ſay, preſerve us, have care of us; nevertheleſs do they pervert the word of God, in reading it, and alter his Commandments, they ſhould do better to ſay, Lord we have heard, and obeyed; hearken only to us, and regard us: But God hath curſed them, and few of them will believe in his Divine Majeſty. O you that have knowledge of the Scriptures! believe in the *Alcoran*, that confirmeth the Old and New Teſtament, before that I deface your Viſages, and cauſe them to turn behind your Backs. I will curſe Infidels, as I have curſed them of the Sabbath; the Commandment of God is incontinently executed; he pardoneth not them that aſſociate him with Companions equal to him, except this, he forgiveth ſins to whom it pleaſeth him: He that ſaith, God hath Companions, blaſphemeth, and mortally ſinneth. Conſider not ſuch as affirm themſelves to be good Men; contrariwiſe, God maketh thoſe good Men that pleaſe him; no injuſtice ſhall befal them at the Day of Judgment. Conſider how they blaſpheme, it is ſufficient that God manifeſtly beholdeth their ſin. Seeſt thou not them that have knowledge of the written Law, that believe

See Gelaldin.

He ſpeaks to the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*.

lieve in *Habot* and *Tagot*, Idols; that ſay to the Infidels, Behold the way of them that believe in God? Certainly, God hath curſed them; he, whom he curſeth, ſhall find none to protect him. Shall they alone have part in the Kingdom of Heaven, without giving Alms? They will envy their Neighbour, for the favours God hath conferred to him. Certainly, we gave to the poſterity of *Abraham*, the knowledge of the Scriptures, and Prophecies; we beſtowed on them great abundance of wealth. There were of them that believed in the Scripture, and others that contemned it; but they ſhall be puniſhed in the fire of Hell. I will cauſe them to burn, and change their burned skin into a new skin, that they may ſuffer the more. God is Omnipotent, and prudent in what he ordaineth. I will cauſe thoſe that have believed in God, and have performed good works, to enter into Gardens, wherein flow many Rivers, where they ſhall dwell eternally with moſt beautiful Women. I will give them to enter the ſhade of Paradiſe: God recommendeth to you, Fidelity among your ſelves, to render faithfully what hath been intruſted to you; and when you ſhall judge differences that ſhall happen among the people, judge with Equity. It is a good work that he commandeth you; he beholdeth, and knoweth all things. O ye that believe! obey God, and the Prophets, and ſuch as command over you; if you be in Controverſie concerning any point, refer it to God, and his Prophet, to underſtand the Expoſition; if you believe in God, and the Day of Judgment, you ſhall do well: this will be the beſt Interpretation that you can attain to. Seeſt thou not, that they who think to believe in what hath been inſpired into thee, and what hath been inſpired into thy Predeceſſors, incline to diſpute before *Tagot*? Nevertheleſs, they have commanded not to believe in that Idol; the Devil laboureth to ſeduce, and withdraw them from the Truth. When it was ſaid to them, Obey the Commandment of God, and his Prophet, they departed from thee: What will they do, when there ſhall happen to them any puniſhment of their paſt ſins? They will return to thee, and ſwear by the name of God, That they deſire Peace, and to do good Works; but God knoweth what is in their hearts, and hath abandoned them. Ceaſe not to preach to them, and to declare to them the Word of God; the Prophets, and Apoſtles were not ſent, but to preach, and to be heard through the permiſſion of his Divine goodneſs. If, when they have hurt their Souls, they come to thee, and demand pardon of God, thou ſhalt beg pardon for them, they ſhall find God gracious and merciful: They will not believe in his Divine Majeſty, until they have diſputed the difference with thee, that is among them; and when they ſhall no more doubt of what thou ſhalt have done, they will without contradiction obey thee. We have ordained them to kill each other, and to forſake their Houſes; they have not done it, except very few of them: and although they did it, they did it not to obey what ſhould have been to them a great benefit, and exceeding merit; we had given them very great reward, and guided them to the right way. He that ſhall obey God, and his Prophet, ſhall be with them whom God hath endued with his Grace: He that knoweth it, reſigneth himſelf to his Divine Majeſty. O you that are true Believers! be upon your Guard, aſſembled to fight ſtoutly for the Law of God. There be among you that be Cowardly, when any diſcomfiture hath befaln you; they have ſaid, God protected me, that I was not with them: And when God gave you Victory, they ſpake as if there had been no underſtanding between them and you. Would to God I had been with them, I ſhould have acquired exceeding great merit. Fight for the glory of God, againſt them that prefer the life of this World, to that of Heaven. I will give an exceeding great reward to ſuch as ſhall fight, that ſhall be Victorious, and to them that ſhall be ſlain, fighting for the Faith. Wherefore fight you not for the Law of God? for the liberty of Women and Children, weak and afflicted, that cry, Lord deliver us out of this place; the people thereof are unjuſt, give us a Protector, give us an aſſured refuge. They that believe in God fight for his Law, and Infidels fight for the Devil. Fight againſt them that ſerve the Devil, his Policies are weak. Conſider thoſe to whom it was ſaid, Ceaſe to imbrue your hands in the Blood of Infidels, perſevere in your Prayers, and pay Tithes. When they were commanded to fight, part of them were afraid of the multitude, as of God, yea, more afraid of the multitude than of God, and ſaid, Lord thou haſt not enjoyned us to fight, unleſs thou haſt differed us to a near end. Say to them, The wealth of the Earth is but a ſmall thing, there be great Riches in the other World, for him that ſhall have the fear of God before his eyes. No injuſtice ſhall be done to you; whereſoever you are, death will meet you, notwithſtanding you may be in ſtrong Citadels. If good happen to the Infidels, they ſay it proceedeth from God; if evil befal them, they ſay, that cometh from thee. Say to them, All proceedeth from God, what then is the Will of thoſe Men? they cannot comprehend this Diſcourſe: The good that happeneth to you, cometh from God, and the evil that befalleth you, is of your ſelves. We have ſent thee to the people, to teach them the Myſteries of my Law; it is ſufficient that I am witneſs. He that obeyeth the Prophet, the Apoſtle of God, obeyeth God; if they be diſobedient, thou art not ſent to be their Tutor. They ſay, They will obey thee, and when they are gone from thee, many of them ponder in their heart other things than they have ſpoken, but God ſhall write their thoughts, and abandon them. Reſign thy ſelf to God, and be content that he is thy Protector. Will they not meditate on the *Alcoran*? Were it ſent from any but from God, there would be therein many Contradictions. When they had any aſſurance of Victory, or feared to be overcome, they publiſhed it, although they had referred all to the Prophet, to the moſt knowing among them, and to them that obeyed the Prophet, who knew what ought to be publiſhed, and what to be kept ſecret. If the grace of God had not been with you, and his mercy, you had followed the Devil. Fight for the Law of God, employ but thy Perſon, and be not troubled, if the true Believers be without Arms, the miſery of the wicked ſhall never end, God ſhall augment their Calamity, and encreaſe the puniſhment of their Crimes; he that doth well, ſhall find well, and who doth evil, ſhall find evil, God regardeth all. When you are ſaluted, return the ſalute with Honour and Affection, God putteth all in Account. God! there is but one only

This place is *Mecca*.

See *Kitab el tenoir*.

This is the Battel of *Beder*; the Enemies of *Mahomet* made two Battels.

See *Kitab el tenoir.*

See *Gelaldin.*

only God, he ſhall aſſemble you all at the Day of Judgment, of that there is no doubt. Who is more true in his words than God? What have you to do with thoſe Ones, divided into two Troops? God ruined and deſtroyed them, becauſe of their ſins; will you direct into the right way him, whom God hath made to err? He, whom he ſhall cauſe to err, ſhall not find the right way. They deſire that you may be Infidels, as they are, obey them not, unleſs they ſhall return to the Law of God; if they forſake it, kill them where you find them, contract no friendſhip with them, except with ſuch as ſhall come to enter league with you, with ſorrow for what is paſt; to fight againſt Infidels with you. Had it pleaſed God, he had given them advantage over you, and they had beaten you, if they depart from you, and follow your Religion, God permitteth not you to do them injury. You ſhall find ſome that ſhall incline to believe you, and their companions, they will turn all to confuſion, and fall into it themſelves: if they ſeparate themſelves from you, if they deſire not peace of you, and deſiſt not to do you miſchief, take and kill them, where you find them, we have given you abſolute power over them. One true believer ought not to ſlay another true believer, unleſs it be through ignorance; He that ſhall ſlay a true believer through ignorance, ſhall redeem from ſlavery a true believer, or ſhall pay damages and intereſts to the Kindred and Heirs of the Dead, if they through courteſie diſcharge him not of them: If he be of your enemies, and a true believer, he ſhall ranſom from captivity a true believer; If he be of your confederates, he ſhall pay damages and intereſts to the Kindred and Heirs of the Dead, and redeem from Captivity a true believer; If he ſhall be deſtitute of means to perform this, he ſhall faſt two Months together for a penance appointed of God; God knoweth all things, and is prudent in what he commandeth. He that ſhall kill a true believer of deliberate purpoſe, ſhall be chaſtiſed in the fire of Hell, the wrath of God, and his curſe ſhall be upon him eternally. O ye! who are true believers, when you fight againſt Infidels for the Law of God, cauſe your ſelves to be known; and ſay not to them that ſalute you, Thou art not a true believer; If you deſire the good things of the World, God poſſeſſeth riches innumerable, you were before *like* to them, but God hath given you grace, and ſeeth all your actions. The faithful that continue in their Houſes without ſickneſs, are not equal in merits to ſuch as imploy their perſons and faculties for the Law of God; he preferreth by many degrees, them that fight for his Law, and employ their wealth and perſons for his ſervice; to thoſe that remain idle in their Houſes, he is their protector, and hath prepared for them a ſure refuge in Paradiſe: he gratifieth by many degrees of favour, them that fight for his Law, above thoſe that live at eaſe in their Houſes, he is gracious and merciful. The Angel ſaid to the Infidels that they put to death, Where were you with your Religion? they anſwered, We were weak and impotent in the City of *Mecca*; they ſaid, Was not the Earth large enough for you to depart from the wicked? Hell ſhall be their habitation, except the Women and Children that were weak and impotent; peradventure God will pardon them, he is gracious and merciful; he that ſhall depart from the wicked, to follow his Law, ſhall find many places favourable to him, aſſuredly he will recompenſe him that ſhall quit his Houſe, that ſhall be ſlain for his glory, and to follow his Prophet, he is gracious and merciful. When you ſhall be in a journey, you ſhall not offend God to abridge your prayers, that the Infidels may not ſurprize you, they are your declared Enemies; when thou ſhalt be near them, and ſhalt appoint the true believers to make their prayers, keep about thee a party of them for a guard, while the reſidue make their prayers; having finiſhed their Oriſons, they ſhall do as the firſt, take Arms and keep a guard, during the time their Companions ſhall make their prayers: the Infidels deſire that you quit your Arms to ſurprize you; you ſhall not do amiſs to quit them, if Rain trouble you, or you be ſick, but continue always upon your guard, God hath prepared for Infidels ignominious torments: Having finiſhed your prayers, Remember God, ſtanding, ſitting or lying down, and pray when you ſhall be in a place of ſafety; prayer is commanded the faithful in a prefixed and appointed time. Be not negligent to purſue the Infidels, if you ſuffer, they ſhall ſuffer like you; but you hope for that which they muſt not hope for: God knoweth all their actions, he is moſt prudent in all his works. We have ſent to thee the moſt true Book, to the end, thou mayſt judge the differences that are among the People, as thy Lord hath inſtructed thee. Contend not with Traitors, and ask pardon of God, he is gracious and merciful. Diſpute not with thoſe that betray their Souls, God loveth not treacherous ſinners, they conceal themſelves from the World, he is with them when they hide in their hearts ſuch things as are diſpleaſing to him, he knoweth all their actions: O ye! you diſpute for them in this World, who ſhall diſpute for them againſt God at the day of Judgment? Who ſhall that day be their protector? He that ſhall implore pardon of God, having offended him, ſhall find him gracious and merciful; who doth evil, ſhall find evil, God is Omniſcient; and moſt Wiſe. He that committeth a venial, or a mortal ſin, and would excuſe himſelf, committeth evidently a mortal ſin. Many of them had endeavoured to ſeduce thee, had'ſt thou not been directed by the grace and mercy of God. But they ſeduce only their own Souls, and ſhall do thee no harm; God hath ſent to thee the Book that containeth his Commandments; he hath taught thee what thou didſt not underſtand, and his grace is eminently upon thee: there is no good in the multiplicity of their ſecrets or diſcourſe, except in ſuch as command alms, honeſty, and peace among the people, with deſire to pleaſe God, they ſhall receive from his Divine Majeſty a great reward. He that ſhall contradict the Prophet, having had knowledge of the right way, and ſhall follow other paths than that of the true believers, ſhall relapſe into his impiety, I will cauſe him to burn in the fire of Hell, where is the habitation of the wicked. God pardoneth not them that ſay, He hath Companions, except this, he pardons all things as he ſeeth good: he that affirmeth that God hath a Companion, greatly erreth, and is eſtranged from the truth. If they invoke other than God, they invoke Idols, the Devil, obſtinate, and curſed of God; when he ſaid to him, Thou wilt not give me power

Gelaldin ſaith a great and little ſin.

over them that worſhip thee, but I will ſeduce them from the right way, I will prolong their wicked life, to retard their converſion; I will cauſe them to cut off the * ears of Beaſts, they ſhall diſobey thy commandments, and they ſhall envy thy creatures. He that demandeth ſuccours of the Devil, is in manifeſt perdition, he will promiſe to Men long Life, and retard their repentance, but he promiſeth them but a vain glory; Hell is the dwelling place of ſuch Men, out of which they ſhall find no iſſue; Such as ſhall believe in God, and do good works, ſhall dwell eternally in Paradiſe, where flow many Rivers. God is moſt true in what he promiſeth, who is more than God in his words? Your lies, and the lies of them that know the written Law, do him no harm; he that ſhall do ill, ſhall be puniſhed, and ſhall find no protector; he that ſhall do well, and ſhall believe in the Law of God, ſhall enter into Paradiſe, and ſhall have no injuſtice done to him; what better Law is there, than to reſign thy ſelf to God, and to be an honeſt Man? Follow the Law of *Abraham*; God choſe *Abraham* to love him; whatſoever is in Heaven and in Earth, belongeth to his Divine Majeſty, he knoweth all things. They will queſtion thee concerning Women; ſay to them, God teacheth you in that, what you were taught in the Scripture touching Orphans, and Women; give to them what is appointed by the Law, and deſire not to eſpouſe them, only to poſſeſs their wealth; God teacheth you likewiſe to give to Orphans what appertaineth to them, and to injure them; he will underſtand your good actions. If a Woman fear to be ill entreated by her Husband, and that he will divorce her, they ſhall do well, mutually to accord, for peace is exceeding good. If you be too obſtinate, and cannot agree together; if you do good to your Wives in divorcing them, and fear to wrong them, God will take notice of your actions. If you believe you cannot keep equality, and juſtice among your Wives, although you apply your ſelves to it; incline not altogether to your own appetites, and leave not your Wife, as a thing left in toleration. If you live in a good accord, and fear to injure them, God will be merciful to you. If they ſeparate themſelves conformably to the precepts of the Law, God will enrich them with his protection, he is bountiful and wiſe, and whatever is in Heaven, and Earth obeyeth him. We have recommended to you the fear of God, as we have heretofore, to them that had knowledge of the written Law. If you be impious, know, that whatever is in Heaven and Earth is Gods; he hath no need of his Creatures, and muſt be exalted, it ſufficeth thee, he is thy Protector. If he will, he can cauſe you to periſh, and put other Creatures in your place, for he is Omnipotent. He that loveth the good things of the Earth, ſhall find in God all the wealth of this World, and of the other, he underſtandeth and ſeeth all things. O you that believe! be true in your Teſtimonies, notwithſtanding it be againſt your ſelves, againſt your Father and Mother, and againſt your Kindred, and conſider the rich no more than the poor, God is the Protector of the one, and the other; follow not your Appetites, to favour the rich more than the poor, pervert not the Truth, be not ſcrupulous to teſtifie what you know, God knoweth all your Actions. O ye that believe in God! and his Prophet, and the Book that was ſent before him; know, he that blaſphemeth againſt his Divine Majeſty, againſt his Angels, the Scripture, the Prophets, and life eternal, greatly erreth, and departeth from the Truth. God pardoneth not them that have embraced his Law, and then have forſaken it, having believed in his Divine Majeſty, and are returned again to their impiety; declare to ſuch men, they ſhall feel heavy torments. Such as obey Infidels, to be great in this World, extreamly delude themſelves; greatneſs proceedeth from God; It is written in the Book that was ſent to you, that the Infidels ſhall mock you, when they ſhall hear the word of God, and you ſhall obey his Commandments; Tarry not in their Company, if they change not their Diſcourſe, otherwiſe you will be like to them. God will aſſemble into the fire of Hell all Infidels, and wicked Perſons. Some of them that obſerve your Actions, ſaid, they were of your party, when any Felicity hapned to you; and when the Infidels had advantage over you, they ſaid, they were with them, and that they fought againſt you; God at the Day of Judgment ſhall judge the difference that is between you, and will not give advantage to Infidels over them that obſerve his Law. The wicked think to deceive God, but God deceiveth them, they are negligent to make their prayers, they are hypocrites before the World, and remember not his Divine Majeſty, except very few of them, uncertain whether they ſhould follow the faithful, or the Infidels; he whom God ſhall cauſe to go aſtray, ſhall not find the right way. O ye that believe! obey not Infidels, to the excluſion of true believers; will you give God manifeſt occaſion to chaſtiſe you for your ſins? The wicked ſhall be in the loweſt place of Hell, and ſhall find no relief, except ſuch as ſhall repent, that ſhall do good works, reſign themſelves to God, and obey his Commandments, they ſhall be with the true believers, and receive from God a very great reward. He will not ſend you miſery, if you give him thanks for his favours, and obey him; he accepteth the acknowledgment of his benefits, and knoweth all things. He willeth not that what evil is committed, be publiſhed; he that publiſheth the evil he doth, is very much to blame; if you manifeſt the good you do, or if you conceal it, and abſtain from doing evil, he will be merciful to you, he is Omnipotent. Such as blaſpheme againſt God and his Prophets, his Apoſtles; ſuch as would make a diſtinction between the Commandments of his Divine Majeſty, and the precepts of his Prophets, ſuch as affirm they believe in ſome of the Prophets, and believe not in all, and take a middle way between faith and impiety, are indeed impious, we have prepared for them ignominious torments; but they who believe in God, and generally in all his Prophets, and Apoſtles, ſhall be recompenſed of God, gracious and merciful. They that know the written Law, will require thee to cauſe to deſcend from Heaven a Book, and written Tables; They demanded of *Moſes* greater things, and ſaid, Cauſe us to behold God with our eyes, then thunder ſurprized them by reaſon of their impiety: They adored the Calf, after having had the knowledge of our Commandments; nevertheleſs, we pardoned them, and gave to *Moſes* an abſolute dominion over them. We raiſed the Mountain over them, following

The Jews.

* The ancient *Arabians* cut off the ear of any beaſt, and gave him liberty through their Country for expiation of their ſins. See *Gelaldin.* See *Kitab el tenoir.*

lowing our promiſes, and ſaid to them; Enter the Gate of the Temple with adoration and humility, and no longer tranſgreſs the obſervation of the day of Reſt; We for this matter received from them a ſtrong promiſe, but they ſwerved from what they had promiſed, and we curſed them, becauſe of their impiety, by reaſon of the Murther they committed without reaſon, on the perſons of the Prophets, and of the words they uttered, *viz.* Our heart is hardned; Contrariwiſe, God imprinted infidelity in their hearts, they ſhall never believe in his Law, except very few of them, becauſe of their malice, and the blaſphemies they vomited againſt *Mary*: they ſaid, We have ſlain the Meſſiah, Jeſus, the Son of *Mary*, the Prophet and Apoſtle of God: Certainly they ſlew him not, neither crucified him, they crucified one among them that reſembled him; ſuch as doubt it are in a manifeſt error, and ſpeak not but through opinion. Certainly they ſlew him not; on the contrary, God took him up to himſelf, he is Omnipotent and prudent in all his actions: Such as have the knowledge of Scripture, ought to believe in Jeſus before his death; he ſhall be a witneſs againſt them of their actions at the Day of Judgment; We have prohibited them that Judaize, by reaſon of their ſin, things that were permitted them; We have prepared for them great torment, becauſe they miſ-lead the World from the right way, becauſe they take Uſe that is forbidden them, and unjuſtly eat the ſubſtance of their neighbour. Such of them as are profound in Learning, and all the faithful, believe in the Scriptures, both ancient, and modern; I will give great rewards to them that ſhall make their prayers at the time appointed, that ſhall pay Tyths, and believe in the Day of Judgment. We have ſent thee our inſpirations, as we ſent them to *Noah*, and the Prophets after him; as we heretofore ſent them to *Abraham*, *Iſmael*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, the Tribes, to Jeſus, *Job*, *Jonas*, *Aaron*, and to *Solomon*, and gave the Pſalter to *David*. We have told thee who were the Prophets that preceded thee; but we have not ſpoken to thee, concerning the merits of all of them. *Moſes* ſpake to God, as his Prophet, and Apoſtle; all declared his mercy, and preached the torments of Hell, to the end Men might have no cauſe of excuſe; God is Omnipotent and prudent in all his actions: He ſhall be witneſs that the *Alcoran* was ſent to thee with his Commandments, the Angels likewiſe ſhall teſtifie it; but it ought to ſuffice thee, that God is witneſs. The Infidels that hinder the People to follow the Law of God, were exceedingly erroneous; God will not pardon them, he will lead them into the path of Hell, where they ſhall remain eternally, it is a thing eaſie to his Divine Majeſty. O People! A Prophet is come to you, who preacheth to you the Truth from the Lord, believe him, you ſhall do well; if you believe him not, know, that whatever is in Earth, and in Heaven is Gods, and that God knoweth whatſoever you do. O ye that underſtand the written Law! Obey the Commandments of God, and ſpeak not of his Divine Majeſty but with truth; the Meſſiah, Jeſus, the Son of *Mary*, is a Prophet, and an Apoſtle of God, his Word, and his Spirit, which he ſent to *Mary*, believe therefore in God, and in his Prophets, and ſay not there be three Gods, put an end to that diſcourſe, you ſhall do well; For there is but one God, praiſed be God, he hath no Son; whatever is in Heaven, and in Earth obeyeth him, it is ſufficient that he is witneſs. The Meſſiah eſteemeth it no diſhonour to be the ſervant of God, neither the Angel, nor the Cherubins; He that holdeth it a diſhonour to be at his ſervice, is too proud; he ſhall aſſemble all the World at the Day of Judgment, and every one ſhall receive the recompence that he ſhall have merited, he ſhall augment his favours upon them that ſhall have believed in his Divine Majeſty, and have done good works; he ſhall chaſtiſe them that ſhall have held it a diſhonour to be his ſervants, and have been proud upon the Earth, they ſhall find no ſafe refuge but in his mercy. O People! God hath ſent you a Protector, a moſt ſtrong argument, and a moſt clear light; they that ſhall truſt in God, ſhall enjoy his grace; and he ſhall guide them into the right way. They will enquire of thee concerning ſucceſſions; ſay to them, God teacheth you touching ſucceſſions, as followeth: if a Man deceaſe without iſſue, and hath a Siſter, ſhe ſhall have the moity of what he ſhall leave, and ſhall inherit it, if ſhe have no Children: If they be two Siſters, they ſhall have two thirds of what the deceaſed left; if they be many Brothers, and many Siſters, the Son ſhall have as much as two Daughters; God teacheth you his Commandments, depart not from the right way, he is Omniſcient.

The Chriſtians.

CHAP. V.

The Chapter of the Table, containing an hundred and twenty Verſes, written at Medina.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. O ye that believe in God! Satisfie what you have promiſed; it is permitted you to eat of the Beaſts that be in the World, except of what ſhall be hereafter declared. Hunting is forbidden you, during the time that you ſhall go on Pilgrimage to *Mecca*. God ordaineth what he will. O ye that believe! ſay not, That it is permitted to do what God hath prohibited, perform what is commanded you, during the Month of Pilgrimage; give no impediment to ſuch as carry preſents to *Mecca*, neither to them that aſſume * Collers, neither hinder Pilgrims to repair thither, to demand the Grace of God, and his mercies. It is lawful for you to hunt, when you ſhall have finiſhed your Pilgrimage; beware leſt ſome perſons cauſe you to ſin, and hinder your going to *Mecca*; to oblige you to puniſh them, repoſe your confidence in the juſtice and fear of God, and not in the ſin and malice of your neighbour. Fear God who is ſevere in his chaſtiſements. It is forbidden you to eat Carrion, Blood, Swines Fleſh, and whatſoever is not killed in pronouncing the name of God: you are prohibited to eat Animales ſtrangled, choakt, knockt down, precipitated, that are ſlain ſtriking each other, and ſuch as beaſts ſhall have ſlain; if you find them not alive, to let out their Blood, in pronouncing the name of God. You ſhall not eat of Beaſts ſacrificed to Idols: Conſult not with Southſayers or Lots, it is a great ſin. The day ſhall come when they that have abandoned your Law, ſhall be deſperate; fear not them, and fear me: The day will come, when I ſhall accompliſh your Law, and my Grace

* The old *Arabians* in devotion, put the leaves and branches of Trees upon their Necks like Collers, as the Peaſants in many places in *France* do the herbs of St. *John*. See *Kitab el tenoir*.

See *Galaldin*.

ſhall be abundantly upon you: The Law of Salvation, is the Law that I deſire to give you. If any one be in neceſſity, and eateth of what is prohibited, without a will to ſin, God ſhall be to him gracious and merciful. They will demand of thee, what is permitted them to eat? Say to them it is lawful to eat all ſorts of Beaſts that are not unclean, and whatever hath been taught you from God, touching Beaſts that have been wounded by Lions or Dogs, eat the Beaſt you ſhall take, and remember God in blooding them; fear God, he is exact to take account. This day it is lawful that you eat what is not unclean, and the meats of them that know the written Law, their meats are lawful for you, and yours for them. You are permitted to eſpouſe Maidens and Women of free Condition, that are of your Religion, and Maidens and Women of free Condition, that know the written Law, giving them their Dowry with civility; commit neither Concubinage, nor Adultery with them, neither ſecretly or publickly; the good works of him that ſhall renounce your Law, ſhall be unprofitable, he ſhall be at the Day of Judgment in the number of the Damned. O ye that believe in God, when you would make your Prayers, waſh your Faces, your Hands to the Elbow, and paſs your hand over your head, and over your feet to the ancles. If you be polluted, purifie your ſelves; if ſick, or in a journey, or about to diſcharge your Belly, or have known Women, and find no water to waſh you, lay hand on the Sand, paſs it over your Viſage, and wipe therewith your hands. God enjoyneth you nothing irkſome, but willeth you be clean, and deſireth to accompliſh his Grace upon you; peradventure you will give him thanks. O ye that believe in God! call to mind his Grace, and promiſe he made to you, when you ſaid, We heard, and obeyed: fear him, he knoweth all that is in your hearts. O ye that believe in God! obey his Commandments, and be true in your Teſtimonies, take heed that no man move you to offend God, in diverting you from what is juſt; render juſtice to all, his fear inviteth you to it; have it before your eyes, he knoweth all your Actions; hath promiſed his grace, and great recompences to the true Believers, that ſhall do good works in this World, and hath prepared Hell to puniſh Infidels. O ye that believe in God! remember his favour towards you, when ſome Perſons would have extended their hands upon you, and how he delivered you from their Malice; Fear him, all true Believers ought to reſign themſelves to his Will. God received the Promiſe of the Children of *Iſrael* to obſerve his Commandments, he eſtabliſhed among them twelve Captains, and ſaid to them, I will be with you when you ſhall make your Prayers, pay your Tithes, believe in the Prophets, defend them, and ſhall lend to me any Alms; I will cover your ſins, and cauſe you to enter Paradiſe, wherein flow many Rivers; and he among you that ſhall be an Infidel, ſhall be entirely erroneous from the right path. When they ſwerved from what they had promiſed, we gave them our Curſe, and hardned their heart; they have altered the words of the Scripture, and abjured what they had approved. Thou ſhalt not know them that ſhall be Traytors, except very few of them; forgive and depart from them, God loveth them that do good. We likewiſe received the Promiſe of thoſe who call themſelves *Chriſtians*, but they have forgotten what they promiſed; they have altered what was taught them, and we have caſt among them Enmity and hatred, even until the Day of Judgment. That day God ſhall cauſe them to know whatever they have done for their puniſhment. O ye that know the written Law! our * Prophet is come to bring to light many things of the Scripture, which you conceal, and he likewiſe leaveth in ſilence many things, that it is not time to make manifeſt. God hath ſent you a Book full of light, to conduct into the way of Salvation them that love him, to bring them out of darkneſs, and by his ſpecial Grace, to lead them into the way of Salvation. Certainly he that ſaith, that the *Meſſiah* the Son of *Mary*, is God, is impious: Say to him, who can hinder God to exterminate the *Meſſiah*, and his Mother, with whatſoever is in the Earth, when it ſhall ſeem good to him? God is King of Heaven and Earth, he created with them what ſeemed good to him, he is Omnipotent. The *Jews* and *Chriſtians* have ſaid, we are the Children of God, his well beloved; Say to them, ſhall not God chaſtiſe you for your ſins? Certainly ye are men; He that created you, pardoneth, and puniſheth as it pleaſeth him, he is the King of all that is in Heaven or Earth, and of whatever is between them, he is the refuge of the righteous. O ye that have knowledge in the written Law! The Prophet, the Apoſtle of God is come to inſtruct you in a time that there is none other Prophet but he on the Earth; Will you ſay that no man preached to you the torments of Hell? Certainly the word of God is this day preached to you, the torment of Hell, and the Omnipotency of his Divine Majeſty. Remember thou what *Moſes* ſaid to his people, O people, call to mind the grace of God towards you, he hath choſen from among you Prophets, and Kings, hath conferred on you what he hath given to none in the World: Enter into the Holy Land, as God hath commanded, turn not your Backs to your Enemies, leſt you be in the number of Reprobates: They anſwered, O *Moſes*! there are Gyants and Tyrants in the Holy Land, we will not enter into it, until they be gone out of it, if they forſake it, we will enter into it. Then two men of them that were in the grace of God ſaid to them, enter at the Gate, and fight againſt them, you ſhall be Victorious, truſt in God, if you believe in his Law: They ſaid, O *Moſes*! we will not enter, ſo long as thoſe Tyrants dwell therein, go and fight *againſt them* with thy Lord, we will here attend. Then, ſaid *Moſes*, Lord, I diſpoſe but of mine own, and my Brothers perſon; ſeparate us from this wicked people; the Lord ſaid to him, the entrance into the Holy Land is prohibited to this people, they ſhall wander forty years upon the Earth, in confuſion and amazement, afflict not thy ſelf with the Deportments of the wicked; teach them the Hiſtory of the Sons of *Adam*, how they offered Sacrifices, how the Sacrifice of the one was accepted, that of the other was not: he through envy menaced his Brother, to murther him; his Brother ſaid to him, God receiveth the Sacrifices, and Holocauſts of ſuch as have his fear before their eyes: aſſuredly if thou extendeſt thine hand to ſlay me, I will not ſtretch forth mine to hurt thee; I fear the Lord of the Univerſe; If thou chargeſt thy ſelf with the murther of my Perſon, with thy paſt ſins, thou ſhalt

go

The *Jews* and *Chriſtians*.

Corcis Enemy to *Mahomet*.

Mahomet.

go to Hell, where the unjuſt ſhall be puniſhed: The murther of his Brother ſeemed eaſie and advantagious for him, he ſlew him, and is in the number of the Damned. God ſent a Raven that made a Pit in the Earth, and ſhewed him the manner to bury the Body of his Brother: Then ſaid he, would to God I had been weak and impotent, that I were like to this Raven? I muſt bury the Body of my Brother, and he was penitent for his offence; by reaſon of this murtner, we ordained to the Children of *Iſrael*, that he who ſhall ſlay a Perſon innocent, ſhall be puniſhed, as if he had ſlain the whole World, and he that ſhall give him his Life, ſhall be recompenſed, as if he had given Life to the whole World. My Prophets came to the Children of *Iſrael*, taught them my Commandments, and cauſed them to ſee Miracles, nevertheleſs many of them were diſobedient: the puniſhment of them that oppoſe the Will of God, that of his Prophet, and that endeavour to pollute the Earth, is to be ſlain, hanged, to have the right foot, and the left hand, or right hand, and the left foot cut off, and to be extirpated from the Earth; they ſhall have in this World ſhame on the Forehead, and ſhall feel in the other, great torments, except ſuch as ſhall be converted before their death, and ſhall know, that God is gracious and merciful. O ye that believe! fear God, fight for his Law, you perhaps ſhall be happy. All the Treaſures of the World ſhall not be able to redeem Infidels at the Day of Judgment, they ſhall endure exceeding great torments, they ſhall deſire to go out of the fire of Hell, but ſhall dwell there eternally. Cut off the hands of thoſe Men and Women that ſteal, they contract upon themſelves the wrath of the World, and the puniſhment that God hath prepared for the wicked: He that ſhall turn, and do good works, ſhall be pardoned, God is gracious and merciful to the penitent. Knoweſt thou not that the Kingdom of Heaven, and of Earth is Gods? that he chaſtiſeth and pardoneth whom it pleaſeth him? and that he is Omnipotent? O Prophet! afflict not thy ſelf, to behold them running to impiety, that ſay with the mouth, we believe, and have no Faith in their hearts; neither for them that *Judaize*, and hearken to the lies of their Doctors, to relate them to others; they pervert the Language of the Old Teſtament, and ſay; If you be inſtructed in thoſe Precepts, you ought to obſerve them, if they inſtruct you not in them, take heed to your ſelves. Such as make uſe of the name of God, to move the people to ſedition, are without Faith, God will not purifie their hearts, they ſhall have in this World ſhame upon the Forehead, and feel in the other extream torments. They liſten to blaſphemies, and eat what is prohibited; If they repair to thee, and ſubmit themſelves to thy Judgment, judge their Controverſie with Equity, converſe not with them; if thou depart from their Company, they ſhall not hurt thee, if thou giveſt judgment between them, judge with Equity, God loveth the Juſt: How ſhall they ſubmit to thy judgment, ſeeing they have the Old Teſtament, which containeth the Commandments of God? They will not execute thy Judgment, neither believe in the Old Teſtament, wherein is the guide of the right way, and a light to the Prophets, to judge the differences ariſing among true Believers, among *Jews*; their Doctors, and their Prieſts, who ſtudy the Scripture, and are Witneſſes that it containeth the truth, fear not the World, but dread me; ſell not, neither exchange my Commandments for any price. Such as judge not conformably to the Law of God, are Infidels; We have ordained the *Talio*, man for man, an eye for an eye, a noſe for a noſe, an ear for an ear, a tooth for a tooth, a wound for a wound; he that ſhall obſerve it, ſhall do well, and ſuch as ſhall not judge conformably to the Law of God are unjuſt. We ſent after many Prophets, Jeſus the Son of *Mary*, who confirmed the ancient Scriptures, to him we gave the Goſpel, full of light, to conduct the people to the right way, with a confirmation of the Old Teſtament, a guide and inſtruction for the righteous. They that follow the Goſpel, ought to judge as it is commanded in the Goſpel; ſuch as judge not conformably to what God hath taught them, are diſobedient to his Divine Majeſty. To thee have we ſent the Book that containeth the truth, and confirmeth the ancient Scriptures, determine the differences that ſhall ariſe among the people, as I have inſpired thee, and follow not the Appetite of men that will abjure the truth which I have taught thee. We have inſtructed all of you in a Law, and aſſured means to lead you into the way of Salvation; you ſhould all have been of one and the ſame Religion, had it ſo pleaſed God; he hath done this to prove you; Do good, and know, that you all ſhall be aſſembled before him, and he ſhall reſolve the doubts that are among you. If thou judgeſt the differences that are among them, judge conformably to what hath been inſpired into thee, and follow not their Appetites; be careful they ſeduce thee not, and move thee to doubt many things that God hath taught thee; if they diſobey his Commandments, know, he will ſeverely puniſh them, becauſe of the Enormity of their Crimes. The greateſt part of the World are impious; Do they affect the Judgment of the Ignorant? What better Judge for the good, is there than God? O ye that believe! obey not the *Jews*, nor the *Chriſtians*, they mutually obey each other in their impiety, he that ſhall obey them, ſhall be like unto them, God guideth not the unjuſt. Thou ſeeſt ſuch as are unſtable in their Faith, flock to them, and ſay, they fear a change of times, but God ſhall give advantage and Victory to his Prophet, and they ſhall repent to have concealed in their minds the Miracles of his Divine Majeſty. What will they alledge for excuſe, who ſwore by the name of God, exactly to obſerve their Religion, and to be with you? Their good works ſhall be unprofitable, and they in the number of the Damned. O ye that believe! if you abandon your Faith, God will put others in your place, that ſhall love him, and he them, and this to your great ignominy, and the advantage of converted Infidels, that ſhall fight without fear, for his Law: Thus God beſtoweth his grace, as he ſeeth good, he is liberal, and Omniſcient. You ought certainly to obey God, and his Prophet, his Apoſtle; they who believe in God, that make their Prayers at the time appointed, pay Tithes, and are in the Protection of God and his Prophet, ſhall be beloved of his Divine Majeſty, and be Victorious. O ye true Believers! obey not ſuch as ſcoff at your Religion, who have knowledge of the written Law; obey not Infidels, and if you are good men, fear God; obey not them that deride your Prayers, it is

See *Gelal-din.*

the action of thoſe that are unwiſe. O ye that underſtand the written Law! will you not abhor me, if I believe not in God, in what he hath inſpired into me, and into them that preceded me? The greateſt part of you are wicked. Say to them, did I inſtruct you to do evil, when I preached to you the effect of Gods mercy? Thoſe whom he curſeth, againſt whom he is incenſed, whom he hath Metamorphoſed into Apes, and Swine, and who have adored Idols, ſhall be confined in the fire of Hell, they are in a very evil way. When they come to thee, they will ſay, they believe in the Law of God, they will enter thine Houſe with impiety, and go forth in the like manner; but God knoweth what they conceal in their heart: Thou ſhalt ſee many of them embrace Paganiſm, follow a lye, eat what is forbidden, and this to diſpleaſe their Doctors, and Prieſts, who have forbidden them to ſpeak lies, and eat meats that are unclean. The *Jews* ſaid, The hand of God is ſhut, contrariwiſe, it is their hand that is ſhut, and they ſhall be accurſed by reaſon of their diſcourſe: certainly the hands of God are open, and he doth good to whom he pleaſeth: Many amongſt them, through impiety, and diſobedience, alter what is in the Scripture; but we have caſt among them hatred, and horror, even to the Day of Judgment; God hath extinguiſhed the fire which they had kindled, to make War againſt the righteous; they endeavour to pollute the Earth, but God deteſteth ſuch as as cauſe diſorder; he remitteth their ſins that know the Scripture, believe in his Law, and flie impiety, they ſhall enter Paradiſe, that is full of delights. They have read the Old Teſtament, the Goſpel, and all Scriptures, they enjoy abundance of all good things; nevertheleſs many have diſobeyed the Commandments of God. O Prophet! preach what God hath taught thee; whether thou doſt preach it, or doeſt not, he will defend thee from the malice of men, he abhorreth Infidels. O ye that know the written Law! if you obſerve not the Old Teſtament, the Goſpel, and Scriptures which God hath ſent you, you ſhall be without merit. Many of them through impiety and ignorance, pervert what is contained in the Scripture; afflict not thy ſelf with the actions of the impious. The Jews, Samaritans, Chriſtians, all that ſhall have believed in God, the Reſurrection of the Dead, and have done good works, ſhall be exempt from affliction, there is nothing for them to fear at the day of Judgment. We received of the Children of *Iſrael* a promiſe, to believe in our Prophets, and Apoſtles; Yet have they ſlandred many, and ſlain ſuch as would not follow their appetites: they believed there was no puniſhment for their crimes, and became deaf, and blind; After this, God pardoned them, nevertheleſs, they returned in their ſin, and are again become deaf, and blind; God beholdeth all their deportments. Certainly, they who affirm the Meſſiah, the Son of *Mary*, to be God, are impious; the Meſſiah commanded the Children of *Iſrael* to worſhip God, his and their Lord; the entrance into Paradiſe is forbidden to him that ſhall ſay, God hath a Companion equal to him, Hell ſhall be his habitation, and the unjuſt ſhall find none to protect them at the Day of Judgment. Such as affirm there are three Gods, are impious: there is but one God; if they deſiſt not from ſuch diſcourſe, they ſhall burn in the fire of Hell; if they turn, and implore pardon of God, he will be to them gracious and merciful. The *Meſſiah*, the Son of *Mary*, is a Prophet, and Apoſtle of God, like to the Prophets that came before him; his Mother is holy, and both of them did eat and drink. Conſider how I manifeſt my unity to Infidels; how they blaſpheme, and depart from the Truth; ſay to them, Will you worſhip inſtead of God, what can neither benefit, nor hurt you? God underſtandeth and knoweth all things. O ye that have knowledge of the written Law! ſpeak of your Religion with reverence, and follow not the appetites of ſuch as go aſtray, and walk in an evil way. The Infidels were accurſed by the Tongue of *David*, and of *Meſſiah*, the Son of *Mary*, becauſe of their diſobedience; they abſtain not from things that are not approved; they do them, and through obſtinacy will continue them. Thou ſhalt ſee many of the Inhabitants of *Mecca* adhere to them, by reaſon of the ſin they conceal in their hearts. God aſſuredly will be incenſed againſt them, and they ſhall be confined eternally in the torments of Hell. If they had believed in God, in his Prophet, and the Scriptures, they had not obeyed Infidels, but many of them are impious. Thou ſhalt find the *Jews*, and Inhabitants of *Mecca*, who believe in many Gods, to be very great enemies to the faithful, and the Chriſtians to have a great inclination, and amity towards the true believers; for that they have Prieſts, and Religious, that are humble, who have eyes full of tears, when they hear mention of the Doctrine which God hath inſpired into thee, becauſe of their knowledge of the Truth, and ſay, Lord, We believe in thy Law, write us in the number of them that profeſs thy Unity, who hindreth us to believe in God, and the Truth wherein we have been inſtructed? We deſire with paſſion, O Lord, to be in the number of the juſt. God ſhall hearken to their Prayers, and pardon them; he ſhall open to them the Gate of Paradiſe, wherein is the reward of the righteous, and the Infidels ſhall inhabit the abyſs of Hell. O ye who are true believers! inhibit not the eating of what God hath permitted, offend not God, he abhorreth them that offend him, eat of the meats that are lawful for you, and have his fear before your eyes, he will not chaſtiſe you for what you have ſpoken at random, contrary to your faith, without deſign of offending him, but he ſhall puniſh you for your Oaths, if you obſerve them not; the ſatisfaction of an Oath not accompliſhed, is to give food to ten poor of your Religion, and to cloath them, or to enfranchiſe a Slave that is a true believer; he that is deſtitute of means to perform this, ſhall faſt three days immediately ſucceeding, ſuch is the ſatisfaction of a not accompliſhed Oath; keep exactly your faith, ſo doth God teach you his Commandments, you will, peradventure, give him thanks. O ye that believe in God! Wine, Games of hazard, Idols, Lots, and divinations are abominations, and filthy practiſes of the Devil, depart from him, perhaps you will be righteous. The Devil deſireth to ſow among you diſſention, and horror, through Wine, and Games of hazard, to choak your remembrance of God, and of praying to him; abandon Wine, and Games of hazard, be obedient to God and the

See Kitab el tenor.

the Prophet, his Apoſtle; and take heed to your ſelves; If you diſobey God, know, that the Prophet is obliged only to preach publickly the word of his Divine Majeſty; the true Believers, and the righteous have not provoked God in drinking Wine, and playing at Games of Hazard, before they were prohibited, they will abſtain for the future, and perform good works, God loveth them that do good. O ye that believe! God proveth you by one thing, to wit, by hunting, whether you take the Game with your hands, or courſing on Horſe-back, to diſcern them among you that fear him, and believe in his Law; whoſoever ſhall offend him, ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed. O ye that believe! kill not your Game, during the time of your Pilgrimage to *Mecca*; whoſoever ſhall kill of deliberate purpoſe, ſhall be judged, as if he had ſlain his Neighbours beaſt, he ſhall be judged by one among you, and be condemned to offer a Preſent at the Temple of *Mecca*, or to give Food to the Poor, or to faſt, or to perform ſomewhat of like Nature, for the expiation of his Errour; if he have repentance in his mind, God will pardon what is paſt; if he return in his ſin, God will be avenged on him, he is Omnipotent, and avengeful. It is permitted that you fiſh, and eat of fiſh during your Pilgrimage, but hunting by Land is abſolutely forbidden in this Voyage; fear God, you ſhall all one day be aſſembled before him to be judged, he hath appointed the month of Pilgrimage, he hath eſtabliſhed the Temple of *Mecca* for the Devotion of the people, and hath forbidden to give impediment to ſuch as bring thither oblations, and thoſe that aſſume * Collers, to the end, you may learn to underſtand that he knoweth all things both in Heaven, and Earth, and that he is Omnipotent. Know ye, that he is grievous in his Chaſtiſements, and gracious and merciful: The Prophet is obliged but to preach his Commandments, he knoweth all that you conceal in your hearts, and whatever you make manifeſt: Evil muſt not be equal to good, notwithſtanding it be pleaſing to you: O ye that are wiſe! have the fear of God before your eyes, peradventure you ſhall be happy. O ye Believers! deſire not the knowledge of all things, you will afflict your ſelves; be not curious to know at what time the *Alcoran* was ſent from Heaven, God pardoneth your former curioſity; your Predeceſſours were alike curious, and in the number of unbelievers. God hath commanded nothing touching * the ſhe Camel, whoſe ear is ſlit, neither that which is at liberty in the Field, neither concerning the Ewe that hath brought forth ſeven Lambs, neither the Camel, of whom have iſſued ten Camels, but the wicked invent blaſphemies againſt his Divine Majeſty, and are unwiſe; When it was ſaid to them come, and obſerve what God hath taught his Prophet, they replyed, it ſufficed them to follow what their Fathers had obſerved, notwithſtanding their Fathers were ignorant and erroneous. O ye Believers! be careful of your ſelves, ſuch as be in errour ſhall not hurt you; if you follow the right way, all of you ſhall one day be aſſembled before God, who ſhall diſcover all your works, and reward you according to your merits. O ye Believers! make your Teſtament, when your death approacheth, and take two Witneſſes of your own Religion, that are honeſt men; If you are in a journey, and ſickneſs ſurprize you, you ſhall take two witneſſes, ſuch as you ſhall meet with to ſerve your Teſtament, and having prayed, ſhall deliver to them your Will. If you doubt their integrity, cauſe them to ſwear to be faithful in their teſtimonies, and not give themſelves to be corrupted by your Kindred. Conceal not your teſtimony, leſt you be in the num- of ſinners. If you diſcover thoſe two witneſſes to have erred in their teſtimony, ſubſtitute two other in their place, although they partake in your ſucceſſion, and take Oath of them to be more veritable in their diſpoſitions, than the two others, otherwiſe they will offend God, and be numbred with the unjuſt. It is better to ſpeak Truth, than to be in fear, leſt your falſhood be detected; fear God, and hearken to his Commandments, he guideth not them that diſobey him. He ſhall one day aſſemble his Prophets and Apoſtles, and ſay unto them what did you anſwer, being queſtioned concerning my unity? they ſhall reply, Lord, we are ignorant, thou alone knoweſt all things. He ſhall ſay to Jeſus, O Jeſus, Son of *Mary*, remember thou my grace towards thee, and thy Mother; I ſtrengthned thee with the Holy Ghoſt; Thou ſpakeſt in thy Cradle, as a Man of forty or fifty years, thee did I inſtruct in Scripture and knowledge, the Old Teſtament, and the Goſpel; Thou didſt form of Earth the figure of a Bird, didſt breath upon it, and it did flie, thou didſt cure the Born blind, and the leprous, didſt revive the Dead, I delivered thee from the *Jews*, when thou didſt preach to them my Commandments, and wroughteſt Miracles, which the wicked affirmed to be Magick, and inchantment. Remember, how thou didſt command thy Apoſtles to believe in me, and obey my Propher, and how they ſaid, we believe in one ſole God, be thou Witneſs that we entirely reſign our ſelves to the Will of God. Remember * thou, that the Apoſtles ſaid, O Jeſus Son of *Mary*, can thy Lord ſend us from Heaven a Table covered with meats to ſatisfie us? Jeſus anſwered them, Fear God, if you believe in his Law; they ſaid, we have an Appetite, and deſire to eat of the Food of Heaven, for the repoſe of our hearts, and to know if thou ſpeakeſt the truth, of which we ſhall be Witneſſes. Then ſaid he, O God my Lord, cauſe to deſcend upon us from Heaven a Table covered with meat, this day ſhall be celebrated by us and them that ſhall ſucceed, this ſhall be a ſign of thy Omnipotency; enrich us with thy grace, thou poſſeſſeſt all Treaſure. God ſaid to him, I will cauſe to deſcend from Heaven the Food which thou deſireſt, and whoſoever ſhall be impious, ſhall be puniſhed with torments, that no man yet hath ſuffered. He ſhall ſay at the Day of Judgment, O Jeſus Son of *Mary*! didſt thou enjoyn the people to worſhip thee, and thy Mother, as two Gods? Jeſus ſhall anſwer, praiſed be thy name; I will take heed of ſpeaking what is not, thou knoweſt if I have ſaid it, thou art Omniſcient, thou knoweſt what is in my Soul, and I have no knowledge of what is in thee; I delivered nothing but what thou didſt command me to ſpeak: to wit, Worſhip God your Lord, and mine, I am Witneſs from the time that I was in the World, until thou didſt cauſe me to dye; thou didſt obſerve the Deportments of the people, thou ſeeſt all; if thou chaſtiſeſt Men, they are thy Creatures; if thou doſt pardon them, thou art Omnipotent and Wiſe. Then ſhall God ſay, this day ſhall good works be profitable to the righteous, they ſhall enter into Paradiſe, wherein

* The antient *Arabians* put upon their Necks the leaves of Trees, in devotion, when they arrived at *Mecca*.

See *Kitab el tenoir*.

*Theſe are the Ceremonies of the antient *Arabians*, which *Mahomet* renounceth. See *Kitab el tenoir*.

* *Mahomet*.

flow many Rivers, there ſhall they dwell eternally, with my grace, in exceeding great felicity; the Kingdom of heaven, of Earth is Gods, he is Omnipotent.

CHAP. VI.

The Chapter of Gratifications, containing an hundred ſixty and fifteen Verſes, written at Medina.

Gilaldin juſtifieth this Chapter of Animals. See *Gilaldin.*

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful: Praiſe be to God the Creator of Heaven, of Earth, of darkneſs, and of light; ſuch as believe not in their Lord are in error. He it is that created you of the duſt of the Earth, and appointed a prefixed time for your death, and reſurrection; nevertheleſs you doubt, he is God in Heaven and in Earth, he underſtandeth the ſecrets of your hearts, and whatſoever you make manifeſt; he knoweth the good and evil that you commit, that his Commandments have been taught the Inhabitants of *Mecca*, and that they have abjured them; they oppoſed the revealed Truth, but ſhall be chaſtiſed for their contempt. They conſider not how much People we have deſtroyed, in paſt ages; we gave them places to dwell in, more ſtrong and ſpacious than thoſe which you inhabit, ſent them about of rain, cauſed Fountains flow in the places of their habitation; after this did we extirpate them, by reaſon of their ſins, and eſtabliſhed in their place a new People. We have ſent to thee the Scripture, written in Vellum, the unbelievers have handled it with their hands, yet ſay, it is evident forcery and inchantment, that they will not believe thereiſh, unleſs they ſee an Angel deſcend to confirm it. Should we have ſent an Angel, they had periſhed by his preſence, unleſs we had ſent him under the figure of a Man, like unto them, and cloathed as they are. They derided the Prophets, and Apoſtles, thy Predeceſſors; deriſion is fallen upon ſuch as contemned them. Say to them, go through the World, and conſider the end of them that abjure the Law of God; ſay to them, to whom appertaineth whatſoever is in Heaven and Earth? it is Gods. He will imploy his mercy to ſave you; doubtleſs he will aſſemble all of you at the Day of Judgment. Nevertheleſs Infidels believe not in his Unity; they conſider not, that whatſoever moveth by night, and by day, and whatſoever is in the World, belongeth to his Divine Majeſty, who underſtandeth and knoweth all things. Say to them, require you other protection than that of God the Omnipotent Creator of Heaven and Earth, who nouriſheth all things, is nouriſhed by none? Say to them, I have received a command to embrace the Law of Salvation. Be not ye in number of unbelievers; I fear to diſobey my Lord, and fear the torments prepared for the wicked at the day of Judgment; he that ſhall deliver himſelf, ſhall enjoy the grace of God, which is ſupream felicity: If God will puniſh you, none ſhall deliver you from his puniſhment; if his Will is to do good to you, he is Omnipotent, always victorious, and hath all power over his Creatures; he is moſt wiſe and Omniſcient. Say to them, What better teſtimony is there in the World than that of God? Say to them, He ſhall teſtifie between you and me, to whom he hath inſpired the *Alcoran* to inſtruct you: Will any among you that ſhall learn it, ſay there is any other God, but God; I will not ſay ſo; there is but one God, and I am innocent from the ſin you commit, in aſſociating him with a companion equal to him; many of them that underſtand the written Law, have knowledge of the truth of the *Alcoran*; their Children alſo know it, but ſuch as forſake their own Souls, will not believe in God. Who more unjuſt, than he that blaſphemeth againſt God and his Commandments? Certainly the wicked ſhall be miſerable; I will aſſemble all of them, and ſay, Where are the gods which you did aſſociate with God? They ſhall have none other excuſe, but to ſay, by God, Lord, we were of the number of Idolaters. Conſider how they will lie, and diſavow their blaſphemies: ſome there be among them that hearken to thee, we have hardened their hearts, they will not learn the *Alcoran*, becauſe their ears are ſtopped. When they ſhall hear related all the miracles of the World, and ſhall ſee them with their eyes, they will not believe until they have diſputed againſt thee. The wicked ſay the *Alcoran* is but a lie, and Fable of Antiquity; they forbid the People to believe it, and contemn it; certainly they deſtroy their Souls, and know it not; thou ſhalt ſee when they ſhall be detained in the fire of Hell, they will ſay, Would to God I might return into the World, I would obey the Commandments of his Divine Majeſty, and be in the number of true believers. They knew the truth, but concealed it; ſhould they return into the World, they would return to their impiety, they are liars. They affirm, there is none other life than that of the World, neither any reſurrection; when they ſhall be before God, they ſhall acknowledge their errors, he ſhall cauſe them to feel the chaſtiſements due to their blaſphemies. Such as believe not in the Reſurrection, are wretched Men, they ſhall be afflicted for their ſins at the hour when ever death ſhall ſurprize them; they ſhall bear on their back the burthen of their crimes, and avouch the life of this world to be but deceit and vanity, and the life of the other to be full of felicity for the righteous; nevertheleſs the wicked are not converted. I know thou wilt be incenſed againſt ſuch as ſhall ſay, they deſire to obey thee, and ſhall renounce thy Doctrine; they that contemn the Commandments of God are impious, they have belied the Prophets thy Predeceſſors; the Prophets endured their lies, and were patient, until we deſtroyed them; God declineth not what he hath promiſed. Thou knoweſt what the Prophets foretold: if Men abandon thee, canſt thou covet to continue on earth (to inſtruct them) and to be in Heaven at the ſame time, to cauſe prodigies appear (teſtimonies of thy miſſion.) Had it ſo pleaſed God, he had brought them all into the right way, nor had they been in the number of the ignorant. Certainly he heareth the prayers of the righteous, that hearken to his word; he will give reſurrection to the dead, and aſſemble them to receive recompenſe according to their merits. They have ſaid, we believe not in the Prophet, if he ſhew not to us ſome miracle from his Lord: ſay unto them, God hath ſhewed you many miracles, but moſt of you do not underſtand them; the beaſts that walk upon the Earth and the birds that flie in the Air, are in the number of his creatures:

See *Gilaldin.*

O *Mahomet.*

See *Gilaldin.*

We

We have not omitted to write any thing that is written in the Book kept in Heaven; all Men ſhall one day appear before God, ſuch as ſhall not have believed in his Law, ſhall be deaf and dumb; and inhabit darkneſs: God miſleadeth whom it pleaſeth him, and guideth in the right way whom he ſeeth good. Say unto them, have you felt the puniſhment of God? Have you had knowledge of the day of Judgment? Will you invoke any but God, if you be good Men? If you implore him, he will deliver you from the evils that you fear; and if it pleaſe him you ſhall abandon the Idols, which with unbelievers you adore. We ſent our Prophets to them that were before you, when they contemned them, we ſent afflictions to procure their converſion, which had not been done without the miſeries that we brought upon them. Nevertheleſs their heart is hardned, the devil cauſed them to find diſobedience more advantageous, and they forgat what was taught them. When we opened the gate of happineſs, they exceedingly rejoyced, and were ingrateful; but, when they thought leaſt of it, they were chaſtiſed, became deſperate, and were extirpated, for the great glory of God; Lord of the Univerſe, ſay unto them, If God rendred you deaf, blind, and ignorant, what other god than God ſhall reſtore your ſight, hearing, and knowledge? Conſider how I manifeſt my Unity; nevertheleſs they will not believe it: ſay unto them, have you had a ſenſe of the ſcourge of God ſecretly and publickly? Hath God condemned any but the wicked? He ſent not the Prophets and Apoſtles, but to proclaim the felicity of Paradiſe, and preach the torments of Hell: He that ſhall believe, and do good works, ſhall be exempt from fear at the Day of Judgment, and unbelievers ſhall be puniſhed, becauſe of their diſobedience. Say unto them, I told you not that I had in my power all the treaſures of God, neither that I had knowledge of the future, and paſt; nor do affirm, that I am an Angel, I only act what hath been inſpired into me; is the blind like to him that ſeeth clearly? Conſider what I ſay. I preach not the Day of Judgment but to ſuch as apprehend it, they ſhall find none other than God to protect them; peradventure they will fear his Divine Majeſty. Moleſt not them that pray unto God evening and morning, and that deſire to ſee his face, thou ſhalt not be accomptable for their actions, neither ſhall they give accompt of what thou doſt; if thou diſturbeſt them, thou ſhalt be in the number of the unjuſt. We have proved men by one another; they have ſaid among them, with deriſion, behold thoſe among us, to whom God hath given his graces: doth God not know them that acknowledge his benefits? Salute with affection true believers, when they come to viſit thee; God loveth civility, clemency, and humanity, and will pardon him among you, that ſhall offend him through ignorance, that ſhall repent of his error, and do good works, he is benigne and merciful. Thus do I recount the graces of God, and diſcover the way of ſinners; Say unto them, I am forbidden to worſhip what you adore, leſt I ſhould go aſtray from the right way. I have received from God a light, which ye have contemned; God is Judge of all things, judgeth with truth, and is moſt juſt in his Judgments. I cannot forthwith give you a ſight of the torments of Hell, neither of the chaſtiſement of God, which you with ſo much inſtance require; this dependeth on his Divine Majeſty; had I this power, our difference would be ſoon at a period. God knoweth the unjuſt, in his power are the Keys of the future, none knoweth but he; he knoweth whatſoever is in the Earth, and the Sea, the number of the leaves that fall from the Trees, and of the Atomes that are in the darkneſs of the Earth. There is nothing dry or green in the Earth, that is not written in the Book of Light. He it is that cauſeth you to die in the night, and knoweth the good and evil that you have committed by day; he ſhall cauſe you to riſe again at the day nominated; you all ſhall appear before him; he ſhall give you knowledge of your ſins, and ſhall chaſtiſe you after your demerits; he is always victorious and Omnipotent. He ſhall ſend to obſerve your actions; and when you ſhall arrive at the hour of death, he ſhall diſpatch his Meſſengers, who ſhall not fail to execute his commands; the People ſhall repair to him, as to their Lord, he is extreamly exact to keep account. Say unto them, He ſhall deliver you from the darkneſs of the Sea, and of the Earth; when you ſhall in ſecret or publickly invoke him; if he deliver me, I will return him thanks for his grace: Say unto them, God can deliver you from darkneſs, and all other afflictions; yet ſay you, He hath a Companion, aſſociate with him; Say unto them, We can ſend puniſhments from above, and from below; he is able to diſunite, and cauſe you to taſte a thouſand miſeries, which you ſhall bring upon each other. Conſider how I ſhew them the effects of my Omnipotency; they will peradventure comprehend my ſayings: Thoſe of thy Nations have rejected them, notwithſtanding they are moſt true: ſay unto them, I am not your Tutor; every thing hath its time, you ſhall hereafter underſtand the truth. Depart from them that ſpeak of our Law with contempt, until he ſpeak otherwiſe; the Devil would induce thee to forget my Commandments, and cauſe thee to ſit down with the unjuſt: the true believers ſhall not regard their diſcourſe, neither ceaſe to admoniſh them, peradventure they will be converted. Depart thou from ſuch as ſport and mock at their Religion, the wealth of this World rendreth them haughty; declare, they ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed; none is able to protect or hear them but God, no ranſom is able to deliver them; they ſhall find the good and evil that they have committed, ſhall drink a liquor extreamly cold, and endure grievous torments, becauſe of their impiety; ſay unto them, ſhall we worſhip inſtead of God, what can neither benefit nor hurt us? Shall we return on our ſteps to our ſins, having been guided by his Divine Majeſty, like unto him whom the Devil hath ſeduced? He left him diſmaid, and aſtoniſhed in the midſt of his Voyage, having forſaken his Companions, that ſhewed him the right way. God guideth Men to the way of Salvation. I will wholly reſign my ſelf to the pleaſure of his Divine Majeſty: Make your prayers at the time appointed, and pay Tythes, you all ſhall appear before God at the Day of Judgment, to give account of your actions. He it is that created Heaven and Earth. Remember thou the Day wherein he ſaid, Be thou, and every thing was: he ſhall reign, and at that day command an Angel to ſound the Trumpet, to call to univerſal Judgment, the living and the

O *Mahomet.*

The poor.

See *Gelaldin.*

dead. He knoweth the future, preſent, and paſt; is moſt Wiſe, and nothing is hidden from him. Remember thou that *Abraham* ſaid to his Father **Azer*, wherefore do you worſhip Idols inſtead of God? I perceive your Family to be in manifeſt errour: God ſhewed to *Abraham* the Kingdom of Heaven, and of Earth, and he was in the number of the Bleſſed. *Abraham* ſeeing by night a moſt clear Star, asked in himſelf, if it were his God; no, replyed he to himſelf, my God doth not riſe and ſet; ſeeing the Moon to ariſe, he demanded if that were his God; no, ſaid he to himſelf, certainly God will not guide me to be of them that are erroneous: when he beheld the Sun riſing, he likewiſe asked, if that were his God; and when he ſaw it ſet, he ſaid to his people, I am innocent of the ſin which you commit, in adoring many Gods, I wholly commend my ſelf to his Will, who created Heaven and Earth, and profeſs his Unity: His people would diſpute againſt him; he ſaid to them, will you diſpute againſt me concerning the Unity of God, who hath inſtructed me in the right way? I fear not your Idols, my God doth what pleaſeth him, and knoweth all things, will you not conſider it? How ſhall I fear your Idols, ſince you are not afraid to affirm, that God hath Companions equal to him, which you have no reaſon to adore? If you underſtand the truth, who is more true, you, or I? Such as believe in God, and ſhall not cover the truth with a lie, ſhall be delivered from the torments of Hell, and conducted into the way of Salvation. We inſtructed *Abraham* with reaſons to diſpute againſt his people; I give knowledge to whom I ſee good, and exalt whom I pleaſe. Thy Lord, O *Abraham*, ſeeth and knoweth all things; we gave to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob* his Sons; we before inſtructed *Noah* and his Lineage in the right way; we taught it. *David*, *Solomon*, *Job*, *Joſeph*, *Moſes*, *Aaron*, *Zachary*, St. *John*, *Jeſus*, the Son of *Mary*, *Eliah*, *Iſmael*, *Joſhua*, *Jonas*, and *Lot*; we gratified them above the reſidue of the World; we elected their Fathers, Brothers, and Progeny, and guided them in the right way: Thus God guideth whom he ſeeth good: Men before adored Idols, and believeth there were many Gods; nevertheleſs he blotted out their paſt Errours, when they were converted. If they ſlander them that have knowledge of the Scriptures, and of Prophecies, will give power over their Perſons to Men that ſhall miſ-lead them with the Infidels: Thoſe whom God guideth, believe in the Unity of his Divine Majeſty. Say unto them, I require no reward for having preached to you the *Alcoran*, he teacheth to all the World the Commandments of God. The *Jews* have not honoured him as was their Duty; they underſtood not his Graces, when they ſaid, he hath inſtructed the people in nothing that is profitable. Say unto them, who gave the Tables unto *Moſes*? who inſtructed him in the Scripture, which they have written in Vellum, to guide and illuminate the people? They have publiſhed what pleaſed them, and have concealed much; they ſhall learn in the *Alcoran* what they know not, and what their Fathers underſtood not: Say to them, God after that left them obſtinate; and amazed in their Errours. We have ſent from Heaven that Book full of Bleſſedneſs, it confirmeth the Scriptures that were ſent before it, to the end thou mayſt inſtruct the people of *Mecca*, them that inhabit about that City, and the reſt of the World. Such as ſhall believe in the Day of Judgment, believe in what is written in this Book; and ſhall pray to God to deliver them from the torments of Hell: Who is more unjuſt, than he that blaſpheneth againſt God? that ſaith, God hath inſpired into him what he uttereth, notwithſtanding he hath received no inſpiration from his Divine Majeſty. Who more unjuſt, than he that ſaith, he will cauſe to deſcend from Heaven, things like to thoſe which God inſpired into his Prophets? When thou ſhalt ſee the wicked at the point of death, and the Angels ſtretching forth their hands to take their Souls: ſay unto them, This day the torments of Hell ſhall be the puniſhment of the blaſphemies that ye have vomited againſt God, and your diſobedience to his Commandments. God ſhall ſay to them, you are come before us without Riches, and Children, naked as you were created, and have caſt behind your Backs the inſtructions which we gave you; I ſee not with you the Idols you adored; you are ſeparated from each other, and have forſaken them, that you eſteemed on Earth, ſhould have been your Protectors; God ſeparateth the good from the wicked, as the Corn from the Ear, and the ſtone from the Date: He cauſeth the Living to ſpring from the dead, and the dead from the living: behold the works of God; why will you depart from his Law? He divideth the Morning from darkneſs, hath eſtabliſhed Night for the repoſe of Men, and the Sun and Moon to compute Ages, Years, Months, and Seaſons; ſuch are the effects of Gods power, he is Omnipotent, and knoweth all things. He it is that created the Stars to give you light, and guide you in the obſcurity of the Earth and Sea; he gratifieth with his Grace, ſuch as learn his Commandments. He it is that created you of one ſole Perſon, that gave you the Earth to inhabit, and preſerveth you in the World, he hath conferred his Grace on ſuch as have obeyed his Commandments, hath made Rain to deſcend from Heaven, and cauſeed the Earth produce divers ſorts of Herbs, Green things, and Corn; he hath cauſed the Date to ſpring forth, and the Palm Tree, with Gardens enriched with Grapes, Olives, Pomgranets, and many Fruits alike, and different. Conſider how Fruits encreaſe and multiply; this ſerveth for inſtruction of Gods Unity, to them that have his fear before their eyes: the Infidels have adored the Devil, with God, who created them, and ſaid, that God hath Sons and Daughters, ſuch is their ignorance; praiſed be God, he created Heaven and Earth; how ſhall he have a Son, who hath no Wives? He createth and knoweth all things, he is your God, and your Lord, there is none other God but he; worſhip him, he conſerveth all things, he is ſeen of no Man, and beholdeth all things, he is benign, and nothing is concealed from him. O people, there is come to you a light from your Lord to conduct you, he that ſeeth clearly ſhall receive advantage; and he that ſhall be blind, ſhall continue his Miſery: I am your Tutor, neither obſerve I what you do; Thus do I declare the Myſteries of my Law, the wicked ſhall in the end confeſs that thou haſt taught my Commandments to ſuch as inclined to learn them. Act what thy Lord hath inſpired into thee, there is no God but he, ſeparate thy ſelf from the Society of unbelievers; Had it pleaſed God, they had not diſobeyed his Commandments,

* The *Arabians* ſay, *Azer* is *Abraham*'s Sirname, and that his Father was called *Terec Azer*.

mandments, thou art not their Tutor, injure not them that worſhip Idols, they injure God through Malice and Ignorance, every Man eſteemeth what he hath done, and pleaſeth himſelf in his opinion. Certainly they ſhall all be aſſembled at the Day of Judgment, and be chaſtiſed after their Demerits. They have ſworn by the name of God to fight for the Faith, if ſome Miracle appear to inſtruct them; Miracles proceed from God, they know not the time where in he will make them to appear; although they ſhould ſee Miracles, they will not be converted. I will overturn their hearts, blind their ſights, and they ſhall never be converted; I will leave them in their Errours, and diſobedience, with contempt and confuſion. If we ſhould ſend to them Angels, ſhould the dead come and ſpeak to them, and ſhould we bring about them all the Witneſſes of the World, they ſhall not believe, if it ſo pleaſe God, moſt of them are ignorant; we have allotted an Enemy to each Prophet; as the Devil is an Enemy to Men, he tempteth them with the Ornament of his Diſcourſes, to render them proud. If it had pleaſed thy Lord, they had wanted that power; depart thou from unbelievers, and their blaſphemies, and incline not to their will; they ſhall find no advantage in their impiety. Do you deſire another Judge than God, who hath ſent to you the Book that diſtinguiſheth good from evil? Such as know the Scripture are not ignorant that this Book was ſent from God, and containeth the Truth; Be not thou in the number of them that doubt, the word of God exactly cometh to paſs, no Man can hinder its effects, God underſtandeth and knoweth all things. If thou incline to the will of moſt Men, they will ſeduce thee, they believe but their own opinions, and are lyars. Thy Lord knoweth them that err, and ſuch as follow the right way. Eat what ſhall be ſlain in pronouncing the name of God; they taught you what was forbidden; eat not, unleſs conſtrained through neceſſity: Many err from the right way, and purſue their own appetites, and ignorance, God beholdeth them that offend him; flie publick and ſecret ſin, ſinners ſhall be ſeverely chaſtiſed; eat not of what is not let Blood in pronouncing the name of God, leſt you diſobey his Commandments. The Devils will tempt them that ſerve them, they will perſwade unbelievers to diſpute againſt you; if you incline to them, you ſhall be Infidels as they are. I raiſed again many of them that were dead through their ſins, I converted them, and gave them a light to illuminate them, in the darkneſs, wherein Infidels ſhall dwell for ever, becauſe they delight in their diſobedience: Thus will I place in every City, leaders, that ſhall ſeduce the wicked, and themſelves, but ſhall not underſtand it: When they beheld any ſign (of the truth of the Prophet) appear; they ſaid, they will not believe in him, unleſs he were accompanied with the vertues, and merits of other Prophets; God maketh choice of them on whom he conferreth the grace of prophecy, he ſhall chaſtiſe ſuch as diſcourſe in that manner, with ignominie in this World, and they ſhall feel in the other great torments, by reaſon of their impiety. God rejoyceth the hearts of them that he inclineth to lead into the way of Salvation, and puniſheth them that digreſs from the right path; his wrath fell upon the Infidels ſo ſoon as he aſcended into Heaven. The way thou followeſt is the right way; we have recompenſed ſuch as have underſtanding to profit, they ſhall be happy, God ſhall be their protector, becauſe of their good works. Remember thou the day wherein we ſhall aſſemble the People, and when it ſhall be ſaid to the Devils, O ye bands of Devils! wherefore are you riſen againſt Men? The chief of thoſe Men that ſhall have obeyed them, ſhall anſwer, Lord, ſuffer us to be revenged on each other, and let each command in his turn; O Lord, teach us the prefixed time that thou haſt appointed to our miſeries: The Angels ſhall anſwer, Hell ſhall be your habitation, you ſhall there remain eternally, and ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe God: Your Lord is moſt wiſe, and Omniſcient; the wicked ſhall obey the wicked, becauſe of their ſins. O ye Bands of Men and Devils! have you not ſeen my Prophets, and Apoſtles of your own Nation, who have given you to ſee Miracles? Who have preached my Commandments, and the Day of Judgment? They ſhall anſwer, they have ſeen the Prophets, and Apoſtles, but that the life of the World rendered them proud, and ſhall confeſs themſelves to have been wicked. God ſhall not deſtroy *Mecca* for the unjuſtice therein committed, until he hath ſent an Apoſtle to the Inhabitants, to teach them his Commandments; every one ſhall be puniſhed according to his works, thy Lord knoweth whatſoever is done in the World. He hath no need of his People, he is altogether merciful, he can deſtroy you if it pleaſe him, and eſtabliſh in your place another People, as he hath eſtabliſhed you in the place of your predeceſſors: If you be not converted, you ſhall not eſcape the torments of Hell; Say unto them, do as you underſtand him, I will comport my ſelf, as I ſhall apprehend him; you ſhall in the end underſtand who ſhall have the good part in the other World. None ſhall give ſuccour to Idolaters, they offer to their Idols of the fruits that God hath created, and ſay, (following their thoughts) behold our God! Such ſacrifices aſcend not to God, their Idolatry hath induced many of them to ſacrifice their own Children to their falſe Gods, they have deſtroyed them, and were enſnared in their Religion; which they had not done, had it ſo pleaſed God; Separate thy ſelf from them and their blaſphemies, they have ſaid, that the fruits of the Earth, and the benefits of God were unclean, and would not eat of them. God giveth food but to thoſe whom he is pleaſed to gratifie. They have prohibited to ride on ſome beaſts that God gave them, and ſlew them for food, without pronouncing the name of his Divine Majeſty, which is a great ſin, but they ſhall be puniſhed according to their demerits. They have ſaid it is lawful for Men to eat what is in the Bellies of Beaſts, and that it is unlawful for their Wives, and when they had ſlain them, they did eat for company; but God ſhall chaſtiſe them for their diſcourſe, he is moſt wiſe, and Omniſcient. Such as ſlay their Children are wretched Men, Fools and ignorant, they have forbidden to eat the good things that God hath given them, to blaſpheme, and are gone aſtray from the right way. It is God who created the Gardens full of Fruits and herbs of divers colours with Olives, Pomegranets, and other fruits alike, and different; Eat of the fruits of the Earth: Pay the dues appointed

See *Gelaldin.*

pointed when you reap, and diſpenſe not your ſubſtance lightly; God abhorreth prodigals: Of clean beaſts, ſome there be that have born the burthen, and others that are young, and have not born it; Eat what God hath given you, and follow not the footſteps of the Devil, he is your open Enemy. Say unto them, behold eight pair of Beaſts, *viz.* two pair of Wethers, two of Ewes, two of Camels, and two pair of Cowes, of which is it permitted, or forbidden you to eat? Is it lawful for you to eat the Males, or Females? Which are thoſe that God hath forbidden you? Who is more wicked than he that blaſphemeth, to ſeduce from the right way the People that are ignorant? God guideth not the unjuſt; Say unto them, In all that God hath inſpired into me, I find not that it is prohibited to eat of thoſe beaſts, except they die of ſome Diſeaſe, and if they be ſlain without pronouncing the name of God. The Fleſh of Swine is forbidden you; if you eat of it, you incur the wrath of God; If any one be in neceſſity, and eateth without deſign to provoke God, he ſhall find God gracious and merciful. We forbad the *Jews* to eat of Beaſts whoſe Feet were cloven, and of the fat of Beaſts, except of ſuch as is interlarded in the fleſh; the Entrails and the Bones. We enjoyned this prohibition by reaſon of their ſin, and we are veritable in our words, and exact in our promiſes: If they ſlander thee, ſay unto them, The mercy of God is great, and the wicked ſhall not avoid the puniſhment of their crimes. The Infidels have ſaid, Had it pleaſed God, we had not been unbelievers, neither our Fathers alſo, and nothing had been prohibited. Their predeceſſors ſpake as they, until they felt the puniſhment of their ſin. Say unto them, Are you aſſured that God is content with your proceeding? Tell us, whence ariſeth this aſſurance? You, in this, follow but your opinion, you are but lyers, Gods providence is great; he had guided all of you in the right way, had it ſo pleaſed him. Cauſe them come before us, who ſaid, It is unlawful to eat of clean Beaſts; were they preſent when God made the Prohibition? If they ſay they were preſent, ſay not as they, neither follow the appetites of blaſphemous Infidels, who believe not in the end of the word, and worſhip many Gods. Say unto them, Come, I will inſtruct you what is by God forbidden to be eaten; there is but one ſole God, ſay not, he hath Companions equal to him; do good to your Father and Mother, and ſlay not your Children, in fear of dying with Famine, God ſhall beſtow on you and them alſo, what ſhall be neceſſary; commit not whoredom, either privately or publickly; kill no Man, if juſtice do not command it: God requireth you to obſerve what is above (ordained) perhaps you will conſider it. Take not the goods of Orphans, but to ſuccour them, until they be of age, of diſcretion, meaſure, and weight, with good weight, and juſt meaſure. I enjoyn no Man any thing, but what is in his power to perform. Judge with equity, although it be againſt your Parents and Allies; ſatisfie what is above (ordained) God commandeth it, peradventure you will conſider it; it is the right way, which you ought to purſue: go not aſide, God commandeth it, perhaps you will fear his Divine Majeſty. We taught *Moſes* our Commandments; it is a peculiar grace to inſtruct the righteous, and guide the People in the right way; it may be you will believe in the Reſurrection. O ye Inhabitants of *Mecca*! We have ſent to you the *Alcoran*, full of benediction, perform what is ordained, flie impiety, your ſins ſhall be forgiven you; ſay not, That God hath ſent his Law to the two Nations that preceded you; and that it is hid from you. Will you ſay, That had God taught you the Scripture, you had been more obedient than they? Certainly he hath taught you his Commandments, it is a ſpecial grace to guide you in the right way: Who is more unjuſt, than he that blaſphemeth againſt his Divine Majeſty, and departeth from his Commandments? Such Men ſhall be rigorouſly chaſtiſed in the fire of Hell. Will they expect that the Angels came to viſit them? That God ſhould puniſh, and declare to them his miracles? Will they look for the Day of Judgment, wherein repentance and converſion ſhall be unprofitable? Such as believe in one part of the Law, and reject the other, have no foundation in their belief. God ſhall make them to know their errors, and ſhall puniſh them after the enormity of their crimes: He that ſhall do a good work, ſhall have a reward tenfold. Whoſoever acteth any wickedneſs, ſhall be puniſhed in like manner; neither ſhall he receive injuſtice. Say unto them, God hath guided me in the way of his Law; ſuch as profeſs the Law of *Abraham*, profeſs the unity of God; *Abraham* was not in the number of unbelievers: my prayers, my vows, my life, my death ſhall be conſecrated to God; he hath no Companion, I wholly commend my ſelf to his Divine pleaſure. Say unto them, Do I deſire to worſhip other Gods, than the Lord of the Univerſe? The good that a Man doth, is for himſelf, and the evil that he committeth is againſt them; you all ſhall one day appear in the preſence of God, he ſhall reſolve your diſputes. He it is that prolongeth your Poſterity, and exalteth ſome above others, to prove you; your Lord is exact to chaſtiſe the wicked, and gracious and merciful to the righteous.

See Kitab el tenoir.

The Jews and Chriſtians.

CHAP. VII.

The Chapter of Priſons, containing an hundred and ſix Verſes, written at Mecca.

Reader, Mahomet *entituled this Chapter, the Chapter of* Aaraf, *which is a place between Paradiſe and Hell, where Men ſuffer no puniſhment. See* Mokari, Bedaoi, *and* Kitab el tenoir.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful: I am God, the moſt wiſe, the moſt true. This Book was ſent to thee, to preach to the True believers; doubt not the Contents of it. Say unto them, Believe in what was ſent to you from your Lord, and worſhip none other God but him; few there be among you that conſider it. How many Cities have we deſtroyed? How often have we inflicted our puniſh-

niſhment on their Inhabitants by day, and by night, when they repoſed? Nevertheleſs, they ſaid nothing, but that they were greatly afflicted. We will examine the People to whom we have ſent our Prophets, and require account of what they have learned, and of what they have done. We will examine our Prophets, and demand an account of ſuch as have followed, and obeyed them. I will cauſe them to remember what they have done worthy of reward. We forſook not our Prophets when they preached to them the Truth; their actions ſhall be weighed in the Ballance of Equity; the Ballance of the bleſſed ſhall be ponderous with good works; and they whoſe Ballance ſhall be light of good works, ſhall be damned, for having contemned our Commandments. We gave you your habitation on the Earth, and there beſtowed on you what was neceſſary for your nouriſhment; but few of you are grateful to me. We created and formed you, and commanded the Angels to worſhip *Adam*, which they performed, except the Devil, to whom we ſaid, what hindred thee to worſhip *Adam*, when we commanded thee? He anſwered, I am better than he, thou haſt created me of fire, and haſt created Man of the mire of the Earth; then ſaid we to him, depart out of Paradiſe, it is not the habitation of the Proud, thou ſhalt be in the number of them that ſhall be laden with Ignominy; the Devil anſwered; let me alone until the day of the Reſurrection of the dead; wherefore haſt thou tempted me? I will ſeduce Men from the right way, I will hinder them on the right hand, and on the left, and on all ſides, to believe in thy Law, and the greateſt part of them ſhall be ungrateful: we ſaid to him, be gone out of Paradiſe, thou ſhalt be abhorred of all the World, and deprived of my mercy; I will fill Hell with ſuch as ſhall follow thee. O *Adam*! dwell with thy Wife in Paradiſe, and there eat of whatſoever ſhall pleaſe thee, but approach not that Tree, leſt thou with thy Wife be in the number of the unjuſt. The Devil tempted them, and deſpoyled their Bodies of their Veſtments of grace; he ſaid to them, God hath forbidden you to eat of the Fruit of that Tree, that you may not be Angels, or eternal; he ſwore that he ſpake the truth, and filled them with Ignominy, becauſe of their Pride. They knew their Nakedneſs, having eaten of that Fruit, and to cover themſelves, took leaves of Paradiſe; their Lord called them, and ſaid, Did I not forbid you to approach that Tree? I told both of you, that the Devil was your open Enemy; they ſaid, Lord, we have offended thee, and injured our Souls, if thou doſt not compaſſionate us, we ſhall be in the number of the damned: he ſaid, Depart out of Paradiſe, ye Enemies of each other, you ſhall inhabit the Earth, until the time appointed; you ſhall there live and die, and go from the Earth to the Day of Judgment. O ye Children of *Adam*! we beſtowed on you Veſtments of Graces, ſigns of our Omnipotency, peradventure you will bear it in mind. O ye Children of *Adam*! beware, leſt the Devil ſeduce you, as he did your Father and Mother, when he cauſed their departure out of Paradiſe; he diſpoyled them of their Garments, and made them know their deformity; he ſhall appear to you, with ſuch as follow them, and you ſhall ſee him, when you leaſt think thereon; he protecteth the Infidels: when they commit any Fault, they ſay, we follow the Law of our Fathers, God hath ſo commanded us. Say unto them, Doth God command you to offend him? Will you ſpeak of God what you know not? He hath appointed you to do Juſtice, to worſhip him, and embrace his Law. Many ſhall riſe again, as you have ſeen them; ſome ſhall be in the right way, others ſhall be damned, becauſe they have obeyed the Devil, and believed they were in the right way. O Children of *Adam*, cloath your ſelves decently, when you ſhall repair to the Temples, eat and drink what pleaſeth you; be not Prodigal, God abhorreth them that ſpend their wealth unprofitably: Say unto them, who made the prohibition of decent cloathing, when men go to the Temple to worſhip God? Who hath forbidden to eat of the Goods that God hath given you? This is lawful for true Believers. God ſhall ſo expound his Commandments at the Day of Judgment. Say unto them, God hath forbidden you Whoredom, private and publick, diſobedience, injuſtice, deſire to adore any other God but him, and to ſpeak of his Divine Majeſty what you know not; every one hath his Predeſtination, and none can advance or retard it. O ye Children of *Adam*, did not the Prophets teach you my Commandments? Such as ſhall fear me, and do good works, ſhall be delivered from affliction at the Day of Judgment; and they that diſobey my Commandments, that ariſe againſt the Faith, ſhall dwell eternally in Hell fire. Who is more unjuſt, than he that blaſphemeth againſt God and his Commandments? Such ſhall be puniſhed conformably to the Scripture. When the Angels of Death ſhall cauſe them to die, they ſhall ſay, where be the Idols that you adored inſtead of God? they ſhall anſwer, that thoſe falſe Gods have forſaken them, and ſhall acknowledge their Idolatry; but God ſhall ſay to them, enter into Hell with the Men and Devils that are condemned; they ſhall execrate the Sects that preceeded them, and being aſſembled, they ſhall ſay, Lord, judge them, they ſeduced us, augment their Miſeries in Hell. God ſhall ſay, we will add to their, and your pains, but you underſtand it not. They ſhall ſay among themſelves, we are not the cauſe that you were unbelievers, you were not ſuch to pleaſe us, ſuffer with us the torments that you have merited. I will not open the gate of Heaven to ſuch as diſobey my Commandments, until a Camel paſs through the eye of a Needle, ſo will I chaſtiſe ſigners, Hell ſhall be their Bed, Fire ſhall be their covering; and ſuch as ſhall have done good works, according to their Power, ſhall dwell eternally in Paradiſe. I will remove Deceit far from their heart; Rivers ſhall flow in their Fields with delights; and they ſhall ſay, praiſed be God, who hath brought us hither, otherwiſe we had been in the number of the erroneous: Certainly the Prophets, Gods Meſſengers, taught us the truth, in ſaying, the obſervance of the Commandments of his Divine Majeſty ſhould render us Heirs of Paradiſe. Such as ſhall be ſaved, ſhall tell the damned, that they have found the Grace foretold them of God, and we will demand of them, if they have not met with the puniſhment that his Divine Majeſty did denounce againſt them; they ſaid aloud, Yes, and that the Curſe of God is upon the unjuſt, that miſled Men from his Law, and they ſhall be eternally in the number

of the miſerable. * Between the bleſſed and the damned, there is a ſeparation, and a place called *Aaraf*, or Priſons, wherein are many Perſons, who know the bleſſed and the damned by their Countenances, they call to the bleſſed and ſalute them, yet they go not into Paradiſe, notwithſtanding their great deſire to enter. When they turn their eyes towards the damned; Lord, (ſay they) involve us not in the number of the unjuſt. Such as are in that place, call to the damned, they know them by their Viſages, and ſay, to what ſerved your Riches? and that ye aroſe againſt the Faith, and Commandments of God? Behold the faithful (whom ye contemned) you ſwore they ſhould be deprived of mercy; God hath ſpoken to them, and hath ſaid, enter into Paradiſe, and fear not, you ſhall for ever be exempt from affliction; the damned ſhall cry unto the Bleſſed, Give us of the water which you drink, and the meats that you eat; they ſhall anſwer, The drink and bread of Paradiſe is prohibited to Infidels, who ſported with their Faith, that were proud of the wealth of the Earth, and that ſcoffed at the Commandments of God; he hath forgotten them, becauſe they forgot the coming of the Day of Judgment, and blaſphemed againſt his Precepts. We are come to the Inhabitants of *Mecca* to inſtruct them in the *Alcoran*; we teach it unto men, to give them knowledge of the right way, and to acquire the mercy of God, if they believe in that Book: Shall they expect to believe until they know its explication? Its explication ſhall appear at the Day of Judgment; that day, ſuch as ſhall have lived without Faith, ſhall ſay, Certainly the Prophets delivered the Truth; ſhall we partake of their Prayers, will they intercede for us, until we return to the World to do better than we have done, and to obey Gods Commandments? But they ſhall be damned, becauſe of their Blaſphemies. God is your Lord, he created the Heaven, and the Earth in ſix days, and ſitteth on his Throne; he cauſeth the Night incontinently to ſucceed the day; the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, move at his Command, and all the World obeyeth him; praiſed be God, Lord of the Univerſe: Pray to God privately and publickly, he abhorreth the unjuſt; pollute not the Earth, after the Ordure is removed; pray to God to avoid his Chaſtiſements, and obtain his mercy, which is for the righteous. It is God that ſendeth the Winds to diſſipate the Rain, when they carry the Clouds; we drive them charged with water, into places dry, dead, and ruined, and cauſe the Rain to fall there, that they may produce Herbs and fruits; ſo will we cauſe the dead to ariſe again; perhaps, Men will remember the good Land bringeth forth good Fruits, through the permiſſion of its Lord, and the bad Land produceth only Darnel. I teach my Commandments to ſuch as are not ingrateful: Certainly we ſent *Noah* to inſtruct Men; he ſaid, O ye people, worſhip one God alone; if you adore other then him, you ſhall be puniſhed at the Day of Judgment; their Rulers anſwered, O *Noah*! thou art in a great Errour; He replyed, I erre not, I am a Meſſenger ſent from God to preach his Will; I give you moſt wholſome Advice, God hath taught me what you know not. Is it ſtrange to you, that he hath ſent you his Commandment by the Tongue of a Man like your ſelves, to declare to you the torments of Hell? Fear God, he will pardon your ſins; But they belyed *Noah*, we ſaved him in the Ark, with his Retinue, and drowned thoſe that contemned our Law, they were altogether blind. We ſent *Hod* to his Brother *Aad*, and to his Retinue, he ſaid, O ye people! worſhip one God alone, whom will ye adore; or whom fear, but God? The Teachers anſwered, thou art in an extream ignorance; we believe thee to be in the number of Lyars; he replied, I am not a Lyar, I am a Meſſenger ſent from God, to preach his Commandments, I give good and ſalutary Advice, wonder not that God teacheth you his Precepts by the Tongue of a Man, like you, who declareth to you his Pleaſure. Remember that he left you on Earth after *Noah*, that he encreaſed you in number, force, and power; Call to mind his grace, you ſhall be happy. They anſwered, are we come to this, to worſhip one God alone, and to relinquiſh what our Fathers adored? Shew us the truth, whereof thou doſt preach, if thou art true; he ſaid, the wrath and indignation of God ſhall fall upon you; will you diſpute with us of the Names, that you and your Fathers impoſed on your Idols? God did not enjoyn to worſhip them, neither have you reaſon to do it; expect your puniſhment, I will expect it with perſeverance. Then did we deliver him from their Malice, and all the true Believers that were with him, and deſtroyed thoſe Infidels, by reaſon of their impiety. We ſent *Salhe* to *Temod*, and his people; he ſaid to them, O ye people! worſhip but one God, he ſhall ſhew you a Miracle in this * Camel, ſuffer it to feed on the Earth, and do to it no harm, leſt you be chaſtiſed: Remember, how God left you on the Earth after *Aad*, he gave you to dwell in the Valleys, in the Plains, and Mountains; Remember God, and pollute not the Earth any more. Their Captains who were proud, demanded of the poor, if they believed that *Salhe* was indeed the Meſſenger of God? they anſwered, We believe in his words, and in his Doctrin; Then ſaid thoſe proud Men, we abjure what ye believe, we condemn him, and they ſlew the Camel of *Salhe* in Deriſion, diſobeyed the Commandments of God, and ſaid, O *Salhe*! Let us now ſee the puniſhment that thou didſt preach, if thou art of the Prophets; at the ſame time, an Earthquake, with Thunder ſurprized them, and they remained dead as Carcaſſes in their Houſes. *Salhe* forſook them, and ſaid, O ye people I declared to you the Will of God with fidelity, but ye deteſt them that affect you, and give you good Counſels. Remember thou how *Lot* ſpake to the People, will you daily defile your ſelves with Whoredome? and with a filthineſs was that never yet ſeen in the World by any your Predeceſſors? Will you love Men better than Women? Will you love ſin rather than Piety? They ſaid, Let us expel *Lot* and his Family from our City, for that they will not contaminate themſelves with us, but God delivered him out of their hands, and thoſe of his Houſe, except his Wife, who continued with them that were puniſhed: We cauſed a Rain to fall upon them, that deſtroyed all of them. Conſider the end of the wicked: We ſent *Chaib* to the Countrey of *Madian*, he ſaid, O ye people, worſhip one God alone, weigh with good Weights, meaſure with good meaſure,

* The *Mahometan* Doctors believe, that ſuch as ſhall have done as much good as evil, and whoſe ballance ſhall not decline, neither on the Scale of good works, or of bad, ſhall dwell in the place called *Aaraf*, with them that have done neither good nor evil; and this place is between Hell and Paradiſe.

* The *Turks* believe that *Salhe* through Gods permiſſion Metamorphoſed a Rock into a Camel.

Meaſure, and retain nothing from your Neighbour: Poſſeſs not the high ways, to give terrour to the people, neither divert true Believers from the Law of God: Remember, that you were but a ſmall handful of Men, and he cauſed you to multiply; conſider the end of the wicked; If any among you embrace the Faith, and others contemn it, have patience, until God judge your differences, there is no better Judge than he; Their Teachers ſaid; O *Chiab*, we will baniſh thee from *Madian*, thee and thoſe that are of thy Faith, if thou art of our Religion; he anſwered, ſhould I not abhor your Religion, I ſhould blaſpheme againſt God, who hath delivered me, I will follow it, if it pleaſe God, he knoweth all things, I will commend my ſelf wholly to the Will of his Divine Majeſty; Lord judge our Controverſie, thou art the beſt Judge of the World. Then ſaid their Teachers to the people, if you follow *Chaib*, you are damned; not long after an Earthquake, and Thunder ſurprized them, and in the Morning they were found dead in their Houſes; ſuch as belyed *Chaib*, found no ſafety in their Habitations, they were wretched, he abandoned them, and ſaid, O ye people! I have preached to you the Will of God with fidelity; I will no longer afflict my ſelf with the Malice of the wicked. We inflicted Sickneſs and Poverty on them that diſobeyed the Prophets, whom we ſent to the Inhabitants of *Madian*; peradventure they will be converted. We proved them through Diſeaſes and Health, and gratified them in many Occurrences, yet they ſaid, our Fathers were afflicted with Sickneſs and Poverty, we ſhall be as they, but we chaſtiſed them for their ſin, when they leaſt conſidered it. Had the Inhabitants of *Mecca* had our fear before their eyes, and obeyed our Commandments, we had opened to them the bleſſing of Heaven and Earth; we will puniſh them, becauſe they are impious. Some there be, that ſhall be afflicted in the Night, when they ſleep; and others, that ſhall be tormented by day, when they ſport, and recreate themſelves; they believed God to be a deceiver, and are damned. God guideth into the right way true Believers, and makes them Heirs of the Earth; after their Parents; had he ſo pleaſed, he might have deſtroyed all the World, he might have hardned the hearts of the people, and no man had hearkned to his word. I recount what things befel that * City, many Prophets have been ſent to its Inhabitants, and wrought many Miracles, yet would they not relinquiſh their former impiety; thus have we hardned the hearts of Infidels; they violated their Promiſes, and we found moſt of them to be wicked and diſobedient. We ſent *Moſes* to *Pharaoh*, and his people, he to them ſhewed Miracles, which through their Malice they contemned, but conſider the end of thoſe wicked men; *Moſes* ſaid unto *Pharaoh*, I am a Meſſenger ſent from God, the God of the Univerſe; when I ſpeak of God, I deliver the Truth; I am come, through his Command, to tell thee, thou muſt diſmiſs with me the Children of *Iſrael*, and no longer detain them in thy Dominions. *Pharaoh* ſaid, if thou comeſt from God, and art true in thy ſayings, let us ſee ſome Miracles; then he caſt upon the ground his Staffe, which was changed into a Serpent, ſhewed his hand, that appeared exceeding white to the eyes of the Spectators.

* To *Mecca*.

The Doctors of *Pharaoh* ſaid, this Man is a Magician, he would have us to abandon our Countrey, what is your opinion? detain him Priſoner, and his Brother, and ſend into your Cities, to aſſemble Magicians. The Magicians of *Pharaoh* appearing before him; they ſaid, what ſhall be our reward, if we ſhall be Victorious? He replyed to them, you ſhall be well rewarded, and ſhall be of them that approach my Perſon. They ſaid, O *Moſes*, wilt thou firſt caſt down thy Staffe on the ground, or ſhall we ours? *Moſes* bad them caſt down theirs, which they did, enchanting the eyes of the Spectators, and terrifying them with an extraordinary enchantment; God inſpired *Moſes* to caſt down his Rod, which devoured the Staves of the other, and the Truth appeared above falſhood, and above the Vanity of their Actions; they were vanquiſhed, to their confuſion, forſook their Magick, and proſtrating themſelves on the Earth, uttered theſe words; We believe in the Lord of the Univerſe, the Lord of *Moſes*, and of *Aaron*; *Pharaoh* ſaid to them, Ye believe in the God of *Moſes* without my permiſſion; this is a deceit, invented by you, to drive the people out of my Dominions; but you ſhall ſoon know the puniſhment that I will lay upon you, I will cut off your feet and hands, and command you to be crucified. They anſwered, We recommend our ſelves wholly to the Will of God, whatſoever is thy revenge on us; thou ſhalt not hinder us to believe in the Miracles that we ſee, neither to obey the Commandments of his Divine Majeſty; Lord give us patience, and to die in the number of true Believers. Then ſaid *Pharaoh*'s Doctors, diſmiſs *Moſes*, and his people, that they may go whither they ſee good, to poſſute the Earth, that they may leave thee in quiet with thy Gods: He ſaid, I will cauſe their Children to be ſlain, their Wives to be abuſed, and I will inflict upon them a thouſand torments. *Moſes* ſaid to his people; Implore ſuccours of God with patience, and Prayers, the whole Earth is Gods, he giveth it to inherit, to whom he ſeeth good: the other World is for the righteous. They ſaid, O *Moſes*! We before thy coming, deſired the death of our Enemies; he replyed, God will not deſtroy your Enemies, to leave you alone upon the Earth, he ſhall behold your Actions. We afflicted *Pharaoh* and his Subjects with Famine, perhaps unbelievers will conſider it. When any happineſs befel them, they ſaid, they well deſerved it, and when they fell into Miſery, they affirmed *Moſes* and his people to be the cauſe of it; It is God that puniſhed them, but of this moſt of them were ignorant. They ſaid unto *Moſes*, ceaſe to ſhew us thy Miracles to inchant us, we will not obey thee: We ſent upon them a Deluge, Graſshoppers, Lice, Frogs, and Blood, one after another; nevertheleſs they were proud, and in the number of the wicked. When our wrath fell upon them, they ſaid, O *Moſes*! call upon thy Lord, that he give us what to thee he promiſed, remove his diſpleaſure from us, we will believe thee, and will diſmiſs with thee, the Children of *Iſrael*: When we delivered them from affliction, they ſharpned their Tongues, murmured, and violated their Promiſes: we avenged our ſelves upon them, and drowned them in the Sea, for that they contemned our Miracles, and we gave the Weſt and Eaſt to the Children of *Iſrael*, who were

Gelaldin ſaith *Moſes* his hand was brown.

humble before us; we gave them our bleſſing, our word was accompliſhed upon them, becauſe of their perſeverance, and we deſtroyed the Armies of *Pharaoh*. The Children of *Iſrael* having paſt the Sea, met with Men that adored Idols, and ſaid, O *Moſes*! make unto us Gods, like to the Gods of this people; he anſwered, ye are ignorant; theſe Men are wretched, what they do is but ignorance and Vanity; ſhall I deſire that you worſhip other Gods, than God that preferred you to all the World? We have delivered you from *Pharaoh's* people, who cauſed you to endure great torments, they murthered your Children, abuſed your Wives, and you ſuffer heavy afflictions for the puniſhment of your ſins. We detained *Moſes* on the Mountain thirty Nights, and ten other Nights, which is in all forty Nights; when he went up, he ſaid to his Brother *Aaron*, be thou my Lieutenant, command this people in mine abſence, and follow not the path of the wicked. When *Moſes* at the time appointed arrived at the top of the Mountain, and that his Lord ſpake to him, he ſaid, Lord permit me to ſee thee: he ſaid, thou ſhalt not ſee me; behold this Mountain, if it continue firm in this place, thou ſhalt be able to ſee me; when the Lord appeared upon the Mountain with his light, it was reduced to aſhes, and *Moſes* amazed, fell on the ground as dead. When he aroſe again, he ſaid, Bleſſed be the name of God, I deſire to obey him, and believe that no Man living is able to behold him. He ſaid to *Moſes*, I have choſen, and preferred thee to all the World, I have made thee a Prophet, thou haſt talked with me, receive the Grace which I have beſtowed on thee, and be not ingrateful. We gave to him the Tables, whereon was written what was neceſſary for the Salvation of Men, and we ſaid to him, receive with affection, what I give thee, and command thy people to obſerve the Contents of thoſe Tables. I will precipitate into Hell ſuch as tranſgreſs my Commandments; I will deprive the proud of my Graces, they will not believe in my Law, although they ſee all the Miracles in the World, if they ſee the right way, they will not follow it; they ſee the way of Errour, and purſue it; becauſe they have abjured my Commandments, and rejected my Grace, the good works of them that diſobey me, and that believe not in the Reſurrection, are unprofitable, they ſhall be chaſtiſed after their Demerits. The people of *Moſes*, after his departure, adored the Calf, a bellowing God; ſaw they not, that it ſpake not to them; neither could conduct them into the right way? Nevertheleſs they adored it, for which they were greatly to blame. When this Calf fell to the ground, and they found their errour, they ſaid, if God have not pity on us, we ſhall be miſerable. When *Moſes* returned, he ſaid to them, whom did ye obey after my departure? You were too haſty to worſhip that Idol; he in diſpleaſure caſt againſt the ground the Tables that God had given him, took his Brother by the head, and dragging him to him, ſaid, Son of my Mother, how haſt thou governed this people? I wanted power, replyed he, and could not divert them from their evil; it wanted little but they had ſlain me, do me no harm; rejoyce not my Enemies with my miſery, and account me not with thoſe that adored Idols: *Moſes* ſaid, Lord pardon me, and my Brother, give us thy mercy; thou art the merciful of the merciful. The wrath of God, and the infamy of the World, ſhall fall upon them that worſhipped the Calf, and blaſphemed againſt God; he will be pitiful to ſuch as ſhall repent, and believe in his Divine Majeſty. The diſpleaſure of *Moſes* being allayed, he again took the Tables, whereon was written the way of Salvation, for ſuch as have the fear of their Lord before their eyes; he cauſed to be ſeparated from his people, at a time appointed, threeſcore and ten Perſons, who were ſurprized with an Earthquake, and with Thunder; and ſaid, Lord, thou couldeſt have deſtroyed them, before they adored the Calf; wilt thou deſtroy us all, becauſe of the ſin of the ignorant that are amongſt us? Thou haſt deſired to prove this people; thou guideſt, and cauſeſt to erre whom thou pleaſeſt; thou art our Protector, pardon our ſins; for thou art altogether merciful; give us thy Grace in this World, and guide us to the Day of Judgment, near to thy Divine Majeſty: He ſaid, I will puniſh as I ſee good, my mercy embraceth the whole World; it is for ſuch as have my fear before their eyes, that pay Tithes obey, my Commandments, follow the right way, believe in the Prophet, * who can neither write nor read, and what is written in the Old Teſtament, and the Goſpel; he ſhall command them things honeſt; he ſhall prohibit things uncivil; he ſhall teach them what meats are clean, and forbid them to eat what is unclean; he ſhall deliver them from Ceremonies, weighty and troubleſome, and from the Chains that ſtrictly bind them: Such as ſhall believe in him, that ſhall honour him, that ſhall defend him from his Enemies, and *follow the light that we ſhall ſend him, ſhall be happy.* Say unto the people, I am indeed a Meſſenger ſent from God, to whom appertaineth the Kingdom of the Heavens, and of Earth; there is but one God alone, he giveth Life and Death, as ſeemeth good to him. Believe in God, and in his Prophet, who can neither read nor write. Such as ſhall believe in God, in his word, and follow the Prophet, ſhall not erre; they ſhall follow a very good way. There are ſome of the Children of *Iſrael* that knew the truth, and judge with equity. We divided them into twelve Tribes, when *Moſes* required drink for his People, we inſpired him to ſtrike the Rock with his Rod, whence flowed twelve Fountains, and every one knew the place where he ſhould drink; we covered them with the ſhadow of Clouds; we cauſed *Manna* and *Quails* to deſcend upon them, and commanded them to eat of the good things which we gave them. They did not hurt us (when they murmured) but afflicted themſelves. It was ſaid to them, Dwell in this City, and eat therein what ſhall pleaſe you; enter at the gate with adoration, and beg pardon of your ſins. I will pardon you, and will augment the graces of the righteous; nevertheleſs, the wicked that were among them, altered the words that were ſpoken to them, and perverted them; and we ſent upon them our indignation from Heaven, becauſe of their impiety. Aſk of them concerning a Village that was upon the ſhore of the Sea, whoſe inhabitants obſerved not the Sabbath, and fiſhed on the day of reſt; they ſaw in that day, Serpents appear upon the water, and other days they ſaw none. Thus were they tryed, becauſe of their diſobedience:

* This is *Mahomet.* See *Kitab el tenoir.*

The *Turks* believe that *Mahomet* could neither write nor read.

This is the Holy Land. See *Gelaldin.*

A party of them ſaid, Fiſh not O People, it is loſt labour; God ſhall deſtroy and chaſtiſe them with grievous torments, then their Doctors ſaid, They ſhall implore pardon of the Lord, perhaps they will fear to offend him another time. When they rejected what we taught them, we ſaved ſuch among them as abſtained from evil-doing, and grievouſly afflicted the wicked, becauſe of their diſobedience; when they gloried in their ſin, we ſaid to them, Be ye contemned, and abhorred as Apes; thy Lord ſhall ſend to them at the Day of Judgment, perſons to torment them; he is exact in puniſhing the wicked, and merciful to the righteous. We ſent upon them good and evil, to prove them, peradventure they will be converted. Their poſterity left a progeny, heirs of their Doctrine; nevertheleſs, they returned to their ſins, and ſay, the Lord ſhall pardon them; they beg pardon of him, and return daily to their ſin: Shall not account be required from them, of what is ordained in the Scripture? To wit, not to ſpeak of God, but with truth: They have read the Truth, but have not comprehended it. Paradiſe is only for the righteous; I will not deprive them of recompence, who make their prayers at the time appointed, and obſerve what is contained in the Scriptures. Remember thou, how we raiſed a Mountain over them, to ſhelter them, and how they believed it would fall upon their heads; we ſaid to them, Learn with affection what we teach you, and remember; perhaps you will fear diſobedience. Thy Lord cauſed to come out of *Adams* Reins, all his Poſterity; and asked them, ſaying, Am not I your Lord? they anſwered, yes, thou art our Lord, we know it well: They cannot therefore ſay at the Day of Judgment, That they knew not his unity; they ſhall ſay for excuſe, Our Fathers adored many gods before us, we are their Poſterity; wilt thou deſtroy us, becauſe of their iniquity? Thus do I diſcover my myſteries to Men; it may be they will be converted. Relate to them the Hiſtory of him that ſaw our miracles; he was diſpoiled of his underſtanding, the Devil followed it, and he was in the number of the wretched. Had we ſo pleaſed, we had exalted him through the knowledge of our wonders, among the Doctors; but he crouched to the ground, and followed his own appetite, like to a chafed Dog; if thou chaſe him with Choler he putteth forth his Tongue; if thou leave him at reſt, he will ſtill put forth his Tongue, like to the Infidels, that contemn our inſtructions; if thou recount to them our miracles, or do not recount, perhaps they will be converted, perhaps they will not be converted, and ſhall be like ſuch as have abjured our Commandments, and injured their own Souls. He whom God guideth, is well guided; and he whom God miſ-leadeth, is in the number of the miſerable. We have created Hell to puniſh Devils and Men; they have hearts, and comprehend not the truth; they have eyes, and ſee it not; ears have they, and hear it not; they are like to Beaſts, and worſe than Beaſts; they are altogether ignorant. The moſt beautiful names of the World appertain to God: Beſeech him by the beauty of his name, and depart from them that depart from the truth, through the names that they impoſe on their Idols; they ſhall be chaſtiſed after their demerits. Some there be that follow the truth, and judge with equity. I will by degrees puniſh them that ſhall reject our Commandments, when they ſhall think thereon. I will defer their puniſhment ſome time, becauſe my wrath is violent: Remember they not, that they ſaid, *Mahomet* is poſſeſt of the Devil? On the contrary, he declareth the joys of Paradiſe, and preacheth the torments of Hell. Conſider they not the Kingdom of Heaven and of Earth, which God hath created of nothing? The fear of Death ſhall arrive before they have acknowledged their ſins; in what will they believe, if they have no Faith in the *Alcoran*? He whom God ſhall miſ-lead, ſhall find none to guide him; he ſhall leave Infidels, confounded in their diſobedience. They ſhall enquire of thee concerning the Hour and Day of Judgment. Say unto them, No Man knoweth it but God; but the greateſt part of the World believe it not. I have not power to do either good or evil of my ſelf, if God do not permit it; if I knew the future, I ſhould provide wealth to preſerve me from poverty! I am ſent only to declare the joyes of Paradiſe, and preach the torments of Hell to them that believe in God; he it is that created you of one ſole perſon, and created his ſpouſe of his Rib, to dwell with her; When ſhe doubted of being with Child, ſhe ceaſed not to travel as ſhe was wont; but when her conception rendred her heavy, they both beſought God, their Lord, and ſaid, Lord give an happy progeny, to the end we may be in the number of them that return thee thanks for thy favours. When God gave them a Son, a righteous Man, they aſſociated him in what he had given them; and all of them exalted the glory of his Divine Majeſty, above the Idols of the Infidels, that adored things which could create nothing, that are things created, and can do neither good nor harm. If you call Idolaters to the right way, they will not follow you; if ye invoke Idols, miſery ſhall be upon you; will you be mute, to profeſs the unity of God? Will you worſhip the Creatures, inſtead of the Creator? Go, adore your Idols, and may they hear your prayers, if you believe them to be Gods? Have they Feet to walk, Hands to touch, Eyes to ſee, and Ears to hear? Say unto them, If ye invoke your Idols, and conſpire againſt me, you ſhall find none to protect you, God is my protector, he hath cauſed the *Alcoran* to deſcend from Heaven, he is the defendor of the righteous; what ye adore, can neither benefit nor hurt you; If thou invokeſt Idols, they ſhall not hear thee, they ſhall look upon thee, and ſhall not ſee thee; do what is lawful to be done, command things honeſt, and depart from the ignorant; if the Devil would ſeduce thee, truſt in God, he heareth and knoweth all things; ſuch as fear him, remember his mercies and chaſtiſements when they are tempted of the Devil. Although Infidels know the Truth, the Devil ceaſeth not to continue them in their ſin, they always follow their impiety; If thou goeſt to them to inſtruct them, they ſay, thou ſingeſt an old Song, ſay unto them, I do what my Lord inſpired into me, what I teach you, is the light of Faith, the right way, and the grace of God for them that believe in his Divine Majeſty; for ſuch as hear the *Alcoran*, and ſtudy it, perhaps God will give you his mercy. Remember thou God in thy Soul,

See *Gelaldin.*

worſhip in publick and private, pray unto him evening, and morning, and be not in the number of the ignorant. The Angels that are near to thy Lord, neglect not to worſhip him, they praiſe and adore him with humility.

CHAP. VIII.

The Chapter of the Spoil, containing ſeventy and five Verſes, written at Medina.

Mahomet's Men differed concerning diviſion of the ſpoyl, which they took at the Battel of *Beder*; *Mahomet* divided it among them. See *Gelaldin.*

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. They will demand of thee, to whom appertaineth the ſpoyl? Say unto them, the ſpoyl appertaineth to God, and his Prophet; Fear God, live with mutual amity, and obey his Divine Majeſty, and his Prophet, if you believe in his Law; Such as fear when they hear mention of God, who augment their faith, when they have heard relation of his miracles, who truſt in him, who perſevere in their prayers, and diſpend in pious works ſome part of their wealth, believe in the unity of his Divine Majeſty; they have the degree of their habitation in Paradiſe, ſhall receive from their Lord pardon of their ſins, and exceeding great treaſure. When thy Lord cauſed thee to go out of thine Houſe to go againſt the Infidels, a party of the true believers had a great averſion to fighting, they diſputed with thee the neceſſity of Combates, having ſeen and known that their Enemies led them to a certain Death; Call to mind, that God promiſed you that a party of the Army of the Enemies ſhould obey you. Deſire you other thing than the glory and honour of Victory? God confirmeth the Truth by his words, and deſtroyeth the wicked, he ratifieth the Truth, and deſtroyeth falſhood, although it be contrary to the will of the impious. Remember, that your Lord heard you, when you of him implored ſuccours, and that he aſſiſted you with a thouſand of his Angels ſent from Heaven; God ſent you this aid, only to let you know his grace, and to confirm your hearts; Victory proceedeth from God, he is Omnipotent, and moſt prudent: Remember that God covered you with a ſecure ſleep, and cauſed Water to deſcend from Heaven, to waſh, purifie, and deliver you from the malice of the Devil. Plant in your heart generoſity, and patience, and go on with aſſurance. God hath ſaid to his Angels, I will be with you, confirm the ſteps of the true believers; I will caſt fear into the heart of the wicked, ſtrike them on the head, ſmite them on the fingers, and feet, becauſe they have contradicted my will, and that of the Prophet. God ſeverely chaſtiſeth ſuch as diſobey his Commandments, and oppoſe the will of his Prophet; the unbelievers have heretofore taſted of his puniſhments in this World, and ſhall in the end feel the pains of the fire of Hell. O ye who believe in God! turn not the back to the wicked, as vanquiſhed, when they approach to fight you, he that ſhall turn the back, ſhall return in the wrath of God, and be thrown headlong into the fire of Hell. You ſlew not the Infidels at the fight of *Beder*, God himſelf ſlew them. See *Gelaldin.*

* Thou didſt not caſt Stones againſt them, God did caſt them to advantage the true believers; he underſtandeth whatſoever they ſay, and knoweth all their actions: certainly, he will augment the affliction of the wicked. When ye required victory, it was given you; if you relinquiſh your impiety, you ſhall do well; if you return to fight againſt the Prophet, know that he will protect him againſt you; your Men of War ſhall advantage you in nothing, notwithſtanding they be numerous; for that God is with the true believers. O ye that believe, obey God and his Prophet, depart not from him, ſince ye have heard the Commandments of his Divine Majeſty, be not as thoſe that ſay, We have heard, and were deaf and dumb. The ignominy and miſery that God layeth on beaſts, is to be deaf and dumb, and to want the uſe of reaſon: Had God ſeen any good inclinations in the Infidels, he had not left them in their deafneſs; but although they had heard clearly, they ſhould have always departed from his Law, and have been obſtinate. O ye that believe in God! obey God and the Prophet, demand life eternal in your prayers, and know that God will ſeparate the Gall from the Liver; he will ſeparate the Infidel from the True believer, and you all ſhall appear before him, to be recompenſed and chaſtiſed for your works; fear the puniſhment that ſhall be inflicted, eſpecially on the ſeditious, and ingrateful, God is ſevere in his chaſtiſements; Remember that in the territory of *Mecca* ye were but an handful of weak Men, and with fear of being taken, and deſtroyed by the unbelievers; God ſaved, protected, and enriched you with all manner of good things, peradventure ye will give him thanks. O ye that believe! betray not God, nor the Prophet, neither ſuch as confide in you, and have entruſted their wealth in your hands, otherwiſe your riches, and Children ſhall torment you in the other World. There is with God great reward for the righteous. O ye that believe! if ye fear God, he ſhall remove your enemies far from you, and pardon your ſins, his goodneſs is infinite. The wicked have conſpired againſt thee, to puniſh and ſlay thee, or drive thee from *Mecca*; but God hath rendred their conſpiracy ineffectual, he knoweth all the deſigns of conſpirators. When his miracles were related to them, and his Commandments taught them, they ſaid, we have heard them, we had ſaid the like things, had we ſo inclined; it is but a Song, and a Fable of old Men: Remember thou, how they ſaid, my God, if what *Mahomet* declareth be true, cauſe a ſhower of Flint-Stones to fall upon us, and rigorouſly chaſtiſe us; He ſhall not chaſtiſe them, when thou art with them, neither when they beg pardon of him; Who is he that is able to hinder God to puniſh them? They are not in his grace, when they hinder True believers to enter the Temple of *Mecca*; he protecteth only ſuch as have his fear before his eyes, but moſt of them underſtand it not. Their prayers are very light, they go hand in hand in the Temple, but ſhall one day feel the puniſhment of God, becauſe of their impiety. The unbelievers that expend their wealth to turn the People from the Law of God, ſhall have ſorrow for their expence, they ſhall be infamous, and precipitated into the fire of Hell, God ſhall

* O *Mahomet.*

ſhall ſeparate the good from the wicked, he ſhall caſt the wicked headlong into Hell fire, and they ſhall be in the number of the damned: if they repent, he will remit what is paſt, and if they return to fight againſt the Prophet, they ſhall be entreated as the firſt: kill them, to avoid ſedition, that there may be no Law in the World, but the Law of God; If they forſake their impiety, God ſhall behold their actions, if they depart from the faith, know, that God alone is your Lord, and Protector. The fifth part of the ſpoil that you ſhall gain from your Enemies, appertaineth to God, the Prophet, his Parents, Orphans, the Poor, and to Pilgrims that are in want; obſerve what is above ordained, if ye believe in God, in what we have inſpired into our * Servant, and in the day, wherein the diſtinction of the good and the bad was known at the encounter of the * two Camps: God is Omnipotent, ye were in an high place, the neareſt to *Medina*, your enemies were afar off, by the Vally, and the enemies Cavalry below you; had ye promiſed to give Battel, ye had tranſgreſſed your promiſe, by reaſon of the great number of Infidels; but what God will, is ſpeedily executed, he ſhall deſtroy ſuch as are wicked, having ſeen that Battel, an evident ſign of the true miſſion of the Prophet, and ſhall give life to True believers; he underſtandeth and knoweth all things, he cauſed you to ſee in a Dream your enemies in a ſmall number; had he made them to appear numerous, ye had feared to fight, but he delivered you from fear; he knoweth what is in the hearts of Men: When he cauſed you to appear in their view, he made you ſeem few in number, to accompliſh *his will*, all things depend on God. O ye that believe! make an Halt, when you are in view of your enemies Troops, and pray to God with affection, perhaps you ſhall be happy, obey God, and the Prophet, his Apoſtle; if diſorder and terror ſurpriſe you, you ſhall loſe your reputation; perſevere, God is with them that continue to do well. Be not like them that went out of their Houſes wit diſſembled joy, and hypocriſie, and turn the people from the right way, God knoweth all their actions; The Devil cauſed them to find pleaſure in their doings, ſaying to them, none ſhall this day obtain victory over you, I will be with you; and when they beheld the two Camps in Battalia, he returned on his ſteps, fled, and ſaid, I am innocent of the evil that you commit, * I ſee what you ſee not, I fear the Omnipotent God, he is ſevere in his puniſhments. The wicked, and ſuch as were weak in their faith, ſpeaking of the True believers, ſaid, Theſe Men glory in their Law: It was replyed to them, he that relyeth on God, ſhall find him to be more powerful than his enemies, and that he is moſt prudent in whatſoever he doth. Thou ſaweſt the Angels that ſlew the Infidels, they did beat them behind and before, and ſaid to them, taſte the torments of the fire which you have merited, God is not unjuſt to his Creatures. The people of *Pharaoh* were Infidels, and thoſe that preceded them, contemned the miracles and Commandments of God, but he rigorouſly chaſtiſed them, he is Omnipotent, and moſt ſevere in his puniſhments, he ſhall deſtroy them that alter the graces he hath given to the People, until they have altered the grace he hath conferred on themſelves.

* *Mahomet.*

* The day of the battle of *Beder.*

See *Gtlaldin.*

* The Turks believe, that the Devil ſaw the Angel fight for *Mahomet.*

Pharoahs people were Infidels, their Predeceſſors diſobeyed the Commandments of thy Lord; but we deſtroyed them becauſe of their ſin, we drowned them for that they were unjuſt; The wicked are like to beaſts, they ſhall never believe in God. Such as promiſed not to aſſiſt the unbelievers, and violate their promiſe, had not the fear of God before their eyes; if thou meet them in a journey, ſeparate thy ſelf from them, their puniſhment purſueth them, peradventure they will conſider it. If you fear that any one will betray you, and be wanting to their word, receive no promiſe from him, neither promiſe him any thing, God abhorreth Traytors: Believe not that Infidels eſcape the puniſhment of God, return with your whole ſtrength to fight againſt them; the halters of your horſes ſhall terrifie the enemies of God, and of you, and of other perſons who ye know not, but God knoweth them all. Your expence for his ſervice, ſhall be payed you, and no injuſtice ſhall be done to you. If thine enemies incline to peace, thou ſhalt do ill to incline, as they, truſt in God, he underſtandeth what they ſay, and knoweth whatſoever they do; if they deſire to betray thee, God ſhall protect thee; and all true believers endeavour to unite their hearts; but although thou ſhouldſt expend all the riches of the World, thou ſhalt not be able to unite them, God ſhall one day unite them, he is Omnipotent, and prudent in all his works. O Prophet! the protection of God ſufficeth thee, and the righteous that follow thee. Exhort the true believers to fight againſt Infidels; If ye be twenty aſſembled with reſolution and perſeverance, ye ſhall vanquiſh two hundred Infidels; if ye be an hundred, ye ſhall overthrow a thouſand; the unbelievers are ignorant; but God will lighten your burthen, he knoweth your weakneſs; if ye be an hundred true believers, ye ſhall defeat two hundred Infidels; if ye be a thouſand, you ſhall ſubdue two thouſand by the permiſſion of God, he aideth ſuch as expect his ſuccors with perſeverance. The Prophet cannot be a priſoner; he ſhall eſtabliſh himſelf on Earth with advantage, over unbelievers; Ye deſire the wealth of the Earth, and God will give you the treaſures of Heaven, he is Omnipotent and wiſe. If God had not taught you his Commandments, ye ſhould have ſuffered great torments; eat of clean beaſts that he hath permitted you to eat, and fear God, he is gracious and merciful to them that have his fear before their eyes. O Prophet! ſay to them that ſhall be priſoners in thy hands, God knoweth what is in your hearts, he ſhall reward you for what ye ſhall have loſt, and ſhall pardon your ſins; if you be converted, he is gracious and merciful. If they betray thee, they betrayed God before thee, ſeparate them from the True believers, God knoweth all things, and is moſt prudent in what he ordaineth. Such as have believed in God, as have departed from the wicked, as have employed their wealth, and perſons to fight for the Law of God; Such as have protected the Prophet, and defended him, are all protectors, and friends to each other; you ſhall have no conſideration of the alliance of the True believers, that deſert not the company of Infidels, until they be ſeparated from them. If they require of you ſuccors touching Religion, you are obliged to protect them, except

See *Kitab el tenoir.*

againſt ſuch as have confederacy with you, God ſeeth all your actions. The Infidels protect each other, if you obey them, great diſorders ſhall enſue, and many ſeditions in the Earth. Such as have believed in God, as have deſerted the wicked, as have fought for the Law of God, as have eſtabliſhed the Prophet, and defended him againſt his Enemies, are indeed faithful and true believers, they ſhall receive from God pardon of their ſins, and exceeding great treaſures. Such as having believed in God, have departed from the wicked, and have fought with you, are yours, they ſhall be the Heirs of their Parents, God hath ſo appointed it, he knoweth all things.

CHAP. IX.

The Chapter of Converſion, containing an hundred twenty and ſeven Verſes, written at Medina.

Reader, *this Chapter beginneth not as the reſt, with theſe words,* In the name of God, gracious and merciful; *becauſe theſe are words of Peace and Salvation, and for that in this Chapter,* Mahomet *commandeth to break Truce with his Enemies, and to aſſault them. Many Mahometan Doctors have entituled this the Chapter of Puniſhment, or Pain. See the Expoſition of* Gelaldin, *and that of* Bedaoi, *and* Kitab el tenoin.

A Letter Patent from God, and his Prophet, to the unbelievers, with whom ye have made Truce. Travel in ſafety the ſpace of four Months, know, ye ſhall not render God impotent, and that he will lay ſhame upon your forehead. Advice for the People, at the Day of great Pilgrimage, from God, and his Prophet: God approveth not the action of them that adore Idols, his Prophet is innocent from that ſin; If ye repent, ye ſhall do well, if ye abandon the Law of God, know, ye ſhall not eſcape the puniſhment of your crime; preach to the unbelievers, that they ſhall ſuffer grievous torments, except thoſe with whom ye have made Truce, who fail not from what they have promiſed, and that protect none againſt you. Obſerve exactly until the prefixed time, what you have promiſed them, God loveth them that fear him; When the Month of *Heram* ſhall be paſt, kill them where you ſhall meet them, take them Slaves, detain them Priſoners, and obſerve where they paſs to lay ambuſh for them; if they be converted, if they pray at the time appointed, and pay Tythes, leave them in quiet, God is merciful to them that repent. If the Infidels demand Quarter of you, give them Quarter, to the end they may learn the word of God; teach them his Commandments, for they are ignorant. How ſhould they have Truce with God and his Prophet? If they believe neither in the one, nor the other, except them with whom you entred Truce in the Temple of *Mecca?* If they obſerve their promiſe to you, obſerve what ye promiſed to them, God loveth ſuch as have his fear before their eyes: How ſhall they have Truce with you? If they have advantage over you, they will reſpect neither your alliance nor confederacy; They will ſpeak well of you, and contemn you in their heart, the greateſt part of them are impious, they have preferred the riches of this World to the Commandments of God, and have hindred the People to follow his Law, as if they knew not what they did; they bear no reſpect to the True believers, wherein they are exceedingly to blame. If they turn, and make their prayers at the time appointed, if they pay Tithes, they ſhall be your Brethren in God. I teach the myſteries of faith to ſuch as have underſtanding to comprehend them, if they break their promiſe, and diſturb them of your Religion, kill their Captains, as perſons without faith, they will perhaps put an end to their impiety. Slay ſuch eſpecially that renounce their faith, who have endeavoured to drive the Prophet from *Mecca*, and have begun to ſlay you, will you fear them? Will ye be terrified by them? It is reaſonable that ye fear God; if ye believe in his Law, fight them, God ſhall chaſtiſe them by your hands, he ſhall render them diſhonourable, and protect you againſt them, he ſhall fortifie the hearts of True believers, and expel melancholy, he pardoneth whom he ſeeth good, knoweth all things, and is moſt prudent in what he ordaineth. Think ye to be forſaken of God, and that he diſcerneth not them that have fought gallantly for his Law, from ſuch as have adored Idols, and diſobeyed his Prophet? The True believers abandon not their Religion another time to profeſs it: God knoweth all your actions, Infidels muſt not enter into the Temple of *Mecca*, knowing that they are Infidels, the good works which they ſhall do in this World ſhall be unprofitable, and they ſhall dwell eternally in the fire of Hell. They that believe in God, and the Day of Judgment, that make their prayers at the time appointed, pay Tithes, and worſhip one God alone, ſhall viſit the Temples of his Divine Majeſty, and ſuch as fear the Creatures more than the Creator err from the right way; We have ordained that ſuch as ſhall bear freſh Water to Pilgrims, and them that ſhall viſit the Temple of *Mecca*, ſhall be in the number of them that believe in God, and the Day of Judgment. Such as fight for the faith are not all equal in graces, and merits before God, he guideth not the unjuſt. Such as have believed in God, as have departed from the wicked, and employed their wealth and perſons to fight for his Law, ſhall have a particular degree, and a particular place near to his Divine Majeſty, they ſhall be the more happy. God through his goodneſs declareth to them, that they ſhall enter into delicious Gardens, where they ſhall remain eternally, there is with God a very great reward. O ye that believe! obey not your Fathers, nor your Brothers, that love rather to follow impiety, than the faith. Such as ſhall obey them, ſhall offend exceedingly; if your Father, your Children, your Brothers, your Wives, your Parents, your Friends, the wealth that you have gained, the fear of looſing your riches, and apprehenſion of poverty, have more of power over you than God and his Prophet, and hinder you to fight for the faith, the Commandment of God ſhall be executed againſt you, he guideth not the wicked, and hath protected you in many occaſions. Remember the day of Battle of *Hanin*, when

when ye rejoyced in the multitude of your Men, it did not advantage you, fear made you find the place too narrow for flight, and ye turned the Back as vanquiſhed: Remember, that God, at that time, put his Prophet, and the true Believers in a place of ſafety, and ſent inviſible Troops to chaſtiſe the Infidels, he pardoneth ſins as ſeemeth good to him, he is gracious and merciful. O ye that believe in God! Unbelievers are unclean, permit not that they enter into the Temple of *Mecca* after this year, if ye have apprehenſion of want, God ſhall enrich you with his Grace, if it pleaſe him, he is Omniſcient and moſt prudent. Fight againſt them that believe not in God, nor the Day of Judgment, that forbid not to act what God hath prohibited, and his Prophet hath forbidden, and that judge not according to the Law of truth, wherein they were inſtructed, who heretofore received the written Law: they chuſe rather to pay Tribute, than to be converted, therefore are they contemptible. The *Jews* have ſaid, that the Son of God is moſt powerful; the *Chriſtians*, that the *Meſſiah* is the Son of God; their words are like to the words of the Infidels that preceded them, but God ſhall lay upon them his curſe. Conſider how they blaſpheme; they adore their Doctors, and Prieſts, and the *Meſſiah* alſo, the Son of *Mary*; who commanded them to worſhip one God alone, there is but one ſole God: praiſed be God, there is nothing equal to him; they would extinguiſh the light of God with their mouth, but he ſhall not ſuffer them; he ſhall cauſe it to appear, notwithſtanding it be vexatious to the Infidels. He hath ſent his Prophet to conduct Men into the right way, to preach the Law of Truth, and to make it eminent above all other Laws of the World, againſt the Will of Idolaters. O ye that truly believe! many of the Doctors and Prieſts eat unprofitably the ſubſtance of the people, and divert them from the Law of God: declare to ſuch as treaſure up, and expend nothing in Pious works, they ſhall ſuffer great torments at the day when the fire of Hell ſhall be kindled upon them, it ſhall burn their Forehead, ſides, and back, it ſhall be ſaid to them, behold the wealth which ye have treaſured up for your Souls, taſte the fruits of your Treaſures, which ye have amaſſed. When God created the Heaven and the Earth, he ordained the year of twelve Months, amongſt which four are priviledged. Offend not God, eſpecially in thoſe Months; fight at all times againſt Unbelievers, as they will fight againſt you, and know that God is with them that have his fear before their eyes. Sloth and forgetfulneſs abound in impiety; God miſleadeth through negligence the Unbelievers, that prefer one Month to another, in imitation of what is commanded: they permit to do what God hath forbidden, and delight in the Malice of their Actions, but God is not the guide of the wicked. O ye that believe! wherefore have ye inclined to the Earth? Why did ye prefer the wealth of this World to that of Paradiſe; when you were commanded to go forth of your Houſes to fight for the Law of God? The Riches of this World are contemptible, if you conſider thoſe of Heaven; if you leave not your Houſes to fight with the Prophet, God ſhall ſeverely puniſh you, and put other Perſons in your places; you ſhall not protect the Prophet, God alone is his Protector; he protected him when he went out of *Mecca*; he, with his Companion, they being both in a Cave, he ſaid to his Companion, afflict not thy ſelf, God is with us; He hath defended, and ſuccoured us by inviſible Troops; he hath debaſed the word of Unbelievers, and exalted that of true Believers; he is Omnipotent and wiſe. Fight according to your power for the Law of God, you ſhall do well if you have knowledge to underſtand it; if you require the wealth of this World, Honour, and Reputation, they are not far from you, they follow you at hand, but the puniſhment of Crimes and Miſery are as yet far remote of Infidels; they ſwear by the Name of God, that they were unable to go out of *Mecca* with the Prophet, in which they deſtroy their Souls, for God knoweth them to be Lyars: excuſe them not, that thou knoweſt not them that ſpoke truth, and thoſe that were Lyars. True Believers will not excuſe themſelves from fighting, or employing their wealth and Perſons for the Law of God; he knoweth ſuch as fear him. They that believe not in God, neither the Day of Judgment, refuſe to go with thee, they doubt the Myſteries of Faith, but ſhall continue in their doubt, to their confuſion; had they inclined to go out againſt the Enemy, they had Arms to perform it; God contemned their going out, rendred them negligent, and cauſed them to remain with the ſick, the Women, and Children; had they gone forth with you, they had brought with them more of diſorder than affection to the Service of his Divine Majeſty; they hate you, nevertheleſs you hearken to them: God knoweth them that are to blame, they hated thee heretofore, accuſed thee of their miſchief, until, through the permiſſion of God, the truth appeared againſt their Will; many of them ſaid, excuſe us, and ſcandalize us not, and they fell themſelves into ſcandal, and impiety: but Hell is the Habitation of thoſe wicked Perſons; if good happen to you, they are diſcontented; if evil befal you, they ſay, they took heed to themſelves, and foreſaw it, and depart from you with joy; ſay unto them, nothing befel us, but what God had ordained, he is our Lord; all true Believers are reſigned to the Will of his Divine Majeſty; ſay unto them, will ye expect, that one of the two Graces (either Victory, or Martyrdom) befal us? we will expect with you, until God hath chaſtiſed you by our hands; expect, we will expect with you: ſay unto them, expend through force or affection for the glory of God; your works ſhall not be accepted of him, becauſe you are Infidels, your Alms ſhall be unprofitable, for that you believe not in God, nor in his Prophet; ye praiſe not God, but with negligence, and with regret for what you ſpend for his Service. Be not then amazed at the quantity of their Treaſures, neither the number of their Children; God ſhall make uſe of them to puniſh them in this World, and ſhall deſtroy them with their wickedneſs. They ſwear by the name of God, that they are yours, and are not, and fear to be diſcovered; if they meet with any Den, Cave, or Houſe, wherein to hide them, they ſpeedily repair thither. There be of them that ſay, it is ignominious to give Alms; if they give Alms it is with Choler; if they gave them for the love of God and his Prophet, they would ſay, God is our Benefactor; he will give us through his Grace, and to the Prophet, whatſoever ſhall be neceſſary, our hope is in him. Alms are appointed for the poor, for them that

See *Gelaldin.*

recommend themſelves to God, to redeem Slaves, for ſuch as are in Debt, and neceſſitous, God knoweth all things, and is moſt prudent in what he ordaineth. There be among them, who deprave the Prophet, and ſay, he ſhall underſtand what we ſay; ſay unto them, ſhould it be to you a great advantage to hear well? The Prophet believeth in God, and teacheth true Believers the Truth; the mercy of God is for them that believe in his Divine Majeſty; Such as detract from the Prophet, ſhall feel grievous torments; they ſwear by the Name of God, that they deſire to content God, and his Prophet; it is reaſonable that they content them, if they be good Men; know they not, that ſuch as tranſgreſs the Will of God, and that of his Prophet, ſhall be eternally damned? The wicked fear leſt God ſhould diſcover to the righteous the Malice that they conceal in their Souls, and that they contemn them; Say unto them, ye ſhall be contemned, for God bringeth to light what you fear. If you queſtion them concerning what they ſay, they will anſwer for excuſe, that they had no evil intent, and that they but jeaſt; ſay unto them, will you jeaſt with God, with his Commandments, and his Prophets? There is none excuſe for you, ye are truely impious; if God pardon any one of you, he ſhall rigorouſly puniſh ſuch as perſiſt to offend him. The wicked teach among them impiety to their Poſterity, they depart from the truth; they go hand in hand, and agree to diſobey God; they forget God, and God forgetteth them; he hath prepared Hell for them, where they ſhall remain eternally; he hath Curſed them, and they ſhall feel the torment of infinite pains. The wicked that were before you, ſhall undergo them like you, they were more powerful than you, they poſſeſſed ſtore of wealth, and had many Children, they poſſeſſed part of their ſubſtance, and ye poſſeſs yours, as did your Predeceſſours; ye were plunged in impiety, as they were plunged; but the good works that they have done in this World, ſhall be to them unprofitable, and at the Day of Judgment, they ſhall be in the number of the miſerable. Have they not known the Hiſtory of their Predeceſſours; the Hiſtory of the people of *Noah*, of *Aad*, of *Temod*, of *Abraham*, and the Cities that were ſubverted? The Prophets preached to them the Commandments of God, who did to them no injuſtice; they drew affliction on themſelves, through the Enormity of their Crimes. The true Believers mutually obey each other; they command to do what things are honeſt, prohibit to act what is not approved; they make their Prayers at the time appointed, diſtribute Tithes, obey God and his Prophet; God ſhall remit to them their ſins, he is Omnipotent, and hath promiſed to them Gardens, wherein flow many Rivers, and an Habitation full of content in *Eden*; he hath promiſed them his Grace, which is the perfection of felicity. O Prophet! fight againſt the Infidels, fortifie thy ſelf againſt them, Hell ſhall be their Habitation; they ſhall ſwear by the Name of God, that they have not traduced thee; nevertheleſs they have detracted and uttered words full of impiety: they have denied to have been enriched through the grace of God, and of his Prophet; if they turn, they ſhall do well; if they abandon the Faith, God ſhall puniſh them in this World, and in the other, with grievous torments, and on Earth they ſhall find no Protector; there be of them, who have inclined to capitulate with God, and have ſaid, if God doth good to us, we will believe in him; when he did good to them, they were Niggards, and avaritious; they have erred, and diſobeyed his Commandments, but he chaſtiſed them, becauſe of their impiety; he hath imprinted it in their hearts until the Day of Judgment, for that they have diſobeyed him, becauſe they violated their Promiſes, and by reaſon of their Lies; know they not that God underſtandeth what they conceal in their hearts? and that he knoweth what is preſent, paſt, and future? There be of them, who deride the true Believers, that give Alms according to their power; God ſhall deride them, and they ſhall feel the rigour of eternal pains; implore pardon for them, or implore it not, when thou ſhalt beg ſixty and ten times pardon for them, God ſhall not pardon them, becauſe they are ingrateful towards him, and his Prophet, God doth not guide them that diſobey him; they rejoyced to be left behind the Prophet, when he went to fight for the Service of God, they had an averſion to fight, and employ their Perſons and Goods for the Service of his Divine Majeſty; they ſaid, we will not go out of our Houſes with this heat; ſay to them, Hell is much more hot, could you comprehend; they ſhall laugh a little in this World, and ſhall weep much in the other, for a puniſhment of their ſins. If thou meet them, and they demand permiſſion to go out with thee, to fight for the Faith; ſay unto them, you ſhall not go out, neither ſhall ye ever fight againſt the Enemy with me, ye were ſlothful and Cowards the firſt time, remain with the Unbelievers; pray not for them after their Death, and ſtay not at their Tombs, becauſe they believed neither in God, nor his Prophet, and died in their wickedneſs. Be thou not aſtoniſhed, neither at the abundance of their wealth, nor the number of their Children, God will make uſe of them, to chaſtiſe them in this World, and will deſtroy them in their impiety. When command was ſent to them to believe in God, and fight with his Prophet, the moſt powerful among them deſired thee to excuſe them, and ſaid, leave us with them that continue in their Houſes, and deſire to remain with the ſick, the Women and little Children: God hardened their hearts, and they ſhall never learn the truth. The Prophet and true Believers that were with them, and fought, and employed their Perſons, and goods for the Service of God, ſhall be bleſſed; he hath prepared for them Gardens, wherein flow many Rivers, with perfection of felicity. Some of the *Arabians* came to excuſe themſelves of going to the War, and ſuch as renounced God and the Prophet, remained in their Houſes, but they ſhall reſent grievous torments, becauſe of their wickedneſs; the ſick, the impotent, and thoſe that want means to be preſent at the War, offend not God in abiding in their Houſes, provided they be faithful to his Divine Majeſty, and his Prophet. The righteous are not obliged to do but what is in their power, God ſhall be to them gracious and merciful. Such as repaired to thee to fight, and whom thou didſt diſmiſs for want of occaſion, did not offend God; they returned to their Houſes with tears in their eyes, with diſcontent to have wanted means to employ in the Service of his Divine Majeſty, the War is appointed to ſuch as intreat thee to exempt them that are rich, and

Benou, Moren.

and have wealth to ſubſiſt, they require leave to remain with their Wives and Children, God hath hardned their hearts, and they know it not; they ſhall come to excuſe themſelves, when thou ſhalt meet them; Say unto them, excuſe not your ſelves, I do not believe you, God hath given us to underſtand your News, he and his Prophet likewiſe hath rendred your good works vain and unprofitable; ye ſhall one day appear before him that knoweth what is paſt, preſent, and future, he ſhall cauſe you to remember whatſoever you have done, and ſhall puniſh you according to your demerits. They ſhall conjure you by the Name of God, when you approach them, to depart from them; depart from them, they are full of uncleanneſs, Hell ſhall be their Habitation, where they ſhall be tormented for their Crimes. They ſhall beſeech you to love them; if you love them, know, that God abhorreth them that diſobey him: The *Arabians*, who obſerve not the Precepts which God hath ſent to his Prophet; are ye more impious and ingrateful? God knoweth all things, and is moſt prudent. There be Perſons among the *Arabians*, who account it loſt Money that they expend for the Service of God, and protract their departure, to retard yours, and make you to attend; the Wheel of miſery is upon them, God underſtandeth whatever they ſay; and knoweth all their Actions; there be among them who believe in God, and the Day of Judgment; they eſteem that their expence for the Service of God draweth them nigh to his Divine Majeſty, and they invite the Prophet to pray for them, God ſhall give them his mercy, he is gracious and merciful to them that obey him. They that firſt arrived at *Medina*, the firſt of them that went out of *Mecca*, to depart from the wicked, ſuch as were at the Battel of *Beder*, and ſuch as imitated them in well doing, ſhall injoy the Grace of God, he hath prepared for them Gardens, wherein flow many Rivers, with ſupreme felicity. There be *Arabians* about you, and in *Medina*, they affect impiety; you know them not, but I know them all, I will chaſtiſe them twice on Earth, (to wit, through Ignominy and death) and they ſhall feel in the other World exceeding great torments. Others there be, that confeſs their ſins, and who do good and evil works; peradventure God will pardon them, he is altogether gracious and merciful; take of their ſubſtance for Alms, thou ſhalt render them righteous, and ſhalt purifie them, pray for them, thy Prayers ſhall procure them the mercy of God, he underſtandeth and knoweth all things. Know they not, that God accepteth the converſion of his Creatures, that their Alms are pleaſing to him, and that he is gracious and merciful? Say unto them, do what ſhall pleaſe you; God, his Prophet, and the true Believers ſhall ſee what you do, you ſhall one day appear before him, who knoweth the preſent, paſt, and future; he ſhall make you to know whatſoever ye have done, and ſhall chaſtiſe you after your demerits. There be others that attend the pleaſure of God, either his grace, or his wrath, his puniſhment, or his mercy, God underſtandeth what is in their Souls, and is moſt wiſe. They that eſteemed, that the Temple built by Unbelievers, to reduce the righteous, to diſtinguiſh the wicked from the good, and to obſerve ſuch as had before fought againſt God, and againſt his Prophet, is the Temple of his Divine Majeſty, ſwear that they deſire to do well, and that their intention is moſt honeſt, but they are Lyars, and God ſhall be witneſs of their falſhood; make not thy Prayers in that Temple, make thy Prayers in the Temple founded on the fear of God, that is reaſonable; there be Perſons in that Temple who deſire to be purified, God loveth ſuch as have a clean Soul; Who is he that buildeth beſt, he that foundeth his building upon the fear of God, or he who layeth the Foundation of his building upon the brink of a Ditch of Sand, which falleth, and ruineth it ſelf? They who eſteem the Temple built by Unbelievers, to ſeduce the people, to be the Temple of God, ſhall be with that Temple, and with the Infidels, that built it, burnt in the fire of Hell; God guideth not the unjuſt, their building ſhall ſerve only to torment them, God knoweth their deſign; and is moſt wiſe; he purchaſeth of true Believers their Souls and Goods, and giveth them Paradiſe; if they be ſlain, or if they ſlay when they ſhall fight for the Faith, they ſhall have what he hath promiſed to them in the Old Teſtament, the Goſpel, and in the *Alcoran*: Who better ſatisfieth what he hath promiſed, than God? Declare to them that they have made a good purchace, they have gained the height of Felicity. Such as are firm in their Faith, who pray, honour, and worſhip God, who obſerve his Commandments, and all true Believers, ſhall enjoy the delights of Paradiſe, with all manner of content. The Prophet, and true Believers ought not to ask pardon of God for Infidels, notwithſtanding they be their Parents; having had knowledge that they are damned, becauſe of their infidelity. *Abraham* prayed not for his Father, untill he had promiſed him to adore one God alone; when he knew his Father to be an Enemy to God, he declared himſelf an Enemy to his ſin, he ceaſed praying for him, although he was exceeding charitable, and patient in his afflictions. God miſ-leadeth not them that he hath put into the right way, he giveth them to underſtand what they ought to do, he knoweth them that deſerve to be ſeduced, and ſuch as merit to be guided through the right way. The Kingdom of Heaven and Earth is Gods, he giveth life and death to whom he ſeeth good: Who except God ſhall protect you? he hath given his Grace to the Prophet, and to ſuch as followed him in his affliction, although it wanted but a little, that the hearts of many of them inclined not to the party of the Unbelievers, but he pardoneth them; he hath been gracious and merciful to three Perſons who deſerted the Prophet, and were ſorry for their Errour, they knew there was no ſure refuge, but in God, he pardoned them, when they were converted, he is gracious and merciful to ſuch as repent. O ye that believe! Fear God, be righteous; the Inhabitants of *Medina*, and the *Arabians*, that dwell about that City, ought not to contradict the Will of the Prophet of God, neither diſlike what he approveth, becauſe they have endured neither thirſt, nor pain, nor anguiſh for the Service of his Divine Majeſty; they have not been trampled under foot by their Enemies, they ſhall irritate the Infidels, and ſhall receive no diſpleaſure; on the contrary, they ſhall acquire merit, and perform a good work. God doth not deprive them of recompence that do well, he ſhall write down

Kiab bin Malik, Helal bin Aumibe, Meſarabe bin Rabia.

their expence for his Service, and the number of the Idols that they ſhall deſtroy, for reward of their good works. It is not neceſſary that all the faithful go to the War, it is ſufficient, that of every Lineage, and of every Nation there go a party, while the reſt ſhall learn the Laws and Myſteries of Faith, to inſtruct their Companions, when they ſhall return from their Voyage, perhaps they will fear the chaſtiſement of God. O ye that believe in God! fight againſt them that would cauſe you to be defiled in impiety, be valiant, and know that God is with them that have his fear before their eyes. When God cauſed to deſcend from Heaven, any Chapter of the *Alcoran*, ſome of them ſaid, through diſdain, that will encreaſe the Faith of this people. Certainly it augmenteth the Faith of true Believers, it rejoyceth them, and enflameth the wrath of his Divine Majeſty upon Infidels, who perſiſt in their pollutions, and dye in their wickedneſs. They know not that God tryeth the good, once, or twice a year, they will not be converted, it is loſt time to preach to them. When God ſent from Heaven any Chapter of the *Alcoran*, they beheld each others, and ſaid, doth any one ſee us? They returned in their impiety, and God turned their heart from the right way, for that they would not learn the Truth. God hath ſent you a Prophet of your own Nation, who, with Paſſion, deſireth to deliver you from your obſtinacy, and is extreamly affected to inſtruct you in the way of Salvation, God is mild, and pitiful towards true Believers. If they abandon the Faith, ſay unto them, God is my Protector, there is but one ſole God, I recommend my ſelf to the Will of his Divine Majeſty, he is the Lord of the Majeſtick Throne.

CHAP. X.

The Chapter of Jonas, *containing an hundred and nine Verſes written at* Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful; I am God the merciful. The Precepts contained in this Book proceed from the Omnipotent; Doth the people wonder that we have inſpired a Man to preach to the wicked the torments of Hell, and to declare to true Believers, that they ſhall find true what their Lord to them hath promiſed? The wicked ſay, that it is but Sorcery and enchantment. Certainly God is your Lord, who created Heaven and Earth in ſix days, and ſitteth on his Thone, diſpoſing all things; no Man interceedeth for his Neighbour without his permiſſion, he is your God and your Lord, worſhip him alone, will ye not conſider it? you all ſhall be one day aſſembled before him; he promiſed with truth, that he will cauſe Men to dye, and raiſe them again, to recompence ſuch as have believed in his Law, and done good works: The Unbelievers ſhall drink a boyling drink, and ſhall endure great torments, becauſe of their impiety. He it is that gave light to the Sun, and brightneſs to the Moon, that created the ſigns to know the number of years, the account of Months, and of whatſoever he hath created, theſe things teach with truth, the Miracles of his Divine Majeſty, to ſuch as have knowledge to underſtand them; the difference of Day and of Night, and what God hath created in Heaven and in Earth, are marks of his Unity to them that have his fear before their eyes. They who believe there is no Reſurrection, ſuch as place their content in the wealth of this World, they that truſt in their Riches, and that are ignorant of the Commandments of God ſhall be precipitated into the fire of Hell, becauſe of their ſins, and the true Believers ſhall be conducted by his Divine Majeſty into delicious Gardens, wherein flow many Rivers, they ſhall there find whatſoever they ſhall deſire, and ſhall ſay at the beginning of their Prayers, praiſed be God; afterwards they ſhall ſay, Salvation be to God; and at the end of their Prayers, praiſe be to God, Lord of the Univerſe. Although God doth ſometimes ſuddenly chaſtiſe Men, he always attendeth the time of their Deſtiny. I will leave them that ſhall not believe in the Reſurrection, in their Errours, to their confuſion; When Man is afflicted, he invoketh us ſtanding, ſitting, lying, and in all poſtures, and when we have delivered him from his affliction, he perſiſteth in his wickedneſs. It ſeemeth good to the wicked to do in this manner, we deſtroyed their Predeceſſours when they believed not in the Prophets, neither obeyed the Precepts that we ſent them, and have eſtabliſhed you on the Earth in their place after them, to ſee your Deportments. When thou teacheſt our Commandments to them that believe not in the Reſurrection; they ſay, that the Precepts of the *Alcoran* are altogether contrary to what thou preacheſt, and that thou haſt altered them; Say unto them, I have no Will to alter them of my ſelf, I do but what is inſpired into me of God, I fear to be puniſhed at the Day of Judgment, ſhould I diſobey his Divine Majeſty; Say unto them, Had it pleaſed God, I had neither read, nor taught you his Commandments, I ſojourned a long time with you, before I taught you, will you not learn them? Who is more unjuſt than he that blaſphemeth? God doth not aid the Infidels that worſhip what can neither benefit nor hurt them, and ſay, their Idols ſhall intercede for them; will you inſtruct God in any thing that he knoweth not, of what is in Heaven or in Earth? Praiſed be God, he hath no Companion. Men were all of one Religion before Infidelity took place, and if God had not ſaid that he would defer the puniſhment of the wicked until the Day of Judgment, he had already deſtroyed them in this World, becauſe of their impiety; They ſay, we will not believe in the Prophet, if God make not ſome Miracles to appear in him; Say unto them, God knoweth what ſhall be; expect, I will expect with you: When we gave them to taſte of content after their affliction, they had ſubtilty upon our Commandments: Say unto them, God is more ſubtile than you, his Meſſengers ſhall write your ſubtilties; he it is that made Men to travel upon the Earth and Sea; It is he that ſendeth them a favourable wind to rejoyce them in their Ships; when Tempeſt ſurprizeth them, they believe that the Waves will overwhelm them, then they invoke God, with deſire to embrace his Law, and ſay, if God doth deliver us from this danger, we will believe in his Unity, and return him thanks for this mercy; and being delivered from

peril,

peril, perſiſt in their wickedneſs. O People! you draw miſchief on your ſelves, you require nothing but the wealth of this World, you all ſhall appear before us to be judged according to your works; the life of the World is like to the Rain, which we cauſe to deſcend from Heaven, it cauſeth with mixture all ſorts of herbage to ſpring forth, for the nouriſhment of Men, and Beaſts. When the Earth is adorned with Flowers, and enriched with its Fruits, the Inhabitants oftentimes believe they have the power to cauſe their production; then ſend we our chaſtiſements Day and Night upon the Earth, and render it as mown, and as if the Day before it had brought no Fruit. Thus do I diſcover Myſteries to ſuch as have knowledge to comprehend them. They beg their Salvation of God; he ſaveth and putteth in the way of Salvation whom it pleaſeth him. He ſhall not cover the Viſage of them that have done good works, they ſhall appear without ſhame, and dwell in Paradiſe, where they ſhall remain eternally; and ſuch as ſhall have done evil ſhall be puniſhed after their demerits, they ſhall be covered with ſhame, and none ſhall be able to protect them, they ſhall be as if a great part of the obſcurity of the Night had covered their countenance, they ſhall be condemned to the fire of Hell, where they ſhall dwell eternally. Think on the Day, wherein we will aſſemble all the World, and will ſay to the Infidels, Hell ſhall be your habitation; where be the Idols you adored? we have ſeparated you from each other. Their Idols ſhall ſay to them, You have not worſhipped us, God is witneſs; was there any thing between us and you, that rendred us ignorant of your adorations? That Day ſhall every one ſee what he hath done, and know that God is Truth it ſelf; their Idols ſhall be ſeparated far from them, and they ſhall underſtand their blaſphemies. Say unto them, who enricheth you with the wealth of Heaven and Earth? Who cauſeth life to come out of death, and death out of life? Who diſpoſeth all things in the World? They ſhall anſwer, it is God: Say unto them, why have you not therefore his fear before your eyes? God is indeed your Lord; what is there after the Truth, but falſhood? How will you depart from his Law? his Word ſhall be accompliſhed againſt Infidels. Say unto them, Have your Idols the power to cauſe Men to die, and to make them riſe again? God cauſeth them to die, and to riſe again; how ſhall they be able to blaſpheme after theſe reaſons? Say unto them, Are your Idols able to conduct you into the right way? God guideth the People into the way of Salvation; who ought rather to be followed, he that guideth the People into the right way, or he that miſleadeth them? What reaſon have ye to follow the evil way? The greateſt part of them follow but their own opinion, but their opinion is not conformable to the Truth; God knoweth all their actions, there is no falſhood in the *Alcoran*, it confirmeth the ancient Scriptures, and perſpicuouſly explaineth them; there is no doubt, but it proceedeth from the Lord of the Univerſe. They ſay *Mahomet* hath invented this Book; ſay unto them, Come and bring any thing that reſembleth it in Doctrine and Eloquence, and call the Idols which ye adore, we ſhall ſee if you are ſincere; on the contrary, they have blaſphemed, and have talked of what they underſtood not, when they heard the expoſition of the *Alcoran*: Thus did their Predeceſſors; but conſider what is the end of the unjuſt; There be among them, who will believe in this Book, and others that will not believe; Thy Lord knoweth them that defile the Earth; if they ſlander thee, ſay unto them, I will anſwer with my actions, and ye ſhall anſwer with yours, ye are innocent of what I act, and I am innocent of what ye do. There be perſons among them that have inclination to hear thee, but art thou able to cauſe the deaf to hear? Should they not be deaf, they would learn nothing; Others there be, who look toward thee, but art thou able to guide the blind? ſhould they ſee clearly, they would not follow the right way; God doth no injuſtice to Men, they do injury to themſelves, through the enormity of their offences. I will cauſe them to riſe again at the Day of Judgment, as if they had remained but one hour of a day in the Grave; they ſhall know each other, and the wicked who have not believed in the Reſurrection, ſhall be damned: I will ſhew thee many of them whom I will chaſtiſe; I will cauſe thee to die before they be chaſtiſed, and they all ſhall appear before me to be judged; God is witneſs of their actions, he ſhall puniſh them according to their demerits; every Nation of the World hath had a Prophet ſent from God, who hath judged with reaſon, and without injuſtice, the differences that were among them touching Religion: They have ſaid, at what time ſhall the wrath of God appear? Say unto them, I, of my ſelf, can neither procure good nor evil, if God doth not permit it; every one hath his deſtiny, when the time of their deſtiny arriveth, they can neither retard, or advance it one hour. Have ye conſidered the puniſhment which God heretofore ſent, by day, and by night againſt the wicked? When ye felt it, ye believed it, and fell into it headlong. It ſhall be ſaid to the wicked at the Day of Judgment, taſte eternal torments, ſhall you not be puniſhed according to your demerits? They will aſk of thee, if the pains denounced againſt the wicked, and if the Reſurrection be matters of Truth? Say unto them, yes, my Lord is moſt exact in his words, and all the Treaſures of the World ſhall not be able to redeem one Soul. They ſhall repent of their ſins, when they ſhall feel the puniſhment of their offences, but ſhall be condemned without injuſtice; whatſoever is in Heaven and in Earth appertaineth to God, he is exact in his Promiſe, yet the greateſt part of the World do not know him. He it is who cauſeth to die, and giveth life, and ſhall aſſemble Men at the Day of Judgment. O People! God hath ſent you inſtructions, and remedies for your infirmities; he hath ſent a guide to conduct true believers into the way of his mercy; it ſhall be to them of more advantage, than the treaſures that they accumulate: Have ye conſidered the good things which he hath created for you? Ye have appointed one part to be eaten, and have prohibited to eat of another: Hath God permitted you to blaſpheme againſt him? The opinion of ſuch as blaſpheme againſt God, ſhall be but miſery at the Day of Judgment; God is full of goodneſs for the people, but moſt of them are ingrateful. In whatſoever place thou

art, whether thou teach what is contained in the *Alcoran*, or whether thou labour, I am always preſent, nothing is concealed from thy Lord, of whatſoever is in Heaven and Earth; be it great or little, all is written in the intelligible Book, that explaineth all things. There needeth no fear for ſuch as recommend themſelves to God, they ſhall be exempt from the pains of Hell. The true believers who have his fear before their eyes, ſhall ſuffer no torments in the other World; it is declared to them on Earth, that they ſhall have all content, the word of God admits of no alteration; they ſhall enjoy perfection of felicity in Paradiſe. Afflict not thy ſelf for the words of the impious, vertue proceedeth from God, he underſtandeth, and knoweth all things; whatſoever is in Heaven and in Earth appertaineth to him: They who worſhip Idols, follow but their opinion, and are lyars; God hath created the night for repoſe, and the day for labour; ſuch as hear his Word, find therein marks of his Omnipotency. They have ſaid, Do ye believe that God hath a Son? Praiſed be God, he is moſt rich, and hath no need of any perſon, he poſſeſſeth whatſoever is in Heaven, and Earth; you have no reaſon in what ye alledge; will you ſpeak of God what ye know not? God doth not aid in this World them that blaſpheme againſt him, he ſhall cauſe them to feel after their death great torments, becauſe of their impiety: Inſtruct them in the Hiſtory of *Noah*, how he ſpake to *his People*, and ſaid, O People! if my abode with you, and the preaching of the Commandments of God be irkſom to you, know, that all my ſupport is in God; aſſemble your Doctors, with your Idols, and conceal not what ye do; go whither you will, ye ſhall find none to protect you; if ye contemn my inſtructions, I require not of you a reward for my pains; I deſire to receive of none other than God the Omnipotent, and recommend my ſelf to the will of his Divine Majeſty. They ſlandered *Noah*, then did we ſave him in the Ark, and them that were with him; we prolonged their poſterity on Earth, and drowned the wicked; conſider the end of ſuch as heard the Word of God, and contemned it. We ſent to them other Prophets after *Noah*, they made them to ſee Miracles, and gave them moſt ſalutary inſtructions; but they did not believe in what they had no will before to believe. Thus I harden the heart of the wicked. We after them, ſent *Moſes* to *Pharoah*, and his Subjects, with our miracles they aroſe againſt our Commandments, when the truth was preached to them, and ſaid, it was but Magick and Enchantment. *Moſes* ſaid to them, Will you ſay that the Truth is Sorcery? God doth not aſſiſt Magicians and Sorcerers; they ſaid, Art thou, with thy Brother, come to divert us from the Religion of our Fathers, and to be eſteemed on Earth? We will believe in thy words. Then *Pharaoh* commanded to ſummon the moſt skilful of his Magicians; they being aſſembled, *Moſes* ſaid to them, caſt down what ye have a will to caſt down on the ground; having caſt down their Cords and Staves, *Moſes* ſaid to them, know ye none other thing but Magick? God ſhall render it vain, and unprofitable; he abhoreth ſuch as defile the Earth, he confirmeth the Truth through his Word, although it be againſt the will of the wicked; Few Men believed in *Moſes*, becauſe of their fear to diſpleaſe *Pharaoh*, and his Miniſters; *Pharaoh* was powerful on Earth, and in the number of the wicked. *Moſes* ſaid, O People! if ye believe in God, reſign your ſelves to his will; they anſwered, All our confidence is in God; Lord, do not thou abandon us to the malice of the unjuſt; deliver us through thy mercy from the hands of Infidels. We inſpired *Moſes* and his Brother to dwell ſome time in *Egypt* with their people, and to make Oratories in their Houſes, therein to make their prayers, and preach to true believers. Lord, ſaid *Moſes*, thou haſt enriched *Pharaoh* and his people in this World; they go aſtray from the way of thy Law; confound their riches, and harden your hearts, they will not believe until they ſee thy judgments, and feel the effect of thy wrath; he ſaid, I have heard the prayers of you both; be faithful in your Embaſſie, and follow not the way of the ignorant. We gave paſſage through the Sea to the Children of *Iſrael*; *Pharaoh* purſued them with hatred and envy, until his people were drowned. Then ſaid *Pharaoh*, believe there is none other God, but the God of the Children of *Iſrael*, and I wholly recommend my ſelf to his Will. Thou doſt now believe in God, O *Pharaoh*! and wert before diſobedient to his Commands, filling the Earth with they enormities, I have delivered thee from this peril, that thou maiſt be an example to poſterity; for many among the people are ignorant of my Omnipotency. We gave the Children of *Iſrael* to dwell in places full of delights, and enriched them with the good things of the Earth; they knew the differences that aroſe among them touching Religion, thy Lord ſhall judge them at the Day of Judgment. If thou doubteſt what we have taught thee, repair to them that have read the Scripture before thee; what thy Lord hath taught thee is moſt true; be not thou of them that doubt, neither of ſuch as derogate from the Commandments of God, thou ſhalt be in the number of the wretched. Thoſe whom God will chaſtiſe, ſhall not believe in his Divine Majeſty, ſhould they behold all the miracles of the World, until they ſee the torments of Hell. The faith is exceeding profitable to the Cities that have received it; when the Inhabitants of the City of *Jonas* embraced it, we delivered them from our puniſhment, we delivered them from ignominy, and enriched them until the time appointed; if it pleaſed thy Lord, all the World ſhould believe in him; wilt thou abhor the People until they believe in God? No Man can embrace the faith without his permiſſion, he ſendeth his indignation againſt them that diſobey his Commandments: Say unto them, Conſider all that is in Heaven and Earth, miracles and preaching are of no uſe to ſuch as will not believe; ſhall they expect what their Predeceſſors expected? Say unto them, expect I will expect with you. I will deliver my Prophets, and the true believers, from the torments of Hell, it is reaſonable that I deliver them that obey my Commandments. O People! who cauſeth you to doubt of the Law which I teach you? I will not worſhip the Idols that you adore, I worſhip one God alone, who ſhall cauſe you all to dye; I will

embrace

embrace his Law, it commandeth to profess his Unity, I am not of them that say, he hath a Companion equal to him. Adore not what can neither benefit, nor hurt thee, if thou do it, thou shalt be in the number of the unjust. If God will afflict thee, none can deliver thee from affliction; if God will do good to thee, none can deprive thee of his grace, he hath given it to whom seemeth good to himself, he is gracious and merciful. O people! God teacheth you the truth; whosoever shall follow the right way, shall save his Soul, and whosoever shall go astray, shall destroy it. I am not your Tutor, I do but what is inspired into me; I have patience in my perseverance, I will expect the judgment of God, there is no better Judge than he.

CHAP. XI.

The Chapter of Hod, *containing an hundred twenty and three Verses, written at* Mecca.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful: I am the merciful God. The signs contained in this Book, are most true, they proceed from the most wise, who knoweth all things. Worship ye but one God alone, I preach to you from him the torments of Hell, and declare the Joys of Paradise, that ye may implore pardon of his Divine Majesty, and be converted; he shall give you an happy Life in the World, until the time appointed, and shall reward every one according to his works. I fear, lest you should be chastised at the Day of Judgment; if you forsake the right way, you all shall be assembled before God to be judged. The heart of the impious inclined to hatred of the Prophet, and they would have concealed themselves for some time from God; they are covered with their garments, that they may not be known, but God knoweth what is in their Souls, he understandeth whatsoever they conceal, and whatsoever they make manifest. All the Creatures of the World live of his grace, he knoweth the place of their repair, and the place where they must die, all is written in an intelligible Book, that explaineth all things. He it is that created Heaven and Earth in six days, his Throne was before upon the Waters (the *Alcoran*) exhorteth you to well-doing. If thou saist to the wicked, that they shall rise again after their Death, they will say, it is but Witchcraft and Sorcery; if we retard some time to chastise them, they say, there is no punishment for their crimes; but they shall not avoid it, in the day when it shall appear, and they shall feel the rigour of the pains which they contemn. If we confer riches, and health on the impious, and deprive them of them, they despair in their impiety; if we give them good after their evil, they say, misery hath forsaken them, they rejoyce, and become arrogant. Such as are humble and patient in their afflictions, and do good works, shall obtain pardon of their sins, and a very great reward. Perhaps thou wilt forget to teach something of what I have inspired into thee, and be afflicted, because they say, that what thou speakest shall bring thee no profit. Certainly, thou art sent only to reprove them of their sin, thy Lord is Omnipotent, and shall chastise them after their demerits. Assuredly, they will say, thou hast * forged the *Alcoran*, and that it is of thy invention; Say unto them, Come and bring with you ten Chapters of your invention, like to the *Alcoran* in instruction and eloquence, and call to your aid the Idols that ye adore; if you be righteous, if they hear not your prayers, neither afford you succours, know then, that the *Alcoran* descended from Heaven, through Gods permission, and that there is but one sole God, will ye not trust in him? I will bestow the riches and honours of the Earth, on many persons that effect them, and in the end they shall be confined in the fire of Hell, and the good works that they shall do in this World, shall be unprofitable in the other. They who observe what God hath ordained, study the *Alcoran*, and believe that it proceedeth from his Divine Majesty, to teach the right way, and to obtain his mercy, as before it, was the Book of *Moses*. Such as shall believe in the *Alcoran*, shall be happy, doubtless the fire of Hell is prepared for the Infidels who will not believe therein, but the greatest part of the World is incredulous: who is more impious than they that blaspheme against God? Such Men shall not see his face; the Angels shall say, at the Day of Judgment, behold them that have been impious, a curse is upon them, and upon the unjust that have mis-led the people from the right way, they were indeed Infidels. Such Men shall not escape the punishment of their crimes on Earth, they shall find none that is able to protect them but God, he shall augment their pains, because they would not abandon their wickedness, neither receive the light of faith. Such are miserable Men, their Idols shall not afford them succors, they doubtless shall be eternally damned: and such as shall believe in God, do good works, and be converted, shall dwell for ever in Paradise. The wicked are as deaf, and blind, and the True Believers are like those who have good sight and perfect hearing; shall they be in parallel to each other? will ye never consider it? We sent *Noah* to reprove Men for their sins, he said to them, worship but one God alone; otherwise I fear ye shall be chastised at the Day of Judgment; The Doctors of the Infidels answered him, we see thee to be a Man, like us, and that such as follow thee are Poor People, blind, and without counsel; we perceive not that thou hast any grace, that ought to prefer thee to us; contrariwise, we believe thee to be a lyar; he said, O people! know ye not that God hath taught me what I preach to you, that he hath given me the grace of Prophecy, and deprived you of it? Shall I exhort you to acknowledge his grace, seeing you abhor him? O People! I require no recompence of you for my pains, God will reward me largely, I desire not to banish True Believers from my company, they shall one day appear before their Lord, but I perceive that ye are ignorant. O People! who shall hinder God to punish me, if I abuse True Believers? Will ye

See *Kitab el Tenoir.*

* *Controvè supra.*

ye not conſider it? I ſay not that I poſſeſs the treaſures of God, I know not what ſhall be; I ſay not that I am an Angel, I ſay not to them whom you contemn, that God ſhall enrich them, God knoweth what is in their Souls; ſhould I maintain ſuch diſcourſe, I ſhould have great blame. They ſaid, O *Noah*! we have a long time diſputed together; if thou art ſincere, let us ſee the pains which thou preacheſt to us; God, ſaid he, when it ſhall pleaſe him, ſhall cauſe you to ſee them, you ſhall not eſcape them, my inſtructions ſhall be to you unprofitable; if God will prove you, he is your Lord, and you ſhall one day be aſſembled before him to be judged. Will the unbelievers ſay, that thou haſt forged the *Alcoran*, and that it is of thine invention? Say unto them, if I have invented it, ſin will be upon me, and I am innocent of your blaſphemies. God inſpired into *Noah*, that none ſhould believe in his words, but ſuch as had already believed in him: He ſaid unto him, Build an Ark conformable to the inſpiration that we have ſent thee, but ſpeak no more to me of the unjuſt, they ſhall be drowned; the paſſengers derided him and his Ark; he ſaid to them, ye ſcoff at me, I will laugh at you, and we ſhall ſee them that ſhall beſt underſtand; he whom God ſhall chaſtiſe, ſhall be covered with ſhame, and perpetually tormented. When our will was to deſtroy that People, and the light of the morninng appeared, and the Water boyled in *Noah*'s Pot, we commanded him to charge his Ark with two Beaſts of every kind and Species; all creatures were deſtroyed, except thoſe, of whic we before made mention, as well ſuch as believed, as them that did not believe, and that but a few: *Noah* ſaid unto them, aſcend the Ark in the name of God, who ſhall cauſe it to ſwim, and to Anchor; the Lord is gracious and merciful towards us. When the Ark began to float, like to a Mountain, *Noah* called to one of his Sons who ſtayed on the Earth, and ſaid, my * Son, come up into the Ark with us, and remain not with the Infidels; he anſwered, I will aſcend an high Mountain, that ſhall ſave me from the Waters; *Noah* ſaid to him, none is able this day to deliver thee from the puniſhment of God, if it be not through his mercy; The Waters being riſen, he was in the number of them that were drowned: God commanded the Earth to drink its Water, and the Heavens to pour down no more Rain; the Water diminiſhed upon the Earth, after the People were drowned, and the Ark reſted upon the Mountain called *Gioudy*; thus were the unjuſt extirpated; *Noah* prayed to his Lord, and ſaid, Lord, my Son that remained in the Waters was of my Lineage, thou didſt promiſe me to ſave my Family, thou doſt exactly perform thy promiſe, thou art true in thy words, and moſt juſt in thine actions: O *Noah*! anſwered God, that Son is not of thy Linage, he hath offended me, and diſobeyed my Commandments, do not enquire of me concerning that which thou oughteſt not to know, otherwiſe thou ſhalt be in the number of the ignorant: Lord, ſaid *Noah*, I will take heed, through thine aſſiſtance, to enquire of thee what I ought not to know, if thou haſt not pity on me, I ſhall be in the number of the miſerable. God ſaid, O *Noah*! deſcend from the Ark with Salvation, and bleſſing upon thee, and upon a part of them that are with thee; I will enrich the other part with the wealth of this World, to puniſh them moſt ſeverely at the day of Judgment. I teach what ſhall be, what neither thou, nor thy people have not yet known; be patient in thine afflictions, Paradiſe is for them that have my fear before their eyes. We ſent *Hod* to the People of *Aad*, his Brother; ye ſaid unto them, O People! adore but one God alone, otherwiſe ye ſhall be in the number of Infidels, I require of you no recompence for the pains I take in preaching to you, he that created me, ſhall reward me; will ye never be wiſe? implore pardon of God, be converted, and obey his Divine will, he ſhall ſend you Rain from Heaven, and ſhall encreaſe your ſtrength, and riches, be not in the number of the wicked; they anſwered, O *Hod*! thou ſheweſt us no reaſons to prove thy ſayings, thy words ſhall not make us to quit our Gods, we give no credit to thy diſcourſe, and tell thee, that ſome one of our Gods ſhall ſeverely chaſtiſe thee; He ſaid, take God and your ſelves to witneſs that I am innocent of the ſin that you commit, in adoring Idols; if you conſpire againſt me, none ſhall be able to protect you at the Day of Judgment, I recommend my ſelf to the will of God, mine and your Lord, he conſerveth all the creatures of the Earth, and loveth them that follow the right way. I have diſcharged my duty and commiſſion, I have taught you what God commanded me, if you go aſtray, he ſhall eſtabliſh another people in your place, you do him no harm through your impiety, he exactly obſerveth whatſoever is done in the World. When we deſtroyed that people, we by our eſpecial grace delivered *Hod* from their malice, and all the True Believers, that were with him, we delivered them from great affliction. The people of *Aad* contemned the Commandments of God, and diſobeyed his Prophets, they followed the will of the obſtinate, were curſed in this World, and ſhall be acccurſed at the Day of Judgment, becauſe they diſobeyed his Divine Majeſty, with deſign to extirpate the people of *Hod*, his Brother. We ſent *Salhe* to *Temod*, his Brother, and his people; he ſaid to them, O people! worſhip one God alone, he it is who hath created you of the duſt of the Earth, and filled it with many ſorts of Fruits, that you might inhabit it; beg pardon of him, and be converted, he hearkeneth to his creatures, and heareth their prayers: they anſwered, O *Salhe*! it was hoped thou wouldſt have been our Captain, before the prohibition was made, to adore the Gods of our Fathers, we exceedingly doubt of what thou preacheſt; O People! ſaid *Salhe*, know ye not that God taught me what to you I preach, and that he hath given me his grace? who ſhall protect me if I diſobey him? You can but augment my pain, ſhould I believe you. O People! this Camel, which God for you hath created, ſhall be to you a miracle, and inſtruction, ſuffer it to feed, and do it no harm, leſt you be ſuddenly chaſtiſed. They through contempt, wounded the Camel. Then ſaid he unto them, ye ſhall live in your Houſes for the ſpace of three Days before ye be deſtroyed; what is foretold to you, is no Fiction: when we deſtroyed them, we, through our eſpecial grace ſaved *Salhe*, and the true believers that were with him;

* *Gelaldin* ſaith, that he was called *Kinan*.

The *Turks* believe that *Salhe* changed a Rock into a Camel.

him; thunder ſurprized thoſe Infidels, and in the Morning they were found in their Houſes dead, extended as Carkaſſes: Thus did *Temod* and his people contemn the Commandments of God, to their diſadvantage. Our Meſſengers that came to *Abraham*'s Houſe, declared to him the Birth of *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, and their Poſterity; they mutually ſaluted, when they entred into his Houſe, he cauſed roaſted fleſh to be brought to them to eat, and perceiving that they did not eat, contemned them in himſelf, and was terrified with their coming; they ſaid unto him, fear not, we are ſent to *Lot*, to extirpate the Inhabitants of his City; *Abraham*'s Wife being preſent, began to laugh, when they foretold the Birth of *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, and their Poſterity; ſhe ſaid, ah God! ſhall I bear a Son, I who am old, and have an Husband extreamly aged? this would be a Miracle; they anſwered, are ye aſtoniſhed at the power of God? O ye of the Family of *Abraham*! God hath given you his Bleſſing, praiſe and glory are due to him in all places. When *Abraham* was freed from his fear, and they having announced the Birth of his Children, he diſputed with them a long time, touching the Inhabitants of the City of *Lot*; he was of a middle diſpoſition, and frequently repeated the Praiſes of God. The Meſſengers ſaid unto him, O *Abraham*! put an end to thy Queſtions, the hour is come, wherein God hath commanded to deſtroy them, they ſhall undergo inevitable torments. When they arrived in *Lot*'s Houſe, he was grieved, in that he was not able to ſecure them from the inſolence of the people; he ſaid, behold here a day extreamly difficult to paſs; The Inhabitants of the City having knowledge of their arrival, repaired to *Lot*'s houſe to continue their filthineſs: *Lot* ſaid unto them, O people! I have two Daughters, whom I will give you, fear God, trouble me not, abuſe not my Gueſts; is there none among you to ſhew you your Errour? They anſwered, thou well knoweſt that we have nothing to do with thy Daughters, thou knoweſt what we require; he ſaid, were I of ſufficient power, I would dwell in a fortified place to avoid the aſſaults of your Malice: Then ſaid the Meſſengers of God unto him, O *Lot*! we are Angels ſent from God, thoſe Villains ſhall not approach thee, go this Night out of the City with thy Family, none ſhall look back but thy Wife; ſhe ſhall feel the puniſhment prepared for the wicked, they ſhall be puniſhed early in the Morning; be gone ſpeedily, the day approacheth; when we deſtroyed them, we turned the City upſide down, and cauſed it to rain upon them ſtones marked with fire, to confound them. Such chaſtiſement is not far from the Infidels (that are in *Mecca*.) We ſent *Chaib* into the Countrey of *Madian*, he ſaid, O people! worſhip one God alone; weigh with good Weights, and meaſure with good meaſure; detain nothing from your Neighbour, and defile not the Earth, if ye believe in God, otherwiſe I fear you may be puniſhed at the Day of Judgment; the little that ſhall remain, ſhall bring you more of content, than all that ye can purloin, in weighing with falſe Weights, and meaſuring with falſe meaſure. I am not ſent to be your Tutor, but only to declare the word of God: they ſaid, O *Chiab*, doth thy Law enjoyn us to abandon the Gods of our Fathers, and hinder us to make of our Goods what ſhall ſeem good to us? thou art not of an Humour good enough to be our Director. He ſaid, O people! ſee ye not that God hath taught me what I preach? He hath given me wealth for ſubſiſtence; I contradict you in nothing but what is forbidden you, I will do nothing but what is reaſonable, and conform the moſt I ſhall be able to Juſtice; my whole ſupport is in God, I recommend my ſelf to the Will of his Divine Majeſty, before which I muſt one day appear. O people! take heed leſt ye become Criminal, if ye forſake the Company of the righteous, and leſt that befal you, that hapned to them who would not believe *Noah*, *Hod*, *Salhe*, and *Lot*; the puniſhment of God is not far from you; beg pardon of him, and be converted, he is merciful and amiable. They ſaid, O *Chaib*! we underſtand not all that thou ſayeſt; we ſee thee amongſt us without force, and power; wert thou not accompanied, we would ſtone thee; thou ſhalt have no Dominion over us. He ſaid, O people! eſteem ye my Company, and fear ye it more than God? Have ye turned the back towards him? He knoweth all your actions, live after your own manner, I will live after mine, you ſhall hereafter know your Errour; he whom God will chaſtiſe, ſhall remain in perpetual miſery, you ſhall ſoon underſtand who ſhall be the Lyar, you or I; expect the iſſue, I will expect with you: when we commanded to deſtroy them, we (through our eſpecial Grace) preſerved *Chaib*, and the true Believers that were with him; Thunder ſurprized thoſe wicked ones, and they in the Morning remained dead, extended as Carkaſſes in their Houſes. Thus were the Inhabitants of *Madian* chaſtiſed like the people of *Temod*. We ſent *Moſes* to *Pharaoh* and his Doctors, with Miracles with Arguments and Reaſons moſt clear and intelligible; but thoſe Doctors followed his Will, and obeyed his Commandments, notwithſtanding they were contrary to Reaſon; they ſhall follow him at the Day of Judgment, as they followed him upon Earth; that day ſhall they be accurſed, and ſhall find none that ſhall be able to protect them: the puniſhment of *Mecca* ſhall be like to that I relate to thee; there be of its Inhabitants who ſubſiſt, and that do not ſubſiſt, and are no more; we have done them no injuſtice, they have drawn miſchief on themſelves, and their Idols have been of no uſe to them, but to augment their miſery, when God hath commanded to deſtroy them: Thus hath God ſurprized the Inhabitants of *Mecca*, he hath chaſtiſed them, becauſe they were unjuſt; this ſhall ſerve for example to them that fear the Day of Judgment; all Men ſhall there be gathered together, all the World ſhall ſee it; I will retard it until the time appointed, that day ſhall no Man ſpeak without my permiſſion; there be that ſhall be miſerable, and others who ſhall be happy; the miſerable ſhall dwell in the fire of Hell, they ſhall cry and complain ſo long as the Earth and the Heavens ſhall endure, and ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe God, who doth as ſeemeth good to himſelf: The happy ſhall enjoy Paradiſe, where they ſhall abide eternally, ſo long as Earth and Heaven ſhall endure, and ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe God. Doubt not what the Unbelievers worſhip, they adore but the Idols which their Fathers worſhipped; aſſuredly I will chaſtiſe them

See *Kitab el tenoir*, and *Gelaldin*.

as their Fathers were chaſtiſed. *Moſes* preached the Old Teſtament, yet did the wicked contradict his Precepts; had not God ſaid that he will not puniſh them, untill the Day of Judgment, he had already deſtroyed them, becauſe they are in an exceeding great Errour; thy Lord ſhall reward every one according to his works, he knoweth all their Actions. Obſerve exactly what hath been commanded you, with them that are converted; tranſgreſs not the Law of God, he beholdeth whatſoever you do. Incline not to the affections of the unjuſt, leſt the fire of Hell ſurprize you, and you be deprived of protection. Pray to God Evening and Morning, and a part of the Night; prayers blot out ſins; it is the Doctrin of Preachers; be patient, and perſevere, God will not deprive the righteous of their reward: He prohibited your Predeceſſours and their Poſterity to defile the Earth; nevertheleſs there were few among them that abſtained; the unjuſt acted whatſoever pleaſed them, and were guilty before God. He ſhall not deſtroy *Mecca*, if the Inhabitants thereof obey his Commandments; and if it pleaſed him, the whole World ſhould be of one Religion; they to whom he giveth his Grace, tranſgreſs not his Will, his Word ſhall be accompliſhed, and Hell ſhall be filled with Devils, and the wicked of all Nations. They have recounted to thee, and thou underſtandeſt, whatſoever things are neceſſary for them, and what the Prophets have heretofore taught; thine heart hath been ſtrengthened, they contain the truth, and they ſhall be for a Leſſon to true Believers. Say unto Infidels, do on your part as ye ſhall underſtand, we will do on our part as we underſtand, and attend the iſſue, we will attend it with you; whatſoever is in Heaven, and in Earth appertains to God, all Men ſhall be aſſembled before him, worſhip him, reſign your ſelves to his Will, he knoweth whatſoever the people doth.

CHAP. XII.

The Chapter of Joſeph, *containing an hundred and thirteen Verſes, written at Mecca.*

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. I am the merciful God. Theſe ſigns are the ſigns of the Book which diſtinguiſheth good from evil. We have cauſed to deſcend from Heaven the *Alcoran*, written in the *Arabick* Tongue, peradventure ye will learn it. I deliver unto thee in the *Alcoran*, one of the beſt things that I have inſpired into thee. Thou wert before the coming thereof, in the number of the ignorant. Remember thou, that *Joſeph* ſaid to his Father, My Father, I ſaw in a Dream eleven Stars, the Sun, and the Moon, I ſaw them adoring me. My Son, ſaid his Father, diſcover not thy Dream to thy Brothers, they will conſpire againſt thee, the Devil is an open Enemy to Men, thou ſhalt be elected of the Lord in this World, he ſhall teach thee the explication of Dreams, he ſhall accompliſh his Grace upon thee, and upon the Lineage of *Jacob*, as he did accompliſh it upon thy Fathers, *Abraham* and *Iſaac*; the Lord knoweth all things, and is moſt wiſe. The Hiſtory of *Joſeph* ſhall ſerve for example to Poſterity; remember thou, how his Brothers ſaid, our Father loveth our Brother *Joſeph* more than all us together, he is in an exceeding great errour, let us kill *Joſeph*, and caſt him into ſome ſecret place remote from us, his abſence will render the Face of our Father more gentle toward us; after his death we will be converted. One of them ſaid, you ſhall not do well to kill him, but caſt him into the Well, ſome Paſſengers will take him, and carry him into an unknown Countrey: They ſaid to their Father; Father, wherefore doſt thou not ſend *Joſeph* into the Fields with us? we will be very careful, he ſhall ſport and recreate himſelf; I fear, ſaid he, that ye will neglect to preſerve him; doſt thou fear (ſaid they) that a Wolf ſhould devour him in our Preſence, and that we want ſtrength to defend him? In the Morning they led him with them, and caſt him into a Well. We inſpired him to Propheſie to them what ſhould befal them for the miſchief they acted, but they wanted knowledge to comprehend it; they in the Evening returned to their Fathers houſe, with eyes full of diſſembled tears, and ſaid unto him; Father, we ſported, and ran who ſhould run the beſt, *Joſeph* remained with our Baggage, a Wolf came that devoured him; thou wilt not believe us although we ſpeak the truth; then they ſhewed him his Shirt, which they had ſprinkled with Blood; it is you that hath done it, ſaid he, you ſhall anſwer before God, he is my Protector, and was patient, without lamenting. There paſt that day * a *Caravan* near to that Well, who deſiring to draw water to drink, let down a Bucket, on which *Joſeph* took hold to get out; they gave him Cloathes, led him away ſecretly, and ſold him at a good rate for ready Money; they would not kill him, in which they were honeſt Men. He that bought him in *Egypt*, commanded his Wife to have care him, that he might one day be uſeful for their Service, and be to them inſtead of a Son. Thus did we eſtabliſh *Joſeph* in the Countrey of *Egypt*, and taught him the expoſition of Dreams, thy Lord is Omnipotent, but few Men know him: when *Joſeph* came to the Age of Manhood, we gave him knowledge and prudence; thus do we reward the righteous. His Maſters Wife became amorous of his Beauty, ſhe one day ſhut him into her Chamber, and ſolicited him with love; God defend me (ſaid he) to betray my Maſter, and be unchaſte (he was in the number of the righteous) and fled to the Door; his Miſtreſs ran after him, and to ſtay him, tore his Shirt through the back: She met her Husband behind the Door, to whom ſhe ſaid, what other thing doth he merit, who would diſhonour thine houſe, than to be impriſoned, and ſeverely chaſtiſed? Lord, ſaid *Joſeph*, ſhe ſollicited me, that Infant which is in the Cradle, and of thy Parentage ſhall be witneſs: Then the Infant in the Cradle ſaid, if *Joſeph's* Shirt be torn before, ſhe hath ſpoken truth, and *Joſeph* is a Lyar; if the Shirt be rent behind, *Joſeph* hath delivered the truth, and ſhe a lyar: then her Husband beheld *Joſeph's* Shirt torn behind, and knew that it was extream malice, and ſaid to *Joſeph*, take heed to thy ſelf, and beware this act be not divulged, do thou, ſpeaking to his Wife, impſore pardon for

* The *Levantins* Well; * *Caravan*, a number of Perſons travelling together.

for thy fault, thou art truly guilty. The Women of the City ſaid among themſelves, that the rich Man's wife was amorous of his Slave, and that ſhe had ſollicited his love, and had erred from the right way, which ſhe underſtanding, made them an exceeding fair Feaſt, and cauſed *Joſeph* to enter the Parlour where they ſate; while they carved their meat, they were ſo ſurprized, and entangled with *Joſephs* beauty, that they inſtead of carving their meat, cut their fingers. O God! ſaid they, this is not a Man, but an Angel; then ſaid ſhe unto them, behold him whom I loved with ſo much Paſſion: ſhe another time importuned him, to ſatisfie her deſire, and perceiving that he would not condeſcend to her Will, menaced him with the Priſon, and to make him miſerable: O God! ſaid *Joſeph*, I had rather be a Priſoner, than do what ſhe deſireth, deliver me from her Malice, defend me from inclining to her lubricity, and from being in the number of the wicked: his Lord heard his Prayer, he underſtandeth and knoweth all things. This Woman ſeeing *Joſeph's* reſolution, judged it requiſite to impriſon him for ſome time; he was put Priſoner with two Men, one of which told him that he had dreamed that he preſt Grapes to make Wine; the other ſaid, that he dreamed that he carried Bread upon his head, which the Birds did eat, they demanded of him the interpretation of their Dreams, becauſe he ſeemed to them to be a good Man; he ſaid to them, before ye Breakfaſt, I will interpret your Dreams. I will firſt tell you what God hath taught me, and how I quit, and abandon the Law of Infidels, and embrace the Law of our Fathers, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, we ought not to worſhip many Gods; ſuch as believe in the Unity of God, are endued with his Grace, but few Men give him thanks. O Priſoners! who hath more power, Idols, or one ſole God, who is Omnipotent? The Gods which ye adore are but Idols, whom ye and your Fathers call by ſuch a Name, as ſeemeth good to you, ye have no reaſon to worſhip them; God doth not enjoyn you this, he commandeth you to worſhip him alone; this is the right way, but the greateſt part of the World of this are ignorant. O Priſoners! the one of you ſhall give Wine to drink to his Maſter, the other ſhall be hanged, the Birds ſhall feed on his head, the interpretation that ye have required ſhall be accompliſhed. He beſought him that ſhould be ſaved, to remember him when he ſhould be near to his Maſter; but the Devil cauſed him to loſe the remembrance of *Joſeph*, who remained Priſoner the ſpace of nine years: At that time the King of *Egypt* ſaw in a Dream ſeven fat Kine, which ſeven lean Kine devoured; and ſeven green ears of Corn, with ſeven dry ears, of which he required the interpretation of his Doctors; they anſwered, that the Dream was very obſcure, and that they knew not the interpretation; the Priſoner that had been ſet at liberty, ſaid, that he would forthwith give the interpretation of the Dream, remembred *Joſeph*, and calling him unto him, ſaid, O righteous Man! explain unto us what is the ſignification of ſeven fat Kine, devoured by ſeven lean, and ſeven green ears of Corn, and as many dry, peradventure I ſhall return to the King and his people, and they ſhall underſtand the interpretation of this Dream. *Joſeph* ſaid to him, ye ſhall ſow the Earth ſeven years following, which ſhall abound in Fruits, preſerve your Harveſt in the ears, and take only what ſhall be neceſſary for life; after this, there ſhall come ſeven years barren, and unfruitful, in which the people ſhall ſuffer much. The King of *Egypt* having learned the interpretation of this Dream, commanded to call *Joſeph*; the Meſſenger ſaid unto him, O *Joſeph*! return to thy Maſter, and require of him the meaning of the Women who did cut their fingers, he hath knowledge of their Malice, hath cauſed them to aſſemble, and demanded of them what was their deſign, when they ſollicited thee with love; they anſwered, they knew no ſin in thee, and his Wife confeſſed the truth, ſaying, ſhe had importuned thee, but that thou art a very juſt Man. *Joſeph* anſwered, by this it appears that I am no Traitor to my Maſter in his abſence, God guideth not Traitors; I will not ſay, I am a Man without ſin, the Spirit of Man inclineth to evil, except ſuch to whom God had given his particular Grace, he is gracious and merciful to whom ſeemeth good to him. The King having talked with *Joſeph*, entred him into the number of his Domeſticks, and made him ſuper-intendent of his * revenues, becauſe he knew him to be a Man of Spirit, faithful, and thrifty. We, by our eſpecial Grace, eſtabliſhed *Joſeph* in the Countrey of *Egypt*, where he did what ſeemed good to him. I deprive not the righteous of their reward on Earth, the recompence of the other World is yet greater for them that believe in my Law, and have my fear before their eyes. The Brethren of *Joſeph* returned to buy Corn; he ſaid to them, when ye ſhall come again, bring with you your young Brother by the Father, you ſhall find I will make you good meaſure, and lodge well my Gueſts; if you bring him not, there ſhall be no Corn for you, approach not this Kingdom without him: They anſwered, Lord, his Father loveth him exceedingly, nevertheleſs we ſhall endeavour to perform what thou enjoyneſt us; he commanded his Servants to put their money for Corn in the bottoms of his Brethrens Sacks, perhaps, ſaid he, they will return, or acknowledge this favour when they ſhall come into their Countrey. When they arrived at their Father, they ſaid, Father, there is no more Corn for us, if our young Brother go not with us, if he go thither, we ſhall have good meaſure, and we will be careful of him. You will be careful, ſaid he, as you were heretofore of your Brother *Joſeph*; God will defend him better than you, he is the merciful of the merciful. When they poured forth their Corn, they found their Money at the bottoms of their Sacks, and ſaid, our Father, what ſhall we deſire more, our money is reſtored to us, and we have Bread for our Family, permit that our Brother go with us, we ſhall have better meaſure, that is a ſmall thing to the King of *Egypt*; I will not ſend him with you unleſs ye all ſwear before God to bring him back again, if there be no great impediment. They ſwore to fulfil his Will; then ſaid he, I take God to be witneſs of your Oath: O my Sons! enter not all together into the City, but go in at ſeveral Gates, to the end the people may not be jealous of you; God commandeth what to him ſeemeth good, I relye on him, all true Believers ought to reſign themſelves to his Divine Will; they entred the City as their Father enjoyned them, to content him; being arrived before *Joſeph*, he took his little Brother by the hand, and ſaid to him, trouble not thy ſelf for what ſhall become of thy Brethren; having

* All the Revenues of the Crown.

filled their Sacks, he cauſed a Cup adorned with precious ſtones to be put into the Sack of his little Brother; cauſed it to be given out, that they of the *Caravan* had ſtoln the Kings Cup; and ſent Men after them to ſearch; thoſe ſtrangers proteſted they ſaw it not, and that they came not into *Egypt* to ſteal, that they were Sureties for each other, and that he who had ſtoln it, deſerved puniſhment. The Cup was found in the Sack of his young Brother; he cauſed him to be apprehended, and accuſed them all of Theft; Lord, ſaid they, his Father is old, he will be extreamly afflicted for his abſence, take one of us in his place, thou ſhalt in the end find us to be honeſt Men: God forbid, ſaid he, that I ſhould detain other than him who was found guilty of Theft, that would be injuſtice; finding themſelves out of hope to free their Brother, they ſaved themſelves in a ſecret place remote from the City; where the eldeſt ſaid to his Brethren, you know the Oath we took at our departure, and how heretofore we intreated *Joſeph*; I will not go out of *Egypt* without my Fathers permiſſion, God is moſt juſt, he ſhall diſpoſe of me and my Brother as ſhall pleaſe him, return to your Father, and ſay unto him, thy Son was taken in Theft, we ſaw him, and endeavoured to our power to deliver him, they of the *Caravan* ſhall be Witneſſes. *Jacob* ſaid at their return, they were the cauſe of that accident that did not diſpleaſe you; and he took patience, ſaying, God perhaps will favour my Sons to return in health; he knoweth in what condition I am, he is moſt prudent in what he ordaineth. He retired from among his Sons extreamly afflicted, and bewailed the loſs of his Son *Joſeph*; had his eyes continually covered with tears, and he bore in his heart great ſorrow. His Sons ſaid unto him, Doſt thou yet remember *Joſeph*, to add to thy grief, and haſten thine end? I am (ſaid he) extreamly deſolate, I leave all to the Will of God; he hath taught me what ye know not. My Sons return into *Egypt*, and enquire tidings of your two Brethren, deſpair not of the Spirit of God, none deſpair of Gods Spirit, but the wicked. When they came unto *Joſeph*, they ſaid unto him, The Famine that is in our Countrey, hath extreamly afflicted us, it hath often conſtrained us to come to buy Corn; thou, of thy favour, haſt made us good meaſure; thou haſt cauſed our Money to be reſtored for Alms, God will reward thee, he recompenceth ſuch as are Almsgivers. He ſaid unto them, Ye remember what ye did unto your Brother *Joſeph*: They replyed, Certainly thou art not *Joſeph*. I am *Joſeph*, ſaid he, and behold my Brother *Benjamin*. God hath given us his Grace; he rewardeth him that hath his fear before his eyes, and is patient in his afflictions; he depriveth not the righteous of recompence. God, ſaid they, hath poured his favours upon us in ſaving thee, whom we have exceedingly offended. Be not (ſaid he) aſhamed, God this day pardoneth you that ſin, he is gracious and merciful; return to your Father, and bear to him this Shirt, caſt it upon his face, he ſhall recover ſight, and return hither with him, and with your whole Family. The *Caravan* was then half way upon return, when *Jacob* ſaid to them that attended him, I ſmell the odour of my Son *Joſeph*; you deride me, but what I ſpeak is moſt true: They told him, that he was ſtill in his old Errour; ſome days following, one of his Sons arrived with tidings of *Joſeph*, and caſt the Shirt that he had given, him upon him; and incontinently he recovered his ſight, and ſaid, Did I not always tell you, that I knew what ye knew not; they ſaid, Our Father pardon us, and ask the forgiveneſs of God for us, who have exceedingly offended him: He anſwered, I will beg pardon of God for you, he is gracious and merciful. When they arrived before *Joſeph*, he took his Father by the hand, ſaying, Enter without fear into *Egypt*, cauſed him to ſit down, and his Brethren fell proſtrate before him. My Father, ſaid he, behold there the interpretation of mine old Dream, God hath rendred it true, he hath favoured me, in delivering me from Priſon, and conducting you hither; he hath put an end to the jealouſie wich the Devil had procured between me and my Brethren. The Lord is liberal to whom ſeemeth good to him; he knoweth what is neceſſary for his people, and is moſt prudent in what he ordaineth. Lord, thou haſt given me wealth, and knowledge to interpret Dreams. Creator of Heaven and Earth, thou art my Protector, give me the Grace to die in thy Law, and place me in the number of the righteous. This Hiſtory of *Joſeph*, is an ancient Hiſtory which I relate to thee. Thou wert not with his Brethren when they conſpired againſt him; nevertheleſs, the greateſt part of the people are incredulous. Demand no reward of them for having preached the *Alcoran*, it inſtructeth only the wiſe. How many ſigns be there in Heaven and Earth, of the Unity of God? yet the people believe not therein, and moſt of them adore Idols; aſſuredly God ſhall puniſh them at an unexpected hour, and in a time which they know not. Say unto them, Behold the right way, I call to the way of Salvation and Light, ſuch as follow me. I return thanks to God, for that I am not in the number of Unbelievers. We ſent aforetime none but Men to inſtruct the people; will not Men conſider what hath been the end of the wicked that were before them? Paradiſe is for them that are righteous; will ye not be converted? They cauſed the Prophets to loſe all hopes of their Converſion, and believed them to be Lyars; but we protected them, and delivered from their Malice ſuch as ſeemed good to us. Nothing ſhall exempt the wicked from the puniſhment of their pains; they ſhall ſerve for example to Men of Spirit. The *Alcoran* containeth no blaſphemies, it confirmeth the ancient Scriptures, and teacheth True believers the way of Salvation.

He ſpeaketh to *Mahomet*.

CHAP. XIII.

The Chapter of Thunder, containing forty three Verſes, written at Mecca. See *Gelaldin* and *Bedaoi*.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful; I am the moſt wiſe and merciful God. Theſe Precepts are the Precepts of the Book ſent to thee from thy Lord; it is a thing moſt true, but few Men incline to believe it. It is ſent from God, who raiſed Heaven without a Prop, and with a Column, that appeareth, and ſitteth on his Throne,

Throne, diſpoſing all things. He cauſeth the Sun and Moon to move, until the day appointed; he diſpoſeth all things at his will, and manifeſteth to Men the ſigns of his Omnipotency. Peradventure you will believe in the Reſurrection of the fleſh. He it is that hath extended the Earth, raiſed the Mountains, cauſed the Rivers to flow, who created of all ſorts of Fruits, the Male and Female, and covereth the Day with the obſcurity of the Night. Theſe things are ſigns of his unity to ſuch as conſider them. He hath created many Fields of divers ſorts, and Gardens filled with Grapes, and many different Fruits; he created Date Trees, thick as Groves, and Foreſts, and others that are ſcattered through the Fields; ſome are moiſtened with Waters, and others have a more pleaſing taſte. Theſe things are ſigns of his unity to ſuch as conſider them. Thou art amazed at the lies of Infidels, be aſtoniſhed at their diſcourſes; when they deny the Reſurrection, and ſay, What, ſhall God yet once again create us of the duſt of the Earth? When we ſhall be Earth, ſhall we be a new people? They are impious, they ſhall have Oaks upon their Necks, and ſhall remain eternally in the fire of Hell; they precipitate themſelves into eternal pains, and contemn the mercy of God, ſo did their predeceſſors; but God is gracious to ſuch as convert. Chaſtiſe ſeverely the obſtinate Infidels. They have *ſaid*, We will not believe in the Prophet, unleſs we ſee ſome miracle to appear. Say unto them, I am not ſent but to preach the word of God. He *hath ſent* perſons to every Nation, to teach them the right way; nothing is hid from him in the World; he knoweth what Women bear in their Womb; he knoweth the time and period of every thing, the preſent, paſt, and future; he is great and Omnipotent. He underſtandeth what you keep ſecret, and what ye make manifeſt; he knoweth where they be who cover themſelves with the obſcurity of Night, and them that travel in the clearneſs of Day; every one hath his guardian by his commandment, who obſerveth what he doth, and depriveth none of grace, that hath not offended his Divine Majeſty, and none can hinder him to puniſh whom it ſeemeth good to him. He it is, who giveth you to ſee the lightning which terrifieth Men, and nouriſheth his Creatures by the Rain which he cauſeth to fall; he created the Clouds charged with moyſture, cauſeth Thunder to make a noiſe, darteth the Thunderbolt, and ſtriketh whom it pleaſeth him; the Angels tremble in his Preſence, yet do the wicked diſpute his Omnipotency. He it is who ought to be implored; the prayers of them who implore another God are ineffectual, they are like to ſuch as are very thirſty, and ſtretch forth the hand towards a Fountain, to which they cannot reach; the prayers of the wicked are impiety: Whatſoever is in Heaven and in the Earth, the ſhadow of the Morning, the obſcurity of the Evening humble themſelves before God, through force or affection. Say unto them, Who is the Lord of Heaven and Earth, but God? Who, except God ſhall protect you? your Idols can neither benefit, nor hurt you: Is the blind like unto him that ſeeth clearly? Is darkneſs like unto light? Shall they adore the Creatures inſtead of the Creator? God hath created all things, and is Omnipotent; he cauſeth Rain to deſcend from Heaven, and Rivers covered with Foam, to flow in the Valleys. The Gold, the Silver, and Metals which ye melt to adorn and enrich your ſelves, are like unto Froth. Thus doth God teach what is profitable, and what unprofitable; Froth ſuddenly vaniſheth, and is of no utility to Men: So falſhood vaniſheth before [illegible]. Thus doth God ſpeak through a Pa[illegible], to them that obey him, and giveth them Paradiſe. All the riches of the Earth, and as much again, cannot ranſom the Infidels, they ſhall be eternally tormented in the fire of Hell. Who knoweth, that the truth contained in this Book, was not ſent to thee from God? He that doubteth is blind; Men of Spirit do not doubt. They who ſatisfie what they promiſe to God, who tranſgreſs not his Commandments, who have his fear before their eyes, who apprehend the Day of Judgment, who are patient in their afflictions for love of his Divine Majeſty, who make their prayers at the time appointed, who give alms privately and publickly, and blot out their offences with good works, ſhall be bleſſed. They ſhall enter into the Garden of *Eden* with their Father, their Wives, and Families; the Angels ſhall viſit them, ſhall ſalute them, and ſay, Behold the recompence of your perſeverance, behold eternal grace. Such as ſhall ſwerve from their promiſe, and diſobey the Commandments of God, and pollute the Earth, ſhall be accurſed of God, and ſeverely chaſtiſed; he giveth, and depriveth of wealth, as ſeemeth good to him. The unbelievers rejoyce in the riches of the Earth; but thoſe riches are of little value, if they conſider them of the other World. They ſay, If *Mahomet* doth not make ſome miracle to appear from God, we will not believe him. Say unto them, God guideth, and miſ-leadeth whom it pleaſeth him; he confirmeth the hearts of them that have faith in his Law; the remembrance of God confirmeth the hearts of True Believers: Such as ſhall do good works, ſhall be happy. We have ſent thee, as we did ſend other Prophets, to them that preceded thee. Teach the people what we have inſpired into thee: When they ſhall diſobey thee, ſay unto them, God is my Lord, there is but one God alone, I am wholly reſigned to his Divine Will; my refuge is in his goodneſs. If the *Alcoran* ſhould make Mountains to go, ſhould it cauſe the Earth to open, and the Dead to ariſe, all would proceed from God. True Believers ought not to deſpair of any thing, God ſhall guide all the World into the right way when it ſhall pleaſe him; and unbelievers ſhall not eſcape the puniſhment of their crimes. Thou ſhalt dwell with them until the word of God be fulfilled: He ſwerveth not from what he promiſeth; they derided the Prophets that came before thee, I prolonged the time of their puniſhment, and in the end rigorouſly chaſtiſed them; and with what afflictions? Doth not God behold the actions of every Man? They have ſaid, God hath Companions, to whom they have given names after their fancy; will you inſtruct God in any thing? The wicked take delight in their wickedneſs, and are gone aſtray from the right way. He whom God ſhall miſ-lead, ſhall find none to guide him, he ſhall be afflicted in this World, and yet more in the other. None ſhall be able to ſave him, but God; Paradiſe is promiſed to them that have his fear before their eyes; they ſhall enjoy eternally all manner of

content, ſuch is the end of the righteous; and Hell is prepared for Infidels. They, to whom we have given the knowledge of Scriptures, rejoyce in the Doctrine which we have ſent thee; there be that abjure one part; ſay unto them, I recommend unto you only the worſhip of one ſole God, who is the aſſ[illegible] refuge of the righteous. We have ſent [illegible] *Alcoran* in the *Arabick* tongue, to the end the *Arabians* may comprehend it: If thou doſt follow the will of unbelievers, having had the knowledge of the unity of God, who ſhall be able to ſave or protect thee? We ſent Prophets before thee; commanded them to marry, and they had Children. Prophets cannot perform miracles without the permiſſion of God, and the end of every thing is written in his Book; he blotteth out, and leaveth permanent what ſeemeth good to him, he cannot alter. I perceive that ſome of the wicked have a deſign to murther thee; thou art obliged only to preach to them, I will keep an account of their ſins to puniſh them. See they not that their Countries and poſſeſſions diminiſh daily through thy Conqueſts? God commandeth what pleaſeth him, no Man can eſcape his judgments, he is moſt exact in his account: their predeceſſors uſed ſubtilties as they, but God is more ſubtile than they; he well knoweth the good and evil which every one doth: they ſhall one day underſtand who muſt have Paradiſe. They ſay thou art no Prophet, ſay unto them, It is ſufficient that God is witneſs of the truth between you and me; who is he that knoweth what is written in the Book of his Divine Majeſty?

CHAP. XIV.

The Chapter of Abraham, *containing fifty Verſes, written at* Mecca.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful; I am the merciful God. That Book! We have ſent it to thee to bring the People out of darkneſs, to guide them to the light, and the way of thy Lord, always victorious and glorious; Whatſoever is in Heaven, and in Earth, is Gods; miſery is upon unbelievers, they ſhall undergo at the end of the World exceeding great torments. They who prefer the wealth of this World to that of Heaven, who go aſtray from the way of the Law, and would pervert it, are in a great error, far from truth; The Prophets ſpake the language of them to whom they were ſent to inſtruct them, God guideth and miſ-leadeth whom to him ſeemeth good, he is Omnipotent and prudent. We ſent *Moſes* with prodigies, to bring the Children of *Iſrael* out of darkneſs, and to conduct them to light, he taught them the Commandments of the Law, to ſerve for inſtruction to ſuch as ſhall perſevere to do well, and ſhall not be ingrateful for the favours they have received. *Moſes* ſpake to his people, and ſaid, Remember the grace of God towards you, he delivered you from the Men of *Pharaoh*, who cauſed you to ſuffer great afflictions, who murthered your Children, abuſed your Wives, and laid upon you great evils (ſent from God, becauſe of your ſins.) The Lord hath ſaid, if ye be not ingrateful, I will augment my graces upon you; if ye be impious, you ſhall be afflicted. *Moſes* ſaid to his people; if you and all Men be impious, know, that God will be always glorious, and hath no need of you. Know ye not what befel (before you) the people of *Noah*, *Aad*, *Temod*, and their Poſterity, that none had knowledge of but God, becauſe of their great number? He ſent them his Commandments by his Prophets, they bit their fingers for anger, and ſaid unto them, we renounce, and condemn your Doctrine: The Prophets ſaid unto them, is there any doubt in the belief of the unity of God, Creator of Heaven, and Earth? he calleth you to remit your ſins, and deferreth your puniſhment until the day appointed: They anſwered, Ye are Men like unto us, will you hinder us to adore the Gods of our Fathers? Produce arguments of ſtrength ſufficient to prove what you preach; the Prophet replyed, We are Men as you are, but God giveth his grace to whom ſeemeth good to him; we are come to you through his permiſſion, the true believers ought to truſt in him; wherefore ſhould we not be reſigned to the will of God, who hath guided us into the right way? we will continue in well-doing, the righteous truſt in his Divine Majeſty. Then ſaid the Infidels unto them, we will baniſh you from our Country, if you be not of our Religion; but God *inſpired into them*, that the Infidels ſhould periſh, and that they ſhould inhabit the Land after them; that he would protect ſuch as ſhould have his fear before their eyes, and fear the pains that are prepared for the wicked. The Prophets were protected of God, and the obſtinate wicked were deſtroyed: they ſhall be precipitated into Hell, and drink of Water full of Corruption, Urine and Blood; Death ſhall appear on all ſides before their eyes, before they have ſwallowed that Drink; they ſhall not dye in that miſery, they ſhall ſuffer yet greater pains. The good works which the wicked have done, are like to Duſt carried away by an impetuous Wind, they ſhall be unprofitable to them, and they ſhall be extirpated, becauſe they depart from the truth: See they not that God hath created Heaven and Earth? that he can deſtroy them, and create in their place a new people, if it ſeem good to him? This is not difficult to God, all things are known to him. The more impotent of them that have followed the wicked, ſhall ſay at the Day of Judgment, we obeyed you, will you this day deliver us from the puniſhment of God? They *ſhall* anſwer, had God guided us into the right way, we had conducted you thither, we are alike miſerable with you, we cry and lament in our miſery, but find neither refuge nor protection. The Devil ſhall ſay unto them, what God hath promiſed to you is infallible, I foretold it to you, I cauſed you to tranſgreſs his Commandments through my temptations; I had none other power over you, but to tempt you, you did me no harm when ye hearkened to me, you drew miſchief on your ſelves, I am not your Tutor, neither are you *mine*, I was impious, when heretofore I ſuffered you to adore

adore me; Hell is prepared for you, and for all unbelievers, there ſhall they endure great torments, and the righteous ſhall enter into Paradiſe, wherein flow many Rivers, where they ſhall dwell eternally, with all manner of bleſſedneſs and content; Seeſt thou not how God ſpeaketh by a Parable? A good word is like to a good Tree that hath taken Root in the Earth, and hath raiſed its Branches to Heaven, and produceth its Fruit in due time, through the permiſſion of his Divine Majeſty; he teacheth the people his Parables, perhaps they will be mindful: An evil word is like to a bad Tree, that hath been torn from the Earth, there is nothing to ſuſtain it, and it is without Root, or Fruit: God fortifieth the true believers through his word in this World, and in the other, and cauſeth the unjuſt to err, he doth what to him ſeemeth good: Seeſt thou not them that have changed his grace into impiety, and have made ſuch as have followed them to dwell in the Houſe of perdition? They ſhall abide eternally in the fire of Hell. They ſay, that God hath a Companion equal to him, and err from the way of his Law; Say unto them, ye ſhall have wealth in this World, but Hell is your Rendezvous. Say to the true believers, who make their prayers at the time appointed, and give alms in private, or publick, that the day ſhall come wherein they ſhall neither buy nor ſell, and where every one ſhall be recompenſed for his works. Say unto them, God hath created the Earth, and the Heavens, he maketh the Rain to deſcend from Heaven, which cauſeth to ſpring forth all ſorts of Fruits to enrich you, he created the Ship, that through his permiſſion ſaileth on the Sea, he created the Rivers, the Sun and the Moon, which move continually, he created the Day and the Night, and beſtoweth on you whatſoever ye deſire, his favours towards you can neither be numbred, nor recounted, nevertheleſs the inhabitants of *Mecca* are always impious and wicked; *Abraham* ſaid, Lord protect this City, and make it to be the refuge of the World; Keep me and my Children from the worſhip of Idols, they have ſeduced a part of the People; he that ſhall follow me, and profeſs thy unity, ſhall be mine; if any one diſobey me, thou art gracious and merciful: Lord, one part of my Lineage inhabiteth *Mecca*, in a place unfruitful, give them the grace to perſevere in thy ſervice, incline the hearts of Men to affect them, enrich them with the Fruits of the Earth, peradventure they will thank thee; thou knoweſt whatſoever is in the World, I know it not; nothing that is in Heaven, or in Earth is hid from thee; praiſed be God, who hath given me *Iſmael* and *Iſaac* in mine old age, he heareth prayers when it pleaſeth him; Lord, give me and my Poſterity the grace to perſevere in well-doing, hear my prayers, pardon me, and pardon my Father, and all true believers at the Day of Judgment. Think not that God is ignorant of the actions of Infidels, he deferreth the puniſhment of their crimes until the day that all Men ſhall have their eyes opened: that day ſhall they behold their ſins before their eyes, and their hearts ſhall be full of deſolation; If thou preacheſt to the people the Day of Judgment, hath God (will the wicked ſay) preſerved us to this preſent time, to do what thou doſt appoint us? Say unto them, have ye not ſworn heretofore, that there is no Reſurrection? Ye have dwelt with the unjuſt, ye have ſeen how they have been chaſtiſed, and how we have ſpoken to you in Parables. Certainly they conſpire, but God knoweth their conſpiracy, their policy is to tempt the prophet, to ſee if he will make the Mountains to move. Think not that God will violate what he hath promiſed to the Prophets, he is Omnipotent, and avengeful. Conſider the day wherein the Earth and Heavens ſhall change their face, and all people ſhall riſe again; that Day ſhall one ſole God Omnipotent command Men to come out of their Monuments; Thou ſhalt that day ſee the wicked bound in their Chains, their Garments ſhall be full of Pitch, and Guitran, their Faces ſhall be covered with Fire, that Day ſhall he recompence and chaſtiſe every one according to his works, he is exact to keep account; This Book was ſent to inſtruct the People, and teach them that there is but one God; the wiſe will remember.

CHAP. XV.

The Chapter of Hegir, *containing ſeventy and ſeven Verſes, written at* Mecca.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. I am the merciful God. The ſigns are the ſigns of the *Alcoran*, which diſtinguiſheth good from evil. How may the Infidels hope what the True Believers hope for? depart from them, let them eat the ſubſtance of the poor, let them become rich, and content themſelves in their hopes, they ſhall ſee one day what their end ſhall be; We have deſtroyed no City until the time deſtined to its ruine was expired, there is no Nation that can advance or retard its deſtiny. The wicked have ſaid, O Man! who believeſt that the *Alcoran* was ſent to thee, we will affirm that thou art a Sorcerer, until the Angels do aſſure us that thou art true: The Angels ſhall not deſcend to the Earth, unleſs to chaſtiſe them, and they ſhall not be able to retard the time of their puniſhment; we certainly have ſent the *Alcoran* upon Earth, and will preſerve it without alteration; we heretofore ſent Prophets one after another, the wicked ſcorned and contemned them; thus I imprint impiety in the hearts of the wicked, they ſhall not believe in the Prophet, and ſhall incur the puniſhment of their predeceſſors; ſhould we open the entrance of Heaven, and ſhould they behold the Angels go in, and go out at the ſhadow of the gate, they would yet ſay, their eyes were inchanted, and that they were bewitched; we created ſigns in Heaven, and adorned them with Stars, to content the minds of them that conſider them; we ſheltered them from the aſſaults of the Devil, but the Butterfly followeth every thing that ſhineth, and believeth it to be a Star; we extended the Earth, and raiſed the Mountains with proportion; we have made it to produce all ſorts of Fruits to ſuſtain and enrich you; we have reſerved in our

Hegir is a Vally near *Mecca*. See *Kitab el tenoir*.

 power

power the Keys, of the treaſures thereof, to diſtribute to them by meaſure what ſhall be neceſſary, we cauſed a freſh wind to ariſe, and ſent Rain to water them; it is not you that cauſed the fruits thereof to ſpring forth; it is we who give life and death, and diſpoſe of all things in the World. We know who they were that did precede you, and who they ſhall be that ſhall ſucceed you; I will aſſemble all at the end of the World to be judged; we created Man of the ſlime of the Earth, and before him the Devil, of fire, without ſmoak. Remember thou, that God ſaid to his Angels, I will create Man of the ſlime of the Earth, I will breath upon him, to give him life; proſtrate your ſelves before him; the Angels adored him, except the Devil; God ſaid unto him, Wherefore doſt thou not adore Man? He replied, I will not adore him, thou haſt created me of fire, and him of the mire of the Earth: He ſaid, get thee out of Paradiſe, thou ſhalt be baniſhed, and accurſed until the Day of Judgment. Lord, ſaid the Devil, lay, not thy curſe upon me until the Day of Judgment; he ſaid, thou ſhalt be accurſed until the Day nominated; Lord, ſaid the Devil, I will tempt all the Creatures, becauſe thou haſt tempted me; I will cauſe them to diſobey thy Commandments, except ſuch as ſhall truſt in thee, and recommend themſelves to thy Divine Will. God ſaid, this is the right way, thou haſt no power over the righteous who follow my Law, but only over the Infidels, for whom Hell is prepared. Hell hath ſeven Gates and every Gate hath its particular work; the righteous ſhall dwell in Gardens, adorned with fair Fountains, we will free them from all rancour; they ſhall repoſe upon Beds like Brethren, with reſpect, and affection, and ſhall be in eternal felicity. Declare to them that worſhip me, that I am gracious and merciful, and my chaſtiſements are ſevere and rigorous. Preach unto them the Hiſtory of the Gueſts of *Abraham*, they ſaluted him when they entred his Houſe; *Abraham* was terrified at their coming: they ſaid to him, fear not us, we are the Meſſengers of God; we declare to thee that thou ſhalt have a Son, who ſhall be a great perſonage: Do you tell me (ſaid he) that I ſhall have a Son in my old age? why ſpeak ye in that manner? We tell thee the truth, deſpair not of the grace of God, none but the wicked deſpair: O Meſſengers of God! (ſaid *Abraham*) what do ye require? We are ſent to deſtroy the Infidels, and to preſerve the whole Family of *Lot*, except his Wife, ſhe ſhall remain with them that ſhall be puniſhed. When theſe Meſſengers came to *Lot*'s Houſe, he told them, he knew them not; they ſaid to him, we are come to thee, to clear this people of their doubt of God's Omnipotency; what we ſpeak unto thee is moſt true; cauſe thy Family this night to go out of the City; and follow their ſteps, that none among you look behind him, and go whither you ſhall be commanded; the wicked ſhall in the morning be deſtroyed. The Inhabitants of the City came to *Lot*'s Houſe to ſee thoſe ſtrangers; *Lot* ſaid unto them, I beſeech you defile not your ſelves, with my Gueſts, fear God, and diſhonour not your ſelves, behold my Daughters, take them; They ſaid, We do not hinder thee to lodge thy Gueſts, and remained confounded in their drunkenneſs. In the morning Thunder ſurpriſed them, we overthrew the City upſide down, and cauſed it to rain Stones with Fire, that utterly deſtroyed it. This ſhall ſerve for example to Paſſengers that ſhall ſee thoſe Ruines, and for a mark of the Omnipotency of God, to them that ſhall believe in his Divine Majeſty. They that inhabited the Wood near to *Medina* were impious, but we avenged us on them, they ſerved for example to poſterity, as did the People of the City of *Lot*. They that dwell in the Valley of *Hegir*, have defamed the Prophets; we gave them to ſee our Miracles, and taught them our Commandments, they contemned them, but they repoſed in the morning in their Houſes built upon the Mountains, and in their Fortreſſes; when Thunder ſurpriſed them, their treaſures did not ſave them, and they were all deſtroyed. We created the Heavens and the Earth to be ſigns of the Truth, and of our Unity: The hour of Judgment approacheth, abſent thy ſelf from thy People with mildneſs, thy Lord who created all things, knoweth all. We taught thee ſeven ſigns, and the moſt precious *Alcoran*. Tarry not to conſider the divers ſorts of riches which the wicked poſſeſs; afflict not thy ſelf, if they perſiſt in their impiety; Say unto them, I preach none other thing, but the Word of God, and the pains of Hell. We will chaſtiſe the wicked, as we chaſtiſed them that divided the *Alcoran*, who approved one part, and rejected the other. I am thy Lord, I will require of them an account of their actions, preach what hath been commanded thee, and depart from Infidels, we will preſerve thee from them that ſhall ſcorn thee, as likewiſe from ſuch as adore Idols; I know that thou wilt be grieved at their diſcourſe, but praiſe and adore the Lord until Death.

That is, the Preface of the *Alcoran*, containing ſeven Verſes.

CHAP. XVI.

The Chapter of the Bee, *containing an hundred and eight Verſes, written at* Mecca.

See *Gelaldin.*

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. The chaſtiſement of God is not far remote; deſire it not before its time; praiſed be God, he hath no Companion, he cauſeth the Angels to deſcend, and ſendeth his inſpirations to whom it pleaſeth him; preach his power, and the pains of Hell to unbelievers; there is no God but he, fear him, he created the Earth and the Heavens, he is more powerful than your Idols, and created Man of the Mire of the Earth, nevertheleſs he is obſtinate in his pride; he created clean Beaſts for your uſe, you draw (from them) great emolument, and advantage, to cloth and nouriſh your ſelves, ye ſee their beauty when they feed; and when they lead them to paſture, they bear the burthen, and whatſoever ye will ſend into Cities, what ye cannot carry without them, but with exceeding great travel; God is gracious and merciful towards you; he created Horſes, and Mules, and Aſſes to bear you; he created many glorious things, of which you have not knowledge. He teacheth them the right way, who

who obſerve his Commandments; had it pleaſed him, he had guided all into the way of his Law. He ſendeth you water from Heaven to take away thirſt, and cauſeth plants to bring forth, and Trees that nouriſh your flocks; he maketh the Olive Trees to produce, the Date Trees, Vines, and all ſorts of Fruits. Theſe things are Arguments of his Unity, to ſuch as conſider them; he created the Night, the Day, the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, that move at his Pleaſure, theſe things are ſigns of his Omnipotency to them that are wiſe; He created whatſoever is on Earth of divers Colours, kind, and Species; he created the Sea, which affordeth you Fiſh, Pearls, and other precious ſtones to adorn you; thou ſeeſt how the Ships ſail upon the Waters, and divide the Waves for the advantage of Commerce, peradventure you will give God thanks for his Favours. He raiſed the mountains to make firm the Earth, and to hinder it to move, he created the Rivers, and eſtabliſhed ways to guide you; he made the Stars to conduct you by Night upon the Sea, and the mountains to direct you in your way by Day: who but he could have created what he hath made? will you never conſider it? It is not in your power to keep account of his Mercies, he is altogether gracious and merciful, and knoweth the ſecret of your Souls: the Idols that ye adore can create nothing, but are things dead, without motion, and know not in what time the World ſhall riſe again; your God is one ſole God; ſuch as believe not the end of the World, ſuch as deny his Unity, and boaſt of their falſe belief, are abhorred of his Divine Majeſty; when they are interrogated concerning what God hath inſpired into *Mahomet*; they anſwered, that he preacheth Fables of Antiquity, but they ſhall bear their Burthen at the Day of Judgment, who have ſeduced them from the right way, and have not known it. They that were before them were deceivers, God overthrew their Habitations, the Ruins fell upon them, and he chaſtiſed them, when they leaſt thought of it; he ſhall make them aſhamed at the Day of Judgment, and ſhall demand of them, where be the Idols for which they diſputed againſt true Believers? Such as have knowledge of Gods Commandments, aſſure that ſhame ſhall be upon the Foreheads of Infidels, and that the Angels ſhall cauſe them to die, becauſe of the enormity of their ſins; They will ſay at the hour of death, that they believe in God, and are penitent for their faults: God knoweth what they have done; he ſhall command them to enter into Hell, where is the abode of the proud: He ſhall command them who have his fear before their eyes to enter the houſe of Eternity, and the Gardens of *Eden*, wherein flow many Rivers, there ſhall they dwell eternally with the height of their deſire. Shall the wicked continue in their ſin, until the Angels cauſe them to die, or until the Day of Judgment? Thus did their Predeceſſours. God was not unjuſt towards them, they drew miſchief on themſelves through their iniquity; they were chaſtiſed and felt the puniſhment which they had deſpiſed; they have ſaid, had it ſo pleaſed God, our Fathers and we had adored him alone; ſo ſpake their Predeceſſours. The Prophets are not obliged, but to preach and inſtruct the people: We ſent a Prophet to every Nation, to inſtruct it, and to command the worſhip of one ſole God, and to quit the Adoration of *Tagot*, and of Idols; God guided ſome into the right way, and others were ſeduced; conſider what is the end of the wicked; if thou endeavoureſt to put them into the right path, thou ſhalt loſe thy time, God guideth not them that deſire to erre, they ſhall be deprived of Protection at the Day of Judgment: they have ſworn by their Faith, that God will not make the dead to riſe again, but he ſhall cauſe them to riſe again, to chaſtiſe them according to his Promiſes; but the greateſt part of Men do not know it, did they know it, they would acknowledge their Errours, and the impious would acknowledge their blaſphemies. When we willed any thing, we ſaid, be thou, and it was: They that depart from the wicked for the love of their Lord, and ſhall convert themſelves, ſhall be rewarded in this World, and yet more in the other, had they knowledge to underſtand it. Such as patiently endure the injuries of Unbelievers, and truſt in their Lord, ſhall be recompenced when they leaſt think of it. We heretofore ſent but Men to preach our Law; ask of them that have knowledge of the written Law, if it be not true? We have ſent to them the *Alcoran*; to the end thou mayſt inſtruct Men in our Commandments, peradventure they will conſider it. The Earth ſhall produce nothing to them, that ſhall conſpire againſt the Prophet, they ſhall be chaſtiſed when they leaſt think of it; God ſhall afflict them in their commerce, they ſhall not eſcape his puniſhment, and their ſubſtance ſhall diminiſh by little and little before their eyes; God is gracious and merciful to them only that honour him: See they not the ſhadow of that which God hath created, ſometimes at the right hand, ſometimes at the left, to adore his Divine Majeſty, they certainly are contemptible; whatſoever is on the Earth, and in the Heavens, Beaſt, and Angels, worſhip God with Humility, fear their Lord, and obey his Commandments. God hath commanded them to worſhip and to fear one God alone, to whom obedience is due eternally; whom will ye fear but God? who but God ſhall protect you? when evil befalleth you, you have recourſe to his Divine goodneſs; being delivered, ſome of you give him thanks, and yet believe not in his Law: You ſeek only the riches of the Earth, but you ſhall ſee what ſhall be your end; they ſay, that their wealth proceedeth from their Idols: by God! an account of their blaſphemies ſhall be required of them; they affirm that God hath Daughters; aſſuredly they deceive themſelves, and are not well ſatisfied, when it is ſaid to them, that a Daughter is born to them; they fly ſuch as declare to them the puniſhment of their ſins, God ſhall leave them in ignominy, and they ſhall be contemned as the Earth which they trample under their Feet; becauſe they believe not in the Day of Judgment, miſery ſhall perpetually purſue them; God ſhall command for ever, and be eternally powerful and Victorious. Should God chaſtiſe Men when they offend, he ſhould leave no living Creature upon the Earth, he deferreth their puniſhment until the time appointed, they can neither advance nor retard it; they affirm God to have that which themſelves are not ſatisfied to have; they lye, when they ſay that Paradiſe is for them, doubtleſs they are erroneous, and ſhall be precipitated into the fire of Hell. By God! we have ſent heretofore Prophets to the people, the Devil ſeduced Men, and was Maſter of the wicked in this World,

The Jews and Chriſtians.

but in the other they ſhall reſent great torments: We have ſent thee the *Alcoran*, to clear to Men the doubts touching Religion, and to guide true Believers into the right way. God ſendeth rain from Heaven to refreſh the Earth, this is an evident ſign of his Omnipotency, to them that hear his word; ye have yet a token of his Omnipotency in the Beaſts that give you Milk, to nouriſh you, and another mark in the Fruits of the Earth, in the Fruits of Date Trees, and the Vines, from which you extract Wine, and receive profit. Theſe things are ſigns of his Omnipotency, to ſuch as comprehend them. The Lord inſpired the Bee to dwell in the Fields, to lodge in Trees, in Hives, and to eat of all ſorts of Fruits, it produceth Honey of divers colours, that ſerveth for a remedy to the diſeaſes of Men; theſe things are ſigns of Gods Omnipotency to them that conſider them. God hath created you, and ſhall cauſe you to dye; There be Perſons among you that ſhall be full of ignominy in their life, to the end they may underſtand that God is Omnipotent, conferreth benefits on ſome more than on others: Slaves have no part in the faculties of their Maſters, neither are they aſſociate with them, (nevertheleſs they aſſociate to God another God equal to him, and blaſpheme againſt his Grace.) God hath created you Men, and Women, and hath given you Children, and Children to your Children, he hath enriched you with the riches of the Earth; Will you after this Grace believe in your Idols, which are things inanimate, vain, and unprofitable? Will ye be ingrateful for the benefits of God? Will ye worſhip what can neither benefit nor hurt you? Believe not that there is another God Companion and aſſociate with God? He knoweth what ye know not, he teacheth you a Parable: A Slave that is poor cannot give Alms, and he who is rich giveth Alms ſecretly and publickly, as he ſeeth good; are they both alike? Ought they to be put in Parallel? Praiſe be to God: Certainly, the greateſt part of Men know not his Graces, he teacheth you a Parable! Behold! two Men; the one was born deaf, and dumb, and given in charge to his Guardian, he knoweth not how to imploy him, he is capable neither of doing, nor ſpeaking well, is he like to him that ſpeaketh, that underſtandeth, teacheth Men Juſtice, and followeth the right way? Whatſoever is in Heaven, or on Earth appertaineth to God, when he commandeth any thing, it is performed in the twinkling of an eye, yea ſooner, he is Omnipotent: He it is that cauſeth you to come out of the Womb of your Mother, that giveth you hearing, ſight, and ſenſe, perhaps ye will return him thanks; See ye not the Birds that fly in the Air; who ſuſtaineth them but God? It is an evident ſign of his Omnipotency for the true Believers, he hath given you Houſes to inhabit, and the Skins and Furrs of Beaſts to cover you, he hath given you their Hair, and Wooll, to furniſh your Houſes, and enrich you; he created Trees and Clouds to overſhadow you, made the Mountains and Caves to cover you from rain, created Garments to defend you from the heat of the Sun, and the rigour of Cold, he hath accompliſhed his Grace upon you, peradventure you will reſign your ſelves to the Will of his Divine Majeſty, and poſſeſs his Unity. If the Unbelievers depart from the way of the Law, thou art obliged only to preach to them intelligibly; they know the Grace of God, and contemn it, for that the greateſt part of them are impious; preach unto them the Day, wherein I will raiſe again all the Nations of the World, and the Prophets and Apoſtles who have preached to them my *Commandments*, there ſhall be no excuſe for Infidels, neither ſhall they find protection, or relaxation of their Miſeries: When they ſhall behold their Idols, they ſhall confeſs that they were miſled, they ſhall underſtand the Unity of thy Lord, and that their Idols are not able to intercede for them. God hath added to the puniſhment of Infidels, hath ſent them evil upon evil, becauſe they hinder the World to follow his Law: Preach unto them the Day, wherein I will cauſe to riſe again all the Nations of the World, with the Prophet who preached to them, to be Witneſs of their Actions; I will be Witneſs againſt them of thy Nation; I have ſent thee the Book that unfoldeth the Myſteries of my Law, to guide the people into the right way, and to declare the Joys of Paradiſe to ſuch as profeſs my Unity. God commandeth you to do only that which is reaſonable, he commandeth you to give Alms, and to do good to your Parents, he forbiddeth Whoredom, diſobedience, and injuſtice, enjoyneth you to do good, perhaps you will conſider it. Perform what ye have Promiſed to God, break not promiſed Faith, ye call God to be Witneſs of your Promiſes, he knoweth all your Actions. Do not like the Woman who ſpun a Thread, folded it, and afterwards entangled and ſpoyled it, believe not that there is deceit and errour in your Law; If the Unbelievers be more in number than you, God permitteth it, to prove you; he ſhall clear to you at the Day of Judgment the doubts that be among you; had it ſo pleaſed him, you all had obſerved one and the ſame Law; he guideth, miſleadeth whom it pleaſeth him, and will exactly require of you an account of your Actions. Believe not that there is deceit in your Law, take heed of ſtumbling; having once confirmed your ſteps, ye ſhall be ſeverely chaſtiſed, if ye ſeduce the people from the right way; do not violate what ye have promiſed to God, for any price, his Grace is of more advantage to you than the wealth of the Earth, had ye knowledge to underſtand it; your wealth is periſhable, and the riches of Heaven are eternal; he ſhall recompence them that perſevere in well-doing, and whoſoever ſhall do good works, ſhall be bleſſed in this World, and in the other. When thou ſhalt read the *Alcoran*, implore God to deliver thee from the Malice of the Devil, abominable to all the Creatures, he hath no power over them that truſt in his Divine Majeſty, his power extendeth over ſuch as go aſtray, who obey not him, and adore many Gods. When we alter any Precepts (God well knoweth what he ordaineth) they ſay thou art a Lyar, but the greateſt part of them are ignorant; Say unto them, that aſſuredly the Holy Ghoſt hath taught it from thy Lord, to confirm Believers in their Faith, and to guide into the right way them that profeſs his Unity, and to announce to them the Joys of Paradiſe. I know, that they will ſay that a Man hath taught him the *Alcoran*. He whom they preſume to have taught him, is a Perſian by Nation, and ſpeaketh the Language of the *Perſians*, and the *Alcoran* is in the *Arabick* Tongue,

full

full of inſtruction and eloquence. They who will not believe in God, ſhall ſuffer great torments; ſuch as renounce his Commandments, blaſpheme againſt his Divine Majeſty; thoſe that reject his Law, after having profeſſed it, ſhall feel the effect of his wrath, and be puniſhed for preferring the Wealth of the Earth to the riches of Heaven; God guideth not unbelievers. They in whoſe hearts he hath imprinted diſobedience, thoſe whom he hath deprived of hearing, and ſight, are ignorant, they doubtleſs ſhall be at the end of the World in the number of the damned; he is merciful to them that convert, and repent to have miſſead the People from the right way, and perſevere in obedience to his Commandments. Be thou mindful of the day, wherein man ſhall diſpute againſt himſelf, and every one ſhall be rewarded according to his works without injuſtice. God teacheth you a Parable; behold a free and priviledged City, on the which God poureth his graces on all ſides with abundance, and is ingrateful for his benefits; but he ſent upon it miſery, famine, and fear, becauſe of its ingratitude. God hath ſent to the Inhabitants thereof a Prophet of their Nation, they have ſlandered him, and were chaſtiſed, becauſe of their ſin. Eat of what God hath given you, and give him thanks for his grace; if it be he whom ye worſhip, he forbideth you to eat of Carrion, of Blood, and Swines-fleſh, and whatſoever is not ſlain in pronouncing the Name of God; he will be gracious and merciful to them who ſhall eat through neceſſity, without deſign to offend him. Lie not, in ſaying, Behold that which is permitted to be eaten! blaſpheme not againſt God; ſuch as blaſpheme againſt him, ſhall not proſper in this World, and in the other ſhall ſuffer grievous torments. We did heretofore prohibit the *Jews* to eat of what we have recounted to thee; we did to them no injuſtice, they drew miſchief on themſelves through their ſin; thy Lord is gracious and merciful to them that ignorantly offend him, who convert, and do good works. *Abraham* was obedient to God, and profeſſed his unity, he adored not Idols, and gave thanks to God for his Mercies; God elected, and guided him into the right way, he gave him wealth in this World, and placed him in the other, in the number of the bleſſed. We have inſpired thee to follow the Law of *Abraham*, he profeſſed the Unity of God, and adored not Idols, he eſtabliſhed the Sabbath among the *Jews*, of which they diſpute; God ſhall judge their difference at the Day of Judgment. Call the People to the Law of God with prudence, and preachings, and diſpute againſt them with good arguments, God knoweth them that depart from the right way; if they evilly intreat you, intreat them as they ſhall intreat you; if ye be patient, patience is advantagious to them that take it willingly, have patience for the love of God, and afflict not your ſelves with the deportments and malice of the wicked. God is with the Righteous, who have his fear before their eyes.

CHAAP. XVII.

The Chapter of the Voyage by Night, containing an Hundred and eleven Verſes, written at Mecca.

Reader, *The Turks believe that this Night of the Voyage* Mahomet *aſcended into Heaven with the Angel* Gabriel: *He was mounted on a white* Burac, *which is a beaſt partly Mule, partly Aſs, and partly Horſe. He ſaw all the Prophets that preceded him, all the wonders of Paradiſe, and ſaw God, who ſate on his Throne.* See Kitab el tenoir, Tefſſir anf Giauhoir, *and the Expoſition of* Gelaldin. *The* Bedaoi *intituled this Chapter, The Chapter of the Children of* Iſrael.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Praiſe be to him, that cauſed his ſervant to go in one night from the Temple of *Mecca*, to the Temple of *Jeruſalem*; we have bleſſed that Temple, and whatſoever is about it, in token of our Omnipotency. We gave to *Moſes* the Old Teſtament, to inſtruct the Children of *Iſrael*, and to deter them from the worſhip of any other God, but of me; to forbid them to adore the Lineage of *Noah*, or the Lineage of them that we preſerved in his Ark. *Noah* is my creature, and my ſervant, acknowledging my benefits; we prohibited in Scripture the Children of *Iſrael*, to defile twice the Earth, leſt they kindled too great a fire; when that befel you, we ſtirred up our ſervants againſt you, and they entred by force into the midſt of your houſes; this was as ſoon executed as promiſed. In the end, we gave you advantage over your Enemies; we gave you Wealth, and Children to ſuccour you, and ye were more numerous than the Infidels; the good and the evil that you ſhall do, ſhall be for your ſouls. We ſtirred up the wicked againſt you, becauſe of your ſins, to afflict you through the Murther, and Bondage of your perſons; and they deſtroyed the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, as they had ruined it the firſt time. Your Lord ſhall pardon you, if you convert; we have eſtabliſhed Hell for a perpetual Priſon of Infidels. The *Alcoran* guideth the Righteous into the right way, it declareth to them a great reward, preacheth to the wicked the torments of Hell; and exhorteth men to well-doing, although they are inclining to evil, and prompt to ſin. We created the Day and the Night, they are two ſigns of our Omnipotency: We cauſed the Night to paſs away, and the Day to appear for labour; and to the end ye might know the number of Ages, of Months, and of Years; we explained our Myſteries without obſcurity, and have enjoyned every one to bear the burden of his iniquities at the Day of Judgment; that day will make men to ſee the account of their ſins, they ſhall be recompenced and chaſtiſed according to the good and the evil that they ſhall have committed, and none ſhall bear the burden of his Neighbour: We ſent to the People Prophets and Apoſtles to preach to them our Commandments, before they were chaſtiſed, before the deſtruction of a City: we advertiſed the Principal Inhabitants thereof; when they diſobeyed us, we chaſtiſed them according to our word, and deſtroyed them. How many Cities have we ruined ſince *Noah*'s flood? The ſins of the People are known

To quit their faith, and return to it often. *See Kitab el tenoir.*

to their Lord; he giveth the riches of this world to them that deſire them, to cauſe them to fall headlong into Hell, where they ſhall repent of their iniquites, and be deprived of mercy. He who ſhall labour to acquire the riches of Heaven, ſhall be protected of thy Lord in this world, and enriched with the Treaſures of Heaven in the other. Conſider, how we prefer our Creatures one to another; the reward of Heaven is much greater than that of the Earth. Believe not that there be two Gods, otherwiſe you ſhall repent of it, and be deprived of protection at the day of judgment. Thy Lord hath ordained to worſhip him alone, and to honour your father and mother, eſpecially in their old age, and ſay nothing to them that may afflict them, neither vex them; ſpeak to them with reſpect, do not contemn them, pray to God to compaſſionate them, as they have pitied you, when they brought you up in your infancy. God knoweth whatſoever is in your ſouls; he will be merciful to you, if ye obey him. Give to your parents what appertaineth to them, do good to the poor, and to pilgrims, be not prodigal, the prodigal are brethren of the Devil, ingrateful for the favours of their Lord. Contemn not the poor, if ye deſire to obtain the mercy of God, ſpeak to them with mildneſs, and endeavour to content them; do not entirely ſhut your hands, neither altogether extend them; if ye do otherwiſe, ye ſhall offend. Thy Lord giveth, and taketh away his graces, as ſeemeth good to him; he knoweth his people, and underſtandeth all their actions. Slay not your children for fear of neceſſity, I will give whatſoever ſhall be neceſſary for them; the murther of children is an exceeding great ſin, flie whoredom, it is a thing unclean, kill no man without reaſon; we have commanded to purſue him that ſhall have ſlain his neighbour, but let not the heir ſin maliciouſly, proſecuting the innocent for the guilty. The innocent is in Gods protection: take not the goods of Orphans, and be careful of them, until they be in years of diſcretion; ſatisfie your promiſes, an account ſhall be required of you; meaſure with good meaſure, and weigh with juſt weights. Buſie your ſelves not with that which you ought not to know. There ſhall be required of you an account of the ſins ye have committed, in ſeeing, hearing, and thinking. Be not proud, ye ſhall never be ſo long as the Earth, neither ſo high as the Mountains; ſuch ſins are exceeding great before thy Lord: It is one part of what he hath inſpired into thee, to preach to his people: Say not, there be two Gods, leſt thou be confined to the fire of Hell. Your Lord hath elected you, with all thoſe men and women that obey his Commandments, for his ſons and daughters, as the Angels; yet ſay not that God hath children. We made mention in the *Alcoran* of whatſoever is neceſſary to be preached to the people; ſay unto them, If there be a God with God, as ye affirm, invoke him that hath his Throne in Heaven; praiſed be God, he hath no Companion, he is moſt high and great. The ſeven Heavens praiſe him, and all that is on Earth glorifie him, but ye comprehend it not; he is gracious and merciful. We will ſeparate thee from the wicked; we will harden their hearts, and ſtop their ears: When thou ſhalt read the *Alcoran*, and ſay, There is but one God, they will turn the back, and deride thee, I know what they deſire to hear, they would have the people to hearken to the words of the unjuſt, who ſay, That thou art a Sorcerer, and a Magician; conſider to whom they compare thee; they certainly are in error, and are not able to find the right way. What! we are (ſay they) bones and fleſh, ſhall we riſe again, and become new Creatures? who ſhall cauſe us to riſe again? Say unto them, Although ye be ſtone, iron, bones, and fleſh, he who firſt created you, ſhall raiſe you again. They ſhall ſhake the head at thee, and ask of thee, In what time they ſhall riſe again? ſay unto them, Peradventure it ſhall be ſuddenly. When ye ſhall be called out of the graves by the Commandment of God, ye will believe that ye have remained but very little time in the world; then ſhall the Infidels confeſs, that the Devil hath deceived them, and that he is their open enemy. Your Lord knoweth you all, he will pardon, or chaſtiſe you, as ſeemeth good to him: We have not ſent thee to be their guardian; thy Lord knoweth whatſoever is in Heaven and in Earth. Certainly, we gave graces to ſome Prophets, which we gave not to others; and we gave the Pſalter to *David*; Say unto the Infidels, invoke the Idols which ye adore, and ſee if they are of power to deliver you from affliction. They that implore God, deſire to be nigh unto him: who are they that ſhall neareſt approach his divine Majeſty, they who hope in his mercy, or ſuch as fear his puniſhment? Certainly his puniſhment ought moſt to be feared. We will deſtroy all the Cities of the world before the day of Judgment, and chaſtiſe the wicked with rigorous torments; this is written upon the Tables kept in heaven; nothing hath hindred us to manifeſt the miracles which the inhabitants of *Mecca* deſire to ſee, but the contempt ſhewed by their predeceſſors. *Temod* ſaw the miracles of the Camel, and contemned it; I will no more ſhew miracles, but to make the people to apprehend the torments of hell. Remember thou, that we have ſaid to thee, that thy Lord knoweth all that the world doth; that which we gave thee to ſee (in the voyage by night) is to prove the people as the curſed tree, which is ſpoken of in the *Alcoran*; there be perſons that will believe it, others that will not believe; but I will try them, to augment their confuſion: Remember thou, that we commanded the Angels to humble themſelves before *Adam*, and that they did humble themſelves, except the devil; who ſaid, Shall I adore him whom thou haſt created of the earth? who is he whom thou haſt preferred to me? Certainly, if thou tarry until the day of Judgment, I will deſtroy his race, except that ſmall number that ſhall be under thy protection. Thy Lord ſaid unto him, Get thee hence, hell ſhall be thy puniſhment, and the puniſhment of them that ſhall follow thee; deceive by thy ſpeeches them whom thou ſhalt be able to deceive, ſeduce whom thou canſt ſeduce with the wealth of the earth, cauſe them to exerciſe Uſury, and commit the ſin of whoredom; tell them, there is neither Reſurrection nor Judgment; whatſoever thou ſhalt promiſe them ſhall be but vanity and falſhood; thou ſhalt have no power over them that ſhall worſhip me, I will protect them againſt thee. It is your Lord, who cauſeth the ſhip to travel upon the waters, for the advantage of traffique; when the tempeſt chargeth you, your Idols forſake you, he alone is able to protect you, nevertheleſs when he hath cauſed you to arrive at the Port, you deny his Unity, and follow your impiety; believe ye that he will another time make the ſea calm to you? and he will ſend you a favourable wind, if ye do not acknowledg him your protector? Believe you to return again to the ſea? He ſhall ſend you an impetuous wind, that ſhall overwhelm you, with your impiety,

See *Geladdin.*

† and

and ye ſhall find none to protect you againſt him. We have conferred on men many favours, we have conducted them on the earth, and ſea, enriched with all ſorts of riches, and gratified them above all creatures of the earth; preach to them the day wherein I will aſſemble before me all the Nations of the World, with the Prophet that ſhall have preached to them. He to whom ſhall be given the Book of the Accompt of his works in his right hand, ſhall read his accompt entirely, no injuſtice ſhall be done to him, and he ſhall be happy. He that ſhall be blind in this world, ſhall be ſo in the other, and ſhall not ſee the right way. They would divert thee from performing what we have inſpired into thee, to induce thee to blaſpheme againſt me. If thou do it, thou ſhalt be of their friends; were it not for the ſtrength that we have given thee, they would make thee to incline to their impiety; hadſt thou done it, we had given thee to taſte of great afflictions in this world, and in the other; thou hadſt found none to protect thee againſt us; it wanted not much, but they had affrighted thee at *Medina*, to cauſe thee to go out of it; had they driven thee thence, they had not continued there long after thee. We heretofore ſent our Prophets to inſtruct the people in our Law, thou ſhalt find therein nothing to change; make thy prayers when the Sun ſhall ſet, at the beginning, and at the end of the night, and at the dawning of day, the Angels ſhall be witneſſes of thine oriſons; ſpend one part of the night in prayer, this ſhall be an augmentation of merit, thy Lord ſhall eſtabliſh thee in the place of his glory: Say, Lord, into whatſoever place I go, make me to enter, and go forth with truth, give me thy protection; Say, that truth is come, and that vanity is vaniſhed; this Book ſhall heal the people of their error, it ſhall bring them into the way of mercy, and encreaſe the miſery of unbelievers. We have exhorted men to abandon their impiety, they have not done it, and deſpaired when they were touched with affliction; Say unto them, Each of us doth after his will, and God knoweth him that followeth the right way; they ſhall demand of thee concerning the Soul: Say unto them, the ſoul is an effect of God, he hath given you very little knowledge; aſſuredly, had it ſo pleaſed him, he could have deprived you of the knowledge he hath given you, you ſhall find nothing that is able to protect you but his mercy: Say unto them, If the devils and men were all aſſembled againſt me, they ſhould not be able to compoſe a Book like the *Alcoran*. We have taught in the *Alcoran* whatſoever is neceſſary for the ſalvation of men, nevertheleſs the greateſt part of the people depart from the Truth, and ſay, We will not believe thee, unleſs thou cauſe fountains to ſpring out of the Earth, and make in this place a garden, beautified with Date-Trees, and Vines, with rivers flowing in the midſt, or unleſs we ſee deſcend from Heaven a part of the pains which thou preacheſt; we will not believe thee, unleſs God and the Angels come to thy aſſiſtance, unleſs thy houſe be of fine gold, and that we ſee the Book of Truth ſent from heaven; we will not believe in thy Parchment, unleſs we ſee deſcend from heaven a Book which we may be able to read: Say unto them, Praiſed be my Lord, am I any thing but a man ſent from him? what hindereth men to believe, ſince there hath been ſent to them a Pilot to conduct them into the way of ſalvation? They ſay, that thou art a man, and not an Angel: Say unto them, ſhould the Angels have inhabited the earth, God would have ſent an Angel to inſtruct them; it ſufficeth, that he is the witneſs of mine actions between you and me, he knoweth and ſeeth all things; he whom God guideth, is well guided, and ſuch as God ſhall cauſe to err, ſhall find none to put them into the right way; he will aſſemble all of them at the day of Judgment, they ſhall be infamous, deaf, mute, and blind, and condemned to the flames of hell, becauſe they are wicked, and have ſaid through deriſion, that they are bones, and fleſh, and that they ſhall riſe again as new creatures; ſee they not that God hath created heaven, and earth? that he can create yet more, and hath eſtabliſhed a deſtiny indubitabe, and infallible? The unbelievers are exceedingly too blame: Say unto them, ſhould you poſſeſs all the treaſures of the world, yet would ye fear to make expence for the ſervice of God; man is too avaricious; We gave to *Moſes* nine marks of our Omnipotency, known to the children of *Iſrael*; *Pharaoh* told him that he was a Magician; Aſſuredly, ſaid *Moſes*, the ſigns and miracles that thou ſeeſt, proceed from God, Lord of heaven and earth; I believe, O *Pharaoh!* that thou forſakeſt the truth: Then would *Pharaoh* have driven him out of *Egypt*, but we drowned all thoſe that were with him, and commanded the children of *Iſrael* to inhabit the land; we will aſſemble them at the end of the world, to reward them after their works: We have indeed ſent thee the *Alcoran* from heaven, to proclaim the joys of Paradiſe, and to preach the torments of hell; we have ſent it, to the end thou maiſt teach it to the people; we have ſent it clear, and intelligible, that it may be underſtood, according to occurrences. Say unto them, Believe, or believe it not; when thoſe that have knowledge in the written Law heard it read, they proſtrated themſelves on the ground with humility, and ſaid, Praiſed be God, what he promiſeth, is infallible, and incontinently is his command executed; they wept, proſtrating the face towards the earth, and the reading of the *Alcoran* augmented their devotion: Say unto them, Implore God, call God merciful, all his Attributes are moſt glorious. Make it not appear to the world how often thou ſhalt pray, neither how often thou ſhalt read the *Alcoran*; and fear not to pray to God, and to read (the *Alcoran*), follow in this the middle path, and ſay, Praiſed be God, he hath no Son, he hath no companion, neither protector to preſerve him from contempt; his greatneſs is perfect and compleat.

His hand; his ſtaff, the deluge, grashoppers, lice, frogs, blood, fear, and famine. See *Bedaoi*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Chapter of the Cave, containing an hundred and ten Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Praiſe be to God, who hath ſent the *Alcoran* to his ſervant. There is no contradiction in this Book; it teacheth the right way; it preacheth to the wicked, that they ſhall ſuffer great torments, and proclaimeth to the righteous, that they ſhall enjoy an eternal felicity; he preacheth the torments of Hell, principally to ſuch as affirm, That God hath a Son; they are ignorant, like to their predeceſſors; they are ignorant in their diſcourſe, and utter nothing but blaſphemies, Wilt thou deſtroy thy ſelf in following their footſteps? If they believe not in the *Alcoran*, they ſhall one day have ſorrow, and ſhall repent it. We adorned the Earth, with whatſoever is upon it, for the advantage of men. One part thereof is happy and plentiful, and the other unfruitful, and deſart. Do ye not believe that the ſleepers that entred the Cave, and the Paper wherein their names were written, be our miracles? When thoſe men entred the Cave, they ſaid, Lord, give us thy mercy, and guide us into the right way. Then did we cauſe them to ſleep for the ſpace of ſome years, and awaked them, having continued ſome time in that Cave, to make it appear which of the two Religions was the moſt juſt. I will relate to thee their Hiſtory with truth; they were young men, who had the fear of their Lord before their eyes; we ſtrengthned them, and encreaſed their faith; when they were with the Infidels, they ſaid, Our God is Lord of heaven and Earth, we will never worſhip but one God, otherwiſe we ſhall ſeparate our ſelves from the truth: This people have adored Idols without reaſon: who is more unjuſt than he, who blaſphemeth againſt God? When they deſerted the Infidels, they worſhipped one God alone. Enter into the Cave, God ſhall make his mercy towards you to appear, and ſhall guide you through a path ſmooth and pleaſant. When the Sun aroſe, he caſt his rayes on the right ſide of their Cave, and on the left, at his going down; they in the mean time were in the moſt ſpacious place of this Cave. This is one of Gods miracles; he whom he guideth, is well guided; and whom he miſleadeth, ſhalt find none to give him ſuccor, or to guide him. Believe ye that they ſhould be awake? Aſſuredly they ſlept and turned themſelves, ſometimes to one ſide, ſometimes to another: Conſider how their Dog extended his feet before that old habitation of ſtone; if any one had entred towards them, he would have cauſed them to fly, and had affrighted them. In the end we awaked them, and they mutually enquired of each other in what place they were, and how long they had there continued; one of them replyed, That they had been there a day or two; then they all ſaid, God knoweth the time that we have abode here, ſend one of us to the City with money to buy bread and meat; let him not be fearful, neither make himſelf known to any; if we be known, they will murther or conſtrain us to follow their Religion in which we ſhall be eternally miſerable. Thus did we ſtir up the people againſt them, to the end they might know that thy Lord is true; when he ſaid, He will cauſe the dead to ariſe again, the Reſurrection is indubitable; nevertheleſs unbelievers diſpute among them, concerning the Hiſtory of the Sleepers, and ſay, That they built a ſecret place to retire themſelves. God knoweth the Truth. The True believers believe that they made no building; the Infidels ſay they were five, and that their dog was the ſixth, they ſpeak by opinion; but the True believers affirm them to be ſeven, and their dog to be the eighth. Say unto them, My Lord knoweth how many they were: few perſons, except God, know their number; Doubt no more the Hiſtory of the Sleepers, the matter is averred and known: diſpute no more with the Jews, and ſay not, I will do this to morrow, without ſaying, If it pleaſe God. Call God to mind after thou haſt forgot him, and ſay, The Lord ſhall guide me, and teach me the Hiſtory of the Sleepers, who remained in Cave three hundred years: there be who affirm they continued there nine hundred years. Say unto them, God knoweth the time of their abode there, he knoweth whatſoever is in Heaven, and Earth, he underſtandeth and ſeeth all things, he alone diſpoſeth every thing, and hath no companion: Preach what thy Lord hath inſpired into thee, his word admitteth of no alteration, there is no ſafer refuge than in him; dwell with thoſe that invoke him morning and evening, and deſire to ſee his face: depart not from their company, if thou deſireſt to have content of life in this world: obey not thoſe whoſe heart we have hardned, and are unmindful of us; follow not their impiety; whatſoever they do, is but offence and ſin. Say unto them, the truth proceedeth from your Lord; who ſhall deſire [it] ſhall be True believers, and who ſhall not deſire [it] ſhall be an Infidel, we have prepared Hell to chaſtiſe the impious, and priſons wherein to detain them. They ſhall implore ſuccors againſt the melting pit, into which they ſhall be plunged, as into waters, it ſhall roſt their faces, and ſhall be their drink: I will not fruſtrate of reward them that ſhall have done well; they ſhall enjoy the delights of the gardens of *Eden*, wherein flow many rivers; they ſhall have bracelets of fine Gold; they ſhall be cloathed with green, with Scarlet, with ſhining colours, and ſhall ſit on thrones, with an eternal felicity. Declare to them this parable: there were two men, I gave to the one of them gardens wherein are ſtore of fruits; he in contempt told his companion, that he was more wealthy and powerful than he, and entred into his gardens, being an Infidel, and an Idolater, and ſaid, I do not think theſe ſhall ever have an end, they ſhall endure a long time without withering: His companion ſaid to him: If thou doſt not acknowledge this to proceed from God, and if thou be ingrateful towards him that created thee of duſt, and made thee a man, thou ſhalt ſoon find thy gardens ruined: this cometh from God my Lord, who hath no companion: all ſtrength and truth proceedeth from his divine Majeſty: If I have leſs of ſubſtance than thou, God can give me fruits more fair than thoſe of thy gardens, or ſend thunder that ſhall deſtroy them, he ſhall fill them with water of rain, that ſhall encompaſs them, and hinder thee to approach [them.]

See Galaldin.

[them.] In the morning this Infidel found his gardens deſtroyed to the very roots; he was extreamly perplexed, by reaſon of the expence he had made to plant them evenly; and he ſaid, Would to God I had not adored Idols: He ſhall find none that is able to protect him at the day of Judgment, but God, all protection and grace iſſueth from his divine bounty, and the end of the righteous ſhall be happy. Speak unto them this parable, The life of the world is like unto rain fallen from Heaven, that refreſhed and revived the herbs of the Earth, and in the morning were dry as chaff, carried away by the wind; God is omnipotent: Riches and Children are the ornaments of this life, but good works are eternal, they are acceptable to God, and give us hope of his grace. Be thou mindful of the day when the mountains ſhall walk, and thou ſhalt ſee the Earth to be plain; that day we aſſemble the good and the wicked, and will not fail of my word to any perſon; that day ſhall the Infidels beſeech the Lord to ſave them, he ſhall ſay unto them, You came unto us naked; as when we at firſt created you, and ye believed on Earth, that there was no reſurrection; Then ſhall he give to every one the Book, wherein ſhall be written the accompt of their ſins; Thou ſhalt ſee the wicked trembling with fear, ſaying, behold here our deſtruction! What is there in this Book? It containeth their venial and mortal ſins, and detecteth their offences, they ſhall find the number of their crimes before their eyes: Thy Lord is unjuſt to none; Remember thou that we commanded the Angels to proſtrate themſelves before *Adam*, and that they humbled themſelves, except the Devil, who was in the number of Angels, he diſobeyed his Lord; nevertheleſs *Adam* and his poſterity have obeyed him, although he is their open enemy, and particularly of the Infidels. Conſider ye not that God created Heaven and Earth, and he made you, and hath no need to be aided of you? Be thou mindful of the day, when it ſhall be ſaid to Idolaters, Call upon your Idols that ye have worſhipped, for remiſſion of your ſins; they ſhall implore them, but none ſhall hear their prayers, we have ruined them; the wicked ſhall behold the fire, into which they ſhall fall, and find none to ſave them. We taught men in the *Alcoran*, many parables, yet do the wicked abound in queſtion, and diſpute too much; What hindreth men to believe, ſince there is come to them a guide, to conduct them into the right way? If they beg not pardon of God, what hapned to their predeceſſors, and at *Beder*, ſhall befall them, they ſhall be viſibly puniſhed; I ſend Prophets only to anounce the joys of Paradiſe, and to preach the torments of Hell; the unbelievers diſpute vainly, to obſcure the truth, they deride my Commandments, and the fire of Hell; who is more unjuſt than he who knoweth the Commandments of his Lord, and diſobeyeth him, and forgetteth his paſt ſins? We have hardned their hearts, they ſhall not underſtand the Scripture; we have ſtopped their ears, they ſhall hear nothing; if thou calleſt them to the right way, they ſhall not follow thee, thy Lord is gracious and merciful; ſhould he chaſtiſe them after their demerits, he ſhould forthwith deſtroy them, he tarrieth until the time that he hath promiſed to puniſh them, and they ſhall find none of power to protect them. We have deſtroyed Cities, when their inhabitants have offended, and we prefixed the day of their ruine. Remember thou that *Moſes* ſaid to his ſervant, I will travel inceſſantly, until I ſee a place where two ſeas meet, although I travel an Age. When he came to that place, he and his ſervant forgot their fiſh, he had taken his way through the Sea: Having continued their voyage ſome time, *Moſes* was an hungry, and demanded ſomewhat to eat of his ſervant, who ſaid to him, Saweſt thou what hapned at the Rock? I have forgotten our fiſh, the Devil made me to forget it, he miraculouſly took his way through the Sea; that Rock is the place which we ſeek: they both returned on their ſteps, diſcourſing together, until they came to that Rock, where they found one of our ſervants, on whom we had conferred our graces, and inſpired knowledge; *Moſes* ſaid unto him, Permit me to follow thee, that thou mayſt teach me knowledge, and inſtruct me; He replied, Thou wilt not be able to abide patiently with me; How wilt thou patiently endure to hear a thing which none in the world ever knew? *Moſes* ſaid, Thou ſhalt find me exceeding patient, and I will not diſobey thee; He anſwered, If thou follow me, enquire nothing of me, and hear only what I ſhall ſay to thee. They went together, and they being in a boat, he brake a plank; *Moſes* ſaid to him, Thou haſt broken this veſſel, to drown us, it is a ſtrange thing; He anſwered, Did not I tell thee, that thou wilt not be able patiently to abide with me? *Moſes* replied, Excuſe me, and afflict me not, I had forgotten what thou didſt enjoyn me? They went on together until they met with a child, whom he ſlew; *Moſes* ſaid to him, Thou haſt ſlain an innocent, that hath not ſlain any one; thou haſt done a thing without reaſon, and that ought not to be approved: He anſwered, Did I not ſay, thou wilt not be able patiently to abide with me? *Moſes* ſaid to him, Excuſe me this time alſo, if I demand ought elſe of thee, abandon me. They continued their way unto a Village, where the inhabitants refuſed them bread; at that time they found a wall ruined, which he raiſed again; *Moſes* ſaid to him, Thou ſhouldſt have been payed for repairing this wall, if thou wouldſt; He anſwered, Now behold the place of our ſegration, nevertheleſs I will explain to thee what thou wert impatient to learn. That boat belongeth to two poor men, who labour on the ſea to gain their ſubſiſtence, I would have pierced it, to preſerve it to thoſe poor men, becauſe there was an Infidel Prince, who by force ſeized on the good veſſels for his ſervice. That Infant which I ſlew was an Idolater, the ſon of a true believer, a righteous man; we feared he might cauſe his father to ſin, and ſeduce him into his error, and infidelity; the Lord through his goodneſs would have him to be deſtroyed, to deliver his father from his malice. The wall appertaineth to two infant Orphans of this City, there is under it a treaſure that belongeth to them, their father was a righteous man, God through his goodneſs willeth that the treaſure be preſerved for them, until they attain to years of Diſcretion; he likewiſe willed me to do what I have done: behold the expoſition of what thou wert impatient to learn. If any one enquire of thee concerning *Alexander* the great, relate to them his Hiſtory. We gave him on earth what he deſired, he went as far as the Weſt, where he found a fountain guarded by a man, who ſaid to him, O *Alexander*! chaſtiſe men through the murther of their perſons; Bondage and Ranſom; he anſwered, I will put to death unbelievers in this world, and the Lord ſhall puniſh them in Hell, and the righteous ſhall enjoy the glory of Paradiſe; I will tell the wicked, that God hath given us what we have deſired. After

this, he continued his way until he came to a place, where the Sun riſeth; he found that it riſeth in a Countrey, where they have nothing to ſhelter them from its heat, the thing is ſo: we taught *Alexander* how to ſhelter himſelf; he followed his way, until he arrived between two Mountains, inhabited of a Nation that ſpake a Language which he could hardly underſtand; they ſaid to him, O *Alexander*! *Jagog*, and *Magog* defile the Earth, canſt thou put between them and us an obſtacle, to hinder that they may not come to us? God, ſaid *Alexander*, hath not given me means to do it; but aſſiſt me with your power, I will put between them and you a ſtrong ſeparation; give me Iron that can cut Stones, that I may build betwixt the two Mountains, and that I may fortifie the way that divideth them; blow when the Iron ſtriketh the Stones, to kindle fire, and pour on molten Braſs to joyn the Stones and Iron together; if they come, they cannot pierce through the Mountains, neither find a way to come to you, this is a favour which God conferreth on you, his promiſes are infallible; when the hour arriveth, he is true in what he promiſeth; we will permit them to mix each with other; we will aſſemble all of them when the Trumpet ſhall ſound; then we will open Hell to the wicked, and to ſuch as would neither ſee, nor hear the *Alcoran*; Do they imagin them that worſhip me to be their gods? We have prepared Hell to puniſh them. Say unto them, ſhall I relate unto thee what ſhall befal the damned? Their works ſhall be unprofitable in this World, although they think to do well, good works are unprofitable to them that contemn the Commandments of their Lord, and believe not in the Reſurrection; they ſhall not want ballance at the Day of Judgment; Hell ſhall be their habitation, becauſe they deride our Commandments, and our Apoſtles, and Prophets: The Righteous ſhall enjoy eternally the delight of Paradiſe without diſcontinuation. If the Sea were Ink, to write the wondrous works of my Lord, it will ſooner have an end than his Miracles: Say unto the Infidels, I am a man like you, God hath taught me that there is but one God; he that believeth in the Reſurrection, ſtudieth to do good works; worſhip but one God, who is without a companion.

CHAP. XIX.

The Chapter of Mary, *containing Four-ſcore and Eighteen Verſes, written at* Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful: God is the rewarder, conductor, (of the Righteous) liberal, wiſe, true: *Zachary*, the Servant of thy Lord, remembred his Grace, when he in ſecret prayed to his Lord, and ſaid, Lord, my bones are become feeble, and mine Head is White with Old age; Lord; I was never rejected in my prayers, hear my Petition, give me a Son to ſucceed me, that may be mine Heir, Heir of the Lineage of *Jacob*, and be pleaſing to thee. O *Zachary*! I declare unto thee, that thou ſhalt have a Son, named *John*, no man hath yet been called by that name; he ſaid, Lord, how ſhall I have a Son, my Wife is barren, and I am too old? It was anſwered him, the thing ſhall be as I have ſaid unto thee, it is eaſie to thy Lord, who created thee; he ſaid, Lord give me ſome ſign of the Conception of my Wife; he ſaid to him, Thou ſhalt not ſpeak for Three nights. Then went he out of his Oratory, and made ſigns to the People, to make their prayers Evening and Morning. Oh *John*! learn the Scripture with affection; we from his Infancy gave him knowledg, clemency, charity, piety, affection towards his Father and Mother, and not violence and diſobedience. We bleſſed the day of his Nativity, the day that he ſhall die, and the day that he ſhall riſe again. Remember thou what is written of *Mary*, ſhe retired towards the Eaſt, into a place far remote from her Kindred, and took a Vail to cover her, we ſent her our Spirit in form of a man; ſhe was afraid, and ſaid, God will preſerve me from thee, if thou have his fear before thine eyes; he ſaid, Oh *Mary*! I am the Meſſenger of God thy Lord, who ſhall give thee a Son, active, and prudent: She anſwered, How ſhall I have a Son without the touch of man? I deſire not to be unchaſte; he ſaid, The thing ſhall be as I have told thee, it is facile to thy Lord; thy Son ſhall be a token of the Omnipotency of God, and of his ſpecial grace towards ſuch as ſhall believe in his Divine Majeſty; ſhe became with Child, and retired ſome time into a place remote from People, where ſhe ſuſtained the dolours of Child-birth, at the foot of a Date-tree, and ſaid, Why am I not dead? Wherefore am I not in the number of perſons forgotten? The Angel ſaid to her, Afflict not thy ſelf; God hath placed a brook under thee, ſhake the foot of this Palm, and the Dates ſhall fall, gather them up, eat and drink, and waſh thine eyes; ſay unto them that thou ſhall meet, that thou faſteſt, and haſt made a Vow not to ſpeak to any one, until the faſt be accompliſhed. Her Parents met her while ſhe bare her Infant, and ſaid unto her, Oh *Mary*? behold a ſtrange thing; Oh Siſter of *Aaron*! thy Father did not command thee to do evil, neither was thy Mother unchaſte; ſhe made ſigns to her Infant to anſwer them; they ſaid, How ſhall the Infant in the Cradle ſpeak? Then her infant ſpake, and ſaid, I am the Servant of God, he hath taught me the Scripture, hath made me a Prophet, bleſſed me in all places, and commanded me to pray unto him; he hath recommended to me purity through the whole courſe of my life, and to honour my Father and Mother; he hath not made me either violent or malicious, praiſed ſhall be the day of my birth, the day that I ſhall die, and the day of my reſurrection. Thus ſpake Jeſus, the Son of *Mary*, with truth, of which ye doubt: God approveth not the diſcourſe of them that ſay he hath a Son; praiſed be God, when he willeth any thing, he ſaith, Be thou, and it is; he is mine and your Lord, worſhip him, this is the right way; there be perſons, who in this regard have been of different opinion, but miſery is upon the incredulous. They ſhall be miſerable at the Day of Judgment. The Infidels are manifeſtly erroneous from the right way; if thou preach to them the torments of Hell and their ignorance, they will not hear thee. We are Lords of whatſoever is on Earth, and diſpoſe of every thing at our pleaſure, they ſhall be one day aſſembled before us to be judged. Remember thou what is written of *Abraham*, he was a Righteous man, and a Prophet, he ſaid to his Father, Adore not what neither ſeeth, nor un-

See *Kitab el tenoir*.

underſtandeth any thing, and that cannot be profitable; I know what ye know not, follow me, and I will conduct you into the right way; worſhip not the Devil, he is diſobedient unto God; otherwiſe I fear that God may chaſtiſe you, and you may be in the number of the damned. He anſwered, Oh *Abraham*! doſt thou abhor my Gods? Unleſs thou change thy diſcourſe, I will ſtone thee, depart from me for a long time; he ſaid, May God inſpire you, I will pray for you, he is exceeding good, and will hear my prayers; Whom will ye adore, when I ſhall be gone from you? Worſhip God my Lord, and your prayers ſhall be heard; he departed from them, and worſhipped one God: We gave him two Sons, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, both Prophets, we conferred our grace upon him, with an eloquent and true Tongue. Remember thou what is written of *Moſes*, he was a Righteous man, our Prophet and Meſſenger; we called him on the right ſide of the Mount *Sinai*, drew him near unto us, and taught him our ſecrets; we through ſpecial grace gave him a Brother, named *Aaron*. Remember thou what is written of *Iſmael*, he exactly obſerved what he promiſed, was a Prophet, and an Apoſtle of the Lord, preached Purity, and recommended to men to make their prayers often, and was pleaſing to his Lord. Remember thou what is written of *Enoch*, he was a juſt man, and a Prophet, and we took him up to an exceeding high place. God gave his grace to theſe men, among the Prophets of the Lineage of *Adam*, among them whom we cauſed to embark with *Noah*, among thoſe of the Lineage of *Abraham*, and *Iſrael*, and among thoſe that we aſſembled and guided into the right way. When the miracles of the merciful were related to them, they fell proſtrate, and adored him with tears in their eyes; their Poſterity forſook their footſteps, abandoned the Law, and followed their own Appetites; but they ſhall be precipitated into Hell, except ſuch as ſhall be converted, and do good works, they ſhall enter into Paradiſe, and no injuſtice ſhall be done to them; they ſhall enter into the Garden of *Eden*; what the merciful [God] doth promiſe, is infallible; they ſhall hear nothing ſpoken in Paradiſe that ſhall diſpleaſe them; they ſhall hear the ſalutation of Angels, and Morning and Evening ſhall have what they deſire; ſuch is Paradiſe, which God giveth to his Creatures that have his fear before their eyes. I * deſcend not from Heaven, but by the permiſſion of thy Lord, he is maſter of our actions in Heaven and Earth, and of whatſoever is between them; he hath not forgot thee, worſhip him, and perſevere in thy adoration, knoweſt thou any perſon that is named, like him? Man ſaith, What, ſhall I dye and riſe again? He conſidereth not that God hath created him of nothing; I will one day aſſemble the Infidels, and Devils, I will cauſe them to appear at the Gate of Hell upon their Knees, and will caſt upon them all manner of miſery, becauſe they have encreaſed their impiety towards their Lord. I know ſuch as deſerve to burn in Hell, they ſhall be thrown thither headlong, this is a moſt juſt Sentence pronounced by the Lord. I will ſave the Righteous, and forbid Infidels to fall on their Knees before Idols: when the unbelievers, and many of the Faithful heard my Commandments preached, they ſaid among themſelves, that they were in a better way than their Neighbour; how many have we deſtroyed before them, in paſt Ages, more Rich than they, and Hypocrites like unto them? Say unto them, God prolongeth the life of the erroneous, that they may know their errors, and learn the knowledge of the pains prepared for them, they ſhall underſtand who ſhall be the moſt miſerable: And who ſhall have been moſt weak in their Faith, and leaſt affectionate to the Service of his Divine Majeſty; God ſhall encreaſe their Faith, who ſhall follow the right way; and ſuch as be obedient to him, ſhall enjoy his grace. Haſt thou conſidered the action of the wicked? They demand, if they ſhall have Riches and Children after their Reſurrection? Would you know what ſhall be? would you capitulate with the merciful? I will not do it; I will write all that they ſay, and will add to their miſeries; I will give to them in this World, what they require, and they ſhall riſe again naked (without treaſure, and Children.) They adored Idols, to have their protection. Certainly they erred in that adoration; they ſhall renounce them, and be their enemies at the Day of Judgment. Seeſt thou not, how we have ſent the Devils againſt unbelievers, to ſeduce them? Be not impatient to ſee them puniſhed, they ſhall be judged at the day appointed. Be thou mindful of the day, when I ſhall aſſemble all the Righteous in the preſence of God, and precipitate all the wicked into Hell; their prayer ſhall not be heard, except ſuch as have accompliſhed their promiſes made to the merciful. They have ſaid, Do ye believe that God hath a Son? You utter a ſtrange thing; it wanteth not much, but that Heaven and Earth open themſelves, and that the Mountains fall with their utter deſtruction. They call God, God the Son; God hath not to do with a Son; whatſoever is in Heaven and Earth adore him; he knoweth the account and number of all things of the World: Men ſhall appear before him at the Day of Judgment, and the True believers that ſhall do good works, ſhall be beloved of his Divine Majeſty. We have ſent thee the *Alcoran*, written in thine own Language, that thou maiſt proclaim the delights of Paradiſe to them that fear me, and preach the Torments of Hell to ſuch as diſpute with obſtinacy againſt the Faith. How many of the wicked have we deſtroyed in paſt Ages? Haſt thou heard ſpeak of them? Haſt thou heard mention of their Memory?

See Gelaldin.

**Gelaldin* ſaith, that *Mahomet* complaineth to the Angel *Gabriel* for having been ſo long abſent from him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

The Chapter of Beatitude, and of Hell, containing an hundred and thirty Verſes, written at Mecca.

Reader, the Mahometans *have entituled this Chapter* Tche, *which is two letters of the* Arabique *Alphabet, to wit,* Tt *and* He, *where in this place,* Tt *ſignifieth* Thoûba, *that is to ſay, Beatitude; and* He Haoihe, *that is to ſay, Hell. See the gloſs, and interpretation of* Gelaldin, *and* Bedaoi; *they have intituled this, The Capter of Beatitude and of Hell.*

IN the name of God gracious and merciful. We have not given thee the *Alcoran* to torment thee, but to inſtruct therein the righteous. It was ſent thee by him that created the Heavens and the Earth; the merciful ſitteth on his Throne; whatſoever is in Heaven and Earth, whatſoever is between them and beneath the Earth, appertaineth to him. He knoweth thy thoughts, he underſtandeth what thou keepeſt ſecret, and what thou makeſt manifeſt. God! there is but one God, all the glorious names of the world are due unto him. Knoweſt thou the Hiſtory of *Moſes*? When he beheld the fire, he ſaid to his family, Stay ye here, I ſee a great fire, I will bring to you a ſpark, and you ſhall find in it the right way. When he approached, it was ſaid unto him, O *Moſes*! I am thy Lord, put off thy ſhooes, thou art in the holy Valley of *Tol*, I have elected thee among my people, Hear my word, and receive mine inſpirations; I am God, there is none other God but I, worſhip me alone, and make thy prayers as it is ordained. The hour unknown to the world approacheth, wherein I will recompence and chaſtiſe every one after his works: Take heed leſt the wicked ſeduce thee from the right way; if thou follow their appetite, thou ſhalt be deſtroyed; Is it not what thou haſt ſworn to me? he anſwered, Lord, I will apply my ſelf unto thee, and will lean upon my ſtaff; I will beat the fruits of the Trees to make them fall upon my flocks; I have yet another manner to nouriſh my ſheep with this ſtaff; I will make uſe of it to defend, and preſerve them from miſchief? God ſaid unto him, O *Moſes*! caſt that ſtaff to the ground, behold a Serpent, it creepeth, take it, and be not afraid, I will cauſe it to return to its former condition; draw back thine hand, and put it under thy arm, it ſhall become white and ſhining, without harm, and pain, it ſhall be a moſt certain ſign of my Unity, I will give thee to ſee the miracles of my Omnipotency; Go to *Pharoah*, he is in an exceeding great error, and ſeduced from the right way: *Moſes* ſaid, Lord, rejoyce my heart, and facilitate my commiſſion, unlooſe the knot of my tongue, that they may underſtand my ſpeech: give me *Aaron* to aſſiſt me in this buſineſs, that I may praiſe thee, and highly exalt thy glory, thou only art our protector. God ſaid, Thy prayer is heard, we were favourable to thee another time, when we inſpired thy mother to put thee into a coffer, and expoſe thee to the river of *Nile*; the water drove thee to the ſhore, whence *Pharoah* took thee; I cauſed thee to be beloved of him, to have care of my people; when thy ſiſter ſought tidings of what was become of thee, ſhe ſaid, Who will guide us where he is? who will conduct us to him that keepeth him? we ſent thee back to thy mother, to ſtop her tears, and put an end to her affliction. Thou ſleweſt a man, we have deliver'd thee from the hands of thine enemies, and have approved thy perſeverance; thou haſt continued ſome time with the inhabitants of *Madian*; after this we ſent thee to preach our Commandments; I have made choice of thee, go with thy brother to *Pharoah*, and lie not in ſpeaking of me, he is gone aſtray from the right way; ſpeak to him both of you, with mildneſs, peradventure he will hearken to you, and will fear the fire of hell; they anſwered, Lord, We fear that he may torment, and riſe up againſt us: he ſaid, Fear nothing, I will be with you, hear what he will ſay, conſider his actions; addreſs your ſelves to him, and ſay, We are the Meſſengers of the Omnipotent God; diſmiſs with us the children of *Iſrael*, and no more torment them, we are come hither by the Commandment of God, thy Lord. Salvation is for ſuch as follow the right way, damnation for them that blaſpheme againſt his Law, and depart from his Commandments; *Pharoah* ſaid unto them, Who is your God? *Moſes* ſaid, My God is he that created the world, and guideth men into the right way. *Pharoah* ſaid, what law did your predeceſſors obſerve? what is become of them? *Moſes* anſwered, God knoweth in what condition they are; nothing is concealed from God, he extended the earth, and eſtabliſhed the ways; he cauſeth rain to deſcend from heaven, and maketh to ſpring forth the plants, herbs, and fruits which ye eat, and that nouriſh your flocks. Theſe things are ſigns of his Omnipotency to them that underſtand them. We created you of earth, and to earth will we make you to return, and will cauſe you to come out of it once again; we ſhewed miracles to *Paroah*, but he was incredulous, contemned them, and ſaid, O *Moſes*! Art thou come to drive us out of our Dominions with thy Magick? I will ſhew thee [Magick] like to thine; let us meet at a place and day prefixed between thee and me, to come together; *Moſes* ſaid unto him, Let us make choice of the day of your feaſt; if it ſeem good to you the people may aſſemble at the Sun riſing: After this diſcourſe, *Pharoah* withdrew, recollected all his ſubtilties, and at the day and hour prefixed, came with his people to the place appointed, where *Moſes* was, who ſaid unto them, Miſery is upon you, blaſpeme not againſt God, he will puniſh you, and deſtroy them that blaſpheme againſt him; The people of *Pharoah* differed in opinion what they ſhould do, kept their deſign ſecret, and ſaid to *Pharoah*, Theſe two men are Magicians, they would chaſe you from your Country, through their Magick, and ſeduce your ſubjects from your Religion; recollect your ſubtilties and power, and chuſe perſons capable to diſpute againſt them, this day ſhall be happy to him that ſhall be victorious, They ſaid to *Moſes*, Wilt thou firſt caſt thy ſtaff on the ground, or ſhall we ours? Their cords and ſtaves aroſe againſt *Moſes* through their Magick, and crawled: *Moſes* ſpake low, between his teeth; we ſaid unto him, Fear nothing, thou ſhalt be victorious, caſt thy ſtaff in thy right hand on the ground, it ſhall devour what they have done, it is but witchcraft and magick,

magick, that produceth neither Profit nor Content. Then fell the Magicians of *Pharoah* proſtrate on the ground, and ſaid, We believe in the God of *Aaron* and *Moſes*; *Pharoah* ſaid unto them, believe ye in him without my permiſſion? *Moſes* is your maſter, I will cut off your right feet, and your left hands; or your left feet, and your right hands, and cauſe you to be hanged on Palm-trees, that ye may know who is the more ſevere in his chaſtiſements, I, or the God of *Moſes*; they ſaid, the miracles that thou haſt ſeen, have they not touched thee? He that created us, doth things which are not in thy power to perform; thy power extendeth only in this World, we believe in God our Lord, who will pardon our ſins; thou art the cauſe that he abhorreth us with our magick, he is more powerful than thou, and Eternal; Hell is prepared for Infidels, they ſhall find repoſe neither in their life nor death; and the righteous that ſhall do good works, ſhall eternally enjoy the pleaſures of the gardens of *Eden*, wherein flow many delicious Rivers, ſuch is the reward of them that are purged from their ſins. We ſaid unto *Moſes*, Go out by Night with my People, and make them a drie Path through the Sea, fear not that thine Enemies may overtake thee, neither be afraid of being drowned, *Pharoah* ſhall follow them with his Troops; I will overwhelm in the Sea, and will miſlead him with his People, he ſhall not follow the right way. O Children of *Iſrael!* We delivered you from your Enemies, and conducted you towards the mountains of *Sinai*: We cauſed Manna and Quailes to deſcend upon you, and ſaid, Eat ye of the good things that we have given you, and be not ungrateful, otherwiſe my wrath ſhall fall upon you; he upon whom mine indignation ſhall fall, ſhall be thrown headlong into the Fire of Hell; *I will be* merciful to ſuch as ſhall convert, do good works, and follow the right way. O *Moſes!* who preſſed thee to abſent thyſelf from thy People? He anſwered, behold he that followeth my ſteps, I am come up to receive thy Commadments. We after thy departure eſtranged thy People from thee, and *Samery* ſeduced them from the right way; he returned upon his ſteps to his People, in great diſpleaſure, and ſaid, O ye People! did not God promiſe to you all manner of content? He protracted the effect of his promiſes, becauſe of your ſins, will you that his wrath fall upon you? Wherefore have ye tranſgreſſed what ye promiſed to me? They ſaid, we have not tranſgreſſed our promiſes of our own accord; we took the moſt weighty ornaments of the People, and caſt them into the Fire, *Samery* himſelf did caſt them in; he made the body of a bellowing Calf, and ſaid, with his followers, Behold there your God, the God of *Moſes* whom he hath forgotten; Saw they not that this Calf ſpake not to them, and that it had not power to do good or evil? *Aaron* had ſaid unto them, before the coming of *Moſes*; O ye People! you have been ſeduced by this Calf; the merciful is your God, and your Lord, Follow and obey me: They ſaid, Shall we abide here until *Moſes* return? *Moſes* at his return ſaid unto *Aaron*, What hindred thee to follow me, when thou ſaweſt them to turn aſide from the Law of God? Wherefore haſt thou diſobeyed me? O Son of my Mother! (ſaid *Aaron*) drag me not by the Beard and Hair, I feared to diſpleaſe thee, if I forſook the Children of *Iſrael*, and diſobey thy Commandments; *Moſes* ſaid unto *Samery*, what was thy deſign? He anſwered, I ſaw what this People ſeeth not, I took an handful of the Earth of the footſteps of the Meſſenger of God, and made the Figure of a Calf, the faireſt that I could; *Moſes* ſaid unto him, Go, get thee from among us; thou ſhalt fly the preſence of men all the days of thy life; thou ſhalt ſay unto them, Come not nigh me, touch me not, the time of thy puniſhment is appointed, thou ſhalt not eſcape it; behold thy falſe god, behold the Calf which thou haſt adored, I will cauſe it to burn, and will caſt the aſhes thereof into the Sea; your God is one God, and there is none other God, but the God that knoweth all things: Thus do I relate to thee things paſt; we have ſent thee the *Alcoran*, ſuch as ſhall abjure it, ſhall bear their burthen at the Day of Judgment, and be eternally tormented; I will one day require an account of their burden, and will aſſemble them with all their ſubtilties; when the Trumpet ſhall ſound, they ſhall demand of each other, how long they have continued in the World? They ſhall ſay, That they have remained there but Ten days and Ten nights, I know all that they will ſay; the moſt prudent among them ſhall ſay, that they have been but one day. They ſhall enquire of thee concerning the Mountains; Say unto them, God ſhall tear them up, and level them with the Earth, thou ſhalt ſee them levelled and beaten down: Then ſhall men without retardment follow him that ſhall ſummon them to univerſal Judgment, they ſhall humble themſelves before God, thou ſhalt that Day hear low and humble voices, that day ſhall prayers be ineffectual, except of them that ſhall be pleaſing to God, whom he will permit to ſpeak. He knoweth whatſoever men do in this World, and what muſt befall them in the other, and they know it not, they ſhall humble themſelves, and hang down the Head before the Living and Eternal Lord; all Infidels ſhall be damned, and the Righteous of Truebelievers that have done good works, ſhall not fear injuſtice. We have ſent the *Alcoran* in the *Arabique* Tongue, it teacheth men our Commandments, peradventure they will fear impiety; it teacheth them what they ought to know; Exalt the glory of God, King of the World, he is truth itſelf; preſs not thy ſelf to read the *Alcoran*, until thou haſt well underſtood it. Say, Lord encreaſe my knowledge; We heretofore prohibited *Adam* to eat of the forbidden fruit, he was unmindful of our Commandment, I found in him no perſeverance. Remember thou that we commanded the Angels to humble themſelves before him, they humbled themſelves, except the Devil, who refuſed to do it. Remember that we ſaid, *Adam*, the Devil is thine enemy, and the enemy of thy Wife, he will endeavour to make you miſerable, to cauſe you both to go out of Paradiſe, where thou ſuffereſt neither hunger nor thirſt, nor cold, nor heat; the Devil tempted them, and ſaid, oh *Adam*! I will conduct thee to the Tree of Eternity, a treaſure that ſhall never periſh; they did both eat of the fruit of that Tree, then knew they their filthineſs, and took the leaves of Trees to cover their nakedneſs; *Adam* diſobeyed his Lord, and became miſerable, nevertheleſs he heard, and pardoned him, and ſhewed him the right; he ſaid, deſcend from Paradice, ye Enemies of each other, I will hereafter ſend you a guide, he that ſhall follow him, ſhall not err, and ſhall be bleſſed; he that ſhall go aſtray, and will not believe in me, ſhall be miſerable in the World, and blind at the Day of Judgment; that Day ſhall he ſay, Lord, wherefore haſt thou made me blind? I had good ſight when I was in the World: I did this day forget thee,

as thou didſt forget my Commandments; thus do I intreat Infidels. The torments of the other World are more grievous than thoſe of the Earth, and of longer continuance; do not unbelievers tremble, when they conſider how many men upon Earth we have deſtroyed in paſt Ages? Their miſery ſhall ſerve for example to them that are wiſe; had not thy Lord ſaid, that he will defer the puniſhment of the wicked until the time appointed, he had already deſtroyed them. Be patient, and endure their Diſcourſe, praiſe thy Lord before the Sun ariſe, before it ſetteth, an hour before Night, and at the end of Day thou ſhalt do a thing acceptable to him: The life of the World is ſweet to tempt you, but the Riches of thy Lord are better, and Eternal. Command the People to make their prayers at the time appointed, and be not impatient towards them; I require no Riches of thee, I will enrich thee, and in the end Paradiſe ſhall be for the Righteous. The unbelievers have ſaid, if *Mahomet* ſheweth not ſome Miracle from God, and knoweth not the expoſition of the Books of our Predeceſſors, we will not believe in him; we before his coming deſtroyed many wicked perſons, who ſaid, Lord, hadſt thou ſent us a Prophet, we had obſerved thy Commandments, before we became infamous, and laden with ignominy; Say unto them, every one expecteth his end; expect ye, and ye ſhall one day know them that follow the right way, and have not erred.

CHAP. XXI.

The Chapter of the Prophets, containing an Hundred and Twelve Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, Gracious and merciful. The Day approacheth wherein the People ſhall render an account of their actions, but they conſider it not, and depart from the Commandments of God; if they hear them, they laugh, they underſtand them not, and keep ſecret their evil intentions. Is not *Mahomet* a man like to you? Will ye ſay that he is a Magician? You ſee the contrary; God heareth whatſoever is ſpoken, both in Heaven and Earth, and knoweth all things. They ſay, certainly *Mahomet* hath dreamed what he ſpeaketh, he hath invented it, and is a Poet, we will not believe him, unleſs he ſhew ſome Miracle, as did the Prophets that were before him. We have layed waſte many Cities, becauſe their inhabitants were incredulous; we ſent before thee but men who were inſpired of us; Enquire of them, to whom heretofore was given the knowledge of the written Law, if ye know it not; they were men that did eat and drink, and were mortal; we effected what we promiſed to them, we preſerved them with ſuch as believed, and deſtroyed the incredulous; we have ſent you a Book to inſtruct you, will ye underſtand it? How many Infidel Cities have we made deſolate? How many new People have we eſtabliſhed in their place? When they felt our puniſhment, they fled; fly not, and return to what hath delighted you, return into your houſes, peradventure ye will yet covet the Riches of the Earth; they ſaid, Miſery is upon us, we are too blame; thus did they talk, until they were deſtroyed. We have not created Heaven and Earth, and whatſoever is between them, to ſport with; had it been our will that they ſhould have ſcoffed on Earth, they ſhould ſcoff likewiſe in Heaven. On the contrary, I oppoſe the truth to falſehood, to confound it, and in effect it doth confound it. Miſery ſhall be upon you, becauſe of your blaſphemies; whatſoever is in Heaven and Earth, is Gods; the Angels are not aſhamed to worſhip him, they praiſe him Day and Night, and exalt his glory without blaſphemy. The Infidels worſhip Gods made of Earth; have they power to create any thing? Were there in Heaven, and on Earth another God, they would not accord; praiſed be God, Lord of the Univerſe, what the Infidels relate, is untrue. He asketh no counſel when he will do any thing, as do men; will they worſhip any other God but him? Say unto them, produce your arguments, behold what we have to ſpeak unto you, behold our reaſons, and thoſe of our predeceſſors; Certainly, the greateſt part of them are ignorant of the Truth, and go aſtray. We inſpired into all the Prophets which we ſent, that there was but one God that ought to be worſhipped. They ſaid, believe ye that the Angels are the Sons of God? Praiſed be God; on the contrary, they are his Creatures, he loveth them, they ſpeak not but after him, and obey what he commandeth them, he knoweth all their actions paſt, and future; they pray for no man but through his permiſſion, and fear to diſpleaſe him. Who among them will ſay I am God, inſtead of God? He ſhall be caſt headlong into the Fire of Hell; thus do I intreat unbelievers. Know they not that the Heavens and the Earth was ſhut up? VVe opened them, and gave life to every thing, through the Rain which we made to deſcend; will they not believe in my unity? VVe created the Mountains to hinder the Earth to move, we made therein ways large and ſpacious for our Creatures, we covered it with the Heaven, and have exempted it from falling, nevertheleſs they depiſe our Commandments. It is the Lord who created Day and Night, the Moon and the Sun, all things praiſe and exalt him in Heaven; we created no Perſon to dwell for ever on Earth; all men ſhall taſte of Death, I will prove you with good and evil, and ye ſhall appear before me to give account of your actions: The Infidels ſcoff at you, when they ſee you, and ſay, behold them that deride our gods! They obey not the Commandments of God; he created man of duſt, and ſhall ſhew you the effects of his Omnipotency; be not impatient to ſee the puniſhment of the wicked, who ſay, when ſhall be the Day of Judgment? Did they know it, they would remove the Fire from their backs and viſages; that Day ſhall ſurprize them, it ſhall aſtoniſh them when they think leaſt of it; they cannot retard it, and ſhall be deprived of protection. Certainly, they ſcorned the Prophets that were ſent before thee, but they were puniſhed after their demerits. Say unto them, who but the merciful [God] preſerveth you Day and Night? Nevertheleſs ye reject his Commandments; Have they any other God but me, that is able to ſave them? Their gods cannot defend themſelves: I will not protect them, yet will I enrich them, as I enriched their fathers, and will prolong their life, to puniſh them on Earth; Know they not that their eſtates diminiſh on all ſides

ſides through thy Conqueſts? Is it ſo, that they are victorious? Say unto them, I preach to you what God hath inſpired into me, but the deaf hear not when they are exhorted; When they are a little touched with the chaſtiſements of God, they ſay, oh miſery! We are too blame, and are unjuſt; I will weigh their works at the Day of Judgment, that I may do injuſtice to no perſon, of the weight of a grain of Muſtard-ſeed, and will moſt exactly account. We gave to *Moſes* and *Aaron* the Book that diſtinguiſheth good from evil, and commanded them to preach our Commandments to them that had our fear before their eyes. That Book is bleſſed, and was ſent from us; nevertheleſs, unbelievers reject and condemn it. We heretofore inſtructed *Abraham* in the right way, and knew that he was a Righteous man. Remember thou that he ſaid to his Father, and his People, What Idols do ye adore? They ſaid, We find that our Fathers adored them; he ſaid unto them, your Fathers and you were exceedingly erroneous: They ſaid, Doſt thou ſpeak the truth, or doſt thou jeſt? He ſaid, Certainly your Lord is the Lord of Heaven and Earth, I ſwear to you that he created them; Having convinced thoſe Idolaters, he ſaid, By God, I will make war upon your Idols, he broke them with an Hatchet in their abſence, except the greateſt Idol, on which he hung his Hatchet, and ſaid, Peraventure they will accuſe him to have broken the other: Seeing at their return their Idols broken, they ſaid, who hath in this manner handled our gods? He is impious; we heard it is a young man, named *Abraham*, who derideth them, bring him before the eyes of the People, perhaps they ſhall find witneſſes of his action. They ſaid unto him, Oh *Abraham*! *It is* thou that *haſt ſo abuſed our gods*; he ſaid on the contrary, it is that great Idol; they enquired of each other if thoſe Idols ſpake, and if they had motion; afterwards they returned to themſelves, and ſaid to the People, Ye are too blame to adore thoſe Idols; he threw them headlong againſt the ground, and they ſaid, Oh *Abraham*! Thou well knoweſt that they ſpake not at all; he anſwered, Why therefore do ye worſhip what can neither benefit nor hurt you? You defile your ſelves in adoring them inſtead of God. Do ye not know him? Then they ſaid, Burn *Abraham*, and let us defend our Gods, if ye are Righteous men; but we commanded the Fire to loſe its heat, to preſerve *Abraham*; they would have tormented him, and we deſtroyed them; we ſaved him, as we preſerved *Lot*; we conducted him into the Land of Bleſſing, gave him *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, and the Children of their Children, Righteous men, and True believers, to inſtruct the People in the way of Salvation; we inſpired them to do good works, to pray at the time appointed, to pay Tithes, and to worſhip us; we gave to *Lot* prudence and knowledge, and delivered him from the Inhabitants of the City, who were the moſt vicious upon Earth; we were gracious to him, becauſe he was Righteous. Remember *Noah*, and that he heretofore invoked us; we heard his Prayer, and delivered him from great danger, and all that were with him in the Ark; we delivered him from the hand of the wicked, whom we drowned. Remember *David*, and *Solomon*, who rendred Juſtice in the Field, whereinto the Flocks of the Village entred by Night without Shepherds; we are witneſs of their Judgments, we inſtructed *Solomon* in Juſtice, we gave him Prudence and Knowledg; the Mountains adored us with *David*, and with him the Birds praiſed us; we were with them when they praiſed us. We taught you the manner of ſowing [Seed] to preſerve you from neceſſity; peradventure ye will be thankful to me. We commanded the Winds to obey *Solomon*, and know all that he did. The Devils obeyd him, they dived into the Sea, to fiſh for Gems for him, and travelled alſo in other matters; and we hindred them to act miſchief againſt men. Remember *Job*, who prayed to his Lord, and ſaid, I am in exceeding great affliction; thou art the merciful of the merciful: We heard him, and delivered him from his affliction; gave to him our grace, and to his family, and to them that were with him, who had patience, and truſted in me. Remember *Iſmael*, *Enoch*, * *Delcafel*, and *Zachary*, they perſevered in well doing; we gave them our grace, becauſe they were Righteous. Remember *Jonas*, who forſook his People in diſpleaſure; he believed I could do nothing againſt him; but he cryed in the dark, and ſaid, There is no God beſides thee, praiſed be thy Name; I am to blame for having offended thee. We heard him, and delivered him from his diſaſter. Thus do I protect True believers, when they invoke me. Remember *Zachary*, who made his Prayer, and ſaid, Lord, I know there is no better Heir in the World than thy ſelf; yet let me not dye without iſſue: We heard his requeſt, gave him a Son, named *John*, and rendred his Wife fruitful. All theſe Prophets went on with alacrity to do well, and invoked us with humility, with deſire to obtain our grace, and with fear of the torments of *Hell*. Remember *Mary*, whoſe womb I bleſſed; we inſpired into her our Spirit, and gave her a Son, a Miracle in the VVorld. Your Law is one onely Law, and I am one onely God, worſhip me, and be not impious; ye all ſhall appear before me to be judged. I will protect the True believers that ſhall have done good works, and will write what they ſhall do for their reward. Miſery is upon the Cities that we have ruined; their inhabitants ſhall not return into the World, until the paſſage be opened to *Jagog* and *Magog*, and they come running from the eminent places of the Earth; then ſhall the Day of Judgment approach; the promiſed Truth ſhall not be far off, it ſhall trouble the ſight of the wicked, who ſhall ſay, O miſery! We are miſerable, we did not foreſee this diſaſter, we have been exceedingly blame for having offended God. It ſhall be ſaid unto them, Ye worſhipped inſtead of God, the firebrands of Hell, into which ye ſhall be caſt headlong: Had your Idols been Gods, as ye believed, they ſhould not have entred Hell; they, and thoſe that have adored them, ſhall be eternally damned; they ſhall groan, complain, and ſhall not be heard: Such as ſhall be in Paradiſe, ſhall be far remote from them; they ſhall not hear their howlings, and ſhall enjoy eternally what they ſhall deſire; the crys of the Damned ſhall not afflict them; the Angels ſhall meet them when they come out of their graves; and ſhall ſay, Behold now the day that was foretold you in the World; a Day wherein we will open the Heavens, and the Book of the account of all men, as we promiſed to your predeceſſors. We exactly perform what we promiſe; we have written in the Old Teſtament, and afterwards in the *Alcoran*, That the Righteous ſhall inherit the Earth: This Book ſhall teach the way of Paradiſe to them that ſhall worſhip me: We had not ſent thee, but in favour of men; ſay unto them,

* *Delcafel* is *Ely*. See the Book compoſed by *Abdelbaky*.

them, God hath always inſpired into me, that your God is one God, will ye not obey him? If they go aſtray, I have taught you how they muſt be intreated. Say unto them, I know not whether the puniſhment denounced to you ſhall be ſpeedy, or tardy. God knoweth what is known, and unknown in the World; I know not whether he will try you, or defer his puniſhment until the time appointed: He is a moſt juſt Judg, and moſt merciful; he is not ſuch as ye ſpeak him.

CHAP. XXII.

The Chapter of Pilgrimage, containing Seventy and Seven Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, Gracious and Merciful. O ye People! fear God. The Earthquake that ſhall happen at the Day of Judgment ſhall be wonderful; ye ſhall that day ſee Mothers forget their Children, and every one ſhall bear his own burden; ye ſhall ſee men drunk, not with Wine, but amazed and aſtoniſhed at the great judgments of God. There be, who diſpute of the Deity with ignorance, and follow the will of the Devil, voluntary, and obſtinate: It is written, he ſhall ſeduce them that obey him, and ſhall conduct them into Hell. O ye People! if ye doubt of the Reſurrection, conſider how we created you of the duſt of the Earth; with a little Water ſprinkled upon the Duſt of the Earth; with congealed blood, and a little fleſh intirely, and not intirely formed. I form in the wombs of Women, what ſeemeth good to me at the time appointed; I cauſe you to come forth Children, then I give you life, and make you to arrive to the Age of Virility; ſome die young, and others live to extremity of Age, to the end they may learn to live well. Conſider the Earth, dry, dead, and barren; when we ſhall cauſe Rain to fall, it ſhall change the face, ſhall produce and nouriſh its fruits of all ſorts, fair, and pleaſing: Becauſe God is truth it ſelf, he raiſeth again the dead, and is Omnipotent. There is no doubt but the Day of Judgment approacheth, and that God will cauſe the dead to riſe again. There be men that diſpute of God without knowledg, without reaſon, without authority, and go aſtray from the way of his Law; they ſhall be full of ignominy and ſhame in this World, and ſhall feel in the other, the pains of Hell. God doth no injuſtice to his People. There be who who adore him with ſcruple; if good befal them, they perſevere to adore him; if evil, they return to their impiety, and loſe the riches of Earth, and the riches of Heaven: Theſe two loſſes are exceeding great; they invoke Idols inſtead of God; they invoke what can neither benefit, nor hurt them: Such prayers are by-ways, far remote from the Commandments of God; they worſhip that which doth rather miſchief, nor advantage them. Certainly, God ſhall make the True-believers, that do good works, to enter into Gardens, wherein flow many Rivers; he doth what ſeemeth good to him. He that is angry that God giveth ſuccor, and protection to *Mahomet* in this World, and in the other, let him tye a Cord to a Beam of his Houſe, and hang himſelf; he ſhall ſee if his choller will be allayed. God hath ſent the *Alcoran*, as heretofore he ſent the other Scriptures; it containeth his Commandments, clear and intelligible; it guideth into the right way whom it pleaſeth him: He at the Day of Judgment ſhall judg the differences that are between the Faithful, and Infidels; between the *Samaritans*, the Chriſtians, and Idolaters; he is Omniſcient. Seeſt thou not that all that is in Heaven, and on Earth, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Mountains, Trees, and Beaſts, adore him? Many worſhip him with zeal, but many likewiſe merit to be puniſhed: None ſhall eſteem him, whom God ſhall deſpiſe; he doth as ſeemeth good to him. Theſe two contrary parties, the Believers and the Infidels, have diſputed of the Deity; but the Infidels ſhall be encompaſſed with flames of Hell, they ſhall have Shirts of Fire, boyling Water ſhall flow in upon their Heads; the Fire ſhall burn what is in their Bellies, and ſhall roaſt their Skin, they ſhall be beaten with Clubs of Iron; when they think to go out of this Fire, they ſhall enter further into it, and be eternally tormented. God ſhall cauſe the True-believers, that have done good works, to go into Gardens, wherein flow many Rivers; they ſhall be adorned with Bracelets of Gold, and Pearls; they ſhall be clothed with Silk, and enjoy Eternal felicity, becauſe they have profeſſed his Unity; and the Infidels ſhall ſuffer great torments, for that they have hindred the People to imbrace the Faith, and viſit the Temple of *Mecca*, which God hath eſtabliſhed to be therein adored of all the World: He that ſhall be ſollicited to viſit it, and ſhall enter it, with deſign to return to his impiety, ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed. Remember, that we ſhewed to *Abraham* the place to build the Temple of *Mecca*; that we commanded him to adore me alone, and to purge my Temple from Idols, for the ſatisfaction of them that ſhould there make proceſſions. Men ſhall come thither to viſit thee from all parts, on foot, and on Horſe-back; they ſhall receive profit, they ſhall there make their prayers at the times appointed, and the days nominated; they ſhall thank the Lord for his benefits towards them, and the Riches which he hath given them; and ſhall make likewiſe proceſſions at the old Temple. He that ſhall reverence it, ſhall do exceeding well, and ſhall be recompenced of his Lord. It is lawful for you to eat of all clean Beaſts, except of ſuch as have been heretofore prohibited: Depart from the pollution of Idols; beware of bearing falſe witneſs, and be obedient to God. He that ſaith, God hath a Companion, is like to him that fell headlong from Heaven, whom the Birds devoured, and the wind caſt into a remote place, full of miſeries. He that ſhall reverence the ſigns of the power of God, will not doubt of his Law, and ſhall be rewarded for his good works at the time appointed, if he viſit the old Temple of *Mecca*. We have given to all Nations of the World a Law to offer their Sacrifices, and to return thanks to their Lord, for having given them advantage above all ſorts of Beaſts. Your God is one God, obey his Commandments, proclaim a great reward to them that are obedient to him, to them that tremble with fear, when they hear mention of his name; that are patient in their adverſity, that pray at the time appointed, and diſpence in alms ſome part of the wealth that we have given them. We have created the female Camel for a ſign of our unity, ſhe ſhall be profitable to you in this World. Remember to pronounce the Name of God, when ye ſhall ſacrifice her, ſtanding on her feet; when ſhe ſhall fall dead on the ground, eat of her fleſh, if it like you, and give to eat to ſuch as ſhall require it. We have made her ſubject

See *Kitab el tenior.*

The Pilgrims Sacrifice a Camel at *Mecca*.

to you; peradventure ye will be thankful to me for this grace. God promoteth before him, neither the flesh of this Beast, nor the blood, but onely the good works that ye perform. He hath thus subjected it, That ye may exalt it, and give him thanks for having guided you into the right way. Proclaim to the righteous, That God will remove far from them the malice of the wicked; he abhorreth Traytors, and the ingrateful: Declare to such as fight against Infidels, to repair the injury they have done them; that God is sufficiently powerful to protect them. When they were driven from their houses without reason; they said, God is our Lord; Had not God stirred up the people against each other, the Covents of the Religious, the Churches of the Christians, the Synagogues of the Jews, and the Temples of the Believers, had been ruined, (through the multitude of the wicked, and their malice,) The name of God is exalted in the Temples of believers, and therein is his Law defended and protected. God is most strong; he hath all power over his people. Those whom God hath established on Earth, with victory over their enemies, make their prayers in the manner ordained; pay Tithes, and enjoin to do what is honest and civil; forbid to do what is prohibited of God, who knoweth the end of all things. If the Infidels traduce thee, their predecessors traduced *Noah*, *Aad*, *Chaib*, *Abraham*, and *Lot*, they also slandered *Moses*: God for a time deferred their punishment, but in the end most severely chastised them. How many Cities have we destroyed, because of their impiety? We have overthrown, and made them desart, through the death of their inhabitants. Shall those of *Mecca* walk for ever upon Earth, with an hard heart, without reflecting upon what hath heretofore befalln the Infidels? Their eyes are not blind, but their hearts are blind, and hardned: They will require thee to cause the wicked to be speedily chastised; God will not go against what he hath promised: One day before thy Lord is as a thousand years before men. How often hath the punishments of impious Cities been deferred, that in the end were destroyed? The whole world shall one day be assembled before me, to be recompenced after their merits. Say unto them; O people! I preach unto you publickly the torments of Hell; such as shall believe, and do good works, shall receive pardon of their sins, and a precious treasure; they that shall endeavour to make void the faith, shall be damned. We sent our Prophet to read only our Commandments to the people; the unbelievers read many things that are not in the *Alcoran*; but God hath made vain what the Devil had there inserted, and confirmed the precepts of his Law: What the Devil there inserted, serveth for sedition to them that are weak in their faith, and have an hard heart. The Infidels are in an exceeding great error, and are far from the Truth. Such as have the knowledge of Scripture, know that the *Alcoran* is truth it self, which proceedeth from thy Lord: They believe in it, and humble their heart in reading it. God guideth into the right way such as believe in the truth: The Infidels shall be in doubt, until they be surprized of the day of Judgment. That day shall they be rigorously chastised, that day shall God command, and judg the good and the bad; the righteous that shall have believed, and done good works, shall enter into delicious Gardens, and the Infidels that shall have disobeyed his Commandments, shall suffer exceeding great torments. They that departed from *Mecca*, and went to *Medina*, to abandon the society of unbelievers, and were slain, or died of sickness, shall be rewarded of his divine Majesty. God is the greatest benefactor in the world; he shall give them to enter where they shall desire; he is omniscient, and most merciful. The believers that shall take revenge of the injury that the unbelievers have done them; shall be protected of God: He is gracious and merciful towards his people; he maketh day to enter into night, and night into day; he heareth the prayers of True believers, and seeth whatsoever they do; and will protect them, because he is truth it self. Idols are but vanity; and God is most high and omnipotent. Dost thou not consider that God sendeth the rain from Heaven, and that the Earth becometh green? He is benign to his people, and knoweth all [things] whatsoever is in Heaven and Earth, is his; he hath no need of his people, and ought to be exalted. Seest thou not that God hath subjected to you all the beasts that are upon the earth? Seest thou not that the ship runneth upon the sea, through his command, to transport you and your substance? Seest thou not, that he hindreth Heaven to fall upon the Earth? certainly he is benign, and merciful; He it is that hath given you life and death, he shall make you to die, and shall raise you again, nevertheless man is ingrateful for his favours. We have given a law to all the Nations of the World, to guide them into the right way; if they observe it, they will not dispute against thee. Invoke thy Lord, thou art in the right way; if they dispute against thee, say unto them, God knoweth all your actions, he shall judge your differences at the day of Judgment: knowest thou not that God knoweth whatsoever is in heaven or in earth? All is written, and this is most easie to his divine Majesty. Idolaters adore without reason, Idols that understand not whether they be gods or no, that shall be without protection at the day of Judgement; when they preach to men my Commandments, they know by their countenance those that are impious, and ingrateful for my graces; they would with wrath fall upon them that instruct them. Say unto them, I declare unto you things more grievous: God hath prepared the fire of hell to chastise Infidels. O people! A parable is related to you, hear it. All the Idols that ye adore, cannot create a flie, when they shall be assembled to do it; if the flies corrupt any thing that is offered to them, they have not the power to drive them away, because of their impotency, and the weakness of them that adore them: They praise not God in that manner as is just and reasonable, he is most strong, and most powerful; he hath chosen messengers to bear and execute his Commandments among Angels and men; he heareth whatsoever they say, beholdeth whatsoever they do, he knoweth whatsoever they have done, and all things obey him. O ye that believe! honor and worship your Lord, and do good, perhaps you shall be blessed: Fight for the establishment of his Law with affection, he hath chosen you to follow it; he hath not given you a Law heavy and troublesom, It is the Law of *Abraham* your Father, he hath stiled you the Resigned to God, before the coming of the *Alcoran*: the Prophet shall testifie against you at the day of Judgment, and ye shall testifie against the people, that the Prophet hath preached to them the right way; persevere in your prayers, pay tithes, and trust in God, he is your Lord and your Protector.

See *Gelaldin.*

See *Gelaldin.*

CHAP. XXIII.

The Chapter of True believers, *containing an Hundred and Eighteen Verſes, written at* Mecca.

IN the Name of God; gracious and mericiful. Certainly the true believers ſhall be bleſſed, that make their prayers with humility; they abſtain from reviling, they pay tithes, they commit not whoredom, they touch not other women than their own, and their ſlaves; ſuch as covet other, tranſgreſs the bounds of reaſon; they that faithfully preſerve what hath been entruſted to them; they that effect what they have promiſed, and that make their prayers at the time appointed, ſhall be heirs of Paradiſe, where they ſhall dwell eternally. We formed man of the duſt of the Earth, with mire, blood congealed, with a little fleſh and bones, which we inveſted with ſkin; we another time created him, when we breathed to him the Soul into the Body, and bleſſed him, as one of our faireſt Ornaments. O men! ye all ſhall die, and ſhall riſe again at the Day of Judgment; we created above you, Seven Heavens, and have care of the conſervation of all People that are beneath; we ſend Water from Heaven to ſatisfie your neceſſities; we make it to fall upon the Earth, and have power to cauſe to paſs away and deprive you [of it.] We have created, and made gardens to bring forth Date-trees, Grapes, and many other fruits, by which ye live; we created trees in the Mountain of *Sinai*, that produce Oyl, and * tincture; ye receive great advantage by beaſts, they ſuſtain you with Milk, and afford you many other profits, ye mount them; and Ships alſo to carry you whither ye deſire to go. We ſent *Noah*, who ſpake to the People, and ſaid, worſhip one God alone, what other god will ye implore but him? Will ye not fear to worſhip another? The chief among the People that were Idolaters, ſaid to their adherents, This man is a man like your ſelves, he would appear, and be eſteemed more than you; if God would be adored alone, as he ſaith, he would cauſe an Angel to deſcend, that ſhould bring his Commandments; we have not heard ſpoken to our Predeceſſors, what he ſaith; he is a man poſſeſſed of the Devil, tarry, and ye ſhall ſee what will become of him: Then *Noah* ſaid, Lord, protect me againſt them, and defend me from their Blaſphemies; we commanded him to build an Ark, when our Commandment was given to deſtroy the wicked, and when the Water of his Caldron boyled, we commanded him to enter into the Ark, with two beaſts of every kind and ſpecies; all men we deſtroyed, except them of whom we have before ſpoken, (we ſaid unto him) ſpeak not to me for Infidels, they ſhall be drowned, when thou ſhalt have taken order for every thing that muſt enter into the Ark with thee. Say, praiſe be to God, who hath delivered us from the malice of the wicked; Lord, give us to deſcend in a bleſſed place, thou art the beſt Pilot in the World. It was a ſign of my Omnipotency to prove the People of *Noah*: We created after them another People, to whom we ſent an Apoſtle, to inſtruct them to worſhip one God; and he ſaid, What God will ye adore other than God? Will ye not fear his wrath? Their Doctors that were impious, who denied the Reſurrection of the fleſh, and on whom we had conferred the Wealth of the Earth, ſaid, he is a man, he eateth and drinketh like you, if ye obey not a man like to your ſelves, ſhall ye be deſtroyed? Doth he promiſe you to return into the World, after having been bones and duſt? O abuſe! O abuſe! ye are abuſed in what he promiſeth, he is a man like others, he is a lyar, we will not believe him; That Apoſtle ſaid, Lord, preſerve me from their Blaſphemies, they ſhall repent ſuddenly of their impiety; then thunder ſurpriſed them, and deſtroyed them, as they deſerved; we made the Land dry and barren without fruit, and created other perſons in their place. Man cannot die before his hour, and none can retard it; we ſent our Apoſtles and our Prophets to inſtruct the People, but they were ſlain one after another, every Nation traduced the Prophet that we ſent them, and we made them ſerve for examples to Poſterity, and deſtroyed the wicked. We ſent *Moſes* and his Brother *Aaron* to *Pharoah*, and his Doctors, with our Miracles, and with moſt intelligible reaſons; they aroſe againſt the Faith, they tormented the Children of *Iſrael*, and ſaid, ſhall we believe in a man like to our ſelves, of them that obey us? They ſtandred both of them, and were in number of the damned. We gave to *Moſes* the Book of the Law, peradventure it will guide the Children of *Iſrael* into the right way; we created *Jeſus*, and *Mary* his Mother, they are ſigns of our Unity; we eſtabliſhed them in an eminent place, where they ſtayed near a Fountain. O Apoſtles and Prophets! eat of the Fruits of the Earth, and do good, I know whatſoever ye do; your Law is one Law, and I alone am your Lord; take heed to your ſelves, follow not the Law of the Infidels, every one liketh what he doth, depart from the wicked, and leave them in their errors, an account ſhall be required of them of the riches, and of the Children that we have given them, but they know it not. Such as fear the puniſhment of their Lord, that obey his Commandments, profeſs his Unity, give Alms of the ſubſtance that he hath given them, and fear in their Heart, that they are not acceptable to them, ſhall appear in his preſence; ſuch as ſhall obey him, ſhall enjoy his grace; he requireth not of any man what he is unable to perform. We have a Book that declareth the truth, no injuſtice ſhall be done to him that ſhall do what he is able; certainly the Infidels are in ignorance of the *Alcoran*, they act what is quite contrary, to that which is commanded True believers; but we have puniſhed the chief among them in their proſperity. Be not this Day reſolute, ye ſhall not be protected of us. Our Commandments are taught you, nevertheleſs ye are returned upon your ſteps, and are riſen againſt the Faith, and in diſcourſing by Night, withdrew your ſelves from the Righteous. Conſider they not the words [of the *Alcoran*?] Doth it contain any thing that hath not been ordained to their Predeceſſors? Know they not the Prophet that God hath ſent to them? Wherefore will they not acknowledg him? Will they ſay that he is poſſeſſed of the Devil? On the contrary, he teacheth them the truth, nevertheleſs the greateſt part of them deteſt him; if their will had place, Heaven and Earth, and whatſoever is betwixt

See *Galaldin.*

Or, dying Colours.

betwixt them, ſhould be confounded; we have inſtructed them in the Law, which they ought to obſerve, but they have renounced it; Doſt thou require of them any recompence for thy inſtructions? Thy Lord ſhall reward thee, there is none that is of power to recompence thee better than He. Call them to the right way; ſuch as ſhall not believe the Reſurrection, ſhall err. If we pardon and deliver them from affliction, they will ſtill continue in their errors, to their confuſion; we heretofore chaſtiſed them, nevertheleſs they humble not themſelves, neither implored their Lord; and when we opened upon them the gate of our Judgments, they became deſperate. God hath given you ſight, hearing and ſenſe, but few among you return him *thanks*; he it is that hath created you of earth, ye ſhall one day be aſſembled before him to be judged; he it is that giveth life and death, and maketh the difference of day and night, will you not honor him, neither conſider? On the contrary, they have ſaid, as did their predeceſſors, wherefore ſhall we die? our bones ſhall be duſt, and ſhall we riſe again? This was heretofore promiſed to our fathers, and to us, certainly it is but an old ſong; Say unto them, to whom appertaineth the earth, and whatſoever is in the earth, if ye know [its Creator and King?] They will ſay, it is God's; Say unto them, know ye not then, that he that created you can raiſe you again? Who is Lord of the ſeven heavens? who poſſeſſeth the throne of heaven? They will ſay, it is God; ſay unto them, will ye not fear then, to worſhip any other God but him? Say unto them, who is King of all things? who ſuſtaineth them, and is ſuſtained of none? They will ſay, that it is God; Say unto them, why then do ye deceive your ſelves? we have taught them the truth, but they have rejected it, and ſaid, that God had a ſon; were there another God with God, the one would undo what the other hath done, and they would riſe the one againſt the other. Praiſed be God, what they affirm is not true, God knoweth that is paſt, the preſent and the future, he hath no companion; Say, Lord, give me to ſee the effect of all that thou haſt promiſed to them, and put me not among the unjuſt, deliver us from evil, and do good to us, I know their impiety; Lord deliver me from the temptations of the devil, deliver me from their malice; when any one among them dieth, he ſaith, Lord, permit me to return into the world, I will do better than I have done; there is no return, it is to ſpeak in vain, there is an obſtacle behinde them, that detaineth them until the day of Judgment; when the Trumpet ſhall ſound, nothing ſhall retard them, they ſhall not glory, nor diſcourſe with each other; the ballance of the bleſſed ſhall be heavy with good works, and the ballance of the curſed ſhall be light of good works. Have not my Commandments been preached unto you, wherefore did ye contemn them? They ſhall ſay, Lord, our miſery prevailed over us, we are miſled, Lord deliver us from this miſery, the contrary was promiſed to us, truly we are exceedingly too blame. It ſhall be ſaid unto them, depart into the fire, and never ſpeak to come out. Many of them that worſhip me, ſay, Lord, we believe in thee, pardon our ſins, thou art merciful. Ye have derided them, O ye wicked! and have deſpiſed my Commandments, but I will reward them for their perſeverance, and they ſhall be bleſſed. It ſhall be ſaid to thoſe that riſe again, how many years have ye remained in the earth? they ſhall anſwer, we have been there a day, or ſome days; ask of the Angels appointed to keep the account, ye have been there but a litte time, did ye know it, do ye believe that I have created, and aſſembled you before me in vain? Praiſe and exalt God, King of Truth, there is no God but he, he is King of heaven; he is void of reaſon that invoketh another god with Him, he ſhall give account of his actions, and the Infidels ſhall be miſerable: Say, Lord, pardon the ſins of the righteous, thou art the great merciful.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Chapter of Light, containing Seventy and four Verſes, written at MEDINA.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. We have ſent this Chapter containing our Commandments clear and intelligible, peradventure ye will learn them. The † Catamite and the Concubine ſhall be whipt with an hundred ſtripes; take heed leſt clemency cauſe you to forget the precepts of the Law of God, believe in his divine Majeſty, and the day of Judgment; Some of the True believers ſhall be witneſſes of their puniſhment: The Catamite lying with a Concubine, or an Infidel, the Concubine lying with a Catamite or Infidel, *theſe* things are forbidden the True believers. He that ſhall accuſe an honeſt woman of adultery, ſhall be whipt with twenty four ſtripes, unleſs he prove his accuſation by four witneſſes, and ſhall never be credited in teſtimony. They that do ſuch things, are without the obedience of God, except thoſe that repent, and ſatisfie what they owe, God ſhall be to them gracious and merciful. They that ſhall accuſe their wives of adultery, and have no witneſſes, ſhall ſwear four times that they ſpeak the truth, and ſhall the fifth time call for the curſe of God to be upon them, if they be lyars. The wife ſhall be exempt from puniſhment, if ſhe ſwear four times that her husband is a lyar, and if the fifth time ſhe pray that the wrath and indignation of God may be upon her, if what her husband hath ſaid be true; in this manner doth God gratifie you, that ye may underſtand the truth, he is moſt gracious and moſt wiſe. That Troup that made defection from the True believers with a lye, and falſe teſtimony, did you no harm; on the contrary, they did advantage you; every one ſhall bear the burden of his ſins, the moſt malicious among them ſhall be thrown headlong into the torments of Hell; It was an happineſs that ye heard the ſenſe of the Believers from their own mouth, when they ſaid, that thoſe men lyed impudently; if they had not preſented thoſe four witneſſes, they had found none other, they are lyars, without the grace and mercy of God, they ſhould have already felt great torments in this world, and in the other, becauſe of that impoſture: When they ſpake of what they were ignorant, ye deemed it to be nothing; but it is an exceeding great ſin before God, if when ye heard it, ye ſaid, that to ſpeak of thoſe things did not concern you, ye knew it to be an impoſture, God forbiddeth you to relapſe, if ye believe in his Law, he thus declareth to you his pleaſure, he

† Is a man or boy kept unlawfully.

See *Gelaldin.*

This is *Abdalla bin Seloub.*

One of *Mahomets* wives was accuſed of adultery with *Safoüan*, by *Mahomets* enemies.

he is Omniſcient and moſt Prudent; ſuch as deſire to caſt obloquy among the True-believers, ſhall be rigorouſly chaſtiſed in this World, and in the other, God knoweth that of which ye are ignorant: Had not God been favourable to you, he had chaſtiſed you in burning fury, he is gracious and merciful. Oh ye that are True-believers! follow not the foot-ſteps of the Devil, he will enjoyn you vice and ſin; had not God gratified you with his Mercy, not any among you ſhould have been purged from that impoſture; but God purifieth whom he ſeeth good, he heareth all, and knoweth all your intentions. The moſt rich, and powerful among you have not ſworn to do no good to their Parents, the Poor, or to them that fight for the Law of God, nevertheleſs they do it not to them, and flie them; deſire they not that God ſhould pardon them? He is neither gentle nor pitiful but towards True-believers. They that accuſe of immodeſty, Women chaſte, innocent, and faithful, ſhall be accurſed in this World, and ſhall ſuffer great torments at the day, when their Tongues, their Hands, and their Feet ſhall teſtifie againſt them; at the ſame time ſhall God pay to them what ſhall be due unto them without injuſtice, and they ſhall know that God is truth it ſelf. The wicked Women ſhall ſpeak as the wicked men, and the wicked men as the wicked Women: The good [Women] ſhall ſpeak as the good [men] and the good [men] as the good Women; the good are innocent of the impoſture of the wicked, they ſhall enjoy the Grace of God, and the Treaſures of Paradiſe. Oh ye that are True-believers! enter not into anothers Houſe without permiſſion; if ye ſalute them that dwell there, ye ſhall do well; peradventure ye will be mindful; if ye find none of the Houſe, enter not without permiſſion; if they ſpeak to you to return, ye ſhall return, it is better (than to ſtay at the door) God beholdeth all that ye do, ye ſhall not offend God to enter into houſes inhabited, if ye have affairs there, God knoweth all your intentions. Speak unto the True-believers, that they contain their ſight, that they be chaſte, that they do good, and that God knoweth all their actions. Speak unto the True-believing Women, that they contain their ſight, and that they be chaſte, that they ſuffer nothing of their beauty to be ſeen, but what ought to be ſeen; that they cover their boſom, and their viſage, that they permit them not to be be ſeen, but by their Husbands, their Children, the Children of their Husbands, their Brothers, their Nephews, their Siſters, their Women, and their Daughters, Maid-ſervants, and Slaves, by their Domeſtiques, that are not capable of Marriage, by Children that regard not the beauty of Women; and that they move not their feet, to ſhew they are well ſhod. Implore pardon of God, peradventure ye ſhall be happy; many Maidens of your own Religion, the Daughters of the Righteous, or your Slaves, if they be poor, God ſhall enrich them with his Grace, he is moſt liberal and Omniſcient. Such as have not Means to Marry, ſhall live chaſtly, until God hath given them means: Such as have deſire to marry their Slaves, ſhall have power to paſs a Contract of Marriage, if they know them to be wiſe, and ſhall give them part of the wealth that God hath beſtowed on them. Deſpiſe not your Wives that are chaſte, to commit Whoredom, if ye deſire good in this World; if ye contemn them, God ſhall be to them propitious and merciful; we have ſent to you theſe Precepts, clear and intelligible, like to them that were taught your Predeceſſors, to be preached to the Righteous; God illuminateth the Heaven and the Earth, as the Lamp that is in the Lanthorn of Chryſtal, fed with Oyl of the bleſſed Olive; it ſeemeth to be a Star full of Light, which goeth neither to the Weſt, nor to the Eaſt, and yeildeth brightneſs upon brightneſs; God guideth by his light whom it pleaſeth him, he teacheth his People Parables, and is Omniſcient; he permitteth you to praiſe him in your Houſes, there to be mindful of his name, and to exalt him evening and morning. Oh ye men! your affairs ought not to hinder your remembrance of his divine Majeſty, to make your prayers at the time appointed, neither to pay Tithes. Fear the day when the hearts of men ſhall be perplexed, and their ſight troubled, when God ſhall reward and chaſtiſe every one after his works, and ſhall augment his grace upon the good; he enricheth with his innumerable benefits whom to him ſeemeth good. The good works of the wicked are like to miſts in a ſpacious plain, they ſeem to be water when afar off, and being approached, nothing is to be there found; They ſhall find before God the Book, wherein is written whatſoever they have done, he ſhall puniſh them according to their demerits, he is exact to keep account. Their actions are moreover like to the darkneſs that is in the bottom of the ſea, that is covered with wave upon wave, obſcurity and darkneſs upon one another; he that is in this darkneſs cannot ſee his hand; he that ſhall not be illuminated by God, ſhall not ſee a jot: Seeſt thou not, that whatſoever is in Heaven and Earth exalteth the glory of God? the Birds extend their wings before him to praiſe him, he heareth the prayers of all his creatures, and underſtandeth the praiſes that they give him, he knoweth all that they do, he is King of Heaven and earth, the refuge of all the world: Seeſt thou not how he aſſembleth the clouds? how he placeth them one upon another? Conſidereſt thou not how the rain falleth through their pores? and that God cauſeth freſh water to deſcend from the mountains? He hath given it to whom ſeemeth good to him, he cauſeth the brightneſs of lightning to approach men, which blindeth their ſight, and overwhelmeth the day with night? Theſe things are ſigns of his omnipotency, to them that conſider them: He created of a little water, all ſorts of living Creatures; ſome creep upon the Earth, others walk upon two feet, and others upon four; he created what pleaſed him, he is omnipotent. Certainly, he hath ſent a Law clear and intelligible, to conduct into the right way whom it ſhall ſeem good to him. The *Infidels* ſay, We believe in God, and his Prophet: nevertheleſs a party among them abandon his Law, and believe not in his divine Majeſty: When they are called before God, and before the Prophet, to judge their differences, many among them refuſe to come; if they come, it is with contempt. They are greatly afflicted at heart, do they fear that God and his Prophet will do them injuſtice? On the contrary, they themſelves are unjuſt. When the True believers are called before God, and the Prophet, to be judged, they ſay, We have heard and obeyed; they are not ignorant. Thoſe that ſhall obey God, and his Prophet, ſhall be bleſſed. Many ſwear to fight gallantly for the Faith, when they ſhall be commanded to march againſt the enemy; ſay unto them, Swear not, your obedience to the Prophet ſhall be preferred to your oaths, God knoweth whatſoever ye do; ſay unto them, Obey God, and his Prophet; if they be diſobedient, they ſhall bear

their

their burden, and ye ſhall bear your own; if ye obey, ye ſhall follow the right way. The Prophet is obliged onely to preach intelligibly; God promiſeth to the True believers, that ſhall do good works, that they ſhall live long upon Earth, as he promiſed to them that were before them, that they might eſtabliſh the Law that he gave them; he ſhall change their fear into aſſurance; he ſhall deliver them from terror, that they may adore him alone, without Companion. He that is wicked, will depart from the obedience which he oweth to God: Make your prayers at the time appointed, pay Tithes, and obey the Prophet, God ſhall give you his mercy. Believe not that the Infidels are more powerful on Earth than we; they ſhall be precipitated into the fire of Hell. O ye that are True believers! your Slaves and your Servants of free-condition ſhall require leave of you, to enter where ye ſhall be thrice, *viz.* Before the Prayer at break of Day, after Noon, and after Supper; they ſhall not offend in entring without leave, where ye ſhall be at another time; they enter there to ſerve you. In this manner doth God teach you his Commandments; he knoweth the humor of his Creatures, and is moſt prudent in all that he ordaineth. It is ordained to your Children, when they ſhall be at age of diſcretion, to demand of you permiſſion to do what they ſhall deſire, as did your Predeceſſors: Thus doth God teach you his Commandments; he is gracious and merciful. The old and decrepit Women ſhall not offend God, to quit their vails, and diſcover their faces; provided it be without vanity, and deſign to ſhew their Ornaments: If they abſtain, they ſhall do well, God heareth whatſoever ye ſay, and knoweth all that is in your hearts. The Blind, the Lame, the Sick, and you alſo, ſhall not ſin, to eat in the Houſe of your Children; at the Houſe of your Father and Mother, Brothers, Siſters, Uncles, Aunts, Friends; and in the Houſe of your Servants; ye ſhall not offend God, if ye eat together, or apart. When ye ſhall enter into any Houſe, ſalute each other from God, with bleſſing and affection. Thus doth God teach you his Commandments, peradventure you will learn them. When thoſe that believed in God, and his Prophet, repaired to the Prophet, they retired not without his permiſſion. Such as required leave (to depart) believe in God, and his Prophet; if they require leave of thee for any buſineſs, licence whom ſhall ſeem good to thee, and pray to God for them; he is gracious and merciful. Call not the Prophet, as ye call one another among you: God knoweth ſuch as ſhamefully depart out of the Temple, and the Trench. Such as diſobey his Commandments, ought to take heed, leſt ſome miſchief befal them, and that they ſuffer not great torments: Whatſoever is in the Heavens, or on Earth, is God's; he knoweth if ye are zealous in your faith, or be hypocrites; he knoweth the Day wherein all the World ſhall be aſſembled before him [to be judged.] In that day ſhall men ſee what they have done; he knoweth all things.

See Kitab el tenoir.

See Kitab el tenoir.

See Gelaldin.

CHAP. XXV.

The Chapter of the Alcoran, *containing Seventy and ſeven Verſes, written at* Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful: Praiſed be he that ſent the *Alcoran* to his Servant to inſtruct the World; he is King of the Heavens and Earth; he hath no Son, nor Companion in his Reign; he created and ordained every thing. The Infidels worſhip Gods that can create nothing, and are things created; they can neither do them good nor evil, they can give neither Life nor Death, neither cauſe them to riſe again. They ſay that the *Alcoran* is but a fable of thine invention, invented with the aſſiſtance of ſome other Perſon; but they lye and blaſpheme. They ſay that it is but an old Song, and a fable of the Ancients that thou writeſt, and that thou ſtudieſt Morning and Evening. Say unto them, It was ſent by him that knoweth all things in Heaven and Earth, altogether gracious and merciful. They ſaid, Who is this Prophet? He eateth Bread and Meat; and walketh through the ſtreets; we will not believe him, unleſs that an Angel deſcend from Heaven to preach to us with him; unleſs that Angel enrich him, and that he have a Garden full of good and ſavory fruits; he is but a Wizard, or one poſſeſſed of the Devil. Conſider to what they compare thee; certainly they are in error, and cannot find the right way. Praiſe and bleſs him that is able to beſtow on thee a greater good, when it ſhall ſeem good to thee, to wit, Gardens, wherein flow many Rivers, and Houſes of pleaſure. They have denyed the certainty of Univerſal Judgment, and we have prepared the Fire of Hell to puniſh them; wrath ſhall carry them away with terrible crys: when they ſhall behold the place of the aſſembly of Judgment; when they ſhall there appear, they ſhall be deſperate, and ſhall cry, O *miſery!* Cry not O miſery, cry O miſeries! (in the Plural) Ask of them which is better, and more advantageous, that, or Paradiſe, which is prepared for the recompence of the righteous, where they ſhall dwell eternally with all manner of felicity; this is it that God hath promiſed, and that which was impetrated of his Divine Majeſty, (for them that have his fear before their eyes) I will one day aſſemble Idolaters, with their Idols; God ſhall ſay unto them, you are they who have ſeduced my creatures from the right way; they ſhall ſay, praiſed be thy Name; we ought to have worſhipped none but thy Divine Majeſty; but the wealth that thou gaveſt to our Magiſtrates, and their life, which thou didſt prolong, cauſed them to forget thy Commandments; they were pernicious men in that they abjured thy Law, they cannot this day be exempt from the puniſhment of our crimes, neither protect us againſt thy wrath. The Idolaters ſhall be rigorouſly puniſhed; the Prophets that we ſent before thee, did eat Bread and Meat, and walked through the ſtreets; we prove them one after another: Perſevere, God beholdeth them that are patient. Thoſe that believe not in the Reſurrection, have ſaid, The Angels are not deſcended from Heaven, we have not ſeen God; they are become proud, and are fallen into an exceeding great error, but the wicked ſhall one day be without comfort; when they ſee the Angels, they ſhall cry, help, help! We will ſet before their eyes all the ſins that they have committed; the good works which they ſhall think to have done, ſhall be like to duſt, which the wind carryeth away; and the bleſſed ſhall enjoy a moſt certain good, they ſhall hear of nothing but what contenteth them. When the Heaven and the Air ſhall divide themſelves, and the Angels ſhall deſcend, then ſhall the truth appear, and the merciful ſhall Reign; that day ſhall be tedious to Infidels, they ſhall bite their fingers, and ſay, would to God I had followed

the Prophet and his Apoſtle! Oh miſery! would to God I had not contracted amity with ſuch an Infidel, he ſeduced me from the right way, he hindred me to believe in the *Alcoran* which God ſent; certainly the Devil hath tempted men. Then ſhall the Prophet ſay, Lord, ſuch as have followed me, have obeyed what is written in the *Alcoran*, and the Infidels have rejected it. We have appointed an enemy among the wicked, to every Prophet of them that were before thee, but it ſufficeth thee that God guideth and protecteth thee. The Infidels have demanded, if the *Alcoran* was ſent all at once; I have ſo done to confirm the truth in thy heart, I have ſent it piece by piece, they ſhall not ſhew thee any thing like unto it; I have inſtructed thee in the Truth, clear and intelligible; the incredulous ſhall be confined in the Fire of Hell, and be moſt miſerable. Certainly, We gave to *Moſes* the Book of the Law, we ſent with him his Brother *Aaron* to aſſiſt him, and ſaid unto them, Go both of you, preach unto Infidels, we will deſtroy them, unleſs they be converted. When the People of *Noah* deſpiſed our Commandment, we drowned them, and made them ſerve for example to Poſterity, and prepared great torments for the impious. Remember *Aad*, *Temod*, and thoſe that dwelt nigh unto the Well, a long time after them; we ſpake to them in Parables, and deſtroyed them. Oh ye wicked! conſider the miſery of the City, upon which fell that miſchievous Rain, that deſtroyed them, becauſe the Inhabitants believed not in the Reſurrection. When the Infidels ſaw thee appear, they derided thee, and ſaid, This Prophet would ſeduce us, and make us to abandon our God; we had patience, and deferred our puniſhment. They ſhall know at the Day of Judgment them that have been ſeduced; Haſt thou conſidered the action of him that ſpake of his God after his fantaſie? Wert thou his Tutor, to hinder him to ſpeak? Doſt thou believe that the greateſt part of the wicked, hear, and underſtand what thou ſpeakeſt to them? They are like Beaſts, and worſe; Seeſt thou how thy Lord ſheddeth the Roſe? Were it his will, it ſhould be permanent, the Sun hath cauſed it to melt, and attracteth it gently to himſelf. He it is that created the Night for repoſe, and the Day for labour. He it is that ſendeth the Winds by his ſpecial grace, he maketh Rain to deſcend from Heaven, to refreſh the Earth, to give it life, to water the beaſts, and for the contentment of men; we have divided it among them, that they may be mindful of our grace, nevertheleſs, the greateſt part of them are ungrateful. Had we ſo pleaſed, we had ſent to every City a preacher, to preach unto the Inhabitants the Torments of Hell; obey not Infidels, preach to them frequently what is written in the *Alcoran*. It is God that hath ſweetned the water of *Euphrates*, that joyned the two Seas, that made them Salt, and put between them a ſeparation, to hinder them to mix? He created Man and Woman of a little water, to increaſe and multiply together; thy Lord can do whatſoever him pleaſeth, yet do the Infidels adore what can neither benefit nor hurt them, and aſſiſt the devil their maſter to tempt the world; We ſent thee only to preach the torments of hell, and to proclaim the joys of Paradiſe: Say unto them, I require not of you reward for my preaching, he that ſhall be acceptable to God, will follow the way of his Law: Praiſe and exalt thy Lord, truſt in him, he knoweth all the ſins of men; he created the heavens, and the earth in ſix days, and ſitteth on his Throne; learn this of him that knoweth it. When it was ſaid to the Infidels, worſhip the merciful [God;] they ſaid, what mercifil? ſhall we worſhip what ye appoint us? and they added to their impiety. Bleſſed be he that created the ſigns of heaven, that created, the Sun and the Moon, full of Brightneſs and light, and hath made the dayes to ſucceed each other, to return him thanks for his graces. The ſervants of the merciful, that walk with humility, that ſalute the ignorant when they ſpeak to them; Such as pray to, and worſhip God day and night; ſuch as ſay, Lord, deliver us from the torments of hell; thoſe that fear God, that are not prodigal, nor covetous, that follow the middle way, betwixt prodigality and avarice, thoſe that worſhip one God, that kill no man but with reaſon, and following the Commandments of God, and that are not luxurious, ſhall enjoy eternally the grace of God; ſuch as do the contrary ſhall be chaſtiſed, their puniſhment ſhall be augmented at the day of Judgment, and they ſhall be damned for ever, except him that ſhall be converted, and ſhall have done good works, God ſhall give him pardon of his ſins, he is gracious and merciful. They, who do good works and repent, who make no falſe oath, who are humble, and are not (wilfully) deaf and dumb when they hear the *Alcoran* read, and ſay, Lord, give us and our poſterity children, that may be the light of our eyes, and be obedient to thee; work in us a fear to diſobey thy Commandments; ſuch perſons ſhall enjoy eternally the delights of Paradiſe, for reward of their perſeverance; they ſhall there find ſalutations, and benedictions, with immenſe graces. Say unto the wicked, God will not enlighten you, neither hearken to your prayers, becauſe ye have traduced *his Prophet*; *the time* of the puniſhment of your crimes ſhall ſuddenly arrive.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Chapter of Poets, *containing an hundred and twenty ſeven Verſes, written at* Mecca.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful: God is moſt pure, he underſtandeth all things, he is moſt wiſe. Theſe ſigns are the ſigns of the book that diſtinguiſheth truth from falſhood; wilt thou deſtroy thy ſelf, becauſe men are impious? If I will, I can cauſe my judgments to deſcend upon them, that ſhall humble them, they deſpiſe my Commandments; they ſcoff, but ſhall be rigorouſly puniſhed; See they not how many fruits we have made to ſpring out of the earth? It is a token of our Omnipotency, nevertheleſs the greateſt part of them believe not that thy Lord is the omnipotent, and the merciful. Inſtruct them how thy Lord ſaid unto *Moſes*, thou ſhalt be my meſſenger to the Infidels, and the people of *Pharoah*, that they may have my fear before their eyes. *Moſes* ſaid, Lord, I fear they may traduce me, and that my tongue cannot be looſed; ſend with me my brother *Aaron*, they know the fault I have committed, and will put me to death. *Moſes ſlew a Egyptian.* The Lord ſaid to him, they ſhall not put thee to death, go both whither I command you, I will be with you, and will hear what they ſay; ſay to *Pharoah*, that ye are the Meſſengers of the Lord of the World, and let him diſmiſs with you the Children of *Iſrael*; *Pharoah* ſaid unto *Moſes*, have I not ſeen thee within this houſe

a little Child? Didſt thou not dwell with us many years? Diſt thou not kill a man? Thou art impious. *Moſes* ſaid, I did what I did, I was in the number of the ſeduced, I fled when I feared you; ſince that time God hath given me knowledg, and placed me in the number of his Prophets and Apoſtles; he hath ſent me his grace, to ſet before thee the evil that thou doſt commit; in cauſing thy ſelf to be adored of the Children of *Iſrael*; *Pharoah* ſaid unto him, who is that God of the World? He anſwered, it is the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and of whatſoever is between them. *Pharoah* ſaid to them that were about him, Hear ye not what he ſaith? *Moſes* continued his [ſpeech] and ſaid, my Lord is your God, the God of your Fathers, and of your Predeceſſors. *Pharoah* ſaid, this Prophet that is ſent to you is a fool; *Moſes* ſaid, I am indeed the Meſſenger of the Lord of the Weſt and Eaſt, if ye had underſtanding to know him: *Pharoah* ſaid, if thou worſhip any other God but me, I will cauſe thee to be put unto the bottom of a Pit; *Moſes* ſaid to him, Wilt thou do it, ſeeing I am come to thee with reaſons ſo ſtrong, and arguments ſo infallible? *Pharoah* ſaid unto him, Bring thy reaſons if thou art true: Then he caſt his ſtaff on the ground, and it was changed into a Serpent; he drew his Hand out of his boſom, it appeared white, and ſhining to the Eyes of the ſpectators. Then ſaid *Pharoah* to them that were about him, Certainly, behold here a skilful Magician, he would drive you from your Country through his Magick, what ſay ye? They anſwered, He, with his Brother, muſt be terrified, and men muſt be ſent into all thy Cities, to aſſemble the moſt knowing Magicians of all thy Dominions; when they came together at the day appointed, it was demanded of them, if they were called to follow the magick of *Moſes*, and of *Aaron*? They ſaid, what ſhall be our reward if we be victorious? *Pharoah* ſaid unto them, Yes, ye ſhall be rewarded, and be among them that approach my Perſon. *Moſes* ſaid unto them, will you caſt your ſtaves on the ground, or ſhall I firſt caſt mine? They caſt their cords and their ſtaves firſt, ſaying, With the aſſiſtance of *Pharoah* we ſhall be victorious; then *Moſes* caſt his Rod on the ground, which devoured their cords and ſtaves; when they beheld this miracle, they fell proſtrate, and ſaid, We believe in the Lord of the World, God of *Moſes* and *Aaron*; *Pharoah* ſaid to them, If ye believe in *Moſes* without my permiſſion, ye ſhall ſee what ſhall befal you; he is your Maſter, he underſtandeth Magick better than you; I will cauſe your right feet and left hands, or your right hands and left feet to be cut off, and cauſe you all to be hanged; they ſaid, This ſhall do us none harm, we ſhall return before God our Lord, we hope that he will remit our ſins, becauſe we ſhall be the firſt Converts. We ſaid unto *Moſes*, go with the Children of *Iſrael*, my ſervants, and fear not the People of *Pharoah* that ſhall follow thee: *Pharoah* ſent his Commiſſioners through his Dominions to aſſemble the People, and ſaid, (ſpeaking of the Children of *Iſrael*) thoſe men are few in number, they have diſpleaſed me, but I will well awake them. We moved *Pharoah* and his People to depart out of *Egypt*, to purſue the Children of *Iſrael*; we cauſed them to quit their Gardens, Fountains, and Houſes of pleaſure, and made the Children of *Iſrael* heirs of their treaſure, they ſurpriz'd them at the riſing of the Sun; when the Children of *Iſrael* beheld them, they ſaid, we are overtaken: *Moſes* anſwered, No, my Lord is with me, he ſhall guide me; then we inſpired *Moſes* to ſtrike the Sea with his Rod, incontinently it divided it ſelf on both ſides, like two Mountains; we ſaved him, and all that were with him, and drowned the men of *Pharoah*; which ſhall ſerve for an example to the incredulous and obſtinate, thy Lord is Omnipotent and merciful. Relate to unbelievers the Hiſtory of *Abraham*, when he ſaid to his Father and his People, whom do ye adore? they anſwered, We adore our Idols; he ſaid unto them, Do they hear you when ye invoke them? Do they good unto you when ye worſhip them, or miſchief when ye neglect them? they anſwered, We find that our Fathers worſhipped them as we do; *Abraham* ſaid unto them, you and your Fathers worſhip vain things, ye adore only Idols, mine Enemies; I will not worſhip them, I will worſhip the Lord of the World, who created, guideth, and nouriſheth me, who giveth me health when I am ſick, who maketh me to live, and will cauſe me to die, and from whom I hope for pardon of my Sins at the Day of Judgment: Lord give me the knowledg of thy will, grant that my Tongue and Words may be credited as true, by Poſterity; put me into the number of the Heirs of Paradiſe; pardon my Father, who hath been in the number of the erroneous, and make me not aſhamed at the Day of the Reſurrection; at the Day, when riches and Children ſhall be unprofitable, except to ſuch as ſhall have an heart eſtranged from Impiety; God ſhall make the righteous to approach to Paradiſe, and the wicked to ſee Hell: They ſhall ſay, Can the Idols that ye adore ſave you? Can they ſave themſelves? They ſhall be, with you, their adherents, and the devils, thrown headlong into the fire of hell: the Idolaters ſhall diſpute in hell, with them whom they have worſhipped, and ſhall ſay, By God, we were abuſed when we adored you, the wicked ſeduced us, we have none this day to intercede for us, neither friend to protect us; could we return into the world, we would believe in the Law of God; this diſcourſe ſhall be for example to the wicked that believe not that thy Lord is the Omnipotent and merciful. The people of *Noahs* time ſlandered the Apoſtles and Prophets that were ſent to them; *Noah* their brother ſaid unto them, Fear God, I am his Meſſenger, ſent to preach unto you, fear God, and obey him, I require no recompence for my inſtructions, God the ſole Lord of the world ſhall reward my labours, fear and obey him; They ſaid, ſhall we believe in thee, and thy followers, who are infamous? He ſaid, I know not what they do, my Lord keepeth accompt of their actions; if ye knew the right way, ye would not worſhip Idols; I drive not true believers from my ſociety, I am ſent only to preach the torments of Hell. They ſaid O *Noah*! if thou quit not this diſcourſe, thou ſhalt be ſtoned; *Noah* ſaid, Lord, this people is impious, judge our difference, deliver me from their malice, and all true believers that are with me; We preſerved him, and thoſe that were with him in the Ark, and deſtroyed them that remained on the earth: This is an evidence of our Omnipotency, yet the greateſt part of Infidels believe not that God is omnipotent and merciful. The people of *Aads* time traduced the Apoſtles and Prophets that were ſent unto them; *Hod* his brother ſaid unto them, fear God, I am his Meſſenger, ſent to preach unto you with fidelity. Fear God and obey him; I require of you no recompence of my preaching, the Lord of the Univerſe ſhall abundantly reward me. Will ye Build Towers,

ers, and lofty Palaces, as if ye would dwell eternally in the world? Will ye be cruel, without compaſſion on your ſelves? Fear God and obey him; fear him who giveth you his grace, beſtoweth on you wealth, children, gardens, and fountains; I fear that ye ſhall ſuffer grievous pains at the day of Judgment: They ſaid unto him, Art thou come to be preached unto, or to preach to us? Thou relateſt to us old mens Fables; They ſlandered him, and we deſtroyed them: this is a token of our Omnipotency, nevertheleſs the greateſt part of Infidels believe not thy Lord to be Omnipotent and merciful. The people of *Temod* belyed the Prophets that were ſent unto them; his brother *Salhe* ſaid unto them, fear God, I am a meſſenger ſent from God to preach to you, fear God and obey him; I require of you no recompence for my preaching, the Lord of the Univerſe ſhall recompence my labours; will ye forſake eternal riches, to cleave to the wealth of this world, to put your truſt in your gardens, your fountains, your tillages, your dates, and fruits? ſhall ye be eſteemed prudent if ye build houſes of pleaſure in the mountains? fear God, obey his Commandments, and obey not the wicked, that defile the earth, and do no good. They ſaid unto him, thou art a Magician, and an Inchanter, thou art but a man like unto us, ſhew us ſome miracle, if thou be indeed a Prophet ſent from God; he ſaid, behold there a Camel, he hath a place to drink at a day appointed, ye likewiſe have it to drink as he, do him no harm, otherwiſe ſhall ye be puniſhed at the day of Judgment. They did hurt this Camel through contempt, but had cauſe to repent it, and were ſeverely puniſhed. This is an example for poſterity; nevertheleſs the greateſt part of Infidels believe not that thy Lord is altogether gracious and merciful. The Citizens of *Lot* traduced the Prophets that were ſent unto them; *Lot* their brother ſaid, fear God, I am a faithful Meſſenger ſent from him, to preach to you, fear God, and obey him, I require of you no reward for my pains, God will reward me; will ye cleave to the world to reject that glory that he hath created for you? ye forſake good to embrace evil. They ſaid, O *Lot*! if thou change not this diſcourſe, we will baniſh thee from our City, he ſaid, perhaps I am one of thoſe whom ye abhor; Lord deliver me, with my family, from their hands. We ſaved him with all his family, except his wife, who remained with the inhabitants of the City, we cauſed to fall upon them a rain that deſtroyed them. This is an example for poſterity, nevertheleſs the greateſt part of Infidels believe not that thy Lord is Omnipotent and merciful. They that inhabit the † Foreſt, ſlandered the Prophets that were ſent unto them; *Chaib* ſaid to them, fear God, I am a faithful meſſenger ſent from him, to preach unto you the torments of hell; fear God, and obey him, I require no reward of you for my preaching, the Lord of the Univerſe ſhall recompence me: Meaſure with good meaſure, and weigh with good weights, detain nothing from your neighbour, defile not the earth, fear him that created you, and all thoſe that were before you: They ſaid unto him, thou art a Sorcerer, thou art but a man like us, we believe thee to be a lyar; if thou art indeed ſent from God, cauſe a part of heaven to fall upon us; he anſwered, God knoweth that of which ye are ignorant; they traduced him, but were chaſtiſed, being covered with a cloud that rained upon them a ſhower of fire, and they were burned, as if it had been the day of Judgment: this is a token of my Power, but the greateſt part of Infidels believe not that thy Lord is Omnipotent and merciful. Certainly the *Alcoran* was ſent by the Lord of the world, the faithful Spirit inſpired it into thine heart, that thou mayſt preach to the people the pains of Hell in the Arabique tongue; the Scriptures heretofore made mention [of it;] if the Infidels of *Mecca* are ignorant of it, the Doctors of the children of *Iſraël* have knowledg to underſtand it, although that we have not ſent it in the language of the *Perſians*, yet ceaſe not to inſtruct them in that which they know not; we have imprinted a lye in the hearts of the wicked, they ſhall not believe what is written in the *Alcoran*, until they ſee the puniſhment prepared for Infidels at the day of Judgment; that day ſhall come at unawares, of which they are ignorant. They ſay, let us tarry, and not believe as yet, in what is contained in that book; are they impatient until they ſee their puniſhment? Haſt thou ſeen how they have ſome years deferred it, and how, in the end, that which we promiſed befel them? their riches were to them unprofitable. We have not deſtroyed Citi.s without having forewarned them of their deſtruction, we are unjuſt to none. The devils did not bring the *Alcoran*, it was to them of none advantage, they could not compoſe it, they are remote [from the Angels] and cannot hear their ſpeech; ſay not there is another God with God; if thou ſay it, thou ſhalt be chaſtiſed; preach the torments of Hell to them that ſhall follow thee; be humble and civil to True believers; if they diſobey thee, *ſay unto them, I am innocent* of what ye do, and am reſigned to the Will of God, Omnipotent and merciful: He beholdeth thee when thou doſt pray, and worſhip him; he heareth and knoweth all things. Shall I tell ye to whom the Devils addreſs themſelves? They apply themſelves to Lyars, they tell to them what they have heard ſpoken, but they all lye. The erronous imitate the Poets; they are confuted in their Diſcourſe, and ſay, they have done what they have not, except thoſe that believe in God, that do good works, who often think of his Divine Majeſty, and that have been protected againſt the injuſtice of Infidels; the unjuſt ſhall know, that they ſhall one day riſe again.

The *Turks* believe this Camel was changed into a Rock by *Salhe*.

† A Foreſt near to *Madian*. See *Galaldin*.

See Ekteri, and Kitab el tenoir.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Chapter of the Piſmire, containing Fourſcore and thirteen Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, Gracious and Merciful. God is moſt pure, he underſtandeth all. Theſe myſteries are the myſteries of the *Alcoran*, which diſtinguiſheth the Truth from a Lye; it conducteth men into the right way, and proclaimeth the Joys of Paradiſe to ſuch as believe in the Law of God, who make their prayers at the time appointed, pay Tithes, and have knowledg of their end. They that believe not in the Day of Judgment, like well of what they do; and are in confuſion, they ſhall in the end be in the number of the damned. The *Alcoran* was conveyed to thee from the moſt prudent, that knoweth all things.

things. Remember thou that *Moſes* ſaid to his Family, I ſee a Fire, I go to it, I will bring you tydings, I will bring you a ſpark, peradventure you ſhall be warmed; when he drew near to the Fire, he heard a voice that ſaid to him, oh *Moſes*! that which is in this Fire, and whatſoever is about it, is bleſſed; praiſe is due to God, Lord of the Univerſe; I am God Omnipotent, and Eternal; Caſt thy ſtaff on the ground: When *Moſes* beheld his ſtaff to move, as it had been alive, he went back very ſorrowful, and returned no more; Fear not that ſtaff, my Meſſenger and my Prophets have no fear in my preſence; he that ſhall be converted, ſhall find me gracious and merciful. Put thine Hand into thy Pocket, it ſhall come forth white, without harm, it ſhall be one of the Nine marks of my Omnipotency. *Pharoah*, and his Miniſters were altogether erroneous; when they ſaw my Miracles, they ſaid that they were but Sorcery; they deſpiſed them, and encreaſed their impiety; Conſider what is the end of the wicked, and how they have been deſtroyed; We gave knowledg to *David* and to *Solomon*; they ſaid, God hath gratified us above many of his Servants that have believed in his Omnipotency; *Solomon* was *David*'s Heir, and ſaid to the People, we underſtand the Language of Birds, we know whatſoever can be known, it is an exceeding great Grace. *Solomon*'s Army being one day aſſembled before him, compoſed of Men, Devils, and Birds, he lead them to the Valley of Piſmires; a Piſmire their Queen, cryed out, Oh Piſmires! enter into your Houſes, leſt *Solomon* and his Troups trample you under foot, without knowledg of it. *Solomon* hearing theſe words, remained ſome time without ſpeaking, and in the end began to laugh, ſaying, Lord aſſiſt me, that I may give thee thanks for the benefits and graces which thou didſt confer upon my Father; if I do well, thou wilt accept it, place me through thy Mercy in number of them that exalt thy glory; he called for the * *Whoop*, and ſaid, Wherefore ſee I not the *Whoop*? Is ſhe in the number of the abſent? I will puniſh and put her to death, if ſhe have not a lawful excuſe; not long after, ſhe humbled her ſelf before *Solomon*, who asked her whence ſhe came? She anſwered, I come from ſeeing what thou ſeeſt not, I come from the Kingdom of *Saba*, whence I bring certain tidings; I have found a woman, their Queen, who hath whatſoever is neceſſary for a King; ſhe hath a great and magnificent Throne, I have found that ſhe with her Subjects adore the Sun, the Devil cauſed them to delight in this their action, he hath ſeduced them from the right way, and they ſhall be in error until they worſhip one God; who ſendeth Rain from Heaven, and maketh the Earth to produce Plants and Fruits, who knoweth whatſoever is in the hearts of men, and what they utter; God! There is but one God, Lord of the Univerſe. *Solomon* ſaid, I ſhall ſoon ſee if thou ſpeak truth, or whether thou be in the number of the Lyars; Go, bear to her this Letter, and obſerve what ſhe and her People ſhall anſwer; at her arrival, the Queen ſaid to her Miniſters, Oh ye that are raiſed to dignity in my * dominions; a Letter is given me from *Solomon*, of this tenour. In the Name of God gracious and merciful, riſe not up againſt me, and obey me. Give me counſel, ſwhat I ought to do, I will do nothing without your advice, and what you ſee not with your eyes: They anſwered, Our welfare and miſery depend on thee, command whatſoever ſhall ſeem good to thee, and we will obey thee. She ſaid, When Kings enter a City, they introduce many diſorders; they abaſe, and humble the chief of the Inhabitants, and the moſt eminent; if *Solomon* and his People come hither, they will uſe [us] in the like manner. I think it requiſite to ſend to him an Ambaſſador with ſome preſents, perhaps he will take a reſolution to return. When the Ambaſſador arrived in *Solomon*'s preſence, he ſaid unto him, Do ye bring me preſents? God hath beſtowed on me more riches then on you, preſents rejoyce you, becauſe ye love them: Return to them that ſent you, I will go viſit them with Forces ſo great, that they ſhall not be able to reſiſt; I will drive them out of their Dominions, and they ſhall be miſerable, if they obey me not: Then he ſaid to his People, Sirs, who will bring to me the Royal Seat of that Woman, before ſhe and her ſubjects obey me? One of the Devils ſaid unto him, I, I will bring it before thou ariſe from thy place; I am ſtrong enough to bear it, I will carry it carefully. One of them that attended *Solomon*, who knew the Scriptures, ſaid, I will bring it to thee in the twinkling of an eye: When *Solomon* beheld this Throne before him, he ſaid, Behold here a favour of God, to try if I would acknowledg his benefits. He that returneth thanks to God for his graces, performeth his duty; he rejecteth him that is ungrateful. I will try if ſhe followeth the right way, or whether ſhe be in the number of the ſeduced. They changed ſomething in her Royal ſeat, to try if ſhe would know it, when ſhe arrived in *Solomon*'s preſence. At her arrival, they ſhewed it her, and asked if it reſembled her own; ſhe replyed, It reſembleth it, as if it were the ſame: She had knowledg of the right way; but that which the People, and ſhe adored, inſtead of God, had ſeduced them from the obedience of his divine Majeſty. They ſpake to her to enter into a gallery, when ſhe beheld the pavement, ſhe believed it to be Water; and in lifting up her Robe, fearing to wet it, diſcovered her Leg. *Solomon* told her, that the pavement was of polliſhed glaſs, and exhorted her to embrace the Law of God. Then ſhe ſaid, Lord, I am too blame, in having offended thee; I am obedient with *Solomon*, to the Commandments of the God of the Univerſe. We ſent *Salhe* to *Temod*, and his People, to exhort them to worſhip one God: He ſaid unto them, O People! flie to the Mercy of God; if ye implore pardon of him, ye ſhall be pardoned. They ſaid, Wouldſt thou draw us into thine error? And into the error of them that are with thee? He ſaid, God ſhall chaſtiſe you, ye are Seditious. They were Nine perſons in the City that defiled the Earth, and did no good; they ſaid among them, Let us this Night kill the Prophet, and his adherents; We will ſay to them that ſeek him, That we ſaw him not, neither them that ſlew him; and will ſwear that we ſpeak truth: They were cunning, but we were more ſubtil than they, and they knew it not. Conſider what was the iſſue of their ſtratagems; we deſtroyed them with their followers; and their Houſes are become deſart, becauſe of their impiety. This ſhall ſerve for example to them that have knowledg of our Omnipotency: We ſerved the Prophet, and all the True believers that were with him. Remember thou the Hiſtory of *Lot*, who ſaid to his Citizens, Will ye always defile your ſelves in uncleanneſs, in each others view? Will ye love men more than women? Ye are ignorant. They replyed, Let us drive *Lot* and his Family out of our City; they defile not themſelves like us. We pre-

* A Bird ſo called.

Gelaldin ſaith he knew the Name of God.

This Queen was called *Balkis*. See *Gelaldin*.

ſerved him, with all his Family, except his Wife; ſhe remained among them that were chaſtiſed. We cauſed it to Rain upon them, a Rain that gave them to know the ſeverity of our chaſtiſements. Say unto them, Praiſed be God, that deſtroyeth the wicked, and Salvation to all thoſe who he hath choſen; are they not more happy, than ſuch as believe there are many Gods? Who created the Heavens and the Earth? Who cauſed Rain to fall from Heaven? Who hath made many delicious Gardens to bring forth? You have not the power to cauſe the plants to ſpring forth, without the aſſiſtance of God. Certainly unbelievers do err from the right way. Who hath eſtabliſhed the Earth, and made the Rivers to flow? Who hath made heavy the Mountains? Who but God hath put ſeparation that is between Seas? The greateſt part of the World know it not. Who rendreth men miſerable? Who delivereth them from affliction when they invoke him? Who hath cauſed you to multiply, and leave your Poſterity on Earth, but God? Nevertheleſs few men give him thanks. Who guideth in the darkneſs of the Earth and Sea? Who but God ſendeth the Winds, the forerunners of Rain? He is moſt high, and moſt powerful, but the wicked will not conſider the effects of his Omnipotency. Who formeth men? Who maketh them to live, die, and riſe again? Who enricheth them with the Wealth of Heaven, and of Earth, but God? Say unto them, produce your reaſons, bring your arguments, if what ye alledg be true, ſay unto them, None but God knoweth what is in Heaven and Earth, no man knoweth the future, preſent and paſt; do men know the day of the Reſurrection? Contrariwiſe they doubt, and are blind. The wicked have ſaid, What? we ſhall be duſt, as are our Fathers; and ſhall come forth out of our Graves! This was heretofore promiſed to our Fathers, and to us, this is but a Fable of old men: Tell them, that they conſider not what was heretofore the end of the wicked; afflict not thy ſelf, for that they conſpire againſt thee, and that they demand at what time they ſhall ſee the puniſhment that is foretold them: Say unto them, it is not far from you, ye throw your ſelves headlong into it, but God is pitiful towards his People, nevertheleſs the greateſt part give him no thanks for his Grace, thy Lord knoweth what is in their Heart, and whatſoever they ſpeak; there is nothing in Heaven or Earth, that is not written in a moſt intelligible Book; the *Alcoran* explaineth to the Children of *Iſrael* the greateſt part of their difficulties, it will guide them in the right way, and deliver from Hell them that ſhall believe thee; thy Lord ſhall judge them at the day of Judgment, he is Omnipotent and wiſe; truſt thou in God, thou art in the way of truth; the Dead and Deaf ſhall not hear thee, and unbelievers ſhall depart from thee penſive and aſtoniſhed; thou oughteſt not to guide the blind, neither to make the deaf to hear, except ſuch as ſhall believe in the *Alcoran*, and be obedient, when the time of the puniſhment that is denounced againſt them ſhall be come; we will cauſe a Beaſt to come from under the Earth, that ſhall ſpeak unto them, and ſhall ſay, The People believe not in the Law of God, they know not his wondrous works. Be thou mindful of the Day, when I will aſſemble a Multitude of all Nations that have diſobeyed my Commandments, to give account of their actions: I will ſay unto them, Ye have traduced my Prophets, ye know not what ye ſaid, What have ye done? Then ſhall they be puniſhed for their ſins, and be inexcuſable, they ſhall not ſpeak a word. Do not Infidels ſee that we have created the Night for reſt, and the Day for travel? This is a ſign of my Omnipotency; be thou mindful of the Day wherein the Angel ſhall ſound the Trumpet, and whatſoever is in Heaven and Earth, ſhall tremble with fear, except ſuch as ſhall be in the favour of God; that Day ſhalt thou ſee the Mountains ſuſpended, to move like the Clouds; this ſhall be a work of God, who created all things; and knoweth their end; he that ſhall have done good works, ſhall be rewarded, he ſhall be without fear; and they that had done evil, ſhall remain in the Fire of Hell; it ſhall be ſaid unto them, Are ye not chaſtiſed according to your demerits? Say unto the People, I command you to worſhip the Lord of this priviledged † City, all things appertain to him; I command you to believe in the Unity of his Divine Majeſty, and to ſtudy the *Alcoran*; who ſo doth good, ſhall find good. Say unto them that ſhall be ſeduced, I am ſent only to preach the Torments of Hell: ſay to True believers, Praiſed be God that hath given you to ſee his Miracles, and hath given you knowledg of the right way; thy Lord is not ignorant of what they do.

† *Mecca*; See Gelaldin.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Chapter of Hiſtory, containing Fourſcore and Eight Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. God is moſt Pure, he underſtandeth all things, and is moſt Wiſe. Theſe myſteries are the myſteries of the Book that diſtinguiſheth the Truth from a Lye. I relate to thee the hiſtory of *Moſes*, and of *Pharoah* with Truth, for the contentment of True believers. *Pharoah* was powerful on Earth, he entreated his Subjects as ſeemed good to him, he tormented one party, and murthered their Children, he abuſed their Wives, and was of them that defiled the Earth; I gave my Grace to them that were afflicted on Earth; I made them ſucceſſors of *Pharoah*'s Kingdom, I eſtabliſhed them in his Dominions; I made *Pharoah*, *Haman*, and their Army to ſee what they moſt feared; we ſaid to the Mother of *Moſes*, give ſuck to thy Child; if thou feareſt that they will miſchief him, caſt him upon *Nile*, fear not, neither afflict thy ſelf, I will reſtore him to thee between thine Arms, and place him in the number of Prophets. The domeſtiques of *Pharoah* found him upon the Water, and ſaved him, to be one day their enemy, and to torment them, becauſe *Pharoah*, *Haman*, and their People were Infidels. *Pharoah*'s wife ſaid unto him, I entreat thee not to ſuffer this Infant to be ſlain, mine eyes rejoyce to ſee him, he ſhall one day be profitable for our ſervice, as our Son; but they were ignorant of what ſhould befal them; the Heart of his Mother was freed from fear, when ſhe beheld him in the hands of *Pharoah*'s wife, and ſcarce could ſhe refrain to let them know that ſhe was his Mother; we cauſed her to have patience, and ſhe had faith in our promiſes: ſhe ſpake to his ſiſter to follow him ſtep by ſtep, ſhe followed afar off, without intimation that ſhe was his ſiſter, or that ſhe regarded

regarded him. We had before prohibited *Moſes* to ſuck the milk of any other nurſe, than that of his mother; his ſiſter ſaid to *Pharoah*'s ſervant, will ye that I provide you a nurſe, and people that ſhall carefully nouriſh him? We cauſed him to be reſtored to his mother, to nurſe him; ſhe ceaſed from her ſadneſs, when ſhe knew, and ſaw that God was ſincere in what he had promiſed, but the greateſt part of the people know it not. When *Moſes* was aged, about thirty three years, we gave him knowledg and wiſdom; thus do I reward the righteous; *Moſes* entring one day into the City, met two men that fought; the one was of the Children of Iſrael, and the other was an Egyptian, and of his enemies, whom he aſſaulted and ſlew; after this he ſaid the Devil tempted me, he is the open enemy of men; Lord, I have offended thee, pardon me; he pardoned him, he is gracious and merciful; Lord, ſince thou haſt been ſo gracious to me, I will never give aid or ſuccour to Infidels. He contined in the City with fear, and kept himſelf upon his guard; on the morrow he again met him, whom the day before he had defended, who fought likewiſe with another Egyptian, and required his aſſiſtance; *Moſes* ſaid unto him, Thou art ſeditious; he replyed, oh *Moſes*! wilt thou ſlay me, as thou didſt ſlay him yeſterday? Wilt thou be a murtherer of all men, or a juſt man? Not long after a man came [in haſt] to him from the utmoſt part of the City, who ſaid unto him, oh *Moſes*! the Officers of *Pharoah* have conſpired againſt thee, they deſire to put thee to death; ſave thy ſelf, and follow my counſel; He departed from the City with fear, keeping himſelf upon his guard, beſeeching his Lord to deliver him from the hands of Infidels; he went towards *Madian*, and ſaid, *Lord ſuffer me not to follow* an evil way; He met a great number of perſons that made their flocks to drink, he with them found two maids that could not water their Cattel, he ſaid unto them, what do ye two do here? We have not ſtrength to draw water to give our beaſts to drink, we tarry for the Shepherd, our father is too old to draw [it.] He drew water out of the well to water their Cattel, and withdrew to a ſhade, becauſe of the heat of the Sun, ſaying, Lord, I am deprived of all the graces which heretofore thou didſt confer on me; I am now poor and neceſſitous. One of thoſe maidens came to ſeek him, and baſhfully ſaid unto him, My father calleth thee, to recompence thee for the pains thou haſt taken in watering our cattel; When he was in the old mans preſence, he related what had befaln him. The old man ſaid, Fear nothing, I will deliver thee from the hands of the wicked; one of his daughters ſaid to her ſiſter, Give to this man to eat, and reward his pains, he aſſiſted us with affection; their Father ſaid unto him, I will marry thee to one of my two daughters, on condition, that thou wilt have a care of my flocks the ſpace of eight years; ten years if it pleaſe thee, ſaid *Moſes*; I will not forſake thee, thou ſhalt find me an honeſt man, I will ſerve thee the two terms, either eight or ten years, as ſhall ſeem good to thee, God is witneſs of what I ſay. After the term expired, *Moſes* forſook the houſe of his father in law; withdrawing with his wife, he beheld afar off a great fire on the ſide of the mountain, and ſaid to his wife, tarry here, I ſee the fire of the Omnipotent, I will ſpeedily return, I will bring you a ſpark, peradventure you ſhall be warmed: when he drew near to this fire, they cried unto him from the right ſide of the valley, from an eminent place, and from a buſh, Oh *Moſes*! I am God, Lord of the Univerſe, caſt thy ſtaff on the ground; when he beheld his ſtaff to move, as it had been alive, he fled for fear, and returned no more: O *Moſes*! draw near, and fear not, thou art in a place of ſafety, put thine hand into thy pocket, it ſhall come out white and ſhining, without harm; draw back thine arm into thy ſleeve, it ſhall return to its former condition; thy ſtaff and thine hand ſhall be two ſigns of my Omnipotency to *Pharoah* and his Miniſters, who diſobey my Commandments; *Moſes* ſaid, Lord, I have ſlain an *Egyptian*, I am afraid they will take away my life, command *Aaron*, who is eloquent, to go with me, to aid me, and to confirm what I ſhall ſay, I fear they will traduce me; I will give thee thy brother for thine aſſiſtant, I will give to you both ſtrength to defend your ſelves from their malice; go, do what is commanded you, ye ſhall be victorious, and all thoſe that ſhall follow you: when *Moſes* came to *Pharoah*, he made him to ſee my miracles, and preached my Commandments to his Miniſters; they ſaid, this is but magick and witchcraft, we have not heard theſe things to have been ſpoken to our predeceſſors. *Moſes* ſaid, the Lord knoweth him that teacheth the right way, and him that ought to have part in Paradiſe, Infidels ſhall be moſt miſerable. *Pharoah* ſaid to his Miniſters, do ye know any other God but me? O *Haman*! let me offer ſacrifices, and build a Temple; ſhall I deceive my ſelf with the God of *Moſes*? I believe him to be in the number of lyars. He became proud on earth, with his Miniſters, and they believed that they ſhould never be aſſembled before me to be judged: we ſurprized him with his people, and cauſed him to periſh in the Sea; conſider what is the end of unbelievers; we abandoned them, and they are in the number of the condemned to the fire of hell. They ſhall finde none to protect them at the day of Judgment; we curſed them on earth, and at the day of the Reſurrection they ſhall be abominable to all the world. We taught *Moſes* our Commandments, after the deſtruction of many Infidels before his coming. We gave him the Book, to be a light to the people, to conduct them into the right way, and acquire our grace, peradventure they will remember. Thou wert not with *Moſes* when we ſpake to him; to him we created another age after him, thou didſt not at that time dwell with the Inhabitants of *Madian*, neither didſt thou teach them our Commandments; it is we that have inſtructed thee in the Hiſtory of paſt ages; thou wert not on the mountain when we ſpake to *Moſes*; we ſent thee through our ſpecial grace, to preach to men the torments of hell; they have not yet had a preacher like unto thee, perhaps they will conſider it; when they felt any puniſhment for their ſins, they ſaid, Lord, hadſt thou ſent us an Apoſtle to inſtruct us, we ſhould have obeyed thy Commandments, and have believed in thy Law: and when on our part they were inſtructed in the Truth, they ſaid, doth *Mahomet* work miracles like *Moſes*? Do they not traduce what *Moſes* did, when they ſay, that *Moſes* and *Mahomet* are two apparent Sorcerers? and when they ſaid that they believed neither Prophet, nor Scripture? Say unto them, bring any book from God, that better teacheth the right way than the Old Teſtament, and more ſavingly than the *Alcoran*, I will follow it, if ye ſpeak the truth; If they be not heard when they ſhall require this book, know, that they follow only their own appetites and their impiety; who is more erro-

neous

neous than he that followeth but his own paſſion, and is not guided of God? He guideth not Infidels; Certainly we have ſent them the *Alcoran*, peradventure they will believe in it; they, to whom we heretofore ſent this Book, believe in the contents thereof; when they hear it read, they ſay, we believe in thoſe words, it is the very Truth that proceedeth from God; we believe in the Unity of his Divine Majeſty, they ſhall be doubly rewarded, becauſe they have perſevered in well-doing; they have overcome evil through their good deeds, and have expended in good works part of the Wealth that we gave them. When they heard the Faith evil ſpoken of, they withdrew themſelves, took leave of the company, and ſaid, Ye ſhall anſwer for your ſelves, and we for our actions. Regard not the ignorant, thou ſhalt not convert all them that thou ſhalt deſire to convert; God converteth, and guideth into the right way whom he pleaſeth, and knoweth ſuch as ſerve him. They ſaid, if I follow with thee the right way, I muſt forſake my Country. Shall not I eſtabliſh them in a place of ſafety, where they ſhall find all ſorts of fruits to enrich them? But the greateſt part of the People know it not. How many Cities have we deſtroyed, that took pleaſure in their evil life? No man inhabited them any more, except very few, and we became heirs of their riches. God ſhall not deſtroy *Mecca*, until he have ſent an Apoſtle to inſtruct the Inhabitants thereof in the right way: God deſtroyeth not a City, if the Inhabitants be not unjuſt, and diſobey not his Commandments; the Wealth of this World which ye poſſeſs, pleaſeth you, but the Riches of Heaven are much better, and eternal; will ye not underſtand it? Have we not kept promiſe with them to whom we promiſed Paradiſe? And with them to whom we promiſed the Riches of this World, and in the end were in the number of the damned? Be thou mindful of the day when thy Lord ſhall call them, and ſay unto them, where are your Idols, which ye believed to be my Companions? The chief of them ſhall ſay, Lord, behold thoſe that were ſeduced like us, we are innocent of their Idolatry, they adored not us; they ſhall ſpeak that day to the Idolaters to invoke their Idols, but they ſhall not hear them, they ſhall be viſibly chaſtiſed on Earth: Be thou mindful of the day when thy Lord ſhall call them, and ſay unto them, Wherefore have ye not believed my Apoſtles and my Prophets? They ſhall be confounded, and remain dumb. He that ſhall be converted, and do good works, ſhall be happy. Thy Lord createth what pleaſeth him, and maketh choice of what ſeemeth to him good. Praiſed be God, he hath no Companion, he knoweth what is in the hearts of men, and what they make manifeſt; he is God, there is no God but he, praiſe is due to him in the beginning, and in the end, he commandeth over all things, and all People ſhall one day be aſſembled before him to be judged; ſay unto them, Had God given a continual Night, even until the Day of Judgment, what other God is there that is able to give you light? Will ye not hear me? Had God given you a continual Day, until the Day of Judgment, what other God could have given the Night to refreſh you? Will ye not conſider his benefits and his grace? He hath created the Night for repoſe, and the Day for Labour, peradventure ye will give him thanks. Be thou mindful of the Day, when thy Lord ſhall call the Infidels, and ſhall ſay unto them, where are the Idols that ye worſhipped? We will call a witneſs of every Nation, and will ſay to the Idolaters, Bring your arguments that may prove the Plurality of Gods; Ye ſhall this day know your Blaſphemies, and that there is but one God. *Caron* was of the People of *Moſes*, he was proud, becauſe of his riches; we gave give ſo great treaſures, that many men were burthened when they conveyed away the Keyes. Remember how his People ſaid unto him, Rejoyce not above meaſure in thy great wealth, God abhorreth them that rejoyce without reaſon; beg of him Paradiſe; with thy Riches forget not to do good in this World, give alms of the ſubſtance which God hath given thee, be not diſobedient to him on Earth, he abhorreth thoſe that diſobey him; theſe Riches were given thee, becauſe thou didſt inſtruct the People in the Old Teſtament; knoweſt thou not that God deſtroyed in times paſt many rich and opulent perſons? Who is more ſtrong, more powerful, more rich than God? He will not enquire of the wicked the number of their ſins, he knoweth all, and the accompt. *Caron* one day went forth into publick, with all his retinue; they that affected the wealth of this World, ſaid, Would to God we had as much wealth as *Caron*; he is happy! but the more knowing among them ſaid, Ye are unhappy, the grace of God is more advantageous to them that believe in his Law, and do good works, than all the Treaſures of *Caron*; none ſhall receive his grace but ſuch as ſhall obey him, and perſevere in obedience to his Commandments. • We deprived *Caron* of all his Treaſures, and none was able to protect him againſt us; then they that had coveted his riches, ſaid, oh Miracle! God giveth to, and depriveth of wealth whom to him ſeemeth good; Had not God given us his Grace, we had been neceſſitous; certainly *the wicked ſhall be miſerable*; I will beſtow Paradiſe on them that hate Vanity and diſorder upon the Earth, and ſhall have my fear before their eyes; whoſoever ſhall do good, ſhall find good; who doth evil, ſhall be chaſtiſed after his demerits. He that hath taught thee the *Alcoran*, ſhall cauſe thee to return to the * place that thou deſireſt: Tell the inhabitants of that place; that God knoweth them that teach the right way, and ſuch as go aſtray, Thou didſt not expect the *Alcoran*, it is a ſpecial grace of thy Lord; aſſiſt not the Infidels, and take heed leſt they ſeduce thee, after having learnt what hath been taught thee; preach to the People the Unity of God, be not in the number of them that believe many Deities, adore God alone, there is no God but he; all things ſhall have an end, except his Face, he commandeth over every thing, and all men ſhall one day appear before him to be judged.

* *Mecca. See Gelaldin.*

CHAP. XXIX.

The Chapter of the Spider, containing Sixty nine Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. I am God moſt Wiſe. Men have believed that it is ſufficient to ſay, We believe in God, and that they be not proved: Certainly God proved their Predeceſſors, and knew ſuch as were zealous in his Law, and them that were Infidels. Do they who have done evil, think to eſcape the puniſhment of their Crimes, and not

not to be judged? Such as hope to ſee God, ſhall behold him at the time appointed by his divine Majeſty; he underſtandeth and knoweth all things. He that fighteth for the faith, fighteth for his ſoul: certainly God hath no need of men, their ſins ſhall be pardoned who ſhall believe in his divine Majeſty, and ſhall do good works. We enjoyned the children of Iſrael to honour their father and mother, and to do good to them; if they preſs thee to worſhip many Gods, thou ſhalt be damned, if thou give ear to them; obey them not in this matter, ye ſhall be aſſembled before me, I will ſet before you all that ye have done, I will reward you according to your works, and place ſuch as ſhall have obſerved my Law in the number of the bleſſed. There be men who affirm, that they believe in God, and are impatient when evil befalleth them from God to prove them: If God give victory to the True believers, they ſay, that they are on their ſide, but doth not God know what is in their heart? He knoweth them that believe in his Law, and thoſe that are impious. The Infidels ſaid to the True believers, do like us, follow our way, we will bear your ſins; They will not bear them, they are lyars, they ſhall bear their own burdens; ſhall not an account of their ſins be required of them at the day of Judgment? We ſent *Noah* to inſtruct men; he lived upon the Earth nine hundred and fifty years. The Flood ſurprized, and deſtroyed the people of his time, becauſe they were unjuſt, and we ſaved *Noah*, and thoſe that were with him in the Ark; this ought to ſerve for example to all the world. Remember *Abraham*, who ſaid to his people, Adore one God, and fear him, ye ſhall do well, if ye have knowledge to comprehend it; ye worſhip but Idols, and are but lyars, thoſe whom ye worſhip cannot benefit you, implore ſuccor of God, worſhip him, and give him thanks for his graces, ye ſhall one day appear before him, if ye traduce me; thoſe that were before you traduced the Prophets, Gods Meſſengers: Meſſengers are obliged only to diſcharge their meſſage; are ye ignorant that God cauſeth men to dye, and ſhall raiſe them again? it is a thing eaſie to God: Walk through the Earth, and conſider how God hath extirpated your predeceſſors, and created after them another people, certainly he is omnipotent. He puniſheth and pardoneth as he ſeeth good, you all ſhall one day be aſſembled before him to be judged; you ſhall not render him impotent, either in Earth, or in the Heavens; ye ſhall find none of power to protect, or defend you againſt his divine Majeſty; ſuch as obey not his Commandments, who believe not the reſurrection, and deſpair of his mercy, ſhall ſuffer great torments. The people anſwered, kill *Abraham*, and burn him; but God delivered him from the fire that they had kindled, which ſhall ſerve for example to True believers. He ſaid unto them, ye adore only Idols, becauſe of your love to the wealth of the world; ye ſhall deſpiſe and curſe each other at the day of Judgment. Hell ſhall be your habitation, and ye ſhall be deprived of protection. *Lot* believed in his words, and ſaid, I will retire to the place which my Lord ſhall appoint me; he alone is omnipotent, and moſt wiſe. We gave to *Abraham* two ſons, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*; we cauſed Prophets to be born of his race, and taught his progeny the Scripture; we rewarded him in this world, and he ſhall be at the day of judgment in the number of the bleſſed. Remember *Lot*, who ſaid to his people, Ye defile your ſelves with filthineſs, unknown to any before you; ye incline to the love of men, ye rob upon the high ways, and defile one another. This people anſwered, Let us ſee the judgments of God, if what thou ſpeakeſt be true. Then he ſaid, Lord protect me againſt unbelievers. When our Meſſengers came towards *Abraham*, to declare to him that he ſhould have children; they ſaid unto him, We will ruine *Lots* City, and deſtroy all the inhabitants thereof, becauſe they are impious. *Abraham* anſwered, *Lot* dwelleth in that City; they ſaid, We know all that is within it, and we will preſerve him, with all his family, except his wife, ſhe ſhall be in the number of them that ſhall be puniſhed. When our Meſſengers arived at *Lots* houſe, he was troubled, in that he had not ſtrength ſufficient to defend them from the malice of the people; they ſaid unto him, Fear nothing, neither afflict thy ſelf. We will preſerve thee and all thy family, except thy wife; ſhe ſhall abide among them that ſhall be deſtroyed; we will cauſe the indignation of God to fall upon this City, becauſe of their impiety; it ſhall ſerve for example to poſterity. We ſent *Chaib* to his brethren, the inhabitants of *Midian*; he ſaid unto them, Worſhip one God, fear the day of Judgment, and defile not the Earth. They impudently traduced him, but were ſurprized by an Earthquake, and remained dead in their houſes, as carkaſſes. We deſtroyed *Aad*, and *Temod*, their ruine is yet apparent in the places of their habitations; the Devil tempted and ſeduced them from the right way, notwithſtanding they knew their error. We deſtroyed *Caron*, *Pharoah*, and *Haman*; *Moſes* preached to them my Commandments; they contemned them, and became proud in the Earth, but eſcaped not the puniſhment of their crimes. We chaſtiſed ſome by an impetuous wind, and others were ſurprized by thunder; we deprived them of their riches, and they were drowned. God was not unjuſt towards them, they drew miſchief on themſelves through their impiety. They that worſhip Idols are like to the Spider; ſhe buildeth her houſe of her cob-web that cannot defend from heat or cold. They would not adore Idols, did they underſtand what they do; God ſeeth what they worſhip, he is omnipotent and wiſe. I teach the people theſe parables, and none but the wiſe underſtand them. Truly God created Heaven and Earth, it is a ſign of his Omnipotency to True believers. Inſtruct them in the book that is inſpired into thee; make thy prayers at the time appointed, prayers divert men from ſin; to be mindful of God is the beſt work thou canſt perform, he knoweth all the actions of men. Diſpute with mildneſs againſt them that have knowledg of the written Law; except againſt the wicked that are among them. Say unto them, We believe in what hath been taught you, and in what hath been taught us: Your God, and our God is one God; we are reſigned to his divine will. We have ſent thee the *Alcoran*, as we ſent to them the Old Teſtament: Such as underſtand the Old Teſtament, believe in the Truth of the *Alcoran*. Thou haſt not written it with thine own hand; hadſt thou written it, thou hadſt cauſed them to doubt, who deſire to make it void: Certainly it containeth and teacheth intelligibly the Commandments of the Law; none but Infidels reject it. They have ſaid, We will not believe in this Book, unleſs God work in it ſome miracle. Say unto them, Miracles proceed from God, I am ſent only to preach the torments of Hell. Is it not ſufficient, that

we have ſent thee the *Alcoran* to inſtruct them? It containeth the effects of my mercy and precepts, neceſſary for their ſalvation. Say unto them, it ſufficeth that God is witneſs of mine actions, betwixt you and me; he knoweth whatſoever is in Heaven, and in Earth: They that believe in Idols, and have not faith in God, are damned. They urge thee to make them ſee the puniſhment of their crimes; if the time were come, they ſhould ſoon feel it; they ſhall reſcent it, when they leaſt think of it, but they know it not; they ſhall preſs thee to make them ſee it. Say unto them, Hell is prepared for Infidels. When they ſhall be plunged in torments over their heads, and under their feet, it ſhall be ſaid unto them, Taſte the puniſhment which ye have deſerved. O ye people that believe! The Earth is ſufficiently large and ſpacious for you, to ſeparate your ſelves from the wicked; worſhip me alone, all Creatures ſhall die, and be aſſembled before me to be judged. The True believers that ſhall have done good works, ſhall inhabit Paradiſe, wherein flow many rivers; wherein is the reward of the righteous, of them that perſevere to do good, and are patient in their affliction, and truſt in their Lord. How many beaſts be there that have not wherewith to live? God nouriſheth them, and you alſo; he underſtandeth and knoweth all things. If thou ask of the Infidels, who created Heaven and Earth, the Sun, and the Moon? they will ſay, It is God. Wherefore then do they deny his Unity? God enricheth and impoveriſheth whom pleaſeth him, he is omniſcient. If thou demand of them, who cauſeth the rain to fall from Heaven, to give life to the Earth, after the death thereof? they will ſay, It is God. Say unto them, Praiſed be God, that ye avouch it; nevertheleſs, the greateſt part of men underſtand it not. The life of this world is but ſport and vanity, life is in Paradiſe, had they knowledge to comprehend it. When they enter into a ſhip, and ſee the tempeſt, they call upon God and proteſt to profeſs his Law: And when he hath preſerved them on the Land, they are ingrateful for his grace, and return to their Idolatry, they ſhall too late underſtand their error. Knew they not that we have eſtabliſhed in *Mecca* all ſafety and freedom? and that men are taken away by violence to be ſlain, and made ſlaves? believe they in things unprofitable? ſhall they be ingrateful for the graces of God? who is more impious than he that blaſphemeth againſt God, and impugneth the known Truth? is there no place in Hell for the wicked? I will guide into the right way them that ſhall fight for the Faith; God is with them that do good.

CHAP. XXX.

The Chapter of the Grecians, *containing ſixty Verſes, written at* Mecca.

IN the Name of God gracious and merciful. I am the moſt wiſe God. The *Grecians* were vanquiſhed upon the frontier of the *Perſians*; but ſhall be victorious before the end of ſeven years. God diſpoſeth all things from the beginning to the end. When they ſhall be victorious, the True believers ſhall rejoyce in the victory that God ſhall give them; he protecteth whom to him ſeemeth good; he is omnipotent and merciful. He hath promiſed them victory, and departeth not from his promiſes; of which the greateſt part of men are ignorant; they affect the life of this world, and conſider not their end: Will they not conſider that God hath created the heavens and the earth, and all that is in them? and hath appointed to every thing a limited and prefixed time? Certainly the greateſt part of the people believe not in the Reſurrection: Will they not conſider the end of their predeceſſors; who were more powerful and wealthy than they? God hath ſent to all an Apoſtle to teach them his Law, he hath done to them no injuſtice, they have drawn miſchief on themſelves through their iniquity; the end of the wicked ſhall be like to their works, they deſpiſe the Commandments of God, and deride them, but God ſhall cauſe them to die, and riſe again, and all ſhall be aſſembled before him at the day of Judgment; that day ſhall they be deſperate, their Idols ſhall not intercede for them, they ſhall forſake them, and they ſhall be ſeparated from the true believers. Such as believe in God, and do good works, ſhall enjoy the delights of Paradiſe, and the wicked ſhall be chaſtiſed according to their demerits. Praiſe God, pray unto him evening and morning, praiſe is due to him in heaven and earth; pray unto him before the Sun ſet, and at the hour of noon; he maketh the dead to come out of the living, and the living out of the dead; he cauſeth the barren earth to revive, and grow green after its death; in like manner will he cauſe you to ariſe again, and come out of your ſepulchres: it is a ſign of his Omnipotency, to have created you of earth, to have given you fleſh and bones, and to have created the woman (of the rib of the man) to dwell with him; he hath commanded you to love mutually, and to exerciſe charity among you, theſe things are ſigns of his Omnipotency to them that conſider his graces. The creation of heaven and earth, the diverſity of tongues, the differences of your viſages, and of your colour, the night created for repoſe, and the day for travel, the lightning that terrifieth the people, and which through rain cauſeth the earth again to flouriſh, are ſigns of his Omnipotency; It is a token of his Omnipotency to ſuſtain the heaven, and the earth; ye ſhall come out of your ſepulchers when he ſhall call you, whatſoever is in heaven and earth obey him; he cauſeth men to die, and to riſe again, he alone is God in heaven and earth, he is Omnipotent, and knoweth all things. He ſpeaketh to you in a parable, drawn from your ſelves; your ſlaves, are they your companions? do they equally partake with you in the goods which God hath given you? How then will ye ſay that God hath a companion equal to him? Thus do I unfold his myſteries to perſons that have knowledg to comprehend them; certainly the wicked have followed their appetites with ignorance; who ſhall guide him whom God ſhall cauſe to err? he ſhall find no protector; embrace the law of Salvation, God hath eſtabliſhed it, that men may obſerve it; It admitteth no alteration, but the greateſt part of the world are ignorant of it: Fear God, make your prayers at the time appointed; be not like to them that ſay, God hath a companion; neither like to them that are at preſent in the number of Heretiques, and were before as ye are; every Sect is pleaſed in its opinions, when any evil befalleth them that call upon God, and are converted; nevertheleſs ſome of them return to their Idolatry; after the reception of his grace, they are ingrateful. They ſhall awhile be tolertaed, and in the end they ſhall, too late, underſtand their error.

Have

Have we taught them reaſons and arguments, that prove that I have a companion? The People rejoyced when we enlarged to them our Graces; and became deſperate, when evil befel them; ſee they not that I give, and take away Wealth, as to me ſeemeth good? This is a token of my Unity to ſuch as obey my Commandments. Give to your Neighbour what appertaineth to him, and particularly to the poor, and true believers, if ye deſire to ſee the Face of God; ſuch as ſhall do it, ſhall be bleſſed. The Money which ye put to Uſury, encreaſeth in the hands of men, God ſhall not ſuffer it to proſper; the Alms which ye give, ſhall make you to ſee the Face of his Divine Majeſty, and ſhall be doubly reſtored to you. God hath created you, he enricheth you, and cauſeth you to die and riſe again, can your Idols do as much? Praiſed be God, he hath no companion; diſorder appeared in the Earth, and in the Sea, becauſe of the iniquities of men; peradventure they will be converted, when they ſhall feel the puniſhment of their Crimes: ſay unto them, Go throughout the Earth, and conſider the end of your Predeceſſors, the greateſt part of them were Idolaters; embrace the true Law before the Day cometh, when none ſhall be heard; that Day ſhall the wicked be ſeparated from the good, the impious ſhall give an account of their impiety, and ſuch as ſhall have lived well, ſhall enjoy the joys of Paradiſe, the Grace of God ſhall be their recompence, God abhorreth Infidels. It is a ſign of his Omnipotency, to ſend the Winds to bring you Rain, and make you to taſte the Fruits of his Grace; the Ship runneth upon the Water through his permiſſion, for the advantage of your commerce; will ye not be thankful to him for his benefits? *We ſent to every Nation* Prophets and Apoſtles before thee, they came with moſt intelligible Precepts, and with many Miracles; we chaſtiſed thoſe that ſlandred them, and protected the faithful. God ſendeth the winds that elevate the Clouds, and extendeth them in the Air in many pieces at his pleaſure; he cauſeth the Rain to fall where he liſteth, and rejoyceth whom to him ſeemeth good of them that expect it with impatience; conſider the effects of his bounty; he cauſeth the dry and barren Earth to flouriſh again, and reſtoreth the Dead to Life, he is Omnipotent. We ſent the Winds to aſſemble the Clouds that covered Men with their ſhadow, nevertheleſs they are returned to their impiety; the dead ſhall not underſtand thee, neither likewiſe the dumb, thou art not obliged to lead the Blind, none ſhall hearken to thee but ſuch as ſhall believe in my Law, and be obedient: Say unto them, God created you impotent, he hath given you ſtrength, and after, having reduced you to the weakneſs of Old age, doth what to him ſeemeth good; he knoweth mens ſecrets, and doth what pleaſeth him; the wicked ſhall ſwear at the Day of Judgment, that they have remained but an hour in their ſepulchres; they lye in like manner, when they deny the Reſurrection; the True Believers, that know the Truth, ſhall ſay unto them, Ye have remained there the time appointed in the Book of God, to wit, until the Day of Reſurrection; behold the Day of Reſurrection! ye knew not at what time it ſhould arrive; this day excuſes ſhall be unprofitable to Infidels, they ſhall be deprived of protection. We have taught in the *Alcoran* all that is profitable for the Salvation of Men; if thou teacheſt them my Commandments, unbelievers will ſay, Thou bringeſt nothing but diſorder; thus God hardneth the hearts of the ignorant. Be patient, and perſevere; what God promiſeth *is infallible*; beware leſt unbelievers ſhake thy perſeverance.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Chapter of Locman, *containing Thirty Four Verſes, written at* Mecca.

IN the Name of God, Gracious and Merciful: I am the moſt Wiſe God. Theſe Precepts are the Precepts of the Book filled with Doctrine, it guideth into the way of Salvation; the Righteous who make their prayers at the time appointed, that pay Tithes, and believe in the Day of Judgment, they are guided by their Lord, and ſhall be bleſſed. There be who deride this Book, they ignorantly depart from the Law of God, and have deſpiſed it, but ſhall one day be ſeverely puniſhed: When they are taught the Commandments of God, they turn the back with diſdain, they will not hear, and have Ears ſtopped; ſay unto them, You ſhall in the end ſuffer infinite pains: Such as believe in the Law of God, and do good works, ſhall eternally enjoy the Delights of Paradiſe; what God promiſeth, is infallible, he is Omnipotent, and altogether wiſe, he created the Heaven, and ſuſtaineth it without a Pillar, appearing to your Eyes; he lifted up the Mountains upon the Earth, to faſten and hinder it to move; he hath thereon diſperſed many Beaſts, and ſent Rain from Heaven, which cauſeth Plants to ſpring forth, and Herbs of divers ſorts. Behold [here] what God hath created! ſhew me what your Idols have created; aſſuredly Idolaters are manifeſtly ſeduced from the right way. We inſpired knowledg into *Locman*, and ſpake unto him to give God thanks; he that returneth thanks to God for his Graces, doth good for his Soul. God rejecteth the Ingrateful, and praiſe is due to him in all places. Remember thou that *Locman* ſaid unto his Son, O my Son! believe not thou, that God hath a companion, it is an exceeding great Sin: We have commanded man to honour his Father and Mother; his Mother beareth him with grief upon grief, and weaneth him at the age of Two years; be thou not ingrateful for God's benefits; honour Father and Mother, thou ſhalt be one day before God to be judged. If thy Parents preſs thee to believe that God hath companions, obey them not, follow the way of them that obey him, all men ſhall be one day aſſembled before him, to be rewarded according to their works. O my Son! if thou doſt evil, of the weight of a Grain of Muſtardſeed, or of the weight of a Rock, or of the greatneſs of Heaven and Earth, God will know it, and put it in account, he is exact and Omniſcient. O my Son! make thy prayers at the time appointed, do what is honeſt and civil, fly what is not approved, and be patient in thy adverſities; regard not the World, diſordered through pride; converſe not with the proud, God deteſteth the haughty; obſerve thy ſteps, walk with modeſty, ſpeak gently, they be perſons that bray like Aſſes when they ſpeak; ſeeſt thou not that God hath created for men all that is in Heaven and Earth, and conferreth on them his Graces in general, and particular? There be ignorant [perſons] that diſpute of the Deity without reaſon; when it is ſaid unto them, Do what God hath appointed, they anſwer, We will do what we ſaw done by our Fathers. They conſider not that the Devil calleth them and their Fathers to

The *Turks* ſay, that *Locman* was a great Doctor in *David*'s time.

to the pains of Hell. He that obeyeth God, and doth good works, faſtneth him to the ſtrongeſt Knot, and will have a care of him at the Hour of his end. The impiety of the wicked ought not to afflict thee, they ſhall be one day aſſembled in our preſence, to be chaſtiſed; I will ſhew them all that they have done, I know what is in the hearts of men, I will prolong awhile their puniſhment upon Earth, and precipitate them in the other World, into the Fire of Hell. Haſt thou not demanded of them who created Heaven and Earth? They ſaid, It is God; ſay unto them, therefore praiſed be God; nevertheleſs the greateſt part of them are ignorant. Whatſoever is in Heaven and Earth is Gods, he hath no want of the World, praiſe is due unto him in all that he doth, if all the Trees of the World were Pens, and the Sea Ink, they could not comprehend the effect of his Omnipotency, he is Omnipotent, and knoweth all things. He created, and ſhall make you to riſe again with one word, he underſtandeth and ſeeth all things. Conſider they not that God cauſeth the Night to enter into the Day, and the Day into the Night; that he created the Sun and the Moon, that move in the Heaven, until the day appointed; he knoweth whatſoever ye do, becauſe he is truly God; they that invoke other than him, invoke things vain and unprofitable; God alone is moſt high, and moſt mighty: Seeſt thou not how the Ship runneth upon the Water, for a token of his Omnipotency, to ſuch as acknowledg his Graces? When the Wars aroſe againſt the Infidels, many called upon God, with reſolution to follow his Law; when he ſaved them on the Land, ſome perſevered to do well, and others returned to their impiety; none but deceivers and ingrateful [perſons] deſpiſe his Commandments. O People! fear God, and the day when the Father ſhall not be able to ſuccour his Child, neither the Child ſerve his Father, God's promiſes are infallible; be not proud of your Riches, neither that God tolerateth and ſuffereth you, he knoweth the time when ye ſhall be chaſtiſed, the hour that the Rain ſhall fall upon the Earth; he knoweth what is in the wombs of women, whether it be Male or Female; none but God knoweth what thou wilt do to morrow; none but he knoweth the place where thou ſhalt die; he knoweth all, he knoweth all.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Chapter of Worſhip, *containing an Hundred and Thirty Verſes, written at* Mecca.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful, I am the moſt Wiſe God. Doubtleſs this Book was ſent by the Lord of the Univerſe; will the wicked ſay that thou haſt invented it? On the contrary, it is the truth it ſelf, which proceedeth from thy Lord, to preach to them that heretofore had none to inſtruct them; peradventure they will follow the right way. God created Heaven and Earth, and all that is between them, in Six days, and ſitteth on his Throne; Who ſhall protect you? Who ſhall hear your prayers but he? Will you never conſider it? He diſpoſeth all things in Heaven and Earth, all men ſhall one day be aſſembled before him to be judged; a Thouſand years are but one day before his Divine Majeſty; he knoweth what is paſt, preſent, and future; he is Omnipotent and Merciful, he hath created every thing for his People; he formed man of the Dirt, and Duſt of the Earth, he inſpired the Soul into his Body; he giveth you hearing, ſight, and ſenſe, but few men return him thanks for his Graces. They ſay, What, ſhall we die and return to be a new People? Certainly they believe not in the Reſurrection. Say unto them, The Angel of Death ſhall cauſe you to die, and ye ſhall return before God to be judged. Thou ſhalt then ſee how the Infidel will hang down the Head before their Lord, and ſay, Lord, we now ſee the certainty of the Reſurrection; we this day know the truth of thy words, permit us to return into the World, we will be Righteous, we now underſtand what is profitable and neceſſary for us; we could have given a guide to every Perſon, my word is moſt true, I will fill Hell with the wicked, and Paradiſe with the Righteous; thus ſhall men be rewarded and chaſtiſed according to their works. Taſte (O ye wicked!) the pains that ye have deſerved, in refuſing to believe in this day which ye have found; we leave you in the miſeries due to your incredulity; taſte the eternal torments that ye have merited through your impiety. Such as believe in the myſteries of my Law are humble, they worſhip me alone, and praiſe me when they hear mention of me; they are not proud, rebel not againſt my Commandments: They ariſe from their Bed to make their prayers with fear and hope, and imploy in pious works ſome part of the Wealth that we have given them. No man hath either ſeen or knoweth what God reſerveth to recompence the Righteous for their perſeverance. The believers and unbelievers ſhall not be alike entreated; the believers that have done good works, ſhall enjoy Paradiſe, as the reward of their labours, and the unbelievers ſhall be precipitated into the Fire of Hell, the more they ſhall labour to get out, the further ſhall they enter into it; it ſhall be ſaid to them, Taſte the pains of eternal flames, which ye would not believe. I will make the wicked to taſte of the torments of the World, and the pains of Hell, if they be not converted: Who is more unjuſt, than he that knoweth the Commandments of his Lord, and diſobeyeth them? We will be avenged on his impiety: We gave a moſt true Book to *Moſes*, to inſtruct the Children of *Iſrael*; we put into the right way thoſe among them that perſevered in their Faith, and obeyed our Commandments. Thy Lord ſhall judge the difficulties of the *Infidels* at the *Day of Judgment*; ſee they not how much People we deſtroyed in times paſt, that repoſed [confidence] in their Houſes? It is a token of our Omnipotency, will they never underſtand it? See they not how I thruſt forth Water in deſart and barren Lands? That I cauſe Herbs to ſpring forth for the nouriſhment of men and beaſts? Will they never conſider it? They demand, when will the Day of Judgment come? Say unto them, that Day ſhall not bring contentment to Infidels, and they ſhall be without protection. Depart thou far from them; perſevere, and attend; they wait an occaſion to miſchief thee, but thou ſhalt ſee them chaſtiſed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Chapter of Bands, and Troups of Souldiers, containing fourſcore and ſeven Verſes, writttn at Medina.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. Oh Prophet! fear God, and obey not unbelievers, God knoweth all things, and is moſt prudent in what he ordaineth; obſerve what thy Lord hath taught thee, he knoweth the actions of men; recommend thy ſelf to God, it ought to ſuffice thee, that he protecteth thee. He hath not given two hearts unto men; he hath not enjoyned us to call your wives your mothers; thoſe which you call your children, are not all your Children, ye ſpeak it only with the mouth, but God always ſpeaketh the truth, and guideth men into the way of ſalvation. Call your neighbour by the name of his father, this action ſhall be acceptable to God, provided that ye have no evil deſign in the heart; if ye know not his name, call him your brother in God, or Sir; God is gracious and merciful. The Prophet is obeyed of them that believe in God, and honour his wives, as their mothers. Kinſmen are heirs of each other, it is ſo appointed by his divine Majeſty to the Believers that went out of *Mecca* to follow the Prophet: It is ordained in Scripture to do good to your parents. Remember thou that we received the promiſe of the Prophets of thee, of *Noah*, of *Abraham*, of *Moſes*, and of Jeſus the Son of *Mary*, (to worſhip but one God) we received a ſtrong promiſe: An accompt ſhall be required of their actions, and the wicked ſhall feel the rigour of infinite pains. Oh ye that believe in God! remember his favour towards you; when ye were charged by troups of enemies, he ſent againſt them an impetuous wind, and troups inviſible to your eyes, to fight them; he ſeeth all that ye do; thoſe inviſible troups came from the Eaſt, and from the Weſt, from above, and below, when your ſight was troubled, and your hearts failed you, becauſe of the great number of your enemies; ye had already conceived a very bad opinion of the Law of God; then were the True believers tryed, they trembled with fear; The wicked, and ſuch as were weak in their faith, ſaid, that whatſoever God and his Prophet had promiſed them, was but abuſe and vanity; Remember thou how a party of them ſaid to the Inhabitants of the Territory of *Medina*, there is no ſafety for you with *Mahomet*, return into your houſes; Remember thou how many among them required diſmiſſion, and ſaid, that their houſes were forſaken: Their houſes were not forſaken, but they had a deſign to fly; had they returned to their houſes, they had on all ſides perſwaded them to follow impiety, they ſhould not there have made long abode, becauſe they before had promiſed God not to fly; he would have required an accompt of their promiſes: Say unto them, flight ſhall be to you unprofitable, if ye flie death, for that ye ought no longer to continue in the world: Say unto them, who is able to protect you againſt God when he ſhall reſolve to deſtroy you? take none other protector but him; he knoweth them that were diſſwaded to go to the battel to ſpare their wealth and perſons. They caſt an eye upon thee, when they are ſurprized with fear, they turn their eyes into the head, as a man that dyeth, and when they are delivered from fear, they traduce thee becauſe of their extreme avarice. Such men believe not in God, he rendreth all their works unfruitful; it is a thing eaſie to his divine Majeſty. The Troups of the Infidels believed they were invincible, and when they ſaw the troups of the True believers they deſired to flye. The Infidels deſired to draw the *Arabians* to their party, and have intelligence to know in what condition you are; had they been of your party, few of them had been ſlain; the adhearing to the Prophet of God ſerveth to you as a Cittadel, it ſerveth as a Bulwark to them that apprehend the day of Judgment, and think often on his divine Majeſty. When the believers ſaid, behold! what God and his Prophet promiſed us, they are ſincere in their promiſes; the ſight of their enemies encreaſed their faith and zeal towards God and his Prophet. There be perſons among the True believers who have performed what they promiſed to God; many of them are dead in obedience to the Commandments of his divine Majeſty, others attend the ſame thing, and ſwerve not from what they have promiſed; God ſhall recompence them for their zeal, and chaſtiſe the Infidels, or pardon them if it ſo pleaſe him, he is gracious and merciful. God ſhall deſtroy the unbelievers with their wrath againſt the believers; he protecteth True believers in combats, he is ſtrong and omnipotent. The Jews deſcended from their Fortreſs, to give aid to the Infidels, but God caſt fear into their hearts; a party of them were ſlain, and the reſt taken ſlaves; they by their death made you heirs of their lands, their houſes, their riches, and fortreſſes which you were not able to conquer; God is omnipotent. Oh Prophet! if thy wives be too ambitious of the wealth of the earth, and of garments too ſumptuous; Call them, Say unto them, that thou wilt deal well with them, and wilt repudiate them with mildneſs and civility. If they love God and his Prophet, if they are virtuous, his divine Majeſty will give them an exceeding great reward: Oh ye wives of the Prophet! ſuch of you as ſhall be unchaſt, ſhall be puniſhed doubly, more than other women, this is a thing eaſie to God; ſuch among you as ſhall obey God and his Prophet, and ſhall do good works, ſhall be rewarded more than other women, an exceeding great reward is prepared for you. Oh ye wives of the Prophet! ye are not like other women of the world; fear God, and believe not in the diſcourſe of ſuch as have deſign to ſeduce you, ſpeak with civility, abide in your houſes; go not forth to make your beauty appear, and to make a ſhew, as did the ignorant of old; pray to God with affection, give alms, obey God and his Prophet, God will deliver you from his wrath, and will purifie you; be mindful of the Law that is taught you in your houſes, he is merciful to them that honour him, he knoweth all the actions of the Prophet, he hath promiſed his mercy, and an exceeding great reward to thoſe (men and women) that ſhall obey his Commandments. Thoſe men and women that believe in his unity, that reſign themſelves to his divine pleaſure, that are patient and humble, that ſpeak the truth, that faſt, give alms, and are chaſte; and the men and women that obſerve his Law, ought not to controul his actions, neither thoſe of his Prophet, nor ſay, that they could do better than they, if they would endeavour [it.] He that diſobeyeth God and his Prophet, erreth from the right way; Remember what thou didſt ſay to him whom God favoured, to receive him into his Law, and whom thou didſt gra-

Mahomet was amorous of *Zeid* his slaves wife, he caused him to repudiate her, to marry her, because of her beauty.

tisie with liberty, that saidst, Divorce not thy wife, and fear God; thou concealest in thy mind a design which God shall discover, thou feareſt the People, but it is thy duty to fear God alone. When *Zeid* did repudiate his wife, we married thee to her, to the end there might remain no error among the True believers; when they shall repudiate their wives, they shall observe in repudiating them, what God hath ordained. The Prophet sinneth not in doing what God hath permitted; the Law of God was in this manner observed by our Predeceſſors, and the command of his Divine Majeſty is executed without delay. Such as preach the word of God, his Apoſtles and Prophets, fear none but his Divine Majeſty, it ſufficeth them that they are in his protection. *Mahomet* is not your Father, he is the Apoſtle of God, and the laſt of all the Prophets, God knoweth all things, there ſhall not come another Prophet after him. Oh ye that believe in God! think frequently on his Divine Majeſty, praiſe him Morning and Evening, he ſhall give you his Mercy; the Angels implore Pardon, that he may deliver from darkneſs; he is merciful to True believers; the Angels ſhall ſalute them on his behalf at the Day of Judgment; he hath prepared for them an exceeding great reward. Oh Prophet! we have ſent thee to be witneſs of the deportments of the People, and as a light to conduct them into the right way; proclaim to the True believers that they ſhall receive of thy Lord an exceeding great Grace; obey not Infidels, nor the wicked, fear not their malice, and truſt in God; thou oughteſt to be ſatisfied that God protecteth thee. O ye that believe! it is not lawful for you to abuſe your wives; if you repudiate them before ye have known them, deal well with them, and diſmiſs them with mildneſs and civility. O Prophet! we permit thee to know the Women to whom thou haſt given dowry, the Women-ſlaves which God hath given thee, the daughters of thine Uncles, and of thine Aunts, that have abandoned with thee the company of the wicked; and the true-believing Wife that ſhall be given thee, if thou wilt marry her, and that ſhe be not the Wife of a True believer. We know what we have commanded True-believers, touching their wives and their ſlaves; we have inſtructed thee therein, to the end thou offend not God, he is gracious and merciful to ſuch as obey him. Thou ſhalt retain whom of thy wives thou ſhalt deſire to retain, and ſhall repudiate ſuch as thou ſhalt deſire to repudiate, and ſhalt lie with them that ſhall pleaſe thee; it is better that thou repudiate them without offending God, than to ſee them male-contented, and ſad; they ſhall be contented with the good that thou ſhalt do to them, in divorcing them; God knoweth what is in your hearts, he is Omniſcient, and moſt merciful. It is not lawful for thee to know other Women than thine own, it is not lawful for thee to exchange them, although the beauty of others pleaſe thee, except thy ſlaves; God regardeth all. O ye that believe! enter not into the houſes of the Prophet without permiſſion, except at the hour of repaſt, and that by chance, and without deſign; if ye are invited, enter with freedom; when ye ſhall have taken your repaſt, depart out of the Houſe, and tarry not to diſcourſe one with another, this moleſteth the Prophet, he is aſhamed to bid you be gone, but God is not aſhamed to tell you the truth. The wives of the Prophet ſhall have the face covered when ye ſhall ſpeak unto them, this better reſented of purity both in them and in you, You ought not to importune the Prophet of God, neither to know his wives; this would be a moſt enormous ſin; if ye conceal any deſign, or diſcover it, know that God knoweth all. They ſhall not offend God in ſuffering themſelves to be ſeen of their fathers, their Children, their Brethren, their Nephews, their Maid-ſervants, and their She-ſlaves, they ſhall fear God, he ſeeth all; God and the Angels * pray for the Prophet. O ye that believe! pray for the Prophet, and obey him: He that ſhall diſpleaſe God and his Prophet, ſhall be accurſed in this World, and ſhall feel rigorous pains in the other; ſuch as do injury without reaſon, to thoſe (men and women) that believe in God, commit an exceeding great ſin. O Prophet! ſpeak to thy wives, and thy daughters, and the wives of True believers, that they cover themſelves with vails, they ſhall be more honoured, and ſhall receive no diſpleaſure, God is gracious and merciful. If the wicked, the whoremongers, and thoſe of *Medina*, that are weak in their Faith, quit not their Impiety, I will give thee abſolute power over them, and few among them will reſpect thee; but take thou them, and ſlay them whereſoever thou ſhalt meet them, God ſo commanded thoſe that were before thee; thou ſhalt find no alteration in the Law of God: The People will enquire of thee, when ſhall be the Day of Judgment? Say unto them, That God alone knoweth it, and thou knoweſt not if it ſhall be very ſpeedily; but that God hath prepared for Infidels an exceeding great Fire, wherein they ſhall burn eternally, they ſhall find no protection, they ſhall be caſt headlong into the Fire, and ſhall ſay, Would to God we had obeyed his Divine Majeſty, and the Prophet his Apoſtle; they ſhall ſay, Lord, we obeyed our Maſters and Superiors, they ſeduced us from the right way; Lord, chaſtiſe them doubly, and give them thy curſe. O ye that believe! be not like them that diſpleaſed *Moſes*, he was innocent of the crimes that they laid upon him, he was inſpired of God; fear God, and ſpeak with civility, your works ſhall be acceptable to him, and he ſhall pardon your ſins; he that ſhall obey God, and his Apoſtle, ſhall be happy; fidelity and obedience are pleaſing to him in Heaven and in Earth, and upon the Mountains. Such as depart far [from him] as did *Adam*, do injury to themſelves, and are ignorant, he ſhall chaſtiſe thoſe (men and women) that ſhall be diſobedient and impious; he will give his grace to thoſe (men and women) that ſhall believe in his Law, he is gracious and merciful to them that obey him.

He is not the father of *Zeid*, to eſpouſe the Wife which he put away. See *Teſſir anſ Joabir.*

Mahomet had Nine wives. See *Gelaldin.*

* Bleſs the Proper. See *Gelaldin.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Chapter of † Saba, *containing Fifty four Verſes, written at* Mecca.

† *Saba* is a Province of *Licmen.* See *Gelaldin.*

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Praiſed be God, whatſoever is in Heaven, and in the Earth, appertaineth to him; praiſe is due unto him, he is moſt Wiſe and Omniſcient: he knoweth whatſoever entreth into the Earth, and cometh out of it, whatſoever aſcendeth to Heaven, and deſcendeth, he is gracious and merciful to his creatures. The wicked demand if they ſhall ſee the Day of Judgment; ſay unto them, yes, and that thy Lord knoweth the time; he knoweth what is paſt, preſent and future, and all that is in Heaven and in the Earth, even to the weight of an Atome; what is yet leſs, and what is yet greater than an Atome, is written in a Book that diſcovereth every thing; he ſhall reward the True believers that have done good works; he ſhall give them his Mercy, and enrich them with

with precious treaſures: Such as have endeavoured to ſuppreſs his Law, ſhall feel the effects of his indignation. They that underſtand the Scripture, know that God hath taught thee the very truth, to guide the People into the right way, into the path of honour and vertue; but the wicked ſaid among them, will ye believe a man, who affirmeth, that after your death ye ſhall riſe again, and be new creatures? He lyeth impudently, he is poſſeſſed of the Devil. Certainly they that believe not in the Reſurrection, are in an exceeding great error, and ſhall ſuffer moſt grievous pains; ſee they not what is above, and what is below them? Conſider they not the Heaven and the Earth? If I will, I can render it barren, and cauſe a piece of the Heaven to fall upon them for a ſign of my Omnipotency. We gave our grace to *David*, and ſpake to the Mountains, Birds, and Metals with him, to praiſe me; we commanded him to make Cuiraſſes, and Iron was ſoft in his hand, as Wax. O Lineage of *David*! be not ingrateful, I ſee whatſoever ye do. We made the Winds ſubject to *Solomon*, he commanded them Evening and Morning, from the Eaſt to the Weſt; we gave him a Fountain, and a Brook of diſſolved Braſs; the Devils, through our permiſſion, wrought it to his mind, and we puniſhed in the Fire of Hell ſuch as refuſed to obey him. They built for him lofty Palaces, and * ſpacious houſes; they formed Baſons for Water Channels, and Pools: We ſaid unto him, O Lineage of *David*! be not ingrateful for my graces, for that few perſons do acknowledg [them.] When he dyed, through our Commandment, nothing diſcovered his death to the Devils, but the worms that had eaten the end of his ſtaff whereon he leaned; when the Devils ſaw him fall, they perceived, that had they known the future, and *what was hid* from them, they ſhould not have laboured ſo long a time in his Service. The Inhabitants of *Saba* have a mark of my Omnipotency in their Country, *viz.* two Gardens, the one on the North ſide, and the other towards the South, (it was ſaid unto them) eat of the good things that your Lord hath given you, and return him thanks; their Country is delicious, God hath been merciful towards them, nevertheleſs they are ingrateful and impious; we ſent the River of *Arem* that overflowed their Gardens; we changed them into two Gardens of Thorns of *Cyprus*, and a little * *Tamarinde*; thus did we puniſh them, becauſe of their impiety. We eſtabliſhed a way with many Cities, for facility of commerce among them, and the City which we bleſſed; and ſpake unto the People to follow that way Night and Day with ſafety, and without fear: They ſaid, God deſtroyeth us through the length of this way; they returned to their impiety, and we diſperſed them upon the Earth, to ſerve for example to Poſterity, and inſtruction to ſuch as perſevere in my Law, and acknowledg my graces. The Devil cauſed them to believe his Opinion, they followed him, except ſome of the True believers that were among them; he had no power over them, but to know them that believed in the Reſurrection, and ſuch as doubt. Thy Lord obſerveth and regardeth all. Say unto them, invoke your Idols, they have not power of the bigneſs of an Atome, neither in Heaven, nor Earth, God hath no Companion, they ſhall find none to protect them at the Day of Judgment, none ſhall intercede for them without the permiſſion of his Divine Majeſty; if they receive any relaxation in their fear, they enquire of each other what God ſpake, and anſwer, that he ſpake the truth; that he is moſt high and moſt mighty; ſay unto them, who enricheth you with the good things of Heaven and Earth? They will ſay that it is God. Say unto them, Who of you, or of us followeth the right way? Or who of you, or of us is ſeduced? Enquire not after our ſins, we are not curious to know what ye do, God ſhall aſſemble us at the Day of Judgment, and ſhall judg our differences with equity, he is an exceeding great Judg; ſay unto them, Let us ſee the Idols that ye have worſhipped; certainly there is but One God, Omnipotent and Wiſe. We have not ſent thee but to declare to men the joys of Paradiſe, and to preach to them the pains of Hell, but the greateſt part knoweth it not; they ask in what time they ſhall ſee the puniſhment that is preached to them; and if thou ſpeakeſt the truth; ſay unto them, when the time thereof is come, ye ſhall not be able to retard, or advance an hour: They have ſaid, That they will not believe in the *Alcoran*, but thou ſhalt ſee them one day aſſembled in the preſence of thy Lord, thou ſhalt ſee that they ſhall accuſe one another; the Poor ſhall ſay unto the Rich, you have hindred us to obey the Commandments of God; they ſhall anſwer, have we ſeduced you from the way that was taught you? On the contrary, you were wicked and malicious: They ſhall ſay, on the contrary, you employed Night and Day your Artifices to render us ingrateful for the graces of God, and to induce us to believe that he hath Companions equal to him; they ſhall repent of their ſins, when they ſhall ſee their puniſhment; we will lay Chains upon their Necks, and they ſhall be chaſtiſed after their demerits. The chief Inhabitants of the Cities, ſaid to the Prophets that we ſent to them to preach the torments of Hell, that they believe not their words. We have (ſaid they) more riches, and more Children than thoſe that believe in their diſcourſe; we ſhall not be damned, as they affirm; ſay unto them, my Lord giveth and taketh away Riches as ſeemeth good to him, but the greateſt part of the People know it not; your wealth and your children ſhall not give you acceſs to God; ſuch as ſhall perform good works, ſhall be rewarded, and ſhall live eternally in the delights of Paradiſe; they that ſhall endeavour to ſuppreſs our Law, ſhall be caſt headlong into the Fire of Hell: Say unto them, My Lord giveth, and taketh away Wealth as to him ſeemeth good; he maketh vain the alms which ye ſhall give, if ye obſerve not his Law; he is the Rich of the Rich: Be thou mindful of the day, when I ſhall aſſemble the Idolaters, and ſhall ſay to the Angels, Behold them who have adored you; they ſhall ſay, praiſed be God, thou alone art our maſter and protector; they adored not us, they worſhipped the Devil; the greateſt part of them believed in his word, this day they are not able to benefit, or hurt one another; they will ſay to the unjuſt, taſte the torments of Hell Fire, which ye would not believe. They ſaid when thou didſt preach unto them our Commandments, this man would hinder us to worſhip the gods of our fathers, he is a Blaſphemer. They have ſaid, That the *Alcoran* is but Sorcery and Magick, and read not the books that we have ſent unto them. Their predeceſſors did like them; they traduced our Apoſtles, and hindred them to preach the tenth part of what we had inſpired into them; they traduced them, but how were they chaſtiſed? Say unto them, I preach to you to pray to God two by two, or alone, or in company; ye ſhall know one day, that your friend *Mahomet* is not poſſeſſed of the Devil, and that he preacheth to you the pains of Hell; I require no reward of you for mine exhortations, God ſhall reward

*De peind pied.

*An *Indian* Date. See *Gelaldin.*

ward me, he ſeeth all. Say unto them, God teacheth his Prophet the Truth, and what is to come; the truth appeared, and falſhood was diſcovered, and the lyars were deprived of his mercy; if I wilfully go aſtray, or if I act what God hath enjoyned me, this ſhall be for my Soul, God heareth, and is preſent at all things. Thou ſhalt ſee the Infidels filled with fear, and affrighted when they ſhall come out of their ſepulchres; they ſhall not eſcape the puniſhment of their incredulity; they ſhall then ſay, That they believe in the *Alcoran*, but I will ſhew to them from far the Law which they have deſpiſed in the World; they ſhall be precipitated with their ignorance, into a place remote from mercy and pardon, They ſhall be ſeparated from the True believers, becauſe they have doubted the Commandments of the Law of God.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Chapter of the Creator, containing Forty and five Verſes, written at Mecca.

This Chapter is intituled the Chapter of Angels, in the Book Teſſir anf Joahir, *which treateth of the Expoſition of the* Alcoran *in Turkiſh.*

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Praiſe be to God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, who created the Angels, the Meſſengers of his Commandments; they have wings, two, three, and four; he maketh of his Creature what ſeemeth good to him, he is Omnipotent; none can comprehend the Grace that he hath given to his People, it is incomprehenſible, he is Omnipotent and moſt Wiſe. Oh People! remember the grace of God, Is there a Creator beſide him? He enricheth you with the riches of Heaven and Earth, there is no God beſide him. How can the wicked Blaſphem againſt his Divine Majeſty? If they traduce thee, certainly they traduced the Prophets that were ſent before thee; they ſhall be one day aſſembled before God to be judged. Oh ye People! what God hath promiſed is infallible; glory not in the wealth of the Earth, beware leſt the Devil ſeduce you, and render you proud, becauſe that God doth a while defer the puniſhment of your crimes. The Devil is your Enemy, be ye his Enemies, he leadeth them that follow him into the Fire of Hell, where they ſhall ſuffer the rigors of infinite pains; their ſins ſhall be remitted that believe in God, and do good works: Oftentimes, he that delighteth in what he doth, doth believeth he doth well; God miſleadeth and guideth whom it pleaſeth him; be not unwilling to depart from the wicked, God knoweth all their actions. He ſendeth the Winds that drive the Clouds unto barren and drie places, to refreſh the Earth, and cauſe it to revive after its death; in like manner will he raiſe again the Dead. He that affecteth greatneſs, ſhall find in God all manner of greatneſs; good ſpeeches aſcend even to his divine Majeſty, and our good works are acceptable to him. Such as conſpire againſt the Prophet, ſhall endure great torments, and their conſpiracy become vain and unprofitable. God hath created you of duſt and mire, he created you men and women; the Woman neither conceiveth, nor bringeth forth, but through his permiſſion; no man can either prolong or ſhorten his life, but following what is written in the Book [kept in Heaven] theſe things are eaſie to God. Thoſe two Seas are not like to *Euphrates*, whoſe water is ſweet, and pleaſant to drink; the Water of the Sea is cold, and ſalt, nevertheleſs ye eat of the Fiſh of the one, and the other; Ye Fiſh out of the Sea, Gems to adorn you; you ſee the Ship to run upon the Waters, and cleave the waves, for the advantage of your commerce, peradventure you will return thanks to God for his graces. He cauſeth the Night to enter into the Day, and the Day into the Night; he created the Sun and the Moon, that run in the Heaven till the Day appointed. That God who created theſe things, is your Lord, the Empire of the World is his, the Idols that ye worſhip have no more power than the skin of an *Almand*; if ye invoke them, they ſhall not hear you, they ſhall deny you at the Day of Judgment, and are not of power to let you know either the joys of Paradiſe, or the torments of Hell. Oh ye People! ye are poor and neceſſitous, ye have need of Gods aſſiſtance, and God hath no want of you; praiſe is due to him in every place; he will deſtroy you, if it ſeem good to him, and create another new People in your place; none ſhall bear the burden of another, be it never ſo light or heavy, no, not when they are near of kin. Preach thou the torments of Hell to ſuch as fear their Lord, without ſeeing him, and make their prayers at the time appointed. He that taketh heed of offending him, laboureth for himſelf; all the World ſhall be one day aſſembled before him to be judged; the blind are not like to ſuch as ſee clear; darkneſs is not like to light; the ſhade and coolneſs are not like to the heat of the Sun; the Living are not like the Dead; God cauſeth himſelf to be underſtood of whom he pleaſeth; thou canſt not make the Commandments of God to be underſtood by them that are in their Sepulchers; we have ſent only to preach the pains of Hell, and the joys of Paradiſe, there is no place in the World where they have not been preached; if the Infidels traduce thee, their predeceſſors likewiſe traduced them whom we ſent heretofore, to preach to them the Myſteries of Faith, and the Scriptures; they were ſurpriſed in their ſins, were rigorouſly chaſtiſed. Seeſt thou not how thy Lord cauſed Rain to fall from Heaven, to make the Earth produce many fruits of ſundry ſorts, and to nouriſh in the Mountains the Goats, the Stags, and Hinds? To nouriſh the Crows and Ravens, the men, and beaſt of divers kinds and form? God gratifieth his Creatures that acknowledg his benefits; he is Omnipotent and merciful. They who devoutly read the Book of God, who make their prayers at the time appointed, and beſtow in pious works, ſecretly or publickly, part of the wealth that we have given them, have hope of a recompence that ſhall never periſh; God ſhall recompence and augment his graces upon them; he is merciful towards the good, and accepteth the acknowledgment of his graces. The Book that we have ſent thee containeth the Truth, it confirmeth the ancient Scriptures, God knoweth and ſeeth all things. We have given the underſtanding of the *Alcoran* to ſuch as we have choſen among our creatures; there be ſome who have ill diſcharged what we have taught them; ſome have performed what was enjoyned them, and others have

taught

taught it with affection and diligence through Gods permiſſion. This is a great grace, they ſhall enter into the Garden of *Eden*, where they ſhall remain eternally; they ſhall be adorned with Collars of Gold, enriched with precious ſtones, they ſhall be cloathed with fine ſilk, and ſhall ſay, praiſed be God, who hath delivered us from affliction, he is moſt merciful, and accepteth the thanks of his creatures; ſuch as through his ſpecial grace ſhall enjoy the houſe of eternity, ſhall be free from all pain, and the Infidels ſhall be caſt headlong into the fire of Hell. They ſhall not die in thoſe torments, and their torture ſhall never be aſſwaged; thus ſhall the wicked be chaſtiſed, they ſhall in vain implore ſuccour of God, and ſay, Lord deliver us from theſe pains, we will do better than we have done heretofore; I will no more prolong your life on Earth, I have ſent you my Prophets and Apoſtles, They preached unto you my Commandments, you would not hear them, taſte now the pains of Hell, which ye have merited, the wicked ſhall this day be deprived of protection. Certainly God knoweth whatſoever is in Heaven and Earth, he knoweth all that is in the hearts of men. He it is that hath made you to multiply on Earth, impiety ſhall riſe againſt the impious, it ſhall render them abominable before God, and put them into the number of the damned: Say unto them, have ye well conſidered the Idols that ye have worſhipped? Tell me, What have they created on Earth? Were they Gods companions in the Creation of the Heavens? Hath God ſent to them a Book, and reaſons, to authorize their impiety? Certainly the wicked inſtruct one another only in pride and arrogancy; God ſuſtaineth the Heavens and the Earth, he alone is able to ſuſtain them, he is gracious and merciful. The wicked ſwore to fight for the encreaſe of the faith, if there ſhould come to them a Preacher to inſtruct them; and when he came, they augmented their wickedneſs, became proud in the Earth, and conſpired againſt the true believers; their conſpiracy fell upon themſelves, and they can expect none other things than what was ordained againſt their predeceſſors, the Law of God admitteth none alteration. Conſider they not what was the end of their Predeceſſors? who were more wealthy and powerful than they? Nothing is impoſſible to God, he knoweth all things, and is omnipotent. Should God puniſh the people when they offend him, he ſhould leave no living creature on the Earth, he deferreth the chaſtiſement of the wicked until the time appointed; when their time ſhall be come, he will puniſh them according to their demerits, he ſeeth all.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Chapter intituled, O Man, *containing fourſcore and eight Verſes, written at* Mecca.

Reader, *the* Mahometans *have intituled this Chapter with two Letters of the Arabique Alphabet,* i. s. *The* Bedaoi *ſaith, that* i *ſignifieth* ia, *that is to ſay* O particula vocativa, *and* s, *is an abreviation, that ſignifieth* inſan, [i.e.] *Man, and that the Angel ſpeaking to* Mahomet, *began this Chapter in this manner; O man! I ſwear by the* Alcoran, &c. *See* Teſſir, Kitab el tenoir.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. Oh man! I ſwear by the *Alcoran*, full of Doctrine, that thou art a Prophet, ſent to teach the people the right way. This Book was ſent by the Omnipotent and merciful, that thou maiſt inſtruct men in that which was not taught their Predeceſſors: Certainly, what was ſaid is true, *viz.* That the greateſt part of them is incredulous; We will put a chain upon their neck and bind their hands to the very chin; they ſhall lift up the head to complain, but we will place before and behind them a great obſtacle, we will cover their ſight with darkneſs, and they ſhall not ſee a jot. Miſery is upon them; whether thou doſt reprove, or not reprove them, they ſhall not be converted. If thou preacheſt to them that believe in the *Alcoran*, and to ſuch as believe in what they have ſeen, proclaim to them a general pardon of their ſins, and a very great reward. I make the dead to ariſe again, and write exactly in a Book the good and the evil that men commit. Relate to them the Parable of thoſe of the City, whither thy Lord ſent his Prophets; we ſent unto them two Prophets, they ſlandered both of them; we ſuccored them by a third; they all three ſaid to the Inhabitants of this City, we are ſent from God to preach to you his Commandments. They anſwered, ye are but men like us, God hath not ſent us a ſign to make you known, ye are lyars. They ſaid, certainly God knoweth that he ſent us to you; we are obliged only to preach to you his Commandments; They anſwered, would ye make us Infidels like your ſelves? If ye end not this diſcourſe, we will ſtone you, and make you to ſuffer heavy torments. They ſaid, be your evil with you, Who hath heretofore ſo ill inſtructed you? Certainly you are wicked: Then a man came running from the utmoſt part of the City, who ſaid unto them, Oh people! obey the Apoſtles of God, obey them that require no reward from you for the pains which they take in teaching you, and who are in the right way. Wherefore ſhall not I worſhip him that created me, and before whom ye all ſhall be aſſembled to be judged? Will ye worſhip another beſide him? If it be his will to chaſtiſe me, your Idols cannot ſave me, I ſhould be extremely erroneous, ſhould I believe in your Gods; hear and underſtand what I ſay unto you. [Nevertheleſs they ſlew him] and ſaid unto him, Go, enter into Paradiſe; He ſaid, in dying, would to God this people knew the graces that his Divine Majeſty hath conferred on me, he placed me in the number of the bleſſed: After his death we did not ſend Angels from Heaven to chaſtiſe the wicked; I will ſend them but once to deſtroy them; they ſhall one day be dumb, for ſhame that they have not followed the True-believers, and of being mocked by them that I ſent to preach unto them my Commandments: Will they not conſider how much people we have deſtroyed in times paſt, who are not returned, and that ſhall be one day aſſembled before me to be judged? The Earth, dry, dead, and barren, as a ſign of my omnipotency for the wicked; we made it revive, and became green again, and to bring forth fruits, with which they were ſatiate; we there created Gardens, Date-trees, and Vines, we cauſed Fountains to flow; they eat of the fruits which are not the works of their hands; will they not acknowledg the works of their Lord? Praiſe is due to him that created the male and the female of all Plants that the Earth produceth, who created man and woman, and many other things, of which they have no knowledg. It is a ſign of my omnipotency, to ſeparate the day from the night, and to make the Sun to run to his appointed place. We have appointed to the Moon her Signs, ſhe

goeth and cometh always through her old way; the Sun neither haſteneth, nor retardeth his courſe at any time, neither doth joyn himſelf by night to the Moon; the night cometh not until the end of the day. And all, to wit, the Moon, the Sun, and the Stars exalt my glory in the Heaven: It is a mark of mine omnipotency, to have born their fathers upon the waters in the Ark, and to have given them veſſels like the Ark to bear them; had it pleaſed me, I had cauſed them to be drowned, without ſuccor and ſalvation; I ſaved them through my ſpecial grace, until the time appointed. The wicked deſpiſe the ſigns of Gods omnipotency, and ſcoffed, when they were required to fear the wrath of his Divine Majeſty, preſent, and to come, and that their iniquities ſhall be forgiven them. When it was ſaid unto them, Give alms of the wealth that God hath given you, they anſwered, ſhall I give him to eat, to whom God ſhall give bread when it ſhall pleaſe him? They are in a very great error. They will enquire of you when the day of Judgment ſhall be; and if ye believe it, tell them that they muſt expect but one ſole voice, that ſhall ſurprize them, they ſhall quarrel, they ſhall not be able to make their Teſtament, neither return to ſee their Parents; in the end they ſhall go out of their Sepulchres, and preſent themſelves before God, when the Trumpet ſhall ſound: Then ſhall they ſay, we are moſt miſerable, to have departed from our graves, behold what God hath promiſed us! The Prophets ſpake to us the Truth, *viz.* That the world ought to expect but one voice: This day ſhall all men be aſſembled before their Lord, no injuſtice ſhall be done to any perſon, and every one ſhall be rewarded, and chaſtiſed after his works: Such as ſhall go into Paradiſe, ſhall be in exceeding great repoſe, with all manner of contentment, they and their wives ſhall be ſafe from all evils, lying on delicious beds, they ſhall have all ſorts of fruits, and whatſoever they ſhall deſire, they ſhall be ſaluted on the behalf of the Lord, gracious and merciful. God ſhall ſay to the wicked at the day of Judgment; Depart ye this day from the company of the good; did I not forbid you to worſhip the Devil, your open enemy, but to worſhip me alone, and that it was the right way? Did I not tell you that the Devil ſeduced a multitude of the people? Ye would not believe it, behold Hell, that is prepared for you, through your incredulity. I will ſhut their mouth, their hand ſhall ſpeak, and their feet ſhall be witneſſes of their crimes: If we will, we can make the Infidels blind, they ſhall find no way, they ſhall not be able to go or come, and ſhall be ſuccoured of none; had it been our pleaſure we could have transformed them in their houſes, and they had not been able to go forth; I will caſt their head againſt the ground, and will render them infamous, whoſe life I ſhall prolong, and they ſhall not know their errors. We have not made them to underſtand the Myſteries of the *Alcoran*, but that was not neceſſary; it is but to preach to the living, who comprehend what is ſpoken to them; it is moſt true, that the wicked ſhall be puniſhed: See they not that we alone have created all the Beaſts of the Earth, over which they command? We have made them ſubject to them: Some ſerve them to ride on, and others for their nouriſhment, will they be ingrateful? Nevertheleſs they have worſhipped Idols, they adored what could not deliver them from the pains of Hell. Afflict not thy ſelf at their diſcourſe; I know whatſoever they ſay, and all that they keep ſecret in their ſouls: Doth not man conſider that we created him of duſt? And that he is too arrogant? God hath taught us how he formed his Creatures, nevertheleſs the wicked have ſaid, who is he that can give life to bones that are rotten? Say unto them, he it is that created you at firſt, and that knoweth what he created; he maketh fire to come out of the green woods which ye burn, and created the Heaven and the Earth; cannot he create others creatures like unto you? Yes, without doubt, he createth what pleaſeth him, he knoweth all things; when he willeth any thing, he ſaith, Be thou, and it is; praiſed be he, to whom all things appertain, and before whom you all ſhall return [to be judged.]

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Chapter of Orders, containing Fourſcore Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. I ſwear by the Orders of Angels that worſhip God, and attend his commands, by them that hinder men to obey the Devil, and by them that read and meditate on the *Alcoran*, that your God is one ſole God, Lord of the Heaven, and the Earth, and of all that is between them, he is Lord of the Weſt, and of the Eaſt. We adorned the Heaven and the Earth with Planets, and have kept them ſafe from the malice of the Devils; they cannot hear what is ſpoken in the Firmament, they are ſhamefully driven away on all ſides, and ſhall be eternally tormented; if they hear any thing ſpoken, they hear it greedily, and follow [it] ſpeedily, but the ſhining Planet purſueth them, [and detecteth their malice.] The wicked have demanded if we created any thing more illuſtrious than they: Certainly we created them all of the duſt of the Earth: Thou art amazed at their blaſphemies, they deride thy amazement, and ſhall never be converted. When they ſhall ſee Miracles, they ſhall ſcoff, and ſay, that it is but evident Magick to believe that they ſhall dye, and after, being earth, bones, and duſt, they ſhall riſe again with their fathers and predeceſſors: Say unto them, that they ſhall riſe again, and that they are ſeduced from the right way; that the world ſhall be but once deſtroyed, and they ſhall ſee what will befall them at the day of Judgment: They ſhall that day ſay they are wretched, and the Angel ſhall ſay unto them, behold the day of Judgment, behold the day that the godly ſhall be ſeparated from the wicked; behold the day which ye would not believe: It ſhall be ſaid to the Angels, gather them together, aſſemble their wives, and their Idols, put them into the way of Hell, and ſtay them, to give account of their deportments, and why their Idols do not ſuccour them. Certainly they ſhall deſire to be in the number of them that have obeyed Gods Commandments. They ſhall quarrel among them, and ſhall ſay, it is you that have ſeduced us from the right way, through your Oaths; ye ſwore that ye followed the Law of God, and obſerved his Commandments: They ſhall anſwer on the contrary, We have no power over you, you your ſelves were in manifeſt error, the word of God ſhall be accompliſhed againſt us, and we ſhall for company ſuffer the tormens of Hell; if we ſeduced you, we were likewiſe ſeduced, and we ſhall this day be your companions in puniſhment. That day

See Kitab el tenair.

ſhall

ſhall the wicked be in this manner afflicted: they become inſolent on earth, when it is told them there is but one God, and ſay, ſhall we abandon our gods for a fooliſh and lying Poet? on the contrary, he teacheth you the truth, as did the Prophets that were before him; ye ſhall be chaſtiſed, and intreated according to your demerits. Such as ſhall obey Gods Commandments, ſhall have a place of ſafety wherein to reſt, with all ſorts of fruits, in pleaſant gardens, ſitting orderly on delicious beds, with glaſſes full of a drink, pleaſing to the taſte, which ſhall not make them drunk. Their wives white as freſh Eggs, ſhall not caſt an eye upon any but upon them; they ſhall talk together, and one among them ſhall ſay, I had on earth a companion, who asked me if I believed in the Reſurrection; and if after being reduced to earth, bones, and duſt, we ſhall riſe again? come with me, let us go ſee what he doth; he ſhall ſee him in the bottom of Hell, and ſhall ſay unto him, by God, it wanted little but that thou hadſt ſeduced me, without the grace of God I had been damned, as thou art, we are not in the number of the dead, we ſhall not ſuffer any pain; on the contrary, we are in exceeding great happineſs; thus are the righteous rewarded; who are the more happy? they who are in our felicity, or ſuch as are near to *Zacon*, the tree of hell? This tree cometh out of the bottom of hell, it riſeth high, and the branches themſelves reſemble the heads of Devils; the damned ſhall eat of the fruit thereof, they ſhall drink boiling water, and Hell ſhall be the place of their habitation; their fathers were Infidels, they followed their footſteps, and the way of them that were ſeduced before them; we ſent unto them Preachers, whom they refuſed to hear, but conſider what is the end of the righteous, and *that of the wicked*. We ſaved *Noah*, and gave grace to ſuch as obeyed him; we delivered him with his family from a great danger, and perpetuated his progeny; he ſhall be praiſed of all them that ſhall come after him, becauſe we gave him our bleſſing; thus do I recompence the righteous, he was in the number of them that obeyed my Commandments; we ſaved him, and them that followed him, and drowned the Infidels. Remember *Abraham*, God gave him an heart free from impiety and malice; he ſaid to his father and his people, wherefore worſhip ye falſe gods inſtead of the true God? think ye to eſcape the puniſhment of your crimes? Then he had a viſion in heaven, and ſaid, I am ſick of your Idolatry, they departed from him with purpoſe to be converted, and empty the Temples of Idols of their Treaſures; he ſaid to the Idols, wherefore eat ye not the ſacrifices that are before you? wherefore ſpeak ye not? and gave them a great blow with his right hand: the people came together with wrath, becauſe he had ſtricken their gods; he ſaid unto them, Will ye worſhip the works of your hands? know ye not that it is God that created you? then they ſaid among them, let us build a great pile, and put fire to it, and caſt *Abraham* into the fire; they conſpired againſt him, but we rendred them aſhamed and confounded. *Abraham* ſaid unto them, I go towards my Lord, he ſhall guide me into the way of ſalvation; Lord, give me a ſon that may be in the number of the righteous; we declared to him that he ſhould have a ſon, exceeding wiſe, when he arrived to years of diſcretion; he ſaid unto him, my ſon, I dreamed this night that I muſt ſacrifice thee, what wilt thou that I do? he replied, my father, do what is commanded you, ye ſhall find me full of patience; when his father laid him on the ground, and put the knife nigh unto his throat; we ſaid unto him, O *Abraham!* it is enough, thou haſt ſatisfied thy dream; thus do I intreat the righteous, thus were we wont to prove them. We redeemed his ſon with a fair Ram; he ſhall be praiſed of poſterity, and thoſe that ſhall come after him, ſhall bleſs his memory. Thus do I reward the righteous, he was in the number of them that obey my Commandments. We declared to him that he ſhould have a ſon called *Iſaac*, from whom ſhould iſſue many believers, and unbelievers. Certainly we gave our grace to *Moſes* and *Aaron*; we delivered them with their followers from an evident peril, we protected them, and they were in the number of the victorious; we gave them the Book full of light, and conducted them into the right way; they ſhall be praiſed in ages to come, and poſterity ſhall bleſs their memory. Thus do I recompence the righteous, they were in the number of them that obeyed my Commandments: *Elias* is in the number of my Prophets and Apoſtles; he ſaid unto the people, wherefore fear ye not God? wherefore worſhip ye the Idol *Balan*, and forſake the Creator of the world? God is your Lord, and the Lord of your predeceſſors; they traduced him, and were condemned to the fire of hell, except ſuch among them as obeyed my Commandments. We left his memory happy to poſterity; thus I reward the righteous; he was in the number of them that obeyed my Commandments. *Lot* was in the number of my Prophets and Apoſtles: Remember thou, how we delivered him and his family from evident peril, except his wife, who remained among them that were chaſtiſed; having ſaved him, we deſtroyed the wicked; they ſaw in the morning the footſteps of the ruin that befell them the night before; will ye not underſtand this miracle? *Jonas* was in the number of the Prophets. Remember thou, that he fled in a Ship, and was the cauſe of evil to the Sailors, he was ſwallowed of a Whale; had he not repented of his fault, he ſhould have continued in the belly of that Fiſh until the day of Judgment; we caſt him on the ſhore extremely feeble, we covered him with leaves of Filbert, and ſent him to preach to more than an hundred thouſand perſons, that we reconverted, whoſe deceaſe we deferred until the time appointed. The Infidels have demanded if thy Lord hath daughters, as they have ſons? did we create the Angels male and female in their preſence? They lye, when they ſay, that God hath a ſon; hath he deſired to have daughters rather than ſons? how can you thus blaſpheme? Conſider ye not that he is God alone, without children? have ye any reaſon or authority to ſpeak in this manner? bring your arguments, produce your reaſon, if ye are true. The Infidels have ſaid, that the Angels were of the lineage of God, but the Angels well know that the Infidels ſhall be damned, becauſe of their blaſphemies. Praiſed be God, he hath neither ſon nor daughter, other than the righteous that worſhip him, and obey his Commandments. You, with your Idols cannot eſcape the puniſhment of your ſins, ye ſhall be condemned to the fire of hell. There is none among the Angels that knoweth not his place, and his order in Paradiſe, to praiſe and worſhip his Divine Majeſty. If the Infidels ſay, we obſerve the Religion of our Predeceſſors, we are in the right way; Say unto them, that if they believe not in the *Alcoran*, they ſhall in fine know their incredulity. We have promiſed protection to believers, and Prophets, they ſhall be protected and victorious; depart for a time from the wicked, conſider how God puniſheth them, they ſhall feel the puniſhment

of

of their impiety; will they caſt themſelves headlong into the torments of hell? aſſuredly they will be aſtoniſhed when they ſhall feel them; depart from their company, and conſider that they ſhall not be able to eſcape the puniſhment of their crimes. Praiſe thy Lord, the Lord of power and greatneſs, above the wicked; ſalvation be to the Prophets, and eternal praiſe to the God of the Univerſe.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Chapter of Truth, containing fourſcore and eight Verſes, written at Mecca.

Reader, Mahomet *intituled this Chapter with the Letter named in the* Arabique *Alphabet*, Sſad, *which ſignifieth in this place*, Sſidk, *that is to ſay*, *Truth. See the* Gloſs *of* Gelaldin, Kitab el tenoir. *They have intituled it the Chapter of Truth.*

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. I ſwear by the *Alcoran*, that this Book teacheth the way of Salvation; nevertheleſs, the Infidels reſiſt the Faith, and are among themſelves of a different opinion. How many have we deſtroyed in times paſt, that were like unto them? They cried, and required ſuccors, but they were no longer to be ſuccored. The Infidels wonder, that a man like themſelves ſhould be ſent to inſtruct them: they ſay, That he is a Magician, and a liyar, to preach one ſole God. It is a ſtrange thing! Their Doctors forſook their Aſſemblies, they went to preach through the City, and ſaid, Perſiſt to adore your Gods; we abjure the belief of the unity of God, the laſt Sect did not preach it; it is an evident lye. Was *Mahomet* choſen among us to receive alone the *Alcoran* deſcended from Heaven? Certainly they doubt the *Alcoran*, they ſhall know the truth, when they ſhall be in the fire of Hell. Have they in their power the Treaſures of the mercy of thy Lord, omnipotent and bountiful? Poſſeſs they the Kingdom of the Heavens and Earth, and whatſoever is betwixt them? If it be ſo, let them aſcend into Heaven with their forces; aſſuredly, they ſhall be ſhamefully beaten in all places. The wicked heretofore defamed *Noah*, *Aad*, *Pharoah*, the maker of *Charme*, and *Temod*, the Inhabitants of the City of *Lot.*; thoſe that dwelt in the Foreſt, and their companions, traduced the Prophets, and were puniſhed after their demerits; nevertheleſs, the Infidels conſider not that they ſhall be chaſtiſed, when the trumpet ſhall ſound at the day of Judgment, and that they ſhall no more return on earth to be converted. They ſay in ſcorn, Lord give us to ſee the Book of the Accompt of our ſins, before the day of Judgment. Perſevere, and be patient, be not troubled at their diſcourſe, and call to mind our ſervant *David*, ſtout and zealous in my Law; the Mountains and the Birds praiſed me with him; they aſſembled in his preſence, and obeyed him; we gave force to his reign, and endued him with knowledg and eloquence. Haſt thou learnt *David's* quarrel, when they hindred him to enter into the Temple? and how he feared his enemies? When they entred towards him, they ſaid unto him, Be not afraid, we have a diſpute among us, judg our difference with equity, and teach us the right way. This man is my brother, he hath fourſcore and nineteen ſheep: I had but one, which he hath raviſhed from me, becauſe he was ſtronger than I. *David* ſaid, He hath done thee wrong, art thou troubled for one Ew? The greateſt part of men aroſe againſt their neighbour, except ſuch as believe in the Law of God, and obſerve his Commandments, which are few in number. Then *David* knew that we had tried him, he implored pardon of his ſin, he humbled himſelf, worſhipped us, and was converted. We gave him pardon of his fault, we drew him near unto us, and lodged him in a place of content. I ſaid unto him, O *David!* we have eſtabliſhed thee on Earth, to determine the differences that ſhall ariſe among the people, follow not thine own appetite, it will ſeduce thee from the way of Salvation; ſuch as ſhall err from my Law, ſhall ſuffer grievous pains at the day of Judgment. We have not in vain created the Heaven, and the Earth, as the wicked affirm; miſery ſhall befal them, they ſhall be caſt headlong and burnt in the fire of Hell. Shall I alike entreat the believers, and unbelievers? the righteous and the wicked? This Book! we have ſent it to thee, and bleſſed it, to the end the people may meditate the myſteries thereof; and the wiſe reap advantage for their ſalvation. We gave *Solomon* to our ſervant *David*, he was extreamly zealous in our ſervice. Remember that horſes, ready and vigorous, were preſented to him about evening; that he forgot to make his prayer at the hour of Veſpers; and ſaid, What? Have I preferred the love of the wealth of the Earth, to the remembrance of God, even until the Sunſet? He cauſed them to be led back again, and ſacrificed ſome of them (for expiation of his fault.) He cauſed their legs and necks to be cut off. We tried *Solomon*, we cauſed a ſuppoſititious perſon to ſit on his Throne, and afterwards reſtored him to his dominions. He ſaid, Lord, give me thy mercy, give me ſo happy a reign, that the like hath not been ſeen; thou art liberal towards thy creatures. We made ſubject to him the winds, which blowed at his command, where it pleaſed him. We made the Devils ſubject to him; ſome built his Palaces, others dived into the Seas to bring him Pearls, and others were bound and chained to attend his commands; he retained and diſmiſſed whom he liſted, with rendring an accompt. We drew him near unto us, and lodged him in a place of content. Remember our ſervant *Job*, that he prayed to his Lord, and ſaid, That the Devil had heaped miſery and affliction upon him. It was ſaid unto him, Strike the Earth with thy foot; thou ſhalt ſee water ſpring forth to waſh thee, and to drink: We reſtored to him his children, and his riches, through our ſpecial grace, to be an example to poſterity. It was ſaid unto him, when his wife would have made him to murmur, Take rods in thine hand, ſtrike thy wife, and ſwerve not from what thou haſt promiſed. We found him patient, and zealous in obedience to our Commandments. Remember our ſervants *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, affectionate and zealous in our Law; we ſaved, and choſe them among the righteous. Such as have my fear before their eyes, ſhall enjoy the delights of the Garden of *Eden*; where they ſhall repoſe upon moſt glorious beds; they ſhall there have all ſorts of fruits, and delicious drink; and their wives ſhall not look on any but on them. Behold, what is promiſed to them at the day of Judgment, and theſe pleaſures ſhall never end. The wicked and Infidels ſhall be precipitated into the fire of Hell, they ſhall drink boiling water in abundance, and water extreamly cold, full of all manner of noyſom ſmells; they ſhall be precipitated into the flames, and ſhall ſay to them that have obeyed them upon Earth, May

See *Teſſir anſ Joabir in Turkiſh.*

ye

ye be perpetually tormented, you have ſeduced and miſ-led us. On the contrary, may your ſelves be tormented, you have been the cauſe of our miſery, and ſhall be damned with us. Then ſhall they ſay, Lord encreaſe the puniſhment of him that is the cauſe of our miſery: Shall we not be able to ſee them whom we believed on Earth to be Infidels, and whom we derided? cannot our eyes ſee? Thus ſhall the damned quarrel. Say (to the people) I am ſent only to preach unto you the Unity of God, the Omnipotent Creator of Heaven and Earth, and of all that is between them. Behold, the beſt Sermon that I can make unto you; nevertheleſs you deſpiſe it. I know not what happened in Heaven when the Angels quarrelled. God hath inſpired it into me, and I am ſent but to inſtruct you, and to preach publikely the pains of Hell. Remember thou that God ſaid to his Angels, I will create man of the mire of the Earth; when I have formed him, I will breathe againſt him, and inſpire my Spirit into his body; proſtrate your ſelves before him with humility. The Angels there proſtrated themſelves, except the Devil; he was proud, and already in the number of the wicked. Thy Lord ſaid unto him. Wherefore doſt thou not humble thy ſelf before the work of my hands? Thou art in the number of the proud; he replied, I am better than man, thou haſt made me of fire, and haſt created him of the duſt of the Earth. Then thy Lord ſaid unto him, Get thee hence, thou ſhalt be chaſtiſed on all ſides, and my curſe be upon thee until the day of Judgment. He anſwered, Lord, defer my puniſhment until the day of the Reſurrection; he ſaid, I will defer it until the day appointed. He replied, through thy permiſſion I will tempt all the world, except ſuch as ſhall be zealous in thy Law, and ſhall obey thy Commandments. He ſaid, I tell thee true, I tell thee true, I will fill Hell with thee, and thoſe that ſhall follow thee. Say unto the people, I require of you no recompence for my inſtructions, I am not importunate. Certainly this Book is ſent only to inſtruct men, you ſhall one day know the truth of what it containeth.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Chapter of Troops, containing ſeventy five Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the name of God gracious and merciful. This book was ſent by God, the Omnipotent and wiſe. We ſent it to thee, the contents thereof are moſt true: worſhip one God alone, and obey his Commandments; faith proceedeth from him alone: Such as worſhip any other but him, worſhip Idols. They have ſaid, we would not invoke our Idols, had they not power to draw us near to God: Certainly God ſhall judg one day the difference that is between the believers, and unbelievers; he guideth not him that is a lyar and impious. If he would have a ſon, he would make choice of one of his creatures, that ſhould be pleaſing to him; praiſed be God, there is but one God, always victorious, he created the heavens and the earth with proportion; he maketh the night to enter into the day, and the day into the night; he created the Sun and the Moon, which perform their courſe in heaven until the day appointed, he is omnipotent and merciful: He hath created all of you of one ſole man, of whom he created his wife; he hath given you clean beaſts, male and female; he formed you in the wombs of your mothers, form upon form: he brought you out of three * obſcurities, he alone is your God, and your Lord, the kingdom of the world appertaineth to him, there is no God but he. How can the Infidel depart from his ſervice? If ye will not worſhip him, he hath nothing to do with you, he deſireth not that his creatures ſhould be impious; his Will is that they praiſe him; this is his pleaſure, and none ſhall bear the burthen of his neighbour, ye all ſhall be aſſembled before him, he will ſhew ye what you have done, he knoweth what is in the hearts of men: When man is touched with any affliction, he invoketh God, and turneth; and when he is in proſperity, he forgetteth his vows; he hath ſaid that God hath a companion equal to him, and erreth from the way of his Law. Say unto him, thou ſhalt be awhile tolerated, in the end thou ſhalt be caſt headlong into the fire of hell; and he that ſhall pray to God day and night, erect, proſtrate, or on the knee, with fear of the torments of hell, ſhall enjoy the mercy of his divine Majeſty. Are ſuch as labour, to be compared to them that are idle? They that have judgment will underſtand this diſcourſe. Say unto them, oh ye people that believe in your Lord! have his fear before your eyes; ſuch as ſhall do good works in this world, ſhall enjoy abundantly the riches of the earth, God will innumerably reward them that perſevere in obedience to his Commandments. Say unto them, I am commanded to worſhip one God, to profeſs his Unity, and to be obedient to him. Say unto them, I apprehend the day of Judgment, if I diſobey God my Lord. Say unto them, I will worſhip but one God; worſhip ye others, whom ye will. Such as ſhall deſpiſe the Law of God, ſhall loſe their ſouls, and families, at the day of Judgment. Theſe are two great loſſes, and moſt certain they be involved in eternal fire. Thus God preacheth to true believers. O my creature! ſpeak unto them that have my fear before their eyes, that they adore not Idols, and that if they turn to their Lord, they ſhall enjoy the delights of Paradiſe. Proclaim to them that hear my Word, and obey my Commandments, that they are in the right way, and well adviſed; canſt thou deliver from the fire of hell him that ſhall be condemned? Certainly ſuch as obey God, ſhall enjoy the pleaſures of Paradiſe, wherein flow many rivers, and there ſhall they dwell eternally. This is the promiſe of God, he ſwerveth not from that which he promiſeth. Seeſt thou not that God ſendeth rain from heaven, and maketh the rivers to run upon the earth, he cauſeth plants to ſpring forth, and herbs of divers colours; then ſeeſt them become yellow, and then altogether drie; this is a ſign of his omnipotency. Hath not he to whom God hath given the light of faith, received a great grace from his divine Majeſty? Miſery is upon them that have an heart hardned, and forget his Law; they are manifeſtly ſeduced; he hath ſent an excellent book for the inſtruction of men, his precepts are alike in purity, and without contradiction: They that fear God, tremble when they hear mention of this book, and find their reſt in the word of his divine Majeſty. This book is the guide of the righteous, God by it guideth whom pleaſeth him. He whom God ſhall ſeduce, ſhall finde none to guide him; he ſhall be precipitated into the fire of hell at the day of Judgment. It ſhall be ſaid that day to the wicked, taſte the torments that ye have merited; their predeceſſors defamed the

* The obſcurity of the mothers belly, her womb and the skin that infolds you in the womb. See *Gelaldin.*

Prophets, and were punished when they least thought of it; God rendred them ignominious in this world, and they shall feel in the other, torments much more grievous, and they know it not. We have taught in this book what is necessary for the salvation of the people, peradventure they will learn it; it is in the Arabique tongue, without falsehood and contradiction, perhaps the people will fly from impiety; God teacheth you a parable: Two men are associates in their traffique, the one is wicked, the other an honest man, are they alike? Praise is due to one sole God; the greatest part of the Infidels understand it not. Thou shalt die, all men shall die, and ye shall be assembled at the day of Judgment, when ye shall dispute together; Who is more unjust, than he that blasphemeth against God, and against the known truth? Shall not the wicked be damned? Such as shall believe the Prophet, and fly impiety, shall obtain from God what they desire; such is the recompense of the righteous, God shall pardon their sins, and reward them for their good works: doth not he protect his servant? They will terrifie thee with the Idols which they adore; but he whom God shall mislead, shall finde none able to guide him, and none shall be able to seduce him whom he shall guide; is not he the omnipotent and revenging? If thou ask of the Infidels, who created heaven and earth? they will say it is God? Say unto them, have ye therefore considered the Idols which ye adore, can they exempt you from the wrath of God, when it shall be his pleasure to chastise you? Shall they be able to hinder his grace, when it shall be his will to pardon you? Say unto them, my refuge is God, I am resigned to his Will, the wise trust in his divine Majesty. Say unto them, oh people! do as you understand him. I will do as I understand him; ye shall know in the end, that whosoever shall be condemned, shall be ashamed, and be precipitated into eternall torments. We have sent unto thee the most true Book, to instruct the people; He that shall follow the right way, shall meet with nothing but good; and he that shall go astray, shall meet with nothing but evill; thou art not the guardian of the wicked; God causeth men to die when the hour of their death is arrived; he deferreth the death of many during their sleep, and remitteth that of others to the time appointed, this is a sign of his Omnipotencie, to such as consider it. Will ye worship any but God? Say unto them, how shall your Idols be able to intercede for you, since they want power? know you not this? Say unto them, we ought to invoke one God alone, King of the heaven and earth; you all shall one day be assembled before him to be judged. The Infidels tremble with fear, when they hear mention of one sole God, and rejoyce, when they hear speak of their Idols; Say unto them, God is Creator of the heavens and the earth, he knoweth the past, present, and future; (Lord!) thou shalt one day judge the differences of thy creatures: Should the Infidels possess all the riches of the earth, and yet as much more, they would not be able to escape the fire of hell at the day of Judgment; they shall be punished more grievously than they imagine, their sins shall be set before them, and they shall feel the rigors of the torments which they despise. Man calleth upon us when he is in affliction, and when we give him our grace, he saith, he meriteth it; on the contrary, this is to prove him, but most of them are ignorant of it; their predecessors spake as they; the good that they have done, hath profited them nothing; and the misery that they have merited, is fain upon them, they shall not escape the punishment of their crimes. Know they not that God giveth and taketh away wealth from whom pleaseth him? This is a sign of his omnipotency for the righteous. Say unto them, oh people! they who have offended God, ought not to despair of his grace, he is gracious and merciful; be ye converted, and recommend your selves to his will before ye be condemned, otherwise ye shall remain without protection; follow the instruction that God hath sent to you, before ye be chastised, the punishment of your crimes shall surprise you, ye know not the time; the wicked shall be afflicted, for that they have not obeyed Gods Commandments, they shall know their damnation, and the sin that they have committed, in scorning the true believers: They shall say, had God guided me into the right way, I had had his fear before mine eyes. When they shall see hell, they shall say, could I return into the world, I would be in the number of the righteous; on the contrary, my Commandments were taught you, but ye became proud, and despised them. Thou shalt see that day how the visages of Infidels shall be blackned: is there not a place in hell prepared for the proud? God loveth and putteth into a place of felicitie them that fear him, they shall not be touched, either with displeasure or affliction; God hath created all things, and disposeth all at his pleasure; he hath in his power the keyes of heaven and earth, such as disobey him are damned. Say unto them, oh ignorant [men] will ye enjoyn me to worship another god, besides God? It hath been preached to you, and your predecessors, that all your good works shall be unprofitable, if ye adore many gods, and that you shall be in the number of the damned: there *is but* one God, *worship* him, and be *mindful* of his graces. The Infidels have not praised God as he ought to be praised, they have no knowledg of his power, he shall make the earth to tremble, and gather together the heavens by the strength of his right hand at the day of Judgment; praised be God, he hath no companion. When the Trumpet shall sound the first time, he shall cause to die, whom he will have to die in the heavens and earth; the second time all the world shall rise again and attend his Commandments; the earth shall be full of the light of the Lord thereof; he shall bring his book, wherein shall be written what the Prophets and Martyrs have taught, he shall judge the world with equity, and shall not do injustice to any; every one shall be rewarded and chastised for his works, he knoweth all that they have done, he shall send the Infidels into the fire of hell, in troops; when they shall be arrived at the gate, it shall open before their eyes; it shall be said unto them, behold Hell, which ye have merited; were there not Prophets and Apostles, to teach you the Commandments of God, and to preach unto you on Earth the coming of this rigorous day? They shall say, yes, but the word of God, shall be accomplished against the wicked. It shall be said unto them, go, enter into Hell, ye shall abide there eternally, it is the habitation of the proud. Such as shall have the fear of God before their eyes, shall be conducted in troops to the gate of Paradise, the gate shall open before their eyes; it shall be said unto them, behold what ye have gained, the peace of God is with you, ye have not been ignorant, enter into Paradise, ye shall dwell therein eternally. They shall say, praised be God, for that we believed in his Law; and because we are heirs of his grace, we will

will go into Paradiſe, into what place ſhall ſeem good to us, God giveth his bleſſing to the righteous. Thou ſhalt ſee the Angels about the Throne of thy Lord, who ſhall praiſe and exalt his glory; they ſhall ſay, God hath judged his creatures with equity, praiſe is due to the Lord of the Univerſe.

CHAP. XL.

The Chapter of the True believer, containing Eighty five Verſes, written at Mecca.

Reader, Gelaldin *intituleth this Chapter, Of the Pitiful.*

IN the Name of God, Gracious and Merciful: God is prudent and wiſe. This Book is ſent by the Omnipotent, who knoweth all things, who pardoneth ſins and accepteth the converſion of his creatures, he is ſevere in his chaſtiſements, and indulgent to his People, there is no God but he, and all the World ſhall one day be aſſembled before his Divine Majeſty [to be judged.] No man diſputeth againſt the Precepts of the *Alcoran*, but the wicked; be not thou diſcontented if they live on Earth with ſome felicity; the People of *Noah*'s time contemned his inſtructions, their Poſterity did like them, and every Nation hath conſpired the death of them whom God ſent to inſtruct them; they diſputed to obſcure the truth through their lyes, but they were puniſhed; and after what manner? So is the Word of God accompliſhed againſt the wicked, they all ſhall be damned. The Angels that are about the Throne of God, and thoſe that bear him, praiſe and exalt his Divine Majeſty, they believe in his Unity, and beg pardon of him for the True believers; Lord, thy mercy extendeth through the whole World, nothing is hid from thee, either in Heaven or Earth, pardon their ſins that convert, and embrace thy holy Law; deliver them from the Fire of Hell; open to them the gate of the Gardens of *Eden*, which thou haſt prepared for them, their Fathers, Wives, and Children, and them of their Lineage that ſhall do good works, thou art Omnipotent and wiſe. Depart from ſin, he that ſhall depart [from it] ſhall reſent the effect of God's mercy at the Day of Judgment, and ſhall enjoy eternal felicity; the Infidels ſhall be hated of God, his hatred is infinitely more dangerous than yours; will ye be Infidels after being called to the obſervation of the Law of Salvation? They ſaid, Lord, wilt thou cauſe us to die twice? And ſhall we twice riſe again? But they ſhall ſay at the day of Judgment, Lord, we confeſs we have offended thee, we acknowledg our ſin, in having renounced the belief of thine Unity; ſhall we never go out of Hell, to obſerve thy Law, and follow the way of Salvation? No; ye ſhall ſuffer in the Fire of Hell, becauſe that ye have believed them that adored Idols, and becauſe ye have ſaid, that God hath companions equal to him. All things obey one ſole God Omnipotent, he it is that made you to ſee his Miracles, and ſendeth you the riches of Heaven and Earth; none conſider it, but ſuch as are converted. Pray to God, and obſerve his Law, although it be againſt the will of the wicked; he elevateth his Creatures to what degree he liſteth, he hath created his Throne, and ſent his inſpirations to whom he ſeeth good, to preach the Day of Judgment; that Day ſhall the People come out of their Monuments, and none ſhall be able to hide himſelf from his Divine Majeſty. Who ſhall command that day? It ſhall be God alone, victorious; that day ſhall he recompence every one after his works without injuſtice, he is exact to make account. If thou preach to the wicked the Day of Judgment, their heart will lift them up, and they ſhall be full of affliction, their prayers ſhall not be heard, and none ſhall intercede for them: God knoweth them that have eyes of treachery, and ſeeth all that is in the hearts of men, he judgeth of every thing with truth; the Idols which they worſhip are without power, God alone underſtandeth all things, and is Omnipotent. Conſider they not what was the end of their predeceſſors? Who were more powerful, and more wealthy than they? God ſurpriſed them in their ſins, there was none of power to ſave them, for that they deſpiſed the Prophets of his Divine Majeſty, they contemned his Law, and were impious; but he ſeverely chaſtiſed them, he is Omnipotent, and moſt ſevere. We ſent *Moſes* with Miracles, with Reaſons clear and intelligible to *Pharaoh*, to *Haman*, and *Caron*; they ſaid that *Moſes* was a Sorcerer, and a lyar; and when he preached to them the truth on our behalf, they ſaid, kill him, with all thoſe that believe him, and make their wives infamous; but their conſpiracy was but impiety: *Pharaoh* ſaid, hinder me not to kill *Moſes*, let him invoke his God to ſave him; I fear that he may alter your Law, and introduce ſome diſorder in the Land; *Moſes* ſaid, God, mine and your Lord, ſhall defend me from the malice of the proud, that believe not the Day of Judgment: Then a man of the domeſtiques of *Pharaoh*, that ſecretly profeſſed the true Law, ſaid, will ye ſlay a man that declareth that God is his Lord? And that hath made you to ſee Miracles? If he be a Lyar, his lye ſhall be againſt him; but if he ſpeak the truth, ſomething of what he hath preached ſhall befal you. God guideth neither the wicked nor lyars. Oh People! you this day command on Earth with ſplendor; who ſhall defend us from the wrath of God, if it fall upon us? *Pharaoh* ſaid, I ſpeak nothing to you, but what I have told you heretofore, and I will guide you all into the right way; he of his Domeſtiques, that ſecretly profeſſed the true Law, ſaid, Oh people! I fear leſt ye be chaſtiſed, as have been your predeceſſors, as were the people of *Noah*, *Aad*, *Temod*, and thoſe that were after them; God will not do injuſtice to men, I fear for you the Day of Judgment, a day, when ye ſhall riſe again with terror, to render account of your actions; he whom God ſhall ſeduce ſhall find none to guide him. Certainly *Joſeph* came heretofore with inſtructions, clear and intelligible: Nevertheleſs ye doubted, even until his death, and ſaid, that after him God ſhall not ſend a Prophet like unto him; thus doth God ſeduce the wicked, that doubt of his Law; he hateth ſuch as diſpute without reaſon, they are abhorred of them that believe in his Divine Majeſty; thus God hardneth the heart of the proud, and Tyrants. *Pharaoh* ſaid to * *Haman*, build me an high Palace, peradventure I ſhall arrive at the Heavens, and as high as the God of *Moſes*, I believe him to be a Lyar. Thus *Pharaoh* delighted in his wicked actions, he erred from the right way, and his conſpiracy was but his deſtruction. He of his Family that was a True believer, ſaid, Oh people! follow me, I will guide you into the right way, the riches of the Earth paſs away lightly, and the riches of

* *Haman* was *Pharaoh*'s Lieutenant General. *See Gelaldin.*

of Heaven are Eternal; he that doth evil ſhall find evil; who doth good, man or woman, believing in God, ſhall enter into Paradiſe, where he ſhall be enriched innumerably with all manner of riches. Wherefore invite you me to precipitate my ſelf into the Fire of Hell, ſince I exhort you to your Salvation? Ye invite me to be wicked, and to believe that God hath companions, and I know it is not ſo; I call you to the Omnipotent and merciful [God,] doubtleſs I will not worſhip your Idols, they cannot hear you, either in this World, or in the other; we all ſhall be one day aſſembled before God, who will condemn Infidels to the Fire of Hell; conſider hereafter what to you I have preached; I am reſigned to the will of God, he beholdeth all the actions of his creatures; he ſhall chaſtiſe them for the evil that they ſhall commit, and for their wicked deſigns. He ſent his puniſhment upon the Lineage of *Pharaoh*, they deſerved to be precipitated into the Fire of Hell, they ſhall burn Evening and Morning. It ſhall be ſaid to them at the Day of Judgment, oh People of *Pharaoh*! go, enter into the Fire of Hell. The Infidels ſhall quarrel in Hell, the poor ſhall ſay unto the rich; We followed you, are ye able this day to deliver us from Eternal flames? They ſhall anſwer, we all are damned with you, God is a moſt juſt Judg. The damned ſhall ſay to the Miniſters of Hell, Pray to your Lord, that he may aſſwage theſe torments for one day; they ſhall anſwer, had ye not on Earth the Prophets and Apoſtles of God to inſtruct you? They ſhall ſay, Yes; pray therefore to God your ſelves; the wicked love nothing but impiety; I will protect on Earth my Prophets, and them that obſerve my Law, and particularly at the Day of Judgment; that day the wicked ſhall have no excuſe that ſhall advantage them, my curſe ſhall fall upon them, and they all ſhall be damned. We taught *Moſes* the way of Salvation, and made the Children of *Iſrael* heirs of his inſtructions, to inſtruct them that ſhall underſtand them. Perſevere and be patient, the promiſe of God is infallible; implore pardon of thy ſins, and exalt the praiſe of thy Lord Evening and Morning. They that diſpute againſt the Commandments of God are without reaſon, and have nought in their Souls but pride and ignorance: Implore ſuccor of God, he underſtandeth and ſeeth all things, the Creation of the Heavens, and of the Earth, is greater than the Creation of men, but the greateſt part of men know it not; the Blind is not like to him that ſeeth clearly, he that doth good, is not like to him that doth evil, neither is obſcurity ſuch as the light, but few men conſider it. Doubtleſs the Day of Judgment ſhall come, nevertheleſs the greateſt part of men will not believe it: Your Lord hath ſaid, Call upon me, I will hear you; ſuch as ſhall reſiſt my Law, ſhall go into Hell, and be Eternally ſeduced. God hath created the Night for repoſe, and the day for travel, he is bountiful towards his creatures, but the greateſt part of the people are ingrateful; God is your Lord, Creator of all things, there is no God but he. How can the wicked blaſpheme? So do they blaſpheme that are ingrateful for the graces of God; he hath eſtabliſhed you on Earth, he hath covered you with the Heavens, he hath formed you, enriched you; he is your God, your Lord, bleſſed be God, Lord of the Univerſe, he it is that giveth and depriveth you of life, there is no God but he, be obedient to him, and obſerve his Laws; praiſed be God, Lord of the Univerſe, who hath created you of mire. Say unto the Infidels; I am forbidden to worſhip the Idols that ye adore; God hath taught me his unity, I have received command to worſhip none but the Lord of the Univerſe; he created you of duſt, and mire, and congealed Blood, he cauſeth you to be born little Infants, he maketh you to arrive to the age of diſcretion, to virility, and old age; many die before that age, and all attain to the time of their deſtiny; peradventure ye ſhall underſtand his Unity; he it is that maketh you to live and to die, and when he willeth any thing, he ſaith, Be thou, and it is. See ye not, that they that diſpute againſt his Commandments, depart from his Law? Such as reject our Commandments, and what we enjoyned our Prophets to preach to men, ſhall find their errors, when they ſhall ſee Chains on their Necks, and Fetters on their feet; they ſhall be dragged and burned in Hell; then ſhall it be ſaid unto them, where are thoſe Idols that ye adored upon Earth? They ſhall anſwer, they are departed from us, certainly they are without power; thus God ſeduceth Infidels to their confuſion. It ſhall be ſaid unto them, Theſe pains befal you, for that ye were proud and inſolent without reaſon; enter within the gates of Hell, which is the habitation of the proud, ye ſhall dwell there Eternally. Be patient and and perſevere, the word of God is infallible; I will make thee to ſee a part of what I have promiſed to men, I will cauſe thee to die, and thou ſhalt behold them all aſſembled to be judged. Certainly we ſent Prophets before thee, we have ſpoken to thee of one part of our Apoſtles, and the reſt are concealed from thee; neither Prophet nor Apoſtles can preach any thing without God's permiſſion; he chaſtiſeth the wicked when he pleaſeth, he ſhall judg the differences *that are between them and the* Prophets, and ſhall deſtroy the unbelievers. God hath created the beaſts for your uſe; ſome ye eat, and others ſerve you to ride on, [from them] ye reap profit, they bear the burden, as likewiſe do the Ships for the advantage of your commerce; God manifeſteth to you his graces: And what graces! Will ye deſpiſe them? Do not unbelievers conſider the end of them that were before them, who were more powerful and rich than they? Their Treaſures did not ſave them; they derided the Prophets and Apoſtles that preached to them; and in the end felt the pains that they had deſpiſed. When they ſhall fear the torments of Hell, they ſhall ſay, We believe in One God alone, and renounce Idols. This profeſſion of Faith ſhall be unprofitable to them in Hell; they ſhall incur the rigor of the Law of God, that was obſerved againſt their predeceſſors, and all unbelievers ſhall be damned.

CHAP. XLI.

The Chapter of Expoſition, containing Fifty and Four Verſes, written at Mecca.

Reader, Gelaldin *entituled this Chapter, Of Adoration.*

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. The *Alcoran* was ſent by the gracious and merciful God: It explaineth Divine Myſteries in the *Arabique* Tongue, to them that have knowledg to underſtand them; it proclaimeth to the good, the delights

delights of Paradiſe, and preacheth to the wicked the torments of Hell; nevertheleſs, the greateſt part of the world depart from the Faith, and hear not thy words: They ſay, We have obdurate hearts, we cannot comprehend what thou preacheſt, our ears are ſtopped, we are too remote to hear what thou ſayeſt. Obſerve thy Law, we will live after our own. Say unto them, I am a man like you, your God is one ſole God, be obedient to him, and beg pardon of him for your ſins: Miſery is upon unbelievers, that pay not Tythes, and believe not in the day of Judgment. The believers that ſhall do good works, ſhall enjoy an infinite reward. Say unto them, How, will ye be wicked towards him that created the Earth in two days? how can you ſay that he hath a Companion equal to him? He is ſole Lord of the Univerſe; he raiſed the Mountains, bleſſed the Earth, and gave to every Region the particulars thereof in four days, for them that ſhall have need: After this he aſcended into Heaven, that was like unto ſmoke, and ſaid unto Heaven and Earth, Ye ſhall obey me, either through force or affection: They anſwered, Lord, we will be obedient to thy Commandments. He created ſeven Heavens in two days, and diſpoſed every Heaven after his own will; he adorned them with Stars, and preſerveth them from the malice of the Devil. This is an effect of his Omnipotency; he is omnipotent, and knoweth all things. If the unbelievers depart from the Faith, ſay unto them, I have threatened you, as heretofore thunder did the people of *Aad* and *Temod*, when the Prophets taught them the Law of the ancient True-believers, to wit, To worſhip but one God: They ſaid, Were it Gods pleaſure to alter our Law, he would have ſent us Angels to preach unto us; we will not believe in thy Miſſion. The people of *Aad* waxed proud on the Earth without reaſon, and ſaid, Who is more powerful than we? will they not conſider, that he that created them, is more powerful and wealthy than they? Nevertheleſs they deſpiſed our Commandments. We ſent againſt them a cold and impetuous wind, in an unhappy time, that made them to ſuffer on Earth ſhame and ignominy, becauſe of their crimes: He ſhall cauſe them to feel the pains of Hell, that are much greater than thoſe of the Earth, and they ſhall be eternally deprived of protection. We inſtructed the men of *Temod* in the right way; they preferred blindneſs to light, and impiety to Salvation; they were ſurprized by thunder, and ſuffered great afflictions, becauſe of their ſins. We ſaved none of them, but the believers, who had our fear before their eyes. Be thou mindful of the day that the enemies of God ſhall be aſſembled in Hell, they ſhall defend their cauſe before the Judg, until teſtimony be brought againſt them; their ears, their eyes, and their skin ſhall be witneſſes of their iniquities: They ſhall ſay, Wherefore do ye witneſs againſt us? They ſhall anſwer, He that made us to ſpeak, giveth ſpeech to every thing; he it is that created you, and ye are this day aſſembled before him to be judged. Ye did not well conceal your ſelves, when ye offended him; your ears, your eyes, your skin are witneſſes againſt you; ye believed that God ſhould not ſee your ſins, this was your opinion: Certainly he ſhall chaſtiſe you, and you all ſhall be in the number of the damned. Perſevere, and be thou patient, the fire of Hell ſhall be their habitation; they ſhall not be able to pleaſe God in the flames. We have given them the Devils for their Companions, who cauſed them to delight in ſin. The word of God ſhall be accompliſhed againſt them, as it was accompliſhed againſt their Predeceſſors, as well men as Devils, that are condemned. The unbelievers have ſaid, Hear not that *Alcoran*, it is full of error; peradventure, ye ſhall be ſeduced. I will cauſe them to ſuffer grievous pains, and will chaſtiſe them after their demerits; ſuch is the reward of Gods enemies. They ſhall remain eternally in the fire of Hell, becauſe they deſpiſe his Commandments. The wicked ſhall ſay at the day of Judgment, Lord, let us ſee the Devils, and the men that ſeduced us? we will trample them under our feet, and precipitate them to the bottom of Hell. Such as ſhall have profeſſed the Law of God, as ſhall have obeyed his Commandments, ſhall be viſited by the Angels, and ſhall that day be free from fear and affliction. They ſhall ſay unto them, Rejoice ye in Paradiſe, that is prepared for you; ye ſhall there find all the contentments that ye ſhall deſire; they have been prepared for you by the gracious and merciful. There is nothing better than to pray to God, than to do good works, and to profeſs his unity. Good and evil are not alike: Expel evil with thy good works. There is an exceeding great antipathy between Faith and Impiety: Faith is given to ſuch as perſevere to do well, and to them that are endued with the grace of God. The Devil will tempt thee, but implore aſſiſtance from God; he heareth and knoweth all things. The night and the day, the Sun and the Moon, are Signs of his Omnipotency: Adore neither the Sun, nor the Moon, worſhip God that created them. If the Infidels reſiſt the Faith, the Angels that are in Paradiſe deſiſt not, notwithſtanding, to exalt the glory of his Divine Majeſty, day and night, without intermiſſion. It is a ſign of his Omnipotency, to ſee the barren and dry Earth to change the face, and become green, when it is watered with rain. He that maketh the plants to revive, is he that maketh every thing to live and die, he is Omnipotent. Such as depart from our Commandments, cannot hide themſelves from us: ſhall he that ſhall be precipitated into Hell, be better lodged than he that ſhall be ſaved at the day of Judgment; Do what ſhall pleaſe you, your Lord beholdeth all your actions. I will chaſtiſe them that traduce the *Alcoran*, it is a precious Book, it is approved by the ancient and modern Scriptures, it is ſent from the glorious and merciful. None other thing ſhall be ſpoken to thee, than what hath been ſpoken to the Prophets that preceded thee; thy Lord is merciful and juſt. Had we ſent the *Alcoran* in the *Perſian* tongue, to a Prophet, an *Arabian* by Nation, the wicked would have ſaid, That the Divine Myſteries are not well explained. Say unto them, It is the guide of Believers, and a remedy to their ignorance. Infidels have deaf ears, they are blind, and hear not, as thoſe that are called too far off: Certainly, we gave the Book and the Law to *Moſes*. Unbelievers doubt, but if thy Lord had not ſaid, That he would defer their puniſhment until the day of Judgment, he had already chaſtiſed them in this world, becauſe they doubt of the truth. Whoſoever ſhall do good, ſhall find good; and the evil that a man committeth, ſhall be againſt him. Thy Lord doth no injuſtice to his Creatures: None but he knoweth the day of Judgment; no fruit nor flower ſpringeth out of the Earth, and woman neither conceiveth, nor bringeth forth, but by his permiſſion. Be thou mindful of the day that thy Lord ſhall call Idolaters, and demand of them, where be their Idols? They ſhall ſay, Lord, we acknowledg thy Unity; none of us will hereafter adore thoſe falſe gods. They that worſhipped

Monday and Tueſday. See *Gelaldin.*

Thurſday and Friday. See *Gelaldin.*

one God, departed from Idolaters; they know that the puniſhment of their ſins is infallible. Man never ceaſeth to require riches, and is troubled when evil befalleth him; if we give him good after his affliction, he ſaith, that he foreſaw it, and hath no thought of the coming of the day of Judgment; if he be converted, thy Lord openeth to him the Gate of Paradiſe. I will make the wicked to know their wickedneſs, and will moſt ſeverely puniſh them; when we beſtow wealth on man, he followeth his Idolatry and his ſin; and when he is touched in affliction, he raboundeth in prayer: Say unto them, know ye not that the *Alcoran* proceedeth from God? nevertheleſs ye have renounced it; who is more impious than he that impugneth the known truth? I will cauſe them to ſee my Miracles, even to the utmoſt parts of Heaven and Earth, and in their own perſons, to the end they may know the truth of the *Alcoran*. Sufficeth it not them that thy Lord ſeeth all things? nevertheleſs, they are in doubt of the Reſurrection, and of being aſſembled before him to be judged; certainly God is omniſcient.

CHAP. XLII.

The Chapter of Counſel, containing Fifty and three Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. God is prudent, wiſe, Majeſtick; he underſtandeth all things, and is omnipotent; God hath ſent thee the ſame inſpirations that he ſent to them that did precede thee; he is omnipotent and wiſe, whatſoever is in Heaven and in Earth appertaineth to him; he is omnipotent, and knoweth all things; the Heavens open at his command, the Angels exalt his glory, and implore his pardon for them that are on earth; he is merciful, he beholdeth them that invoke Idols, and knoweth them all, but thou art not their Tutor. We have inſpired into thee the *Alcoran* in the *Arabick* Tongue, to preach to the Inhabitants of *Mecca*, and ſuch as dwell about that City; we have ſent thee to preach unto them the day of Judgment; there is no doubt that one part of men ſhall be ſaved, and the other ſhall be damned; had it pleaſed God, he had created them of one and the ſame Religion, he giveth his grace to whom he liſteth, and Infidels ſhall be deprived of ſuccour, becauſe they have required the protection of Idols; but God is the true protector of the world: he reviveth the dead, and is omnipotent; he ſhall one day judg all the difficulties, and reſolve all your doubts in your Religion, he is my Lord, I recommend my ſelf to his divine will; he created your wife of your ſelves, he created all beaſts male and female, and cauſed you to multiply; there is not any thing like unto him, he keepeth the keys of the Treaſures of Heaven and Earth, and taketh away, and giveth wealth as pleaſeth him. The Law that I gave to *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Moſes*, and *Jeſus*, is that which I commanded thee to obſerve, *viz.* to believe in one God. The Infidels are angry when thou preacheſt to them the unity of God, he teacheth it whom he pleaſeth, and guideth into the right way them that obey him; the wicked approve ſome points of his Law, and reject the reſt, although they have knowledg of his Unity, and that through the envy that is riſen among them; if thy Lord had not heretofore ſaid that he would defer their puniſhment until the day of Judgment, he had already deſtroyed them; many of thoſe, who after them ſhall have knowledg of the Scriptures, ſhall doubt of his Law; but follow thou the way that is appointed thee, and follow not their appetites: Say unto them, I believe in the Book that God hath ſent, I have received commandment to preach unto you, that God is your, and our Lord; ye ſhall anſwer for your actions, and we ſhall anſwer for ours; it is not neceſſary to diſpute againſt us, God will one day aſſemble us in his preſence to judg our differences, he is our refuge; ſuch as diſpute againſt the faith, after knowledg of the truth, are without reaſon; their arguments ſhall be vain with God, they ſhall be the object of his wrath, and ſhall ſuffer exceeding great pains. God hath ſent the *Alcoran* with truth and ballance; he will not inſtruct thee when the day of Judgment ſhall be: Such as have no faith in him, aſk when it ſhall come, and they that believe him, fear the coming thereof, and know it to be infallible; ſuch as doubt, are erroneous from the right way. God is merciful to his people, and enricheth whom he pleaſeth; he is ſtrong and omnipotent, he increaſeth the graces of him that deſireth the riches of Heaven; he giveth the wealth of the Earth to them that affect it, and depriveth them of the riches of Heaven: Are there wicked ones among men that teach them a falſe Religion prohibited of God? God hath not revealed it to them; had he not deferred their puniſhment until the day of Judgment, he had already deſtroyed them; they ſhall in the end feel grievous torments; ye ſhall ſee them fear their own deportments, ye ſhall ſee them chaſtiſed after their demerits; and the believers that do good works, ſhall enjoy the delights of Paradiſe, where they ſhall find whatſoever they ſhall deſire; this is the great grace of God; this is that which he hath proclaimed to the faithful that believed, and have done good works: Say unto them, I require none other recompence for the pains that I take in preaching to you, than to love my kindred; he that ſhall do any good work, ſhall be rewarded, God is merciful, and good works are pleaſing to him. Will they ſay that thou haſt blaſphemed againſt God? If it pleaſe God, he ſhall hinder thee to hear this diſcourſe, or will imprint patience in thine heart; he aboliſheth lyes, and confirmeth the truth through his words; he knoweth whatſoever is in the hearts of men; he accepteth the converſion of his Creatures, he pardoneth their ſins, and knoweth all their actions; he heareth the prayers of the faithful, that do good works, and augmenteth his grace upon them; but Infidels ſhall undergo the rigors of eternal pains. Had God equally enriched all his Creatures, they had been in confuſion upon earth; he enricheth whom he pleaſeth; he ſeeth and knoweth all; he ſendeth rain when men deſpair of his grace, he is the Protector of believers, and praiſe is due to him eternally: the Creation of the Heavens, and of the Earth, and of all that moveth between them, is a ſign of thine Omnipotency: If evil befall you, believe that ye have deſerved it; nevertheleſs, he pardoneth you many things; ye cannot eſcape his puniſhment on earth, and none is able to protect you againſt him; the veſſel that runneth on the water, big as a mountain, is a token of his Omnipotency, to them that perſevere in his Law, and acknowledg his graces. He ſhall reprove the wicked for their ſins, and ſhall pardon many: They that diſpute againſt his Commandments, cannot eſcape their puniſhment; the riches

that

that we poſſeſs are the riches of the earth; the riches that God beſtoweth on them that truſt in him, are eternal: They that depart from mortal ſins, that repent to have committed them, that beg of God to be heard, and perſevere in their ſupplications; they that take counſel, and conſult among them what they ought to do, that employ in good works part of the wealth that God hath given them, that implore his help in their afflictions; ſuch as do good, and ſuch as commit evil, ſhall be recompenſed, and puniſhed according to their works. God abhorreth Infidels; ye have no power over them that implore his aſſiſtance in their affliction, and repent; your power extendeth over them that do injuſtice to the people, and diſobey on earth the Commandments of his divine Majeſty, they ſhall ſuffer great torments. Such as perſevere in well-doing, and pardon their neighbour, do what God hath Commanded. He whom God ſhall miſlead, ſhall find none to guide him. Thou ſhalt ſee that the Infidels ſhall ask if they may return into the world, when they ſhall behold the fire of hell; thou ſhalt ſee them flie with extream fear of external ignominy; they ſhall look awry upon hell, and the believers ſhall ſee that the wicked, that have loſt their ſouls, that have miſlead their family, and all the impious, ſhall be eternally damned, none ſhall be able to ſave them, and he that God ſhall miſlead, ſhall not find the right way. Say unto them, beg pardon of God before the day come, that ye ſhall find no way to return into the world, nor excuſe for your ſins. If they diſobey thee, we have not ſent thee to be their Tutor; thou art ſent only to preach unto them. When we give to man any proſperity, he rejoyceth, and when affliction befalleth him, he is ingrateful for the grace of his Lord, King of the heavens and earth. God giveth children, ſons and daughrers to whom he pleaſeth, he knoweth all things, and is omnipotent; he ſpeaketh not to man but by inſpiration, and parable, without being ſeen; he ſendeth his Prophets and Apoſtles, into whom he inſpireth what pleaſeth him; he knoweth all things, and is omnipotent; Thus have we ſent thee our ſpirit to teach thee our Commandments; thou knoweſt not before what was written in the *Alcoran*, neither thy myſteries of faith, we have ſent it to thee to be a light to the world: I will guide into the way of Salvation whom I pleaſe. I will guide him into the way of the Lord, to whom belongeth all that is in Heaven and Earth, and who diſpoſeth of all things.

CHAP. XLIII.

The Chapter of ornament, containing Eighty and nine Verſes written at Mecca.

Extoi *intituled this Chapter, The Chapter of Gold.*

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful: God is prudent and wiſe. I ſwear by the Book that teacheth to do well, that we have ſent it in the *Arabique* tongue, peradventure ye ſhall underſtand the *Alcoran*; it is written in our origiual Book, majeſtique and myſterious. Shall I conceal from you the Book of Salvation, if ye be wicked? How many Prophets and Apoſtles have we ſent in paſt Ages whom unbelievers have deſpiſed? We deſtroyed the moſt powerful among them, and all have incurred the pain of their predeceſſors. If thou ask of them who created Heaven and Earth; they will ſay, that it is the Omnipotent, who knoweth all things. Who hath extended the Earth under you? Who eſtabliſhed the wayes to guide you? It is God, he cauſeth the rain to deſcend from Heaven in your neceſſity; he maketh the dead, dry, and barren fields to revive; in like manner ſhall the dead come out of their Sepulchers. He it is that created whatſoever is in the world, of divers kinds and ſpecies. and created the Ships, and beaſt, to carry you. Remember the grace of your Lord, ſay, praiſed be he that created for us theſe things; we had not the power to create them. They alſo ſhall return before the Lord to be judged. The Infidels have divided God into many parts. Certainly he that ſaith that there are many Gods, is impious; hath he appointed you to ſay, that the Angels which he hath created are his daughters, ſeeing that he giveth you Sons? When it is declared to ſome Infidels that a daughter is born to him, he is not ſatisfied, (he deſireth to have a ſon) will they ſay that God adorneth himſelf, and taketh ornaments to beautifie him like their Idols? It is a manifeſt error they ſay, that the Angels that worſhip God, are *the daughters of his divine Majeſty*; I will write what they ſay, and will require of them an account of their diſcourſe at the day of Judgement. They have ſaid, had it pleaſed God, we had not adored the Angels; They know not what they ſay, and ignorantly blaſpheme: do they obſerve any Scripture that hath been taught them heretofore? On the contrary, they ſay that their fathers lived in like manner, and that they follow their ſteps; they have ſaid as much to all the Prophets that were ſent unto them. When thou ſpakeſt to them to obſerve what is contained in the *Alcoran*, and to abandon the Idols which their fathers worſhipped, they anſwered, that they believed neither in thee nor in thy miſſion; but we avenged our ſelves upon them; Conſider what is the end of blaſphemers; Remember thou, that *Abraham* ſaid to his father, and his people, I am innocent of the ſin that you commit, in adoring Idols, I worſhip him alone that created me, he ſhall guide me into the way of Salvation, and hath left his words to poſterity; perhaps the Infidels ſhall be converted. I deferred heretofore the puniſhment of Idolaters, untill they had learned the truth, and that a Prophet came to inſtruct them; When he preached unto them the truth, they ſaid, that it is but witchcraft, and that they would give no faith to it. Had the *Alcoran* been ſent to a man, * Maſter and Lord of two Cities, or Villages, they had eſteemed and approved it. Would they diſpoſe of the graces of God? He hath divided the riches of the world among men; Some there be that are more eminent, and ſcorn each other, but the mercy of God is more advantageous than the riches of the Earth, which they accumulate: Although all the people be not of the ſame Religion, we ceaſe not to beſtow on the wicked houſes adorned with ſeelings, enchaſed with ſilver, ſtairs, doors, and beds of ſilver and gold; Theſe things are the riches of the Earth, and Paradiſe is for them that are righteous. I will cauſe to fall headlong with the Devils, ſuch as ſhall reject the Law of the merciful; the Devils ſhall be their companions, they ſhall ſeduce them from the way of Salvation, and they ſhall not know

* *Olid bin Maguirbe, and Aroua bid Maſſroud, in whom the Arabians had confidence See Kitab el tenoir.*

know it. When we ſhall come to judg the Univerſe, they ſhall ſay, Would to God we had been as remote from you, as the Weſt is from the Eaſt. Oh what company for you! This day your repentance and your hopes ſhall be vain; ye were Infidels for company, ye ſhall be companions in the Fire of Hell. Wilt thou make the blind to ſee, and the deaf to hear? Wilt thou guide them that wilfully err? If they dye before being puniſhed on Earth, I will be avenged on them in the other World. Shall I ſhew thee during thy life, the puniſhment that we have prepared for them? We can do it, but do thou only what hath been commanded thee, thou art in the way of Salvation, inſtruct men therein; an account of thy miſſion ſhall be required of thee. I will require an account of their miſſion that we ſent heretofore to inſtruct the People, we will demand of them, if we appointed them to worſhip any other God but us. We ſent *Moſes* to *Pharaoh*, and his Miniſters, he cauſed them to ſee our Miracles, and preached to them our Commandments; he told them that he was the Meſſenger of the God of the Univerſe, nevertheleſs they ſcoffed. I ſhewed them no greater Miracle than that of *Moſes* his ſiſter, and we chaſtiſed them, becauſe of their incredulity. They ſaid unto *Moſes*, Oh Magician! pray unto thy Lord, that he deliver us from theſe evils, and we will be converted; when they were delivered, they violated their promiſes; and *Pharaoh* ſaid to his people, Am not I King of *Ægypt?* doth not the River *Nilus* flow under my obedience? Know ye not that I am more powerful than that poor wretch *Moſes*, that knows not what he ſays? Give him * Bracelets of Gold; we will ſee if the Angels, and thoſe that follow his Doctrine, will teſtifie the truth of his words. He terrified his Subjects, they obeyed him, for they were Infidels, but we were avenged on them when they provoked us; we drowned them, and made them ſerve for example to Poſterity, like thoſe that preceded them in impiety. The people would not hearken to the Son of *Mary*, when he ſpake by Parable; they ſaid, Our Gods are more profitable to us than his lyes and queſtions. On the contrary, they were refractory; he is our Servant, we conferred on him our grace, and made him like to the other Prophets of the Children of *Iſrael*: Had it pleaſed me, I had created Angels on Earth in your place; the coming of Jeſus, the Son of *Mary*, ſhall be a ſign of the certainty of the day of Judgment, doubt not concerning that day. He ſaid unto men, Follow me, it is the right way, beware leſt the Devil ſeduce you, he is your open Enemy. I come to teach you the Commandments of God, to reſolve the doubts, and judge the differences that are among you; fear God, and obey him, he is your Lord and mine, worſhip him, it is the right way; the people doubted his Doctrine, but miſery ſhall be upon the wicked, they ſhall ſuffer great torments at the Day of Judgment; will they expect that day for their converſion? It ſhall ſurprize them, and they know it not; that day ſhall they be enemies one of another, God ſhall ſay to the righteous, fear not, ye ſhall not this Day reſent any affliction; the believers that have obeyed my Commandments, ſhall enter into Paradiſe, you and your wives ſhall there rejoyce, ye ſhall drink in cups of fine Gold; ye ſhall there find whatſoever ye ſhall deſire, and all that can content the mind, and delight the eyes, and ye ſhall dwell eternally in ſupreme felicity; behold the Paradiſe that ye have gained by your good life! it is enriched with abundance of fruits, which ye ſhall eat with contentment; and the wicked ſhall remain eternally in the Fire of Hell, they ſhall not be eaſed in their miſeries, and ſhall be dumb with diſpair; we do no injuſtice to them, they draw miſchief on themſelves, through their diſobedience; they ſhall demand of the Keeper of the Fire, will thy Lord never deliver us from theſe pains? He ſhall anſwer them, Ye ſhall abide there eternally; We have taught men the truth, but the greateſt part of them would not believe it. The wicked have conſpired againſt thee, and we conſpired againſt them; think they that I know not their ſecrets, and whatſoever they utter? The Angels our Meſſengers keep account; ſay unto them, If God have a Son, who ſhall we firſt adore? Praiſed be God, King of the Heavens and of the Earth; the matter is not as the Infidels believe it: Leave them implunged in their impiety, let them laugh and rejoyce, until the day of their puniſhment arrive: One God alone ought to be worſhipped in Heaven and Earth, he is moſt wiſe and Omniſcient. Praiſed be he to whom appertaineth the Kingdom of the Heavens and Earth, and whatſoever is between them. He knoweth the hour and the day, that all the World ſhall be aſſembled before him to be judged. The Idols that the Infidels adore, ſhall not be able to intercede for them; the good intercede for them that have knowledge of the truth; if thou ask of men, Who created them? They will ſay, It is God; How can they then depart from his Commandments? Lord, this People is incredulous; Depart thou far from their company, they ſhall in the end, too late, acknowledg their errors.

* *Pharaoh* cauſed Bracelets of gilded Iron to be given, with Collars, to criminals, and made them to go through the City. See *Gelaldin.* And *Kitab el tenoir.*

CHAP. XLIV.

The Chapter of Smoke, containing Fifty nine Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. God is Prudent and Wiſe. I ſwear by the Book that diſtinguiſheth good from evil, that we ſent it the Night of bleſſing, to teach the People the torments of Hell; this Book explaineth our Commandments, and all that we heretofore commanded the Prophets; this is a ſpecial grace of thy Lord, he heareth and knoweth all things, he is Lord of Heaven and Earth, and of all that is between them, believe his in Omnipotency. There is no God but he, he giveth life and death to whom he liſteth, he is your Lord, the Lord of your fathers and predeceſſors; the wicked deride this diſcourſe, but the Day of Judgment attends them; that day the Heaven ſhall reſemble Smoak, that ſhall cover the World; that day ſhall the People ſay, Behold here grievous torments; Lord deliver us from this miſery, we will believe in thy Law: Their converſion ſhall be in vain, becauſe when the Prophet preached to them, they ſcorned his words, and ſaid, That he was a fooliſh Teacher; and when they were comforted on Earth, they returned to their impiety; Remember thou the day when they were vanquiſhed, and taken by force, and that we were revenged on their impiety; We heretofore tryed the People of *Pharoah*; my beloved Prophet preached to them my Commandments, and ſaid, Come follow me, Oh ye ſervants God! I am a faithful Meſ-

Meſſenger of his divine Majeſty, reſiſt not his law; I will teach you his Commandments, he ſhall defend me from your malice, he ſhall preſerve me from being ſtoned; but if he will not believe me, depart far from me. He prayed to his Lord, when he knew, that that people was unbelieving, and impious. God ſaid unto him, Go forth by night out of the City with my ſervants; if the men of *Pharoah* purſue thee, enter into the Sea, through a path large and ſpacious, thine enemies that ſhall follow thee, ſhall be drowned. How many Gardens, Fountains, and places of Pleaſure, wherein they took delight, did they forſake? They fell into the power of another with all their treaſures, and none lamented them, either in Heaven or Earth, they expected not that puniſhment. We delivered the Children of Iſrael from *Pharoahs* tyranny, he was powerful, and a great ſinner. We elected them through our certain knowledg among all the world, and tryed them through our Miracles, and Commandments. The wicked ſay, we ſhall dye and not riſe again; if the Reſurrection be true, cauſe our fathers to revive, to evidence the truth of thy words; Are they more powerful than their predeceſſors, whom we deſtroyed, becauſe of their impiety? We have not created in vain the Heaven and the Earth, and whatſoever is between them; we created them for certain ſigns of our unity, the greateſt part of the world underſtand it not; the day of Judgment is the time appointed for their puniſhment, that day none ſhall be able to ſave his neighbour, or parent, or friend; nor ſhall any be ſaved, but thoſe to whom God ſhall give his mercy, he is omnipotent and merciful. The fruit of the Tree of Hell, called *Zacon*, ſhall ſerve for food to the wicked, it ſhall boyl in their bellies like pitch, or water. They ſhall cry, Take the wicked, drag them into the fire of Hell, pour upon their heads all manner of torments. It ſhall be ſaid unto them, taſte the pains of Hell; ye believed [your ſelves] to be the omnipotent and precious on Earth, behold the puniſhment of which ye doubted! The righteous ſhall be in delicious places, in Gardens adorned with Fountains, they ſhall be clothed with purple, they ſhall behold each other face to face; we will aſſemble them with women, pure and clean, who ſhall have moſt beautiful eyes, they ſhall have fruits, ſavoury and delicious, of all ſeaſons; they ſhall never dye, and ſhall be delivered from the torments of Hell, through the ſpecial grace of thy Lord; behold ſupreme felicity! Certainly, we have ſent the *Alcoran* in thy tongue, peradventure the *Arabians* will learn it; they covet thy ruine, but perſevere thou, and expect the time of the puniſhment of their crimes.

CHAP. XLV.

The Chapter of Genuflexion, or Knee-bowing, containing fifty nine Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. God is moſt prudent and Wiſe. This Book is ſent by the Omnipotent and Wiſe. The Heavens and the Earth are moſt certain ſigns of his Unity, to ſuch as believe in his Law; your Creation, and the Creation of all Creatures, are marks of his greatneſs to them that have his fear before their eyes; the difference of the night, and the day; the rain that he ſendeth from Heaven, to cauſe fruits to ſpring out of the Earth, and to revive it after its death; and the diverſity of winds, are ſigns of his Omnipotency to them that have knowledg to comprehend it. I relate to thee the wonders of God with truth; in what will Infidels believe, if they believe not in the word of his divine Majeſty? Miſery is upon them that hear the Commandments of God, and become proud, as if they had not heard them. Preach unto ſuch men, that they ſhall ſuffer the rigors of infinite pains. They deride the Faith when they are ſpoken to: Certainly, they ſhall be puniſhed in the fire of Hell, their riches ſhall not be able to ſave them, neither the Idols which they adore; they ſhall be eternally damned. This Book guideth then into the way of ſalvation; they that ſhall not believe in the Law of God, ſhall feel the effects of his fury. He created the Seas that bear the Ships for the advantage of your commerce, peradventure ye will acknowledg this grace: He hath created for you, all that is in Heaven and on Earth; it is a ſign of his goodneſs to ſuch as conſider it. Speak unto them that believe in the Law of Salvation, that they pardon thoſe that have not the fear of God before their eyes. God ſhall chaſtiſe them after their demerits. Whoſoever ſhall do good, ſhall finde good; and ye ſhall be aſſembled before his divine Majeſty, to be judged. Certainly we inſtructed the children of *Iſrael* in the Scripture, and our Commandments; we taught them knowledg, and gave them the grace of Propheſie; we enriched them with all ſorts of riches, and preferred them to all the world. We taught them our Law, none diſputed againſt our Commandments, but ſuch as had knowledg, and that through the envy that aroſe among them; but thy Lord ſhall judge their differences at the day of Judgment. We have ſent thee our Law, obſerve it, and follow not the appetites of the ignorant, they ſhall not be able to deliver thee from eternal pains. The Infidels obey each other, and the true believers obey God. This book is the light of the world, it guideth into the way of ſalvation, and the mercy of God, them that believe in his divine Majeſty. Do the wicked imagine they ſhall be entreated like the godly in their life and death, and that they ſhall not be judged? God hath created heaven and earth for a mark of his power, he ſhall judge every one according to their works, and ſhall do injuſtice to none: Conſider how they worſhip what cometh into their fancy, God hath ſeduced them from his certain knowledg, he hath rendred them deaf, hath hardned their heart, and blinded them; who ſhall guide, if God ſeduce them? Do they not conſider it? They ſay, our Reſurrection ſhall be like the life of this world, ſome die, others are born; length of years cauſe us to die; they know not what they ſay, and ſpeak but by opinion. When they are preached unto, they have no other diſcourſe to utter, But make our fathers to revive, if what ye ſay be true. Say unto them, God cauſeth you to live and die, and ſhall aſſemble you at the day of Judgment; there is no doubt in this, but the greateſt part of the people know it not. God is the King of the heavens and earth, and of the day of Judgment; that day ſhall he aſſemble the Infidels; thou ſhalt ſee all Sects, and all Religions aſſembled before him upon their knees, every Sect ſhall ſee their ſins written in a particular book, and ſhall be all chaſtiſed after their demerits.

It ſhall be ſaid unto them, Behold the Book that ſpeaketh againſt you, we have exactly written what you have done; God ſhall give his mercy to the Righteous, that is, Supream felicity. It ſhall be ſaid to the wicked, have not the Commandments of God been preached to you? Ye became proud and were incredulous; when it was told you that the promiſes of God, and the Day of Judgment were indubitable; ye ſaid that it was but an opinion, and that ye believe it not; in the end ye ſhall acknowledg your offence, and ſhall ſuffer the pains that ye deſpiſed; God ſhall ſay unto them at the Day of Judgment, I have this day forgotten you, as ye forgot the coming of this day, the Fire of Hell ſhall be your Habitation, none ſhall deliver you, becauſe ye derided my Law, and waxed proud with the Riches of the Earth. They ſhall never get out of this Fire, neither be able to repent. Praiſe be to God, Lord of the Heavens and Earth, glory is due to him in all places, he is Omnipotent and wiſe.

CHAP. XLVI.

The Chapter of Hecaf, *containing Thirty five Verſes, written at* Mecca.

Hecaf is a *Valley in the Countrey* of Licmen, *upon the frontiers of* Arabia. *See* Gelaldin, *and the Book entituled*, Kitab el Tenoir.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful: God is moſt Prudent and Wiſe. This Book was ſent by the Omnipotent and Wiſe. We created the Heavens and the Earth, and all that is between them, for a ſign of our Omnipotency and Unity, and appointed to every thing a prefixed and limited time. If the Infidels depart from that which hath been preached to them, ſay unto them, Have ye conſidered the Idols that ye adore? Shew me what they have created on earth, are they God's companions in the Creation of the Heavens? Bring me a Book ſent from Heaven before the *Alcoran*, that containeth like it, what remained of the Doctrine of our Predeceſſors, we ſhall ſee if ye be true: Who is more ſeduced than he that worſhippeth things that can neither hear his prayers, nor protect him at the Day of Judgment? That day ſhall the Infidels be enemies to each other, and the Idols ſhall not acknowledg them that have worſhipped them. When they heard the *Alcoran* read, they affirmed it to contain the truth; and when they were commanded to obſerve it, they ſaid, That it is but Magick. Will they ſay, That thou haſt invented it? Say unto them, If I have invented it, ye cannot deliver me from the puniſhment of God, he knoweth all that is in this Book, it is ſufficient that he is witneſs between you and me, he is gracious and merciful: Say unto them, I am not the firſt Prophet, nor the firſt Apoſtle that God hath ſent, I know not what God ſhall determine of you and me, I do but what he hath inſpired into me, and am ſent to preach the torments of Hell; have ye conſidered in what condition ye ſhall be, if the *Alcoran* be ſent from God? Ye have renounced it, but one of the Children of *Iſraell* is witneſs that it is ſent from God, and hath believed in his Divine Majeſty. Nevertheleſs, ye are become proud; God guideth not the proud. The Infidels ſay to the Believers, If the *Alcoran* were any good thing, you ſhould not exceed us in obſerving it, it guideth not into the way of Salvation, it is but an old Fable; the Book of *Moſes* that came before it, teacheth the right way, and the Will of God: Say unto them, the *Alcoran* confirmeth the Scriptures ſent heretofore to them that preceded us, it is in the Arabique Tongue; he preacheth the pains of Hell to unbelievers, and declareth the joys of Paradiſe to the Righteous. Such as ſhall believe that God is their Lord, and ſhall obey him, ought to fear nothing, they ſhall ſuffer none affliction at the Day of Judgment, they ſhall enjoy Paradiſe for the reward of their good works. We have recommended to man, to honour Father and Mother, and to do good to them; his Mother beareth him with pain, ſhe bringeth forth with dolour, ſhe giveth him ſuck, and weaneth him at the end of Thirty months; ſhe hath care [of him] until he be in a condition to govern himſelf, and hath attained to Age of diſcretion. Then he ſaith, Lord, inſpire me to be grateful for the grace that thou haſt given to my Father and Mother; if I do well, thou wilt accept it, take care of my Poſterity, I truſt in thee, and deſire to obey thy Commandments: Their prayer ſhall be heard, their ſins ſhall be pardoned, and they ſhall enjoy the joys of Paradiſe, prepared for the Righteous. He that ſhall ſpeak to his Father and Mother in civility, and ſhall ſay unto them in deriſion, will ye bring me yet once more into the World after my death? will ye revive me from my grave? Many are dead heretofore, that are not return'd. He ſhall be puniſh'd of God, his Father and Mother ſhall require help of his Divine Majeſty, and ſhall ſay unto him, My Son, miſery is with thee, believe in God, and in the Reſurrection, the Word of God is infallible; if he reply that it is an old Fable; he ſhall feel the puniſhment of God, the Word of his Divine Majeſty ſhall be accompliſhed againſt him, as it hath been accompliſhed againſt them that did precede him in impiety, as well Devils as men, they ſhall be damned; they ſhall be in ſundry degrees of pains, he ſhall chaſtiſe them after their demerits, and no injuſtice ſhall be done to them. It ſhall be ſaid to the wicked that would depart out of Hell fire, Ye expelled your felicity, when ye lived in the World; your puniſhment was deferred until this preſent, ye ſhall this day be puniſhed in this Fire, becauſe of your pride and crimes. Remember thou the Brother of *Aad*, who preached the torments of Hell in the Valley of *Hecaf*, his words was heard in his time, and are come to Poſterity, *viz.* worſhip but one God alone; if you do otherwiſe, I apprehend for you the Day of Judgment: They anſwered him, Art thou come to hinder us to adore our gods? Let us ſee the torments that thou preacheſt to us, if thou art true: He ſaid, God knoweth in what time he will chaſtiſe you; I preach to you what hath been appointed me to preach, but I ſee that ye are obſtinate. When they beheld a black cloud appear, which approached the place of their habitation, they ſaid, Behold a Cloud that ſhall give us Rain; on the contrary, it is the puniſhment that ye have demanded, it is full of an impetuous wind that ſhall deſtroy you through the Commandment of God; in the Morning their houſes were found empty of inhabitants. Thus God chaſtiſeth the wicked; ye dwell in the places which they inhabited; they had hearts, eyes, and ears, but their hearts, eyes, and ears were to them unprofitable; the evil which they deſpiſed befel them, when they neglected to obſerve the Commandments of God. We have deſtroyed what-ever is round about *Mecca*, and have made the effects

of

of our Omnipotency to appear; peradventure the inhabitants thereof will be converted. The Idols that they worſhipped, and thoſe to whom they ſacrificed, did not ſave them; on the contrary, they forſook them, becauſe of their blaſphemies. Remember thou, that we ſent to thee Devils, that deſired to hear a Lecture of the *Alcoran*; when they heard thee, they ſaid, Hark, he begins; and when thou madeſt an end, they returned with exceeding great fear, and ſaid to their companions, We have heard a Lecture of a Book ſent from Heaven after the Book of *Moſes*, it confirmeth the ancient Scriptures, teacheth the truth, and guideth the people into the way of ſalvation. O people! hear him that calleth you to the Law of God, and to the obſervance of his Commandments; believe him, God ſhall pardon your ſins, and deliver you from the pains of Hell: ſuch as ſhall not hearken to him, ſhall not eſcape the puniſhment of their crimes, and ſhall be deprived of protection at the day of Judgment; ſuch men are ſeduced from the way of ſalvation. Conſider they not that God, who created Heaven and Earth, did not labour in creating them? that he is able to give life and death, and is omnipotent? Be thou mindful of the day that the Infidels ſhall deſire to get out of the fire of Hell; it ſhall be ſaid unto them, Are not the pains that were preached to you true? they ſhall ſay, yes Lord; it ſhall be ſaid to them, Taſte then the torments which ye have merited through your impiety. Perſevere thou, as the Prophets thy Predeceſſors perſevered. Be not impatient, till thou ſee the puniſhment of Infidels; they ſhall ſee it when they ſhall riſe again, and ſhall believe that they have been but an hour in their Sepulchres: This is that *which God hath commanded to preach*; he ſhall deſtroy thoſe only that diſobey his Commandments.

CHAP. XLVII.

The Chapter of the Combat, containing four-ſcore and eight Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. Good works are vain and unprofitable to the wicked, and to them that hinder their neighbour to follow the Law of God; he pardoneth their ſins, who believe in what *Mahomet* hath preached; it is the very truth that proceedeth from his Divine Majeſty, but the Infidels have followed vanity, and the believers have embraced the truth ſent from their Lord: Thus God ſpeaketh to the people in Parables. When ye ſhall meet the Infidels in time of war, cut their necks, purſue them until ye take them priſoners, then bind them; after this, ye ſhall either give them liberty, or put them to ranſome, until their party ſhall lay down arms. If God pleaſed, he could give you victory without fighting, but his will is to prove you; he guideth into Paradiſe, them that are ſlain for the defence of his Law, and giveth them his grace. Oh ye that believe in God! If ye protect the Law of God, God will protect you, he will confirm your ſteps, and deſtroy the Infidels, becauſe they have contemned his Commandments, and their good works ſhall be to them unprofitable; conſider they not what hath been the end of the impious that were before them, and that God hath deſtroyed them? He ſhall deſtroy them in like manner, becauſe he protecteth the Believers, and Infidels are deprived of his protection; he maketh the righteous to enter into Paradiſe, into Gardens wherein flow many Rivers. The puniſhment of the wicked is ſometimes deferred in this world, they live like beaſts, but the fire of Hell is prepared for their puniſhment. How many Cities, ſtronger, and more opulent than that which they cauſed thee to abandon, have we deſtroyed? They found no protection. Are ſuch as embrace the Law of God like to them that follow their own appetites? God hath promiſed Paradiſe to them that have his fear before their eyes; there be in Paradiſe rivers of water, that receiveth no alteration; there be rivers of milk that never corrupteth, rivers of wine, ſavoury and delicious to the taſte; rivers of honey, pure and clean; fruits of all ſorts, and the grace of God for them that ſhall obey his Commandments; the wicked ſhall remain eternally in the fire of Hell, where they ſhall drink a boiling liquor, that ſhall burn their entrails. There be perſons among the Infidels, that hear what thou doſt preach; when they are gone from thee, their Doctors demand of them what thou haſt ſaid concerning the day of Judgment? God hath hardned the hearts of ſuch men, and they ſhall never follow but their own paſſions. God encreaſeth the graces of them that obey his Commandments, and fortifieth them in their perſeverance: Shall the Infidels tarry until the day of Judgment ſurprizeth them? The ſigns of that day hath already appeared, that day ſhall repentance be in vain: There is no God but God, implore from him pardon of thy ſin; and for theſe men and women, that believe in his Law, he knoweth what they do day and night: If the Chapter of the place where Juſtice is rendred, had not been ſent, and had not made mention of Combats, thou hadſt not ſeen them, that doubt of the Law, look upon thee with eyes troubled, becauſe of their fears of dying. Teach them obedience, and ſpeak to them with civility. Had they believed, and obeyed, when they were appointed to fight, they had performed a good work. Have ye diſobeyed? Have ye abandoned the Law of God, to defile the Earth? and to deprive your ſelves of his mercy? God rendreth them whom he curſeth, and who comprehend not the truth of the *Alcoran*, deaf and blind. Have they a firm heart? Such as have returned to their impiety, after having known the right way, were tempted of the Devil, and particularly, when they told the Infidels that they would obey them in any thing, God knoweth all their ſecrets; what will become of them when the Angels ſhall cauſe them to die? they ſhall beat them before and behind, becauſe they have incutred the wrath of God, and deſpiſed his Commandments; their good works ſhall be unprofitable; think they that God will never make manifeſt their malice? If thou wilt, I will make it appear, thou ſhalt know them by their countenance, thou ſhalt diſcover them by their voice and ſpeech. Say unto them, God knoweth all your actions; he ſhall prove you, to diſcover the believers, and the unbelievers. The wicked, who hinder the people to follow the way of Salvation, that contradict the Prophet, after they have had knowledg of the Law of God, hurt not his Divine Majeſty, their actions are vain and unprofitable. Oh ye that believe! obey God, and his Prophet, and render not your good works ineffectual through diſo-

diſobedience; he pardoneth not the wicked, who ſeduce the people from the way of Salvation, and die in their impiety: Be not faint-hearted and ſlothful, ye ſhall be victorious, God is with you. He will not deprive you of reward; the life of this world is but fooliſh paſtime and deluſion; if ye believe in God, and have his fear before your eyes, he will recompence you for your good works, he requireth not an account of your riches; if he do require [it] of you, it is to hinder you to be avaricious, and to baniſh uſury from among them that believe in his Law: Oh people! ye are commanded to make ſome expence for the love of God: He that ſhall be a niggard, and avaricious in this occurrence, ſhall be avaricious, and a niggard to himſelf. God is rich, and ye are poor; if ye deſpiſe his Law, he will create in your place other perſons, that ſhall not do like you.

CHAP. XLVIII.

The Chapter of Conqueſt, containing twenty nine Verſes, written at Mecca.

This is the Chapter, Of the taking of the City of Mecca.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. We have given thee a manifeſt victory. God pardoneth the ſin that thou didſt commit, when thou wert too prompt, and when thou wert too tardy, [to fight for his Law;] he ſhall accompliſh his grace upon thee, he ſhall guide thee into the right way, and ſhall powerfully protect thee; he hath delivered the hearts of the believers from fear, to augment their faith; he diſpoſeth the forces of the Heavens and Earth, he knoweth all, and is moſt prudent. He ſhall make them that ſhall obey his Commandments, to dwell in Gardens, wherein flow many rivers, and ſhall remit to them their offences, this is ſupreme felicity: The Infidels, the wicked, the diſobedient, and unjuſt, that have evil thoughts of God, ſhall be accurſed of his Divine Majeſty, miſery ſhall always purſue them, and his wrath be eternally upon them; he hath prepared for them the pains of Hell. God diſpoſeth the powers of the Heavens and Earth, he is omnipotent and wiſe. We have ſent thee to be witneſs of the deportments of thoſe of thy Nation, to proclaim to them the joys of Paradiſe, and to preach to them the pains of Hell, to the end they may believe in God, and in his Prophet, that they may praiſe him, honour him, and exalt his glory evening and morning: Such as ſhall obey thee, obey God; the hand of God is ſtronger than the hand of men; he that ſhall ſin, ſhall offend againſt his own ſoul; and he that performed what he hath promiſed to God, ſhall have an exceeding great reward. Such of the *Arabians* as have no inclination to follow thee, ſay, thou imployeſt our wealth and perſons to go with thee, implore therefore pardon of God for us; but they ſpeak not with the mouth, what they have in the heart; Say unto them, who but God is able to do ought for you? if it be his will to bring good or evil upon you, he is omnipotent, and knoweth all that you do. Ye believed that the Prophet and True-believers ſhould be ſlain when they fought for the Law of God; ye believed that they ſhould never return to their houſes. This opinion rejoiced your heart, but you were deceived, and were your ſelves deſtroyed with them that believed not in God, nor his Prophets; God hath prepared the fire of Hell for Infidels; the Kingdom of the Heavens and Earth appertaineth to him, he puniſheth and chaſtiſeth whom he liſteth, he is gracious and merciful. When ye ſhall go to the ſpoil, ſuch as refuſed before to follow you to the fight, will ſay, Permit us to go with you; they would pervert the Word of God. Say unto them, Ye ſhall not follow us in this occaſion, God hath not heretofore ordained it; they will reply, Certainly ye are envious againſt us; on the contrary, they underſtand not the Law of God, except very few among them. Say to the *Arabians*, that refuſed to follow thee, Ye ſhall be called to fight againſt miſerable men, ye ſhall fight them, nevertheleſs they ſhall ſtill be obedient to God; if ye obey and fight for the Faith, he will largely reward you; if ye deſert his ſervice, as heretofore ye have done, he ſhall ſeverely chaſtiſe you. The blind, the lame, and the ſick, are not obliged to go to the war. He that ſhall obey God and his Prophet, ſhall dwell eternally in Gardens, wherein flow many rivers; and he that ſhall diſobey Gods Commandments, ſhall be puniſhed for his diſobedience. God accepted their action that repaired to thee under the tree, he knew what they had in their hearts; he confirmed their ſteps, and gave them victory, he is omnipotent and wiſe. God had promiſed you great ſpoil, he gave it you, and delivered you from the hands of the people; this ſhall ſerve for a ſign of his omnipotency to the true believers, he will conduct you into the right way; none but you could have atchieved that conqueſt, he well knew that that was for none other, he is omnipotent: if the wicked fight you, they ſhall fly, they ſhall turn the back, and find none to protect them. Obſerve the Law of God againſt them, do as was heretofore commanded you; the Law of God admits no alteration; God hath delivered you from their hands, and delivered them into yours in the midſt of *Mecca*, having given you victory over them; he beholdeth all their actions, they have deſpiſed the Commandments of his Divine Majeſty, and hindred you heretofore to go to the Temple of *Mecca*; they are at preſent priſoners; without the aſſiſtance of the True-believers that were within the City with you; ye had not known them, ye had trampled them under foot without diſtinction, and had offended God without knowledg of your ſin. God beſtoweth his mercy on whom he pleaſeth; had ye been ſeparated from the unbelievers, we had ſeverely puniſhed them. When they were ſuccoured of the ignorant, and had ſome advantage, God put his Prophet, and all the believers in a place of ſafety, they had recourſe to the word of force and virtue, wherein they did better than the Infidels; God knoweth all. Aſſuredly the Dream of the Prophet of God was true, when he dreamed that ye were in the Temple of *Mecca* without fear, your hair ſhaven, and beards trimmed; fear nothing, God knoweth what you know not; in lieu of this Dream, he hath given you a great victory; he it is that hath ſent you his Prophet, to teach you his Law, more ſalutary than all other Laws of the world. It is ſufficient, that God is witneſs that *Mahomet* is his Prophet, and Apoſtle; it ſufficeth that the True-believers, who are with him, bear teſtimony. God extendeth his mercy towards thoſe Infidels that convert; thou ſhalt ſee them worſhip God, humble themſelves before his Divine Majeſty, and implore his grace; thou ſhalt know them by their aſpect,

aſpect, they ſhall have in their countenance the marks of their zeal; it is ſo written in the Old Teſtament and the Goſpel; they are like a Plant that produceth its leaves, that grows ſtrong by little and little, and becometh big, afterwards it taketh ſtrength upon its roots, becometh a great Tree, and the wood thereof ſerveth to make war againſt Infidels. God hath promiſed his mercy, and an exceeding great reward to the Infidels that ſhall be converted, that ſhall believe in his Law, and do good works.

CHAP. XLIX.

The Chapter of Incloſures, containing Eighteen Verſes, written at Medina.

Exteri *entituleth this Chapter, The Chapter of Walls.*

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. O ye that believe! perfer not what ye have done, to what God and his Prophet hath performed, and fear God, he heareth whatſoever ye ſay, and ſeeth all that you do. O ye that believe! when ye ſhall ſpeak to the Prophet, ſpeak not louder than he; cry not, as when ye talk among your ſelves, leſt ye render your good works vain and unprofitable, and know it not; God hath tried the vertue of them that ſpeak low in the preſence of the Prophet, he ſhall pardon their ſins, and give them an exceeding great reward. They that call thee behind the Incloſures, know not what they do; had they attended until thou hadſt been towards them, they had done very well, God is gracious and merciful. O ye that believe! if any Infidel deſireth to preach to you, diſtinguiſh the truth from a lye; if ye give credit to the ignorant, ye ſhall repent you. Know that the Apoſtle of God is among you; ye ſhall offend God, if ye obey unbelievers in many things; God willeth that ye embrace his Law, it ſhall rejoyce your hearts, and make you to abhor diſobedience and impiety: Such as abhor it, are ſtedfaſt in their faith, through his ſpecial grace, he knoweth them, and is moſt wiſe. If two Nations, or two Provinces, of ſuch as believe in God are at odds, reconcile them; if the one do injury to the other, fight againſt him that is unjuſt, until he repair what God hath ordained; if he make reparation, reconcile them with equity; be juſt, God loveth them that do juſtice to his people: All thoſe that believe in his Law, are brethren; make peace among your brethren, and fear God, he ſhall give you his mercy. O ye that believe! ſcorn not your neighbour, perad venture that he ſhall one day be of better value than you. O ye women! ſcorn not others, perhaps they ſhall one day be more worth than you. Utter no reproaches, and give no name to your neighbour that may diſpleaſe him; call him by his name, otherwiſe ye will diſobey God: Such as repent not, are exceedingly too blame. O ye that believe in God! take heed of evil thoughts, theſe are oftentimes in the number of ſins; do no diſpleaſure to your Neighbour, and ſpeak to each other nothing that may diſpleaſe: Who among you would eat the fleſh of his dead Brother? ye ſhall abhor it; fear therefore God, who is gracious and merciful to ſuch as have his fear before their eyes. O people! we created you Male and Female; we have cauſed to iſſue out of your Loyns, People and Nations; ye know each other, but your greateſt honour is, to fear God, he knoweth you, and underſtandeth all your ſecrets. Some among the *Arabians* have ſaid, We believe; ſay unto them, Say not we believe, but ſay, We are obedient, otherwiſe faith ſhall not enter into your hearts; if ye obey God and his Prophet, ye ſhall be recompenced for your good works, God is gracious and merciful to them that obey his Commandments. Such as are beloved of God, believe in his Unity, and in his Prophet, they doubt not of his Law, and imploy their perſons and wealth for the propagation of the faith. Say unto them, Know ye not that your Law proceedeth from God? He knoweth whatſoever is in the Heavens and Earth, he knoweth all. They think to do thee a pleaſure in ſaving them, Say unto them, Believe not that ye pleaſure me, for it is God that guideth you into the way of Salvation; ye ought ſo to believe it; God knoweth all that is in the Heavens and Earth, and beholdeth whatſoever ye do.

CHAP. L.

The Chapter of the Thing Judged, containing Forty five Verſes, written at Mecca.

Mahomet *hath intituled this Chapter with the Letter* Kaf *of the Arabique Alphabet, which ſignifieth in this place,* Kada el mer, *that is to ſay, the thing judged;* See Gelaldin; *and* Bedaoi, *who have intituled this, The Chapter of Judgment, or the thing judged. Many Mahometans ſay likewiſe, that* Kaf *is a Mountain that environeth the World, and that* Mahomet *ſwore by that Mountain.*

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. I ſwear by the *Alcoran*, worthy of praiſe, that the inhabitants of *Mecca* wonder that a man of their Nation teacheth them the torments of Hell; they ſay, that he ſpeaketh ſtrange things. What, ſay they, Shall we die? Shall we be Earth, and return into the World? Behold a very ſtrong return! we know aſſuredly what the Earth will do with us, we have a Book, wherein all is written; they impugn the known truth, and are in a great confuſion: See they not Heaven above them, how we have built it, how we have adorned it, and how there is no defect? We have extended the Earth, raiſed the Mountains, and cauſed all ſorts of fruits to ſpring forth, for a ſign of our Omnipotency. We have ſent the bleſſed Rain from Heaven, made Gardens to produce Grain, pleaſing to the Reapers, and Date-trees, exceeding each other in height, to enrich our creatures. We have given life to the dead, dry, and barren Earth; ſo ſhall the dead come out of their ſepulchres. The People of *Noah*'s time, thoſe that inhabited near the Well, *Temod*, *Pharaoh*, the fellow-citizens of *Lot*; they that dwelt in the Foreſt, and People of *King Teba*, did heretofore traduce our Prophets, and felt the puniſhment denounced againſt Infidels. Was it a trouble to us to create men at firſt? Nevertheleſs they are in doubt if they ſhall riſe again. We created man without difficulty, we know the motions of his Soul, and penetrate into his heart, as the blood into the veins of his Body. O man! think upon the day that thou ſhalt ſee thy good and evil Angel near thee, at the right hand, and on thy

Teba was a King of *Iemen*. See *Bedaoi*.

left; they have obſerved and written all that thou haſt done; repreſent to thy ſelf death before thine eyes, it is inevitable: Think on the Angel that ſhall ſound the Trumpet at the Day of the Reſurrection; that day ſhall the wicked behold what was promiſed them, and all men ſhall come before God to be judged. Their guardian Angels ſhall conduct them, and be the witneſſes of their deportments: It ſhall be ſaid to the Infidels, Behold the day of which ye would have no thoughts; we have now opened your eyes, ye ſhall ſee this day more hard than Iron; their guardian Angels ſhall ſay unto them, Behold here before your eyes all that ye have done; caſt into Hell thoſe obſtinate Infidels that have hindred their Neighbour to do good, that have offended in doubting of God's Law, and have affirmed there was another God with God; caſt them into the moſt grievous torments. Then ſhall the Devil ſay to them, Lord, I did not ſeduce them, they ſeduced themſelves; God ſhall ſay, Diſpute not before me, what was heretofore promiſed you is infallible, my Word admitteth no alteration, and I will do injuſtice to none. God ſhall ask at the Day of Judgment, If Hell be full? It ſhall anſwer, Is there any more? Paradiſe is prepared for the Righteous, who ſhall have the fear of God before their eyes, it is promiſed to them that ſhall be converted, that ſhall obey the Commandments of his Divine Majeſty, and perſevere in their obedience. It ſhall be ſaid to them, Enter ye into Paradiſe, exempt from all evil; behold the eternal day, ye ſhall have all that ye ſhall deſire, and more. How rich and powerful Cities have we in times paſt deſtroyed? Their inhabitants ſought in their Countries places of retreat, and eſcaped not the puniſhment of their crimes; this ought to ſerve for example to them that comprehend it, to them that hear it, and to ſuch that ſaw it. Certainly we created in Six days, without difficulty, the Heaven and Earth, and all that is between them. Perſevere, be not impatient for the words of unbelievers, exalt the glory of thy Lord before the Sun go down, and before it riſe; pray to thy Lord at the entrance of the Night, the laſt of all ſhall be worſhip. Hearken when the Angel ſhall call thee to general Judgment; that day ſhall all the World hear the Trumpet; the people ſhall come out of their ſepulchres, and Earth ſhall open before the eyes of men. I give life and death, and all the World ſhall be aſſembled before me to be judged. This aſſembly is eaſie for me to accompliſh; I know what the wicked ſay, thou ſhalt not cauſe them by force to embrace my Law: Teach it thoſe that fear the torments prepared for Infidels.

CHAP. LI.

The Chapter of Things diſperſed, containing Sixty Verſes, written at Mecca.

Gelaldin and *Falkredin* intitle this, the Chapter of things that diſperſe.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. I ſwear by the Winds that diſperſe the duſt, by the Clouds charged with Rain, by the Ship that runneth upon the Waters, and by them that divide the Wealth of the Earth; that what hath been promiſed to you, is true, and that the Day of Judgment is infallible. I ſwear by Heaven, and the Stars thereof, that ye are in an exceeding great error; God expelleth lyars far from him, he curſeth them that blaſpheme, and ſuch as believe not in the Reſurrection: They ask, When ſhall be the Day of Judgment? That day ſhall they be puniſhed in the Fire of Hell. It ſhall be ſaid unto them, Taſte the torments that ye have with impatience demanded. They who had the fear of God before their eyes, ſhall be in Gardens, adorned with Fountains, they ſhall enjoy the pleaſures prepared for them by God, becauſe they are Righteous; they ſleep very little by Night, implore pardon of God at the dawning of the Day, and give alms to the poor that beg, and the poor that are bathful. God manifeſteth on the Earth, and in your perſons, the ſigns of his Omnipotency; conſider ye not that what is promiſed to you is written in Heaven? God is Lord of Heaven and Earth, he is truth it ſelf, will ye not confeſs him? Did the Angels convey to thee the books of *Abraham*? When they entred into his Houſe, they ſaluted him; he likewiſe ſaluted them, made ſigns to his ſervants to bring a fat Calf roaſted, which he preſented to them; he ſaid unto them, Wherefore do ye not eat? And was afraid in his mind, of their coming: They ſaid, Fear not, we are the Meſſengers of God; they declared to him that he ſhould have a Son, that ſhould be a great perſonage. Then his wife drew near, crying with a loud voice, and ſmiting her Face, ſaid, One that is barren beareth no Child? they ſaid, The thing ſhall come to paſs as we have ſpoken, thy Lord ordaineth what pleaſeth him, and knoweth all. *Abraham* ſaid unto them, O ye Meſſengers of God! what is your deſign? They replied, We are ſent from God to deſtroy the Cities inhabited by the wicked, and caſt upon them ſtones of Fire, whereon are inſcribed the names of them that they ſhall ſtrike: *We will cauſe all the Righteous to depart from* among them; if we find there but one Family of Righteous, we will there leave an example to Poſterity for them that fear the torments of Hell. *Moſes* is a ſign of our omnipotency; we ſent him to *Pharaoh* with reaſons clear and intelligible, he deſpiſed my Commandments, and ſaid, That *Moſes* was a Magician, and poſſeſſed of the Devil, but we ſurpriſed him, and drowned his People, to his great diſpleaſure; *Aad* is an example of our Omnipotency: We ſent an impetuous Wind againſt thoſe wicked people, that deſtroyed them. *Temod* is an example of our Omnipotency, with his Nation; they waxed proud, and reſiſted the Commandments of their Lord; when it was ſaid to them, that the puniſhment of the wicked was deferred to another time; but Thunder ſurpriſed them, they ſaw it, they had not the power to ſtand on their feet, and were deprived of protection. The People of *Noah*'s time are an example of our Omnipotency, we deſtroyed them, becauſe they were impious: We built Heaven with ſtrength and virtue; I am he that giveth power and ſtrength; we extended the Earth, and created of every thing, Male and Female; perhaps ye will conſider it. Say unto them, Turn ye to God; I am ſent from him to preach to you the pains of Hell: Believe not that God hath another God with him; the wicked ſaid heretofore, that the Prophets and Apoſtles whom he ſent, were Magicians, and poſſeſſed of the Devil: Have they recommended to their Poſterity to do the like? Certainly they are in a great error. Separate thy ſelf far from their company, and be not troubled at what they preach the *Alcoran*, it is profitable to the Righteous. I did not create the Devils and men but to worſhip me. Say unto them, I require nothing of unbelievers for inſtructing them; I require not that they nouriſh me, God enricheth whom he

he pleaſeth, he is omnipotent; the wicked ſhall be chaſtiſed as heretofore have been their predeceſſors, in their malice, their time ſhall come, and miſery ſhall befal them at the day of Judgment.

CHAP. LII.

The Chapter of the Mountain, containing thirty nine Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the name of God gracious and merciful. I ſwear by the Mountain, upon which God ſpake to *Moſes*, by what is contained in the book written in parchment, by the firſt Temple of *Mecca*, by the arches of the heavens, and by the ſea full of water, that God is one ſole God, and the puniſhment promiſed to unbelievers is infallible, they ſhall not be able to eſcape it in the day when the heaven ſhall tremble, and the mountains ſhall walk; that day ſhall be unhappy to the incredulous, they ſhall be precipitated in the fire of hell; it ſhall be ſaid to them, behold the flames that ye deſpiſed; is this Magick? See ye it not? enter, have patience, or ye will deſpair; ye ſhall be chaſtiſed after your demerits. They that ſhall have the fear of God before their eyes, ſhall be in delicious gardens, which God hath prepared for them, and ſhall be delivered from the pains of hell; It ſhall be ſaid unto them, Drink and eat at your pleaſure, for recompence of your good works; they ſhall repoſe upon beds well ordered, we will marry them to wives that ſhall have fair eyes, they ſhall be attended of their family, and be largely rewarded for their good works; every good action ſhall be to them a degree of happineſs; We will give them ſuch fruits and Vines as they ſhall deſire; they ſhall preſent to each other the cup to drink, they ſhall not ſpeak an evil word, and ſhall not ſin; they ſhall have Pages about them for their ſervice beautiful as poliſhed pearls, they ſhall diſcourſe among them, concerning what they did before on Earth, and ſay, We were in the world, we and our families, with a great apprehenſion of the pains of hell, but God hath gratified us, he hath delivered us from eternal flames. They ſhall ſay moreover, we worſhipped in the world but one God, moſt juſt, and moſt merciful. Remember thou to preach the *Alcoran*; thou art not ingrateful for the grace of God, thou art not poſſeſſed of the Devil; will they ſay that thou art a Poet, a Rimer? that nothing muſt be expected from thee but fables of paſt Ages? Say unto them, ye expect the time of my deſtruction, but I with you, expect the time of your [ruine.] Do their Superiors command them to ſpeak in this manner? Will they be obſtinate in their errors? Will they ſay, that *Mahomet* hath invented the *Alcoran*! Certainly they are incredulous, let them bring any diſcourſe like to this book, in Doctrine and Eloquence, if what they affirm be true. Were they created of any thing? have they created any thing? have they created themſelves? have they created the Heavens and the Earth? Certainly they are incredulous: Have they in their power the treaſures of thy Lord? are they Giants? Have they a ladder, that may raiſe them to hear what is ſpoken in Heaven? let them produce ſome reaſon of their opinion; Believe ye that God hath daughters, and that ye have ſons? Will ye require of him a Salary for obeying his Law? Is he your debtor? The wicked are lyars; do they know what ſhall be? do they write it? Deſire they to conſpire againſt thee? The wicked often conſpire againſt the righteous, that worſhip but one God: Praiſed be God, he hath no companion; If the Infidels ſhould ſee a piece of the heaven to fall, they would ſay, It is a cloud driven by the winds; leave them in their obſtinacy until they come to the day of their death, that day ſhall their conſpiracy be vain, and they deprived of protection: They likewiſe ſhall be puniſhed before their death, but the greateſt part know it not. Have patience, and expect the Judgment of God, thou ſhalt ſoon ſee it; I will protect thee, and thou ſhalt not want help; Praiſe thy Lord, exalt his glory when thou ſhalt riſe, praiſe him in the night, and before the Stars diſappear.

CHAP. LIII.

The Chapter of the Star, containing ſixty Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. I ſweat by the Star that diſappeareth, that your friend *Mahomet* erreth not, he ſpeaketh nothing of his own, he ſpeaketh but what hath been inſpired into him by the omnipotent and moſt bountiful God. The Angel approached him in the higheſt place of Heaven, within the length of two bowes, and ſomewhat nearer; God hath inſpired into him. what he hath inſpired into his ſervant, who altered nothing of what hath been inſpired into him. He hath ſpoken what he hath ſeen, and in what form the Angel was. Diſpute not againſt him concerning what he ſaw; he another time ſaw the Angel in heaven, near to the Tree that is at the right ſide of Gods throne; and although that tree was covered with that which covered him, his ſight was not dazled, and he is not in error. Certainly he hath ſeen the great wonders of his Lord: Have ye conſidered *Alat*, *Aza*, and *Menat*, thoſe three Idols? Will ye ſwear that God hath daughters, and that ye have ſons? Ye will make a falſe oath, and ſhall be in a manifeſt error; Thoſe Idols have nothing but the names which your fathers and you have given them, God hath not commanded you to worſhip them. Ye follow only your paſſions, remote from the truth, God teacheth you the way of Salvation by the mouth of his Prophet; doth man obtain from Idols what he required of them? God is God in the beginning, and the end; How many Angels be there in Heaven, whoſe prayers are unprofitable, if God doth not accept them? They that believe not in the day of Judgment, ſay, that Angels are Maidens; they underſtand not what they ſay, they ſpeak through opinion, and that opinion is not conformed to truth. Depart thou far from them that reject our Law, and deſire only the goods of the Earth, and are ignorant of all other things. Thy Lord knoweth them that go aſtray from the right way, and ſuch as follow the path of Salvation; all that is in the Heavens, and Earth, is Gods, he ſhall chaſtiſe the wicked, and reward the juſt. He pardoneth their venial ſins, who flie ſins mortal, he is exceeding merciful. He knoweth that he hath created you of Earth, and that he formed you in

The Turks believe that there is an Apple-tree at the right ſide of the throne of God, and that none can aſcend higher than its branches, no not the Angels See *Gelaldin*.

See *Gelaldin*. Great and ſmall ſins.

in your Mothers womb. Extol not your ſelves, he knoweth ſuch as have his fear before their eyes. Haſt thou ſeen him that abandoneth the faith? A little wealth was given him, and nothing more; doth he know what muſt befal him? Hath he knowledg of what is to come? Will he not learn what is written in the books of *Moſes*, and *Abraham*? To wit, that none ſhall bear the burden of another: man ſhall have but what he ſhall have gained; he ſhall in the end ſee his labour be rewarded after his works, and all ſhall appear in the preſence of thy Lord. He it is that cauſeth to laugh and mourn, to live and to die; he created the Male and Female of every thing, he giveth and taketh away mans ſoul when he liſteth; he is moſt Rich, and hath no want of any perſon. He is the Lord of the Planet, which men adored. He deſtroyed *Aad*, and *Temod*, drowned the People of *Noah*, who were moſt erroneous and unjuſt, overthrew the City of *Lot*, and covered it with burning ſtone. In whom will they believe, if they believe not in thy Lord? This Prophet is ſent to preach to you the pains of Hell, as did the other Prophets that were before you; the Day of Judgment approacheth, and none but God knoweth when it will come; wonder ye at this diſcourſe? Ye ſcoff, and lament not when ye are ſpoken to; but ye ſhall be ſurprized in your ſin, if ye humble not your ſelves before God, neither worſhip him.

CHAP. LIV.

The Chapter of the Moon, containing Fifty five Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. The Day of Judgment approacheth, the Moon was divided into two parts, nevertheleſs Infidels believe not Miracles when they ſee them; they ſay that this is Magick, they lye, and follow but their paſſion, but all is written. The Hiſtory of paſt Ages, full of ſalutary Counſels, was preached to them; nevertheleſs Preachers were to them unprofitable; depart thou far from them, when they ſhall be called to the Univerſal Judgment, which they will not believe; that Day ſhall their eyes be troubled with fear; they ſhall come out of the Earth, diſperſed, like frighted Graſshoppers, they ſhall flock to him that ſhall ſummon them to Judgment, and ſhall ſay, Behold here a Day, unhappy for the wicked. The People heretofore belyed *Noah*, and ſaid, That he was poſſeſſed of the Devil, *Noah* exhorted them, and invoked his Lord; in the end, he ſaid, That his ſtrength was gone, and that he was overcome through the malice of men; then was he powerfully ſuccoured; we opened the gates of the Heavens, and cauſed an extraordinary Rain to fall; we cauſed Fountains to iſſue forth from under the Earth, the water of Heaven and Earth were gathered together, and overwhelmed the Infidels, becauſe of their ſins: We ſaved *Noah* in the Ark, well pinned, and chaulked, it floated upon the waters through our permiſſion, to ſerve for a token of our Omnipotency; will any of the unbelievers of this time conſider this? Will they conſider the puniſhment of their crimes, and the pains of Hell? We have made the *Alcoran* eaſie to be underſtood, will there be any that ſtudy it? The wicked that traduced *Aad* were chaſtiſed, but with what chaſtiſement? We ſent againſt them an impetuous wind, in a day to them unfortunate, that cauſed men to fall like Palms rooted up; conſider what was their puniſhment; we have rendred the *Alcoran* intelligible, will there be any one that will ſtudy it? *Temod* and his People traduced the Prophets, and contemned their exhortations; they ſaid, There is a man among us, who would ſeduce us from the right way, if ye follow him, he will lead you into Hell; was he alone elected among us to receive the inſpirations of God? No, he is an Impoſtor; but in the end, they know them that were wicked, and lyars. We ſent the Camel to prove the Infidels; their Prophet obſerved what they did, and was patient, the water was divided for them, and for the Camel, and each at his day found to drink, nevertheleſs they called their companions, and ſlew the Camel of *Salhe*, but in what manner were they chaſtiſed? I darted Thunder againſt them, which made them dry as Chaff; we have made the *Alcoran* eaſie to be underſtood, Will there be any to ſtudy it? *Lot*'s Citizens traduced him, and deſpiſed his inſtructions; we ſent againſt them an hot wind, with burning ſtones, that deſtroyed them, and we in the Morning ſaved *Lot*, with his Family, through our ſpecial grace; thus do I recompence them that acknowledge my benefits. *Lot* had preached to them the pains of Hell, we ſurprized them; when they diſputed againſt his exhortations, they ſaw his gueſts enter into the City, in the figure of men; we blinded their ſight, and ſaid, *Taſte oh ye wicked! the puniſhment of your crimes*; in the Morning they were chaſtiſed with a perpetual chaſtiſement, becauſe they deſpiſed the words of *Lot*. We have made the *Alcoran* intelligible, will there be any that will ſtudy it? Certainly the men of *Pharaoh* were preached unto; they would not obey my Law, and deſpiſed my Miracles, but we ſurprized them in their ſins; Are the Infidels that are among you of more value than thoſe that preceded them? Find ye any Salvation for them in the Scripture? Will they ſay they ſhall obtain victory over the believers? On the contrary, they are vanquiſhed, and turn the back. Certainly the hour of their puniſhment ſhall ſpeedily come, their time approacheth, and their pain in Hell ſhall be greater than that of the Earth, they are wholly ſeduced from the way of Salvation, and ſhall be dragged, and caſt headlong into Eternal flames. We have created all things by our ſole power; we ſpake but one word, and in the twinkling of an eye the thing was; we heretofore deſtroyed a great number of Infidels like unto them, will there be any that conſidereth it? All the good and the evil that they have done is exactly written. The Righteous ſhall dwell in pleaſant Gardens, they ſhall drink in Eternal Rivers, they ſhall not ſpeak a Lye in their Aſſemblies, and ſhall dwell eternally near to the moſt Majeſtique and Omnipotent God.

CHAP.

CHAP LV.

The Chapter of the Merciful, containing eighteen Verſes, written at Medina.

IN the name of God gracious and merciful. The merciful hath taught the *Alcoran*; he hath created man, and given him the uſe of reaſon; he created the Sun and the Moon to count ſeaſons, the Stars and Trees adore him; he hath elevated the Heavens, eſtabliſhed Juſtice, and commanded to weigh with good weights; he hath created the Earth for the habitation of men, with all ſorts of fruits, grain, and leaves; he created the winds and tempeſts: Oh men and Devils! what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? He created man of Earth, like a pot, and the Devils of the flame of fire: what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? He is the Lord of both the Weſts, and both the Eaſts, what Lord do you blaſpheme, but your own Lord? He maketh the freſh water to mingle with the ſalt, and the one eaſily mingleth with the other: what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? he bringeth Pearls and Coral out of the Sea; what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? he hath created the Ships that float upon the Sea, big as Mountains; what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? all things ſhall have end, and the majeſtique and glorious face of thy Lord ſhall be permanent; what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? Whatſoever is in Heaven and in Earth, imploreth his grace, he is ever himſelf; what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? Oh ye men and Devils! *I will require* an account of your actions; what Lord will ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? Oh ye men and Devils! paſs the extremities of Heaven and Earth, go beyond them if ye can, ye have not the power; what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? If he ſend againſt you flames without ſmoak, and ſmoak without fire, ye cannot defend your ſelves; what Lord do you blaſpheme, but your own Lord? When the heaven openeth, it reſembleth a roſe, or a crimſon-coloured skin; what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? The time will come, when an account ſhall be required from men and Devils of their ſins: what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? The wicked ſhall be known by their countenance, an account ſhall be required of their readineſs and negligence; what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? Behold hell! which the wicked would not believe; they ſhall turn round about, and round about in boyling water, of which they ſhall drink; what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? Such as have had the fear of God before their eyes, ſhall enter into gardens, where the trees are covered with branches and leaves, adorned with Rivers and fountains, with abundance of all ſorts of fruits; what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? They ſhall repoſe upon fair beds, lined with Crimſon; what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? They ſhall gather the fruits of this garden, to their contentment; what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? They ſhall there have wives, who ſhall not caſt [illegible] upon them, and whom no perſon, man or Angel ſhall touch before them; what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your Lord? They ſhall reſemble Coral and Rubies; what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? Good deeds are recompenced with good deeds; what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? There be yet other Gardens, wherein are herbs exceeding green, Rivers, Dates, Pomegranets, and all ſorts of fruits; what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? There be in theſe Gardens women, who have eyes exceeding black, and bodies exceeding white, they are covered with pavillions, and none, either men, or Angels ſhall touch them before their husbands; what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? They ſhall repoſe upon green Carpets, near rivolets, bordered with flowers; what Lord do ye blaſpheme, but your own Lord? Praiſed be the name of God thy Lord, honour and glory are due to him eternally.

CHAP. LVI.

The Chapter of Judgment, containing fourſcore and nineteen Verſes, written at Medina.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. The day of Judgment will come, none can deny it. That day ſhall many be afflicted and humbled, and many ſhall be elated, and rejoyced; the Earth ſhall tremble, the Mountain open, and be diſperſed like duſt carried away by the wind; ye ſhall be preſent at that day, in a threefold manner; † Some ſhall have in their right hand the book, wherein ſhall be written all their actions, * Others ſhall have it in their left hand, and † ſuch as preceded them in well-doing, ſhall be the neareſt to his divine Majeſty, and the higheſt in Paradiſe; * there ſhall be a great number of the firſt Ages, and few of the latter; they ſhall repoſe upon beds, adorned with Gold, and precious ſtones; they ſhall look upon each other; young boys ſhall go about them with veſſels, Cups, and Goblets, full of delicious drink, that ſhall not offend the head, neither intoxicate them; they ſhall have all the fruits that they can covet, and ſuch viands as they ſhall deſire; they ſhall have women with black eyes, and who ſhall be white as poliſhed pearls, for recompence of their good works; they ſhall not hear an evil word ſpoken, they ſhall not ſin, and ſhall hear perpetually the voice of them that bleſs them; They that ſhall hold their book in their right hand, ſhall be near to an Apple-tree, freſh and without thorn, and near the Tree of † Muſe, under a pleaſant ſhadow, by flowing water, with ſtore of fruits of all ſeaſons: they ſhall uſe [them] with freedom, lying on delicious beds. We have created the daughters of Paradiſe Virgins, and affectionate to their husbands, for the content of them that ſhall have in their right hands the book of the account of their actions, and of many of thoſe that were in the firſt Ages, and of many of ſuch as ſhall be in the latter: Thoſe that ſhall have their book of account in the left hand, ſhall be tormented with an exceeding hot wind, they ſhall drink boiling water, they ſhall be in a black, hot, and ſalt ſmoak, for that they were luxurious in the world, for that they were negligent to obſerve the Commandments of God, and continued in the enormity of their ſins. The Infidels ſay, what! after death we ſhall be earth, and duſt, and ſhall we riſe again with our fathers and predeceſſors? Say unto them, You, your Predeceſſors, and poſterity, ſhall all be aſſembled befor:

† Theſe are the Bleſſed. * Theſe are the Damned. † The Prophets.

† Muſe is a fruit common in *Egypt*.

God to be judged; Then, oh wicked Impoſtors! ſhall ye eat of the fruit of the Tree * *Zacon*; ye ſhall fill your belly, ye ſhall drink boiling water, and be daily altered; behold your condition at the day of Judgment. We created all of you; if ye believe it not, conſider the wealth ye poſſeſs; did you, your ſelves create it? We have appointed that ye ſhall dye; we can if we pleaſe, put other creatures like unto you in your place, and metamorphize you into another form, which ye know not; we cauſed the ſoul to enter into the body; if ye conſider not this, think upon your tillage; do ye make the earth to bring forth fruits? or do I cauſe them to ſpring forth? If I will, I can render your fields drie as ſtraw, without grain, nevertheleſs are ye proud; Ye ſay, what! ſhall our grain that we have ſown be loſt? No, we will preſerve it; Conſider the water that ye drink, have ye made it to fall from the clouds? or did we cauſe it to deſcend? if we pleaſe, we can render it ſo ſalt, that ye ſhall not be able to drink it; if ye acknowledg not this grace, conſider the fire that ye kindle; did ye create the wood that burneth? We created it, to put you in mind of the fire of Hell, and for the profit of the people. Exalt the name of God moſt mighty. I ſwear by him that maketh the Stars to fall, (this is a great oath, if ye underſtand it,) that the *Alcoran* is a book worthy of praiſe, all therein is written in good order, no perſon ſhall handle it that is not clean and purified; it is ſent from God, Lord of the Univerſe: If ye renounce what is written in this book, ye ſhall be in the number of Infidels, and ſhall know the truth when the ſoul ſhall forſake your body; I know this better than you, but ye do not conſider it; if ye believe not to riſe again, cauſe your ſoul to return into your body, when it ſhall be upon your lips; when a righteous man dyeth, he ſhall find reſt, and all manner of contentment in the delights of Paradiſe, if he be of them that hold the book of the account of their works in the right hand, and ſhall be free from eternal pains: If he be in the number of Infidels, and ſeduced, he ſhall be precipitated into hell; this is a moſt certain truth, Exalt the name of thy Lord Omnipotent.

* *Zacon* is the tree of Hell. See *Gelaldin.*

CHAP. LVII.

The Chapter of Iron, containing twenty nine Verſes, written at Medina.

IN the name of God gracious and merciful. All that is in the heavens and earth, exalteth the glory of God, he is omnipotent and wiſe; the Kingdom of the Heavens and Earth is his, he giveth life and death to whom he pleaſeth; he is without beginning, and without end, he knoweth all that men make manifeſt, and whatſoever they keep ſecret, he knoweth all things. He it is that created the earth and the heavens in ſix days, and ſitteth on his throne, he knoweth whatſoever entreth into the earth, and all that cometh out; he knoweth whatſoever deſcendeth from heaven, and whatſoever aſcendeth, he is with you in whatſoever place ye are, and ſeeth all your actions; the Kingdom of the heavens and earth is his, and all things obey him; He maketh the night to enter the day, and knoweth what is in the heart of men. Believe in God and his Prophet, expend in pious works ſome part of the wealth that he hath given you, he ſhall give you more. Do good abundantly to them that believe in his Law; wherefore will ye not believe in God, and his Apoſtle, who teacheth you the Commandments of your Lord? Ye have promiſed him to embrace his Law; he hath inſpired his Commandments into his ſervant, to bring you out of darkneſs, and guide you into light; he is gracious and merciful. Who hindreth you to make any expence for his glory? The inheritance of the heavens and earth is his; Such as for his ſervice have expended any thing before the taking of *Mecca*, are not equal in merit to them that fought to conquer that City; they are far above them that fought not, and ſhall be protected of his divine Majeſty; he promiſeth Paradiſe to the righteous, and knoweth all your actions. Who is he that ſhall lend to him any alms? he ſhall encreaſe his ſubſtance, and give a great reward: Be thou mindful of the day when thou ſhalt ſee thoſe men and women that have obeyed my Commandments, with a light that ſhall go before them; it ſhall be ſaid to them, this day it is declared to you, that you ſhall enter into, and dwell eternally in Gardens, wherein flow many Rivers, and where ye ſhall find ſupreme felicity. Be thou mindful of the day that the wicked ſhall ſay to the True believers, Behold us, caſt your eye to our ſide, that we may partake a little of your light. They ſhall ſay unto them, Return upon your ſteps to demand light. There is a place, betwixt them, that hath a ſecret gate, full of grace, and repoſe for the righteous, and without, environed *with miſery for the wicked; they ſhall* call upon the righteous, and ſay, Were not we of your Religion? they ſhall reply, Yes, but ye betrayed your ſouls through diſobedience; ye doubted of the Law of God; your blaſphemies rendred you inſolent, until the hour of your death; the Devil made you proud, and moved you to riſe againſt the Commandments of his divine Majeſty: this day there is neither ranſome, nor favour for you: the fire of hell is the habitation of the wicked. Oh what an habitation! Such as believe in God think it no trouble to humble their hearts at the remembrance of the *Alcoran*, and the truth that it containeth; they are are not like them that heretofore had the knowledg of the written Law, they have been a long time without Prophets, their hearts are hardned, and the greateſt part of them have been impious. Know, that God reſtoreth life to the earth after the death thereof: we have taught you the myſteries of faith, peradventure ye will comprehend them; God ſhall multiply the benefits that the righteous ſhall lend to him, and ſhall return them a great reward: Such as believe in God and his Prophet, are righteous: Martyrs ſhall be recompenced of God, they ſhall be covered with light, and the wicked that diſobey his Commandments ſhall be damned eternally: the life of this world is but vanity, ſport, and deluſion, it is but pride: the abundance of wealth, and children, is like to the rain: the wicked wonder at the plants that it produceth; in the end they wither, become yellow, and then are altogether dry; the impious ſhall ſuffer great torments, and the good ſhall enjoy the mercy of God; the life of this world is but matter of pride, implore pardon of God; Paradiſe, large as heaven and earth, is prepared for them that ſhall believe in his divine Majeſty,

Majeſty, and his Prophet, this is an immenſe grace, which he conferreth on whom he pleaſeth. All the evil that ye ſuffer on earth, in your goods and perſons, is written in a Book, before it befal you; it is an eaſie thing to God; to the end that ye afflict not your ſelves extraordinarily in your diſpleaſures, and that ye rejoyce not over-much in your contentments; God loveth not the proud, he hath not to do with the covetous, who recommend avarice to the People, and who neglect their duty. Praiſe is due to him, praiſe is due to him in all places; certainly we ſent our Meſſengers with our Commandments, we ſent with them their Scriptures, and Ballance, that People might weigh with good weights. We gave Iron to men, it cauſeth great evils, and great good in the World, God knoweth them that fight with zeal for his Law and his Prophet, without ſeeing him, he is Strong and Omnipotent. We ſent *Noah* and *Abraham* to inſtruct the People; we inſtructed their Progeny in the Scripture; ſome followed the right way, and many diſobeyed our Commandments; we ſent after them our Prophets and Apoſtles; we ſent *Jeſus* the Son of *Mary*, we taught him the Goſpel; we put civility, clemency, and chaſtity into the hearts of them that followed him; we did not command them to keep Virginity, they kept it of their own accord, becauſe of their deſire they had to pleaſe God; they have not obſerved their Law as they ought, many have been diſobedient, but we have rewarded thoſe among them that believed. O ye that believe in *Jeſus*! fear God, and believe in his Prophet, ye ſhall have double the reward of God's mercy, he ſhall pardon your ſins, he is gracious and merciful: I teach you theſe things, to the end that ſuch as have heretofore received the written Law, may know, that they have no power over the grace of God, he giveth it to whom he liſteth, certainly it is immenſe.

CHAP. LVIII.

The Chapter of the Diſpute, containing Twenty two Verſes, written at Medina.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. God hath heard the ſpeech of her that diſputed with thee, concerning the action of her Husband; ſhe exhibited to him her complaints, he heareth all your diſcourſes, he heareth and ſeeth all. No perſon among you ſhall ſwear never to touch his Wife no more than his Mother; your wives are not your mothers; your Mothers are thoſe that conceived and brought you forth; they that ſpeak in that manner, ſpeak uncivilly, but God is gracious and merciful. He that ſhall have ſworn to touch no more his Wife, and ſhall deſire (afterwards) to know her, ſhall give liberty to a Slave, for ſatisfaction of his Oath, before he touch her; this is commanded you, God knoweth all your actions: if he have not the power to free a Slave, he ſhall faſt two Months together, before touching her; if he cannot faſt, he ſhall give to Fifty poor: Thus ought ye to do, if ye believe in God and his Prophet, God ſo appointed it, and hath prepared great tormets for them that tranſgreſs his Commandments. They that ſhall diſobey him and the Prophet, ſhall be covered with ſhame and ignominy, as were their Predeceſſors in impiety; God hath ſent his Commandments on Earth, thoſe who ſhall reject them, ſhall be ſeverely tormented at the day that he ſhall revive them, he ſhall declare to them all that they have done, he hath kept account, and they have forgotten it, he ſeeth all. Seeſt thou not that all that is in the Heaven and Earth is Gods? If ye be Three ſecretly met together, he is the Fourth; if ye be Five, he is the Sixth; if ye be more or leſs, he is always with you whereſoever you are. He ſhall relate to men at the Day of Judgment all that they have done, he knoweth all things. Seeſt thou not the actions of them to whom private meetings were prohibited? They return to their ſin, and do what was forbidden them; they aſſemble ſecretly with malice to conſpire againſt thee, and to diſobey thee; and when they come towards thee, they ſay, that thou haſt ſpoken things that God hath not inſpired thee to utter; they know in their Souls that God will chaſtiſe them for their diſcourſe, and that they all ſhall go into Hell, where their Rendezvous is: Oh ye that believe! make no private meetings to offend God, to conſpire againſt his Prophet, and to diſobey him; aſſemble ye to perform acts of Virtue, and to ſerve God; have his fear before your eyes, ye ſhall once appear before his Divine Majeſty to be judged. Private aſſemblies proceed from the Devil, for the affliction of the Righteous: He bringeth no evil upon them, but through God's permiſſion; and all believers ought to reſign themſelves to his Divine Will. O ye that believe! when ye ſhall be aſſembled with your Prophet, and are entreated to inlarge your ſelves, inlarge ye your ſelves, God ſhall inlarge to you his grace. When ye are bid to riſe, riſe, God ſhall raiſe up all the True believers that are among you, and place the learned ſome degrees above others, he knoweth your actions. O ye that believe! when ye ſhall be diſpoſed to deliver any ſecret to the prophet, ſpeak to him with truth, good ſhall befal you, and [he] ſhall purifie you: If ye fear to impart to him your ſecret, God will not give you his grace. Make your prayers at the time appointed, diſtribute Tithes, obey God and his Prophet, God knoweth what ye do: Seeſt thou not them that have abandoned his Law? The wrath of his Divine Majeſty is faln upon them, they are of different opinion in their lye, and know not that they lye, but he hath prepared for them a great puniſhment, becauſe of their blaſphemies; they have concealed their Faith, and are ſeduced; certainly he hath prepared for them grievous pains, their Wealth and their Children ſhall not be able to deliver them from his Indignation, they ſhall be precipitated into the Fire of Hell, where they ſhall abide eternally. Be thou mindful of the day, when he will cauſe them to revive; they ſhall ſwear, as they ſwear before thee, that they believed in his Law; they affirm they do good, and are Lyars, the Devil hath prepoſſeſſed them, and hath made them forget the word of God; ſuch as follow him are damned. They that tranſgreſs the will of God, and that of his Prophet, are overcome of the Devil; God hath ſaid in the Scriptures, thou ſhalt not obtain victory over me, neither over my Prophet, he is Omnipotent, and alway victorious; thou ſhalt find none of them that believe in his Law, and the Day of Judgment, that doth not exactly obſerve the Commandments of his Divine Majeſty, and thoſe of his Prophet, although their Fathers, their Children, their Brethren, and companions oppoſe them. God hath imprinted Faith in their hearts, he hath ſtrengthened them through his Spirit, and ſhall cauſe them to enter into gardens,

wherein

wherein flow many Rivers, where they ſhall abide eternally: He ſhall be ſatisfied with their obedience, and they ſhall be content with his grace. Such as ſhall obey his Commandments ſhall be happy.

CHAP. LIX.

The Chapter of Exile, containing Twenty four Verſes, written at Medina.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful: Whatſoever is in the Heavens and Earth, exalteth the glory of God, he is Omnipotent and Wiſe; he it is that hath exiled the wicked from among them that have knowledg of the written Law; when he the firſt time exiled them, ye believed not that they ſhould depart from their Houſes; ye believed that their Cittadels would defend them from his puniſhment, but he ſurprized them, and did caſt terror into their hearts, and they deſtroyed their dwelling places with their own hands, to aſſiſt the True believers. O ye that are wiſe! conſider their end. If God had not appointed them to quit their Countrey, he had chaſtiſed them in ſome other manner; they in the end ſhall ſuffer the pains of Hell fire, becauſe they have diſobeyed his Commandments, and his Prophet; he that ſhall diſobey him, ſhall be ſorely chaſtiſed: ye cut not Palm-trees, and leave none ſtanding, but through Gods permiſſion; he covereth with ſhame and infamy them that diſobey him. He commandeth you to give to the Prophet a part of the ſpoil that ye ſhall gain from your enemies, as well of Horſes and Camels, as of other ſpoils; he endueth him with power and authority over whom he pleaſeth, he is Omnipotent. He enjoineth you to give to the Prophet a part of what ye ſhall conquer over them of the City of *Mecca*; he commandeth what pleaſeth him. Give a ſhare to God, to the Prophet, his Parents, Orphaus, the poor, and Pilgrims, that no diſorder may ariſe among you that are rich; perform what the Prophet ſhall command you, abſtain from what he ſhall prohibit you, and fear God, he is ſevere in his chaſtiſements: Do good to the poor, that have forſaken their faculties and houſes, and ſeparated themſelves from the wicked, for the Service of God, and to defend his Law and Prophet. They that before them forſook their houſes for the Service of God, affect thoſe that have followed them, they bear them no malice for the wealth they poſſeſs, although themſelves are neceſſitous. They that are not avaricious, ſhall be happy; ſuch as ſhall ſucceed them, ſhall pray for them, and ſay, Lord, pardon our ſins, and our brethren, that were our Predeceſſors in the obſervance of thy Commandments; infuſe no malice into our hearts againſt them that follow thy Law, thou art gracious and merciful: Seeſt thou not, that the wicked ſay to their brethren, wicked as themſelves, Had ye not ſo ſoon left *Medina*, we had gone out with you, and had never obeyed him whom ye have obeyed; had ye fought, we had defended you; God ſeeth that they are impious; had they delayed to go forth, they ſhould not have gone forth with them; had they fought, they would not have ſuccoured them, they had turned the back, and had found no protection; they fear men more than God, becauſe they are ignorant. [The *Jews*] ſhall not fight againſt you together, unleſs in their Fortreſſes, and behind Walls; the War among them is cruel, but think not that they may aſſemble and unite themſelves, their hearts are divided becauſe they are ignorant, they are like their Predeceſſors, who were chaſtiſed and ſlain, and ſhall ſuffer great torments at the Day of Judgment; they are like to him whom the Devil hath ſeduced, and ſaid to him, I am innocent of thine impiety, I fear God, Lord of the Univerſe; the end of both is to be caſt headlong into the fire of Hell, where they ſhall abide Eternally; ſuch is the reward of the wicked. O ye that believe! fear God, and conſider what ye ſhall do at the Day of Judgment; fear God, he knoweth whatſoever ye do; be not like to thoſe that forget his Commandments, he forgetteth them, and they continue in the number of the damned, they ſhall be moſt miſerable; and ſuch as ſhall go into Paradiſe ſhall be bleſſed. If we ſhould make the *Alcoran* to deſcend upon a Mountain, it will open it ſelf, with the fear it will have of the Word of God. Thus do I ſpeak in Parables to the People, peradventure they will be converted. There is but One only God, who knoweth what is preſent, future, and paſt, he is gracious and merciful, there is but one God, King of all things: He is holy, the deliverer, true, the puniſher, ſtrong, powerful, glorious. Praiſed be God, he hath no companion, he is God the Creator, who hath formed whatſoever is in the World, all glorious Attributes are due to him; whatſoever is in Heaven and Earth, exalt his glory, he is Omnipotent and Wiſe.

See Kitab el tenoir.

CHAP. LX.

The Chapter of Tryal, containing Eighteen Verſes, written at Mecca.

Some Mahometan Doctors have intituled this the Chapter of Vocation, becauſe it entreateth of Women that forſook their Husbands, to follow the Law of Mahomet, *who appointed to try their hearts, intention, and to know their Vocation.*

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. O ye that believe! obey not mine, nor your enemies; ye ſhew kindneſs to them when ye meet them; nevertheleſs they reject the truth that hath been ſent unto them, and chaſe away the Prophet and you alſo; and that, becauſe ye believe in God your Lord; ſeek not their friendſhip; when ye fight againſt them for my Law, I know what ye ought to fear, and ye know it not; he that ſhall do what is here above prohibited, followeth an evil way; if they have advantage over you, they will be your enemies, they will ſtretch forth their hands and Tongues againſt you, they will revile you, and deſire that you may renounce your faith; if ye do it, ye ſhall have no content in your Wives or Children, at the Day of Judgment, ye ſhall be ſeparated from them, and God ſhall behold all your actions: Ye have a fair example in *Abraham*, and them that were with him, when they ſaid to the People, we are innocent [illegible] that ye commit, in worſhipping any [illegible] but God; *Abraham* ſaid to his Father, I will implore pardon of God for thee, I am not able to deliver thee from his puniſhment, if thou art an Idolater; Lord, all our confidence is in thee, our refuge is in thy mercy: protect not unbelievers againſt us, pardon our ſins, thou art merciful and

and wife; ye have in them a fair example for them that fear God, and apprehend the day of Judgment. God hath not to do with them that obey Infidels, neither hath he need of any perſon, and praiſe is due to him in all places; peradventure he will eſtabliſh for the future great amity between you and them that ye hate, he is omnipotent, gracious, and merciful; he doth prohibit you the converſation of them that fight not againſt you for his faith, and that expel you not from your houſes; he doth not forbid you to do them juſtice, he loveth the juſt; He forbiddeth you to converſe with them that fight againſt your faith, that drive you from your houſes, and aid to expel you; he prohibiteth you to obey them, and to contract amity with them: ſuch as obey them, ſhall be exceedingly too blame. O ye that believe in God! when the wives of your enemies ſhall throw themſelves into your party, try their conſcience: if ye know them to be faithful, and to believe in the Law of God, reſtore them not to the incredulous Infidels, it is not lawful for them to know them, neither for the women to teach them: give them ſubſiſtence, ye ſhall not ſin in eſpouſing them: marry them not after the laws of unbelievers; demand of them what dowry they require: they ſhall demand of you what ye are willing to beſtow on them: continue in accord, God ſo commandeth, he ſhall be your judg at the day of Judgment, he knoweth all your actions, and is moſt wiſe. If your wives revolt to the party of unbelievers, and ye ſuffer any damage, ye ſhall repair that damage to him that ſuffereth, out of the booty that ye ſhall conquer; fear God, and believe in the Law of his divine Majeſty. O Prophet! when women ſhall deſire to embrace thy Religion, with firm purpoſe to believe in one only God, not to *ſteal, neither to commit* adultery, neither to murther their children, to lye, blaſpheme, or be diſobedient, receive them; implore pardon of God for them, he is gracious and merciful. O ye that believe! obey not them againſt whom God is angry, they deſpair of their ſalvation, as the wicked deſpaired, that died heretofore in their impiety.

CHAP. LXI.

The Chapter of Array, containng fourteen Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. Praiſe God all that is in heaven and earth, he is omnipotent and wiſe. O ye that believe! ſay not that ye do that which ye do not. God abhorreth them that ſay they do what they do not; and loveth them that fight in rank and file for his Law, like to a ſtrong wall. Remember thou that *Moſes* ſaid to his people, Ye ſhall do me no harm, ye ſhall know in the end that I am the Meſſenger of God: but God ſeduced them from the right way, when they departed from obedience to his Commandments, he guideth not the wicked. Remember thou that *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Mary*, ſaid to the children of *Iſrael*, I am the Meſſenger of God, he hath ſent me to confirm the old Teſtament, and to declare to you that there ſhall come a Prophet after me, whoſe name ſhall be *Mahomet*. When he came with miracles, reaſons moſt intelligible, and arguments infallible, they ſaid that he was a Magician; who is more impious than he that blaſphemeth againſt God? The Infidels would extinguiſh with their mouth the light of faith, but God ſhall make it manifeſt againſt their will; he hath ſent his Prophet to guide the people into the way of ſalvation, to teach them the truth of his Law, and make it more evident than all other Laws of the world, againſt the will of Infidels. O ye that believe! Will ye that I teach you one thing, that ſhall deliver you from the pains of hell? Believe in God and in his Prophet; imploy your wealth and perſons in fighting for his Law; ye ſhall do exceeding well, if ye have knowledg to underſtand it; God ſhall pardon your offences, he ſhall cauſe you to enter into gardens, wherein flow many rivers; he ſhall cauſe you to go into the beautiful Palaces of *Eden*, where is ſupreme felicity; he ſhall confer upon you yet another grace, which ye deſire, *viz.* victory over your enemies. Oh ye that believe! maintain the Law of God; Jeſus, the Son of *Mary*, ſaid to his Apoſtles, Who will maintain the Law of God with me? he ſhall be ſupported, and protected of God: The Apoſtles anſwered, We will maintain it; One part of the Children of Iſrael believed in Jeſus, and another rejected his Law; we gave ſuccor to them that believed, againſt their enemies, and they were victorious.

CHAP. LXII.

The Chapter of the Aſſembly, containing eleven Verſes, written at Medina.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Praiſe God all that is in heaven and earth, praiſe the King, holy, majeſtique, and omnipotent, who hath ſent his Prophet, an *Arabian* by Nation, to preach his Commandments to the *Arabians*, to purifie them, to teach them the Scriptures, and myſteries of faith, they were before ſeduced from the right way. They that ſhall come after them, ſhall not ſee a Prophet equal to him, this is a ſpecial grace of God, the omnipotent and wiſe; he conferreth it on whom he liſteth, and his graces are immenſe. They that preach the old Teſtament, and perform not what it enjoyneth, are like to an Aſs charged with books; Such are they that diſobey the Commandments of God; he guideth not the impious. Oh ye Jews! believe not your ſelves to be the beloved of God, expect death, ye ſhall underſtand your error; they believe not that they ſhall be chaſtiſed for their ſins, but God beholdeth all the unjuſt. Say unto them, Ye ſhall find one day the death that ye flie; ye be ſent back before God, who knoweth what is preſent, paſt, and to come; he ſhall ſet before you all that ye have done, to be judged. Oh ye that believe! when ye are called to the aſſembly of Friday, to make your prayers, pray, and quit your trade; this ſhall be a good act, if ye underſtand it; when you ſhall have finiſhed your Prayers, ſeparate your ſelves, go whither you pleaſe, and beg of God his grace, call frequently to mind his divine Majeſty, and ye ſhall be happy. When the Infidels ſaw any thing of profit, or any divertiſement, they forſook thee, and went out from the Sermon; Say unto them,

how great riches and delights are there with God? He is the Rich of the Rich.

CHAP. LXIII.

The Chapter of the Wicked, containing Twelve Verſes, written at Medina.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. When the wicked ſhall come to viſit thee, they will ſay, That they are witneſſes, that thou art a Prophet ſent from God; he well knoweth that thou art his Prophet, he ſeeth that they diſſemble, and ſell their Faith to enjoy wealth in the World, wherein they commit evil; they ſay with the mouth, We believe in the Law of God, and are impious in their Souls, impiety is imprinted in their hearts, and they will not learn the Myſteries of Faith; the beauty of their bodies ſhall not diſpleaſe thee, when thou ſhalt ſee them; they erect themſelves when they ſpeak, and reſemble a piece of wood ſet up againſt a wall; they fear all rumors that fly abroad, and are your enemies. Beware of them, doubtleſs God will deſtroy them; how can they blaſpheme againſt his Law? When it was ſaid to them, Come to the Prophet, he ſhall beg pardon of God for your ſins, they ſhook the head, and withdrew with pride; miſery is upon them; whether thou implore pardon for them, or doſt not implore it; God will not pardon them, he abhorreth the wicked. They ſay, Do no good to them that follow that Prophet of God, until they abandon him; the treaſures of Heaven and Earth are Gods, but they comprehend it not; they ſay, If we return to the City of *Medina*, we will drive thence ſhame and infamy, and will there eſtabliſh Greatneſs and Honour; on the contrary, Greatneſs, Power, and Victory proceed from God, his Prophet, and them that believe in his Law, but Infidels underſtand it not. Oh ye that believe in God! your Riches, and your Children ought not to ſeduce you from his Service; ſuch as ſhall forſake it, ſhall be in the number of the damned; give alms of the Wealth that he hath given you, before the Hour of your Death arrive; then ſhall the wicked ſay, Lord, if thou hadſt not ſo ſoon cauſed me to die, I had embraced thy Law; God retardeth not the day of any one, when the Hour is come; he knoweth all that ye do.

CHAP. LXIV.

The Chapter of Deceit, containing Eighteen Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Praiſe God whatſoever is in Heaven and Earth, he is King of all things, Praiſe is due to him, he is Omnipotent; he it is that hath created you; ſome obſerve his Commandments, and others are unbelievers, he beholdeth all your actions. He created the Heavens and the Earth, he formed you, and ye ſhall be one day aſſembled before him to be judged, he knoweth all that is in Heaven and Earth, he underſtandeth your ſecrets, and what ye publiſh, he is not ignorant of what is in the hearts of men. Have ye not heard what did heretofore befal the wicked? They were puniſhed, they died in their miſery, and in the end ſhall ſuffer grievous torments, becauſe God hath ſent them Prophets to inſtruct them, and they ſaid, What! ſhall a man like our ſelves teach us the right way? They deſpiſed them, and forſook the Law of God; he hath not to do with them, neither hath he need of the World, praiſe is due to him in all places; do the wicked believe that they ſhall not riſe again? Contrariwiſe, God ſhall make them to revive, and ſhall declare to them all that they have done; this thing is eaſie to his Divine Majeſty; Believe in God, his Prophet, and the light that he hath ſent you, he knoweth all your actions. Remember thou the day, when he ſhall Summon all to Judgment, this ſhall be the Day of Deceit; they ſhall be known that have deceived themſelves, and thoſe that have deluded their Neighbours. That day their ſins ſhall be pardoned, that ſhall have believed in his unity, and have done good works, they ſhall dwell eternally in Gardens, wherein flow many Rivers; the Infidels that deſpiſe his Commandments ſhall be precipitated into Hell, where they ſhall burn eternally. No evil befalleth you, but through God's permiſſion; he giveth patience to him that believeth in his Divine Majeſty, and knoweth all. Obey God and his Prophet; if ye obey him not, know, that the Prophet of God is obliged only to preach the truth of Faith; there is but one God, all True believers reſign themſelves to his Divine Will. O ye that believe! ye have Children, and Wives, that are your enemies, beware of their malice, if ye pardon them; if ye depart from them, God ſhall be to you gracious and merciful. Wealth and Children do often hinder you to obey God; but know, that he rewardeth abundantly the Righteous; fear him with all your power, hearken to his Commandments, obey him, give alms; he that is not avaricious ſhall be bleſſed; if ye lend any thing to God, he ſhall cauſe it to multiply, he ſhall pardon your ſins, he accepteth the acknowledgment of his benefits, and is moſt merciful. He knoweth what is preſent, paſt, and future, he is Omnipotent and Wiſe.

See *Kitab el tenar.*

CHAP. LXV.

The Chapter of Divorce, containing Eighteen Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Oh Prophet! when you repudiate them, following the Ordinances and Laws, and reckon the time that they ought to tarry before they marry again; Fear God your Lord, cauſe them not to depart their houſes, neither expel them before the time appointed, if they be not taken in Adultery; ſuch are the Ordinances of God, he that ſhall trangreſs them, ſhall do injury to himſelf, peradventure God will enjoyn ſomething concerning them, of which ye are ignorant. When the time that they ought to tarry ſhall be finiſhed, retain, or diſmiſs them with civility; ye ſhall take perſons of your Religion, honeſt men, that ſhall be witneſſes of your Actions, depoſe with truth what ye have ſeen; it is ſo appointed to them that believe in God, and the day of Judgment. God ſhall

ſhall deliver from affliction him that ſhall have his fear before his eyes, and ſhall enrich him, when he leaſt thinks of it; he that ſhall truſt in him, ſhall not be deceived, he doth what he pleaſeth, and hath appointed a prefixed time to every thing. If the Women hope no more to have their three months, and doubt that they are miſreckoned, they ſhall tarry three months before they marry again, if they be not Nurſes; if they be with Child, ye ſhall abſtain till their delivery; whoſoever feareth God, rejoiceth in the obſervance of his Commandments. What is above, is ordained of God; he ſhall pardon their ſins, that have his fear before their eyes, and give them an exceeding great reward. Cauſe them that ye repudiate, to dwell in your houſes, or near to you, abuſe them not; if they be with Child, allow them what ſhall be neceſſary for them, until they ſhall be delivered; if they deſire to nurſe their Children, ye ſhall give them an honeſt ſalary, and entreat them with civility and curteſie; if ye like not this, ye ſhall cauſe them to be nurſed by another, whoſe pains ye ſhall reward. If ye be not wealthy, you ſhall allow according to your power; God doth not enjoyn any one to expend more than his ability permitteth; he ſhall give you good after evil; how many have been the Cities that have heretofore diſobeyed the Commandments of God, and of his Prophets? We have kept an exact account of their ſins, their Inhabitants have been chaſtiſed, and ſhall be in the end, in the number of the damned; God hath prepared for them grievous torments. Oh ye that are wiſe! fear God, he hath ſent you the *Alcoran*; he hath ſent you a Prophet, to teach you the myſteries of his Law, to lead you out of darkneſs, and to guide into light them that *ſhall believe in* him, and do good works: *He* ſhall open to them the Gate of Paradiſe, wherein flow many Rivers, where they ſhall dwell eternally, with all manner of content. God! He it is, that created the ſeven Heavens, and as much of Earth, and ordaineth among them what pleaſeth him, to the end ye may know that he is Omnipotent, and knoweth all things.

CHAP. LXVI.

The Chapter of Prohibition, containing Twelve Verſes, written at Medina.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Oh Prophet! prohibit not for the contentment of thy wives, to do that which God hath permitted thee, he is gracious and merciful; he hath appointed to do what is permitted by your Law, he is your Lord, is Omniſcient and moſt Wiſe. When the Prophet went to viſit one of his wives, God revealed to him, what ſhe deſired to ſay to him; he approved one part, and rejected the other; when he told his Wife what was in her will to ſpeak to him, ſhe demanded of him, who had revealed it to him; he that knoweth all things hath revealed it to me, that ye may be converted, your hearts are inclined to do what is forbidden; if ye act any thing againſt the Prophet, know, that God is his protector, the Angel *Gabriel*, and all the believers will defend him, the Angels ſhall protect him againſt you. If it be his will to repudiate you, God ſhall give him for the future, other wives in your place, that ſhall be obedient; True believers, humble, faithful, devout, contented, mild, clean Virgins, and not Virgins: Oh ye that believe in God! ſtrengthen your ſelves, you and your Families, in obedience to his Commandments; the Idolaters ſhall burn in the Fire of Hell, with their Idols; the Angels deputed to torment them, diſobey not God, they execute whatſoever is commanded them. Oh ye that are Infidels! there is no excuſe for you, ye ſhall be chaſtiſed after your demerits. Oh ye that believe! turn to God with affection, he ſhall pardon your ſins, and make you to enter into Gardens, wherein flow many Rivers; the light of Faith ſhall go before the Prophet, and them that have followed him; when God ſhall recompence them, they ſhall ſay, Lord, give us thy light, pardon our ſins, thou art Omnipotent. Oh Prophet! fight againſt the Infidels, and the wicked, fortifie thy ſelf againſt them, Hell ſhall be their habitation. God teacheth unbelievers a Parable, and ſaith, the wives of *Noah*, and the wives of *Lot* were under the power of my two Servants, righteous men; they betrayed them, but did not eſcape the puniſhment of their ſin. It was ſaid unto them, enter into the Fire of Hell with them that go into it. God teacheth them a Parable, that follow his Law; take example by the Wife of *Pharaoh*, ſhe prayed to God, and ſaid, Lord build me an Houſe in Paradiſe, deliver me from *Pharoah*, from his works, and unjuſt men. *Mary* the daughter of *Joſaphat* preſerved her Virginity; we inſpired into her our Spirit, ſhe believed the words of her Lord, and the Scriptures; ſhe was in the number of them that obey.

CHAP. LXVII.

The Chapter of Empire, containing Thirty Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. Praiſed be he to whom belongeth the Empire of the World, who is Omnipotent, and hath created Life and Death, to let you know which is the better; he is Omnipotent and merciful. He hath created ſeven Heavens, one upon another; thou ſeeſt nothing of what he hath created, that is not proportioned; raiſe yet thy ſight to Heaven, thou ſhalt not there ſee any thing defective; behold it twice, or more often, thou ſhalt not perceive therein any thing vain, or imperfect. We have adorned the Heaven, and the World with Stars, we expelled thence the Devils, we prepared for them a great fire, and the torments of Hell for unbelievers. They ſhall hear horrible and terribble voices, that proceed from deſpair and wrath; when they ſhall be caſt thither headlong, when they ſhall enter into Hell by Troops, the Overſeer of the torments ſhall ſay unto them, Had you none on Earth that preached to you the pains of Hell? Yes, ſhall they reply, they were preached to us, but we traduced our preachers, we ſaid, that God did not command to do what they declared; that they were lyars, and ſeduced from the right way; had we heard them, and had we been wiſe, we ſhould not this day have been in the number of the damned; they ſhall confeſs their ſins in the bottom of Hell. Such as fear God, without ſeeing him, ſhall receive pardon of their offences, and an exceeding great reward.

ward. Speak ſecretly, or publickly, God knoweth whatſoever ye have in your hearts, ſince the time of your creation, he is bleſſed and omniſcient. He hath eſtabliſhed ways upon the earth, go on all ſides, and live of his good things: ye all ſhall revive, and be one day aſſembled before him to be judged. Believe ye that he who is in heaven, cannot render the earth dry and barren, and cauſe it to tremble? Believe ye, that he who is in heaven is not able to ſend againſt you an impetuous wind, to deſtroy you? Ye ſhall hereafter feel what are the torments of hell. Your predeceſſors would not believe them, and were chaſtiſed for their incredulity. Conſider ye not the birds that flie over your heads, how they extend, and ſhut their wings? nothing ſupporteth them, but that mercy that beholdeth all things. Who but God ſhall protect you in your miſeries? The Infidels are proud: Who ſhall enrich you, if God reſtraineth his grace? nevertheleſs ye perſevere in your ſins, and flie the truth; Is he that creepeth on his face, like to him that goeth on his feet in the right way? Say unto them, God hath created you; he hath given you ſight, hearing and ſenſe, but few among you return him thanks for his graces: Say unto them, he created you of earth, and ye ſhall one day be aſſembled before him, to render account of your actions. The wicked demand when the day of Judgment ſhall be; Say unto them, God knows, I am ſent only to preach to you the pains of hell; Their viſages ſhall become black, when they ſhall ſee the puniſhment of their ſins approach: It ſhall be ſaid to them, behold that which ye have demanded with ſo much impatience! Say unto them, did you ſee that God deſtroyed me, and them that were with me? No, he gave us his grace. Who ſhall deliver the Infidels from the torments of hell? Say unto them, God is merciful; we believe in him, and we are reſigned to the will of his divine Majeſty, ye ſhall know hereafter them that ſhall be ſeduced. If the water that watereth your flocks enter under the earth, who ſhall give you other water, or another Fountain to ſupply you?

CHAP. LXVIII.

The Chapter of the Pen, containing fifty two Verſes, written at Mecca.

Bedaoi *entituleth this the Chapter of the Letter* Noun, n, *and ſaith, that it is as much as to ſay, Whale, or great Fiſh: Some other Doctors ſay, that* Noun, n, *is the name of the Ink, or Table, on which the Angels write the Commandments of God: Others affirm it, to ſignifie the Inkhorn; but many of the Mahometan Doctors intitle this, the Chapter of the Pen.*

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. I ſwear by the Pen, and by all that is written, that thou art not poſſeſſed of the Devil; through the grace of thy Lord, thou ſhalt have an infinite reward; God hath created thee, with a creation high, and moſt illuſtrious. Thou ſhalt hereafter know, and the Infidels likewiſe ſhall know one day, them among you that are ignorant. Certainly thy Lord knoweth them that are ſeduced, and them that follow the right way. Obey not the wicked, they deſire thee to be more indulgent towards them, and themſelves more mild towards thee; Obey not thoſe infamous lyars, thoſe bablers, ſinners and ſeducers, and wicked perſons, full of treaſures and children; When the Myſteries of faith are related to them, they ſay, that they are but fables of antiquity; we will put upon their noſes a mark of ſhame and ignominy; we have tried them, as Gardeners when they have reſolved in the evening to cut off the morning following ſome fruits of their garden, for their refection, and have not ſaid, if it pleaſe God; By night, while they ſlept, God ſent fire into their gardens, that conſumed them; in the morning they called [each other] and ſaid, Come to put order to your garden, if ye deſire to gather the fruits; they believed the poor would enter, they ran [to drive them away] and found their fruits black, and their gardens blaſted: Then they ſaid, We are ſeduced, we are ſinners; one of them ſaid that it was requiſite to praiſe God; then they ſaid, Praiſed be God, we are great ſinners: they approached each other, and complained among themſelves: they ſaid, miſery is upon us; we were in a great error, peradventure God will give us hereafter more than the value of what we have loſt, we muſt beg his grace; thus God chaſtiſeth on earth, whom he pleaſeth, but the torments of the other world are much more grievous: They that have his fear before their eyes, ſhall dwell in gardens full of delights. Shall I entreat the good like the wicked? How can ye judg it? have ye a book, wherein you read what pleaſeth you? have we promiſed to you any content at the day of Judgment? Shall you have that day what ye have promiſed to your ſelves? Ask of them, who will be ſurety for their belief? will their Idols and companions be their ſurety? Let them cauſe them to come, if they be true. Be thou mindful of the day when ſins ſhall be detected, and the wicked ſhall be commanded to worſhip God, but they ſhall not be able to behold him, their eyes ſhall be troubled with fear, and their ſight covered with ſhame. They are enjoyned in the world to worſhip his divine Majeſty, but they refuſe to pertorm it; I will niſh them by little and little, when they ſhall leaſt think of it; I will defer the puniſhments of their crimes, becauſe my wrath is ſtrong; Doſt thou demand of men any recompence for thy preaching? are they charged with any expence? Have they in their power the book, wherein is the future, to write therein what they affirm? Attend the Judgment of thy Lord, and be not like him that was ſwallowed of the Whale. He invoked his Lord in his affliction: if his Lord had not ſent him his grace, he ſhould never have come upon earth: when he repented of his ſin, his Lord pardoned, and placed him in the number of the righteous. The unbelievers labour to ſhake thee through their looks, and that through envy: they affirm, that thou art poſſeſſed of the Devil, when they hear thee read the *Alcoran*: It was not ſent but to inſtruct the world.

CHAP. LXIX.

The Chapter of Verification, containing Fifty two Verſes, written at Mecca.

Exteri *intituleth this, The Chapter of Judgment, becauſe that day all ſhall be verified.*

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Verification approacheth, Verification approacheth; God hath not told thee in what time ſhall be the day of Verification; *Temod* and *Aad* would not believe him that preached to them the day of affliction and ſorrow, but *Temod* was deſtroyed by an extraordinary noiſe, and *Aad* by an impetuous wind that God ſent againſt them Seven nights, and eight days together; they were overthrown, ſtretched out like Palms faln upon the Earth: Did any one among them ſave himſelf? *Pharaoh*, and his predeceſſors, with the Inhabitants of the Cities that were overthrown becauſe of their ſins, diſobeyed the Prophets and Apoſtles of God, and were rudely chaſtiſed. We preſerved you in *Noah*'s Ark, when the waters ſwelled, to ſerve for example of our Omnipotency to them that ſaw it, and to ſuch as ſhall hear it mentioned. Be thou mindful of the day when the Angel ſhall ſound the Trumpet, when the Earth ſhall lift it ſelf up, and the Mountains tremble; then what muſt come, to paſs, ſhall come to paſs; Heaven with Weakneſs ſhall open, and the Angel that ſhall bear the Throne of God, ſhall be upon the border of the Heaven. Then ſhall Eight Angels preſent the books, wherein ſhall be written the ſins of Men, and nothing ſhall be concealed. Such as ſhall take in the right hand the Book of the account of their actions, ſhall ſay, We find what we believed to be true, we know with certain knowledg the coming of this day, and the felicity of Life is in Paradiſe: It ſhall be ſaid to them, Eat and drink of the good things of Paradiſe at your pleaſure. They that ſhall take the Book of account of their actions in their left Hand, ſhall ſay, Would to God that this Book had been loſt, I know not what is this account; would to God that I had been eternally buried in the Earth; the Riches, Authority, and Treaſures of the World are to me unprofitable: It ſhall be ſaid to the Devils, Take them, bind them, and throw them headlong in to Hell, put Chains ſeventy Cubits long upon their arms, and caſt them into fire; they would not believe in the Unity of God the Omnipotent; they have eaten the Bread of the Poor, they are this day without protection and want Bread, and ſhall find nothing but the pains of Hell prepared for the wicked. I ſwear, Although ye ſee, and although ye do not ſee the *Alcoran*, it is the word of the Prophet, the Apoſtle of God, it is not the word of a Poet, but few perſons will believe it. It is not the word of one that is wicked, but few men remember it, it is ſent from God, Lord of the Univerſe. The Infidels ſay, Oh Prophet! if thou ſpeak, we will not hear thee, thy ſpeech ſhall not enter into our hearts: Say unto them, There is none among you able to deliver you from the puniſhment of your crimes; the *Alcoran* inſtructeth in the way of Salvation them that believe in his Divine Majeſty; I know that there are Lyars among you, whom God ſhall put into the number of Infidels: The *Alcoran* is truth it ſelf. Praiſed be the Name of God Omnipotent, and Majeſtick.

CHAP. LXX.

The Chapter of the Aſcent, containing Forty four Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Some perſons have demanded when ſhall be the Day of Judgment, and in what time the wicked ſhall be chaſtiſed? None but God is able to deliver men from the torments of Hell; he is Lord of the way that aſcendeth to Heaven, the Angels and Spirits ſhall aſcend towards him at the Day of Judgment; that day ſhall ſeem to the wicked to endure Fifty thouſand years; expect with patience; the wicked imagine they are far from that day, but thou ſhalt ſee it ſpeedily; that day ſhall the Heaven reſemble diſſolved Metal; the Mountains ſhall be like to carded Wool, which bendeth downwards; none ſhall ask his Neighbor who he is; and they ſhall look one upon another; the unbelievers ſhall deſire to redeem themſelves from theſe pains, through the loſs of their Children, their Wives, their Brethren, their Companions, their Neighbours, and the loſs of all that is on Earth. The flame of Fire ſhall riſe upon them, and ſhall burn the skin of their head; they ſhall call upon thoſe that are behind them, that have, like themſelves, abandoned the Law of God; and the covetous, that ſhall have heaped up Treaſures. Man was created timerous, he is afraid when evil befalleth him, and is arrogant when good hapneth to him; except the believers, who are ſtable in their Faith, that perſevere in their prayers, that give alms to the poor that beg, and thoſe that are baſhful, that believe in the Day of Judgment, fear the puniſhment of God, and know none other Women but their own, and their Slaves, they ſhall be exempt from affliction at the Day of Judgment; thoſe that ſhall act the contrary, ſhall be in the number of the unjuſt. They who effect what they have promiſed, and preſerve faithfully what to them hath been entruſted, who ſpeak the truth in teſtimony, and who make their prayers at the time appointed, ſhall be honoured in Paradiſe. Wherefore is it that the Infidels, who are about thee, caſt their eyes to the right Hand, and to the left, with pride? Do they require to enter into Paradiſe, and be ſaved? We have created them as other men. I ſwear by the Lord of the Eaſt and Weſt, That we are able to change them into a People better than they, and that it is a thing eaſie for us to perform; leave them in their errors, until they be come to the day when they are promiſed to be chaſtiſed, and that they ſhall come out of their Sepulchres to repair to Univerſal Judgment; they ſhall repair thither terrified, and their ſight ſhall be covered with ſhame; this is the day that hath been heretofore preached to them.

CHAP. LXXI.

The Chapter of Noah, *containing Twenty eight Verſes, written at* Mecca.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. Before men were chaſtiſed, we ſent *Noah* to preach to them the pains of hell: he ſaid unto them, O ye people! I preach to you the pains of hell, worſhip one only God, and fear him, obey me, he ſhall pardon your ſins, he deferreth your puniſhment until the day appointed, and ſhall not retard it; when his hour ſhall be come, did he know it, ye would be converted. Afterward he ſaid, Lord, I have exhorted this people night and day, but mine exhortations have been very much in vain, they have ſtrengthned themſelves in their impiety; and when I preached to them, they put their fingers into their ears, and covered their heads with their garments, that they might not hear; they continue in their impiety, and become proud: I have preached to them publickly, I lifted up my voice, I have expounded to them the myſteries of thy Law; I ſaid unto them, Implore pardon of God, he is moſt merciful; he ſhall ſend you abundance of rain to water the earth; he ſhall give you ſtore of wealth, and many children; he ſhall give you gardens embelliſhed with fountains, and rivers; who hindereth you to honour God? He it is that hath created you in the condition wherein you are: conſider ye not that he hath created ſeven heavens, the one upon the other? that he created the Moon with her brightneſs, and the Sun with his light? he hath cauſed the earth to bring forth all ſorts of plants; he will cauſe you all to return to earth, and to revive; he hath extended it, to the end ye may walk in the ways thereof, large and ſpacious. Lord, ſaid *Noah*, this people hath diſobeyed me, they have followed that which can give them neither poſterity nor profit, but rather a moſt certain damage; they have conſpired againſt me, and ſaid among themſelves, Forſake not your gods, forſake not *Od*, *Soa*, *Igout*, *Jaoc*, and *Neſar*; they err from the right way; Lord, add to their confuſion. Then were they drowned becauſe of their ſins, they ſhall be caſt headlong into the fire, whence none but God is able to deliver them. *Noah* ſaid, Lord, leave not a wicked man upon the earth, they will ſeduce thy creatures from the right way, they will leave children, lyars, and impious like themſelves; pardon my ſins, pardon the ſins of my father, my lineage, and thoſe that ſhall believe in thy Law, and deſtroy the unjuſt.

These are Idols.

CHAP. LXXII.

The Chapter of Devils, containing twenty eight Verſes, written at Mecca.

Some Mahometans intitle this; The Chapter of Spirits.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful: Say to the people, I have received an inſpiration, which ſome devils heard of me when I read the *Alcoran*, and that they ſaid, We have heard the miraculous *Alcoran* read, it teacheth the right way; we believe in what it contains; we believe not that God hath companions; we believe there is but one God, we believe not that he hath wives, or children, our ignorant perſons blaſpheme againſt his divine Majeſty, nevertheleſs we imagine that they could not do it. There are who require aid of the devils, and augment their confuſion, becauſe they ſay, that God will not cauſe any to riſe again; ſome devils have ſaid, We have been as high as heaven, and found it furniſhed with guards and ſtars, we ſtayed in a place a little diſtant to hear; there is one ſtar that watcheth them that hearken, and drives them away; we know not if God hateth the men that are upon earth, or if he will teach them the right way; but we are now in the number of them that believe in the unity of his divine Majeſty: they ſaid, Oh ye people! we were before in the way of error; we heretofore believed that God did not operate on earth; but no perſon, in whatſoever place he be, can avoid obeying his Will; we heard the book read that teacheth the right way; we believe in what it contains; he that believeth in God, will not fear any miſery or injuſtice: there be of us that are good, and that truſt in God? others there are, who are wicked and impious: ſuch as obey the Commandments of God, follow the right way, and the wicked ſhall be precipitated into the fire of hell. Had the Infidels followed the right way, we had ſent them from heaven abundance of rain, and given them our grace; I will try them, and ſuch as ſhall deſpiſe the *Alcoran* ſhall be puniſhed. The Temples belong to God, invoke one ſole God in the Temples: when his ſervant riſeth, he worſhippeth his divine Majeſty; it wanteth not much, but theſe devils had publiſhed the plurality of Deities: Say unto the people, worſhip God my Lord; I believe in one God, who hath no companion; I can neither guide nor ſeduce you, but through his permiſſion; If I diſobey him, none ſhall be able to ſave me, and I ſhall want protection at the day of Judgment. I can do no more for you, than to preach to you his Law; this is the ſubject of my Embaſſie: He who ſhall diſobey God and his Prophet, ſhall be damned, and ſhall remain eternally in the fire of hell. The wicked ſhall know ſuch as ſhall be deprived of ſuccour and protection, when they ſhall behold the pains prepared for them. Say unto them, I know not whether what is promiſed to you, ſhall incontinently happen, or whether God will defer it ſome time; none knoweth what is to come, but God, and thoſe whom he hath elected to be Prophets and Meſſengers of his Will; he inſpireth into them his Commandments, to preach to men; he upholdeth all the actions of men, and keepeth an exact account of every thing.

CHAP. LXXIII.

The Chapter of the Fearful, containing Twenty Verſes, writen at Mecca.

The Arabians *have intituled this, The Chapter of the Fearful; when the Angel* Gabriel *brought this Chapter to Mahomet, he was afraid of the ſplendour of his light, and covered himſelf with his garments, which gave occaſion to the Angel to call him, and ſay, Oh fearful! and not, oh prophet! as he was wont.*

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. O thou Fearful! Ariſe by night, pray to God at midnight, until two third parts of

See *Geladin.*

of the night and more. Read the *Alcoran*, and meditate thereon, obſerve what it contains: although it be tedious to thee, thou wilt beſt comprehend it after thy firſt ſleep, becauſe thou in the day haſt affairs that divert thee. Remember thou the name of God, forſake the world to worſhip him, he is Lord of the Weſt, and Eaſt, there is no God but God, take him for thy protector: be not impatient at what the wicked ſay; ſeparate thy ſelf from their ſociety, without fear, leave me to puniſh them: is there any one that is able to defend them? their puniſhment is deferred, but I have chains of iron, bread full of thorns, and great torments to inflict on them, at the day when the earth ſhall tremble, and the mountains ſhall be diſſolved into duſt. O ye people! we have ſent to you a Prophet, our Apoſtle, to inſtruct you, as we did to *Pharoah*: he was diſobedient and obſtinate, and we ſeverely chaſtiſed him. How will ye ſecure your ſelves from the torments of hell, if ye be in the number of the wicked? What will ye do at the day when Infants ſhall be men, and heaven ſhall be opened? What God promiſeth is infallible: theſe things are for the inſtruction of them that deſire to follow the way of ſalvation. Thy Lord knoweth that thou wilt ariſe about the third part of the night, or at midnight, as likewiſe a part of thoſe that are with thee; he reckoneth the hours and the minutes of night and day, he knoweth that thou canſt not reckon them exactly: he pardoneth thee, if thou riſeſt a little ſooner, or a little later: read during this time what thou ſhalt be able to read of the *Alcoran*: God knoweth that there will be perſons among you that will be ſickly, others that will be in travel for their affairs, and ſome that will fight for the faith; theſe perſons ſhall be excuſed: Read what ye ſhall be able of the *Alcoran*, lift up your prayers to God, pay tithes, lend to God ſome benefit, ye ſhall one day find the good that ye ſhall have done, and a very good reward: beg pardon of God, he is gracious and merciful.

CHAP. LXXIV.

Mahomet was wrapt in his garments when the Angel brought him this Chapter.

The Chapter of the Wrapped, containing fifty ſeven Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the name of God gracious and merciful. O thou wrapped! Ariſe, and preach to the people the torments of hell; thy Lord is more powerful than the Idols, make clean thy garments, be thou mindful of the pains prepared for unbelievers; ſeparate thy ſelf from their company: lend nothing to Uſury: the day that the Trumpet ſhall ſound, ſhall be extreamly irkſome to the wicked; that day, let me chaſtiſe him whom I created, and to whom I gave riches, and children, and whom I placed in plenty; nevertheleſs he demandeth more, and is obſtinate, to diſobey my Commandments: I will add to his pains, becauſe he blaſphemeth againſt the *Alcoran*: wherefore doth he blaſpheme? he maketh his countenance ſorrowful, covered with hypocriſie: when he beholdeth the people, with his eyes melancholique, and eſtranged from the way of ſalvation, he is proud, ſcorneth to follow the Prophet: ſaith, that the *Alcoran* is but Magick, and but the word of man; he ſhall be precipitated into the bottom of hell, nothing remains to him but to be burned: nineteen Spirits ſhall be appointed to torment the wicked: they that puniſh the damned are Spirits. We have mentioned this number of nineteen, to ſeduce the Infidels, and confirm the truth, and the True believers in their faith. They whom God inſtructeth in the Scripture, and who believe in his Law, are not in doubt of theſe Spirits; but ſuch as have evil in the heart, who doubt of his Laws, and the wicked, ſay, that he by this number, meaneth God: Thus God ſeduceth and guideth whom he pleaſeth: no perſon knoweth the number of his Angels, but God. I ſwear by the entrance of the night, and the morning, that hell is an exceeding great puniſhment, prepared for the impious. The believers, and unbelievers, the good and the bad, ſhall anſwer for their actions; and ſuch as ſhall have their book of account in the right hand, ſhall go into Paradiſe: they ſhall enquire of the damned, and ſay to them, Who did caſt you into hell? They ſhall anſwer, We did not pray to God at the time appointed; we gave not to the poor to eat; we believed there was neither Reſurrection, nor Judgment, until death ſurprized us; the prayers of them that pray for them, ſhall be in vain. Wherefore is it that unbelievers depart from the Law of God? They are like to the wild Aſs, which flyeth as far as he can, when he ſeeth the Lion approach him; every one of them would particularly ſee a book to inſtruct them, and apprehendeth not the day of Judgment: Certainly the *Alcoran* teacheth them the Law of God, that read it: none ſhall underſtand it, but he that ſhall be pleaſing to God, who ſhall have his fear before his eyes, and ſhall implore pardon of his ſins of his divine Majeſty.

CHAP. LXXV.

The Chapter of the Reſurrection, containing forty Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the name of God gracious and merciful. I ſwear that it is moſt true, That men ſhall riſe again. I ſwear that the wicked ſhall render an account of their actions: think they that I cannot recollect their bones? I will recollect all of them after they ſhall be corrupted; I am able to recollect their fingers, as they had them in their youth. Certainly man is prone to blaſpheme, before the coming of the day of Judgment, and enquireth when that day will be. When his ſight ſhall be troubled, and the Sun and Moon gathered together, then ſhall he ſay, Whither ſhall I flye? It ſhall be ſaid to him, Thou ſhalt have none other refuge but in God: he ſhall be ſurprized, and all his offences ſhall be commemorated to him, and he ſhall witneſs againſt himſelf: Speak not then in a word, if he will excuſe himſelf, be not thou impatient; I know all that is in his heart, I know what thou haſt taught him: I did read with him, that read to thee the *Alcoran*, and made thee to underſtand it: Man preſſeth himſelf to go to his diſhonor, and conſidereth not his end, he ſhall raiſe the head, with a countenance content to ſee God, but at the ſame inſtant ſhall have the face covered with affliction, and ſhall know, that he is in the height of all miſeries; His ſoul ſhall be conducted towards God, when it

it ſhall be ſeparate from his body; if it renounce the Law of God, it ſhall go towards the damned, towards them that extend their arms through diſpair. It ſhall be ſaid to him, God alone, whom thou wouldſt not obey, was thy Lord and Protector. Doth man think to be forſaken, and that no account ſhall be required of his actions? Was not he created through our ſpecial Grace, of mire, and of congealed Blood? Did we not create him Male and Female? He that hath done this, cannot he revive the dead?

CHAP. LXXVI.

The Chapter of Man, containing Thirty Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Man continued a while, without having in him any thing memorable; we created his Poſterity of his Seed, mingled with that of the Woman: we gave him ſight and hearing, and taught him the way of Salvation. Some have embraced the Faith, and others have been Infidels; we have prepared for them Chains, and Bonds, to drag them into the Fire of Hell. The juſt ſhall drink of Wine, that ſhall iſſue out of a fair Fountain; all the ſervants of God ſhall drink [thereof] and ſhall cauſe it to flow, as ſhall ſeem good to them. God will deliver from the pains of Hell, ſuch as ſhall ſatisfie their Vows, as ſhall apprehend the Day of Judgment, as ſhall give alms to the Poor, to Orphans, and Priſoners, without hope of thanks, of recompence, but only for the love of his Divine Majeſty, becauſe of the fear they have of the torments of the day, grievous and irkſom to behold. God ſhall rejoice, and reward them for their good works, he ſhall open to them the gate of Paradiſe; they ſhall be cloathed with ſilk, repoſed on ſtately Beds, and ſhall not be troubled either with the heat of the Sun, or the cold of the Moon; they ſhall be under the ſhadow of the Trees of Paradiſe, there ſhall they gather fruits, as they ſtand, ſit, and lie down; Veſſels of Silver ſhall be brought about them, and round Cups full of a delicious drink, as much as they ſhall deſire, mingled with Ginger, that ſhall iſſue out of a clear Fountain, and ſhall be encompaſſed with young Pages to ſerve them, who ſhall reſemble poliſhed Pearls; when thou ſhalt behold them, thou ſhalt ſee a grace that cannot be expreſt; they ſhall be cloathed with Purple, and Green ſhining ſilk, and ſhall have Bracelets of Silver; God ſhall give them a Drink, clear and moſt pure; theſe delights ſhall be the reward of their perſeverance. We have ſent thee the *Alcoran* to inſtruct the People; attend the Judgment of thy Lord againſt them that ſcoff, and obey not, the wicked; Remember thou the Name of God, Morning and Evening, worſhip him by Night, praiſe him a long time; the Infidels affect the World, and think not on their end, neither the Day of Judgment; we created them, we have given them ſtrength to walk, and if it be our pleaſure, we will eſtabliſh other Perſons in their place. He that ſhall deſire to follow the Law of God, ſhall follow it; but none ſhall follow it, if it pleaſe his Divine Majeſty; he knoweth all, and is moſt wiſe, he giveth his grace to whom he pleaſeth, and hath prepared grievous torments for the unjuſt.

See Exteri.

CHAP. LXXVII.

The Chapter of them that are Sent, containing Fifty Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. I ſwear by the Angels that followed [each other] thick as the hair of the foretop of Horſes, when God ſendeth them to execute his commands; by the Angels which he ſendeth to puniſh them whom he will deſtroy; by the Winds which he ſendeth, to make the Rain to fall where he liſteth; by the *Alcoran*, that diſtinguiſheth good from evil; and by the Angels that inſpire into men the fear of the pains of Hell, and implore pardon of his Divine Majeſty, that the puniſhment promiſed to the wicked, is infallible. Then ſhall not the Stars appear any more; the Heaven ſhall open, the Mountains ſhall walk, the Prophets and Apoſtles of God ſhall aſſemble, to bear teſtimony againſt them that have deſpiſed their inſtructions; the good, and the wicked, and believers and unbelievers ſhall be ſeparated. I will not tell thee when this day ſhall be, it ſhall be unhappy for the wicked. Have not I heretofore deſtroyed the impious with their Blaſphemies? Have not they left a Poſterity, wicked as they, whom I likewiſe have deſtroyed? Thus will I hereafter deſtroy the Infidels; and miſery ſhall be upon them eternally: Have we not created you of weak Seed; retained in the womb of your Mothers, until the time appointed? This is a grace that we have conferred on you: Miſery ſhall be upon the Infidels at the day of Judgment. Have we not created the Earth, to aſſemble the Living and the Dead? Have we not raiſed the Mountains? Have we not given you freſh Water to drink? Miſery ſhall be upon the wicked at the Day of Judgment; it ſhall be ſaid unto them, Go into the Fire of Hell, which ye would not believe; go into the Smoak, divided into three parts, nothing ſhall free you from the heat thereof, and flight ſhall not deliver you from that Fire; it ſhall caſt forth black flames, that ſhall riſe higher than the higheſt buildings of the Earth, and like to large Coverlets of Beds, extreamly black. The Day of Judgment ſhall be unhappy to Infidels: It ſhall be ſaid to them, Behold the Day of the Separation of the good from the bad; exerciſe your ſlights, if ye can, to deliver you from the pains of Hell; the Day of Judgment ſhall be unhappy to Infidels. The good, who ſhall have had the fear of God before their eyes, ſhall be under the ſhadow of the Trees of Paradiſe, nigh to delicious Fountains, with all ſort of fruits, that they ſhall deſire. It ſhall be ſaid to them, Eat, and drink at your pleaſure, in reward of your good works; thus are the Righteous rewarded. The Day of Judgment ſhall be unhappy for Infidels. Oh ye Infidels! live in the World, ye ſhall be there ſuffered ſome time; ye are wicked, but ye ſhall be miſerable at the Day of Judgment. The wicked deride them that exhort them to pray to God, they ſhall be miſerable at the Day of Judgment. In what will they believe, if they believe not in the *Alcoran*?

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

The Chapter of News, containing Forty Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. What do the wicked enquire of each other, touching the great news, of which they are in different Opinion? They ſhall learn it, they ſhall learn it. Have not I created, and extended the Earth? Have not I raiſed the Mountains to eſtabliſh it? Have not we created you, Male and Female? Have not we created Sleep, and the Night for repoſe, and the Day of Labour? Have we not built over you Seven Heavens, and the Sun full of light? Have we not cauſed Rain to deſcend from the Clouds, to cauſe the Earth to produce its Plants, and Gardens of divers faſhions? The day of Judgment ſhall be a day of Joy, and Sorrow. When the Angel ſhall ſound the Trumpet, all the World ſhall come in Troops to Univerſal Judgment; Heaven ſhall open its Gates, the Mountains ſhall walk, and Hell is the place prepared for the ſeduced, there ſhall they remain eternally. They ſhall find there no reſt, neither drink, but of boyling, and moſt ſtinking Water, a reward conformed to their works; the Infidels believe not that they muſt render an account of their actions, and blaſpheme, but we keep account, and write exactly what they do. It will be ſaid to them at the Day of Judgment, Taſte, this day the puniſhment that ye have merited, your pains ſhall be augmented, and pains upon pains. They who ſhall have had the fear of God *before their eyes, ſhall be in* a place of felicity, in the Gardens of a moſt fertile Land, enriched with Grapes, and Pomegranats; they ſhall drink in Cups full of a delicious Liquor, and ſhall hear no vain ſpeeches, nor lying; ſuch is the recompence of them that obey the Commandments of God; He is Lord of the Heavens and Earth, none ſhall dare to ſpeak when the Spirits and Angels ſhall be aſſembled before him, none ſhall be able to ſpeak or pray for another, without his permiſſion. This day ſhall be the day of truth; they that ſhall be acceptable to him ſhall retire towards his Divine Majeſty. We have preached unto you, that the puniſhment of God ſhall ſpeedily come upon you; every one ſhall ſee all that he ſhall have done, and the wicked ſhall ſay at the Day of Judgment, Would to God that I had been earth and duſt.

CHAP. LXXXIX.

The Chapter of Them that take away, containing Forty ſix Verſes, written at Mecca.

Gelaldin entituleth this, The Chapter of them that draw forth the Soul.

IN the name of God gracious and merciful. I ſwear by the Angels that take away the Souls from the Bodies of Infidels, and the wicked; by the Angels that accompany the Souls of Believers; by the Angels that exalt the glory of God; By the Angels that guide the Souls of the Righteous, when they go into Paradiſe; and by the Angels that are appointed for the affairs of the World, That all People ſhall riſe again at the Day of Judgment; that Day the Earth ſhall tremble, and the hearts of men ſhall tremble at the firſt time that the Trumpet ſhall ſound; at the ſecond, their ſight ſhall be troubled with fear, and they ſhall ſay, Behold! we, we are returned upon Earth, to the place whence we departed; our bones were rotten, and our return to the World ſhall bring upon us only miſery; this ſecond ſound of the Trumpet is a ſign of the wrath of God; then ſhall they be out of their Sepulchres, revived upon the Earth. Haſt thou learned the Hiſtory of *Moſes*, and how God his Lord called him in the Holy Valley, called *Toi*, and how he ſaid, Go towards *Pharaoh*, he is ſeduced from the right way, and is in a great error; ſay unto him, I called thee to the way of Salvation, I will purifie and guide thee into the way of the Law of God, to the end thou maiſt have his fear before thine eyes. *Moſes* made *Pharaoh* to ſee one of his great Miracles, nevertheleſs he contemned *Moſes*, diſobeyed him, and departed from the right way; he cauſed his People to aſſemble, and made Proclamation, that he was their God, but God rigorouſly chaſtiſed him, becauſe of his Blaſphemies; this is an example of his Omnipotency to them that are Righteous. Oh ye wicked! were ye more difficult to create than Heaven? God hath raiſed the roof thereof, and proportioned it; he hath made the Night obſcure, and the day full of ſplendor; he hath ſtretched forth the Earth, hath made Fountains to ſpring forth, to water the Plants, and to give drink to Beaſts; he hath elevated and eſtabliſhed the Mountains for you, and for your Flocks. Men ſhall call to mind the good and the evil that they have done, at the ſecond ſound of the Trumpet, and Hell ſhall appear open before their eyes. The wicked, that have followed their own appetites on Earth, ſhall be precipitated into Hell, and ſuch as have had the fear of God before their eyes, and have ſubdued their paſſions in this World, ſhall go into Paradiſe. The wicked will ask of thee, when the Day of Judgment ſhall be? None knoweth it but thy Lord: Thou art not ſent but to preach the pains of Hell to them that fear that day, as if they ſaw it preſent before their eyes; they ſhall imagine that they have not remained in the Tomb but from Evening until Morning, when they riſe again.

CHAP. LXXX.

The Chapter of the Blind, containing Forty two Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. The Prophet frowned, had a ſurly countenance, and withdrew himſelf when the blind came towards him. He will not tell thee, if he will believe in God, and if he will profeſs thy preaching; depart thou from him that ſhall depart from the Law of God; thou art obliged only to preach to him, and not to make him to believe; but forſake not them that ſhall come to ſee thee to be inſtructed; and ſhall fear God. The *Alcoran* is ſent for the inſtruction of men; it was copied upon the Book that is kept in Heaven, to which Honour and praiſe is due eternally. Wherefore is man impious? Is it becauſe he is created of a little Water, retained in the womb of his Mother, until the time appointed? And becauſe he found the way to come forth? Is it for that God cauſed him to

dye, and to revive when it ſeems good to him? He performeth not what God commandeth, neither conſidereth the good things that nouriſh him: We have ſent rain, we opened the treaſures of the earth, we have made all ſorts of grain to ſpring forth; Blites, Olives, Dates, Gardens, and fields full of Fruits, and herbs to nouriſh you, and your flocks. When the Angel ſhall ſound the Trumpet the ſecond time, Man ſhall fly his brother, his mother, wife, and children; every one ſhall take thought for himſelf; that day ſhall the wicked have countenances covered with affliction; the countenance of the good ſhall be joyful, and ſuch as have ſought the way between faith and impiety, ſhall have their countenance covered with earth, and duſt.

CHAP. LXXXI.

The Chapter of Roundneſs, containing Twenty nine Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. When the Roundneſs of the Sun ſhall appear, the Stars fall, the Mountains walk, the Camel be without burden, and without keeper; when the beaſt ſhall be gathered together, the Sea covered with fire, Souls return into Bodies, the * Daughter demand why they put her to death; when the book of good and evil ſhall open, when heaven ſhall caſt off its ornaments, the fire of hell appear, and Paradiſe be opened; then ſhall ſouls know the good and the evil that they have committed. I ſwear by the Planets, by the obſcurity of night, and by the brightneſs of day, that the words of the *Alcoran* are the words of the Prophet, beloved of God, powerful with his divine Majeſty; ye ought to obey him, he is a faithful obſerver of what is commanded him, he is not poſſeſſed of the Devil, as ye have imagined, he hath ſeen the Angel clearly, and without riddle, and is not perplexed for what is to come; the words of the *Alcoran* are not the words of the Devil; on whatſoever ſide ye turn you, it is only for the inſtruction of men, and ſuch among you, as will follow the right way, but ye ſhall have no inclination to follow it, if it pleaſe God, the Lord of the Univerſe.

* The *Arabians* buried their daughters alive, when they had done a fault.

CHAP. LXXXII.

The Chapter of the opening of Heaven, containing ſeventeen Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. The ſouls ſhall know the good and the evil that they have done, when the heavens ſhall open, the ſtars fall, the ſeas be gathered together, and the ſepulchres be opened. O man, what maketh thee ſo proud, as to riſe againſt God, who hath created thee, who hath formed and proportioned thee after what manner he pleaſed? O ye wicked! ye will not believe the day of Judgment: there are Angels that obſerve your actions, and are obedient to God. The juſt ſhall go into Paradiſe, and the unjuſt be precipitated into the fire of hell, whence they ſhall never return. I will not tell when the day of Judgment ſhall be; that day none ſhall be able to ſuccour his neighbour, and God alone ſhall command.

CHAP. LXXXIII.

The Chapter of Them that weigh with falſe weights, containing Thirty ſix Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. They that weigh with falſe weights, and meaſure with falſe meaſures, believe not to riſe again, at the day when all the World ſhall appear before God to be judged. Certainly the book wherein the ſins of the wicked are written, is kept in hell. Miſery ſhall be upon Infidels at the day of Judgment; none doubteth the coming of this day but the wicked: when they hear the Commandments of God preached, they ſay, that it is but an old fable, impiety retaineth them in this error, and induceth them to abandon the Law of his divine Majeſty, but they ſhall be caſt headlong into the flames of hell. It ſhall be ſaid unto them, behold the puniſhment which ye would not believe. The book wherein the good works of the righteous are written, is reſerved in heaven; the Angels are witneſſes, how the juſt ſhall enjoy the delights of Paradiſe, they ſhall ſee the immenſe graces of God, repoſed on delicious beds, their countenance ſhall be covered with joy and content; they ſhall drink of purified wine, moſt ſavory, that ſhall have the odour of Muſk, preſerved in bottles that none but themſelves ſhall open, and it ſhall be mixt with the water of the fountain of Paradiſe, where the Cherubins do drink. The Infidels deride the true believers that would inſtruct them, nevertheleſs when they return to their companions, they admire their doctrine, and ſay, when they ſee them, behold the ſeduced, but they are not ſent to be their tutors. The Infidels that ſhall be converted, and believe in the day of Judgment, ſhall go into Paradiſe, they ſhall enjoy the grace of God, they ſhall behold the grievous torments of the damned, that ſhall be puniſhed after their demerits, and ſhall find in the other world what they have done on earth.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

The Chapter of the Cleft, containing Twenty five Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. The day of Judgment ſhall appear, when the heaven ſhall cleave aſunder, and the earth caſt men out of their ſepulchres by the commandment of God. O man! thou goeſt daily towards death, and ſhalt find in the end the good and evil that thou ſhalt have done: he to whom ſhall be given the book of accompt of his actions in the right hand, ſhall be bleſſed, he ſhall go with his companions into Paradiſe, where he ſhall enjoy eternal felicity: He to whom ſhall be given the

account

account of his actions in the left hand, ſhall be damned, he ſhall be caſt headlong into the fire of hell, becauſe of the unlawful pleaſures that he hath taken in the world, and for that he believed not in the Reſurrection. God beholdeth all that he doth, and keepeth account. I ſwear by the redneſs that appeareth in the Air when the Sun ſetteth, by the obſcurity of the night, and the brightneſs of the Moon, That you all ſhall change being and poſture, and ſhall revive after your death. Wherefore is it that the wicked believe not in God? why do they not humble themſelves when they hear the *Alcoran* read? They blaſpheme againſt God, but he knows all their actions; declare to them that they ſhall be chaſtiſed, and that ſuch as believe in his Unity and do good works, ſhall receive an infinite reward.

CHAP. LXXXV.

The Chapter of Signs Celeſtial, containing twenty Verſes, written at Mecca.

Many Mahometan Doctors entitle this, The Chapter of Caſtles.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. I ſwear by heaven, adorned with ſigns, and by the day of Judgment, by the Angels and men, that they who have made pits filled with fire to burn the true believers, ſhall be witneſs of their own malice, and ſhall avouch, that the fire burned themſelves, to make them know the unity of God, and the truth of his Law. God is Omnipotent, and always victorious, he is the King of the heavens and earth, he beholdeth all. They that torment true believers, and ſhall not repent, ſhall be damned, they ſhall burn eternally in the fire of hell; and ſuch as ſhall believe in God, and do good works, ſhall dwell in pleaſant gardens, wherein flow many rivers, where they ſhall for ever enjoy ſupream felicity. The wrath of God is ſtrong, he maketh his creatures to die, and riſe again when he pleaſeth; he is merciful towards them that repent of their ſins, and loveth them that ſerve him. He hath created his throne, to which praiſe is due eternally; he raiſeth up whom he liſteth; and nothing is to him impoſſible. Haſt thou heard the Hiſtory of the people of *Pharaoh* and *Temud*? God ſhall chaſtiſe in like manner them that ſhall not believe in his Law, he knoweth them all. Certainly the precious *Alcoran* is written in the book that is reſerved in heaven.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

The Chapter of the Star, or of the North Star, containing ſeventeen Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. I ſwear by Heaven, and the Star that teacheth men the way. I will not tell thee by what ſtar; by the ſtar full of brightneſs; that every perſon hath a guardian (which obſerveth the good and the evil that it acteth;) Doth not man conſider of what he is created? he is made of a little ſprinkled water that iſſueth out of the body of man and woman? God ſhall make him to riſe again at the day of Judgment, and none ſhall be able to protect or defend him from the wrath of his divine Majeſty. I ſwear by heaven that returneth the rain, by the earth that openeth it ſelf, and receiveth it, to produce its fruits, that the *Alcoran* diſtinguiſheth good from evil, and that it was not ſent in vain. The unbelievers conſpire againſt the Prophet, but God ſhall turn their conſpiracy againſt them, and they ſhall not know it. Be thou patient, and awhile endure the Infidels.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

The Chapter of the High and Mighty, containing ſeventeen Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Exalt the name of thy Lord, high and mighty; who hath proportioned all that he hath created; he ordaineth what he liſteth, and guideth into the right way them that are pleaſing to him; he cauſeth herbs to ſpring out of the earth, createth them green, rendreth them dry, and altereth them as to him ſeems good. I will read to thee the *Alcoran*; forget nothing of what thou ſhalt read, but that which God ſhall will thee to forget; he knoweth whatſoever is kept ſecret in the world, and whatſoever is made manifeſt. I will inſtruct thee in his Law; preach the *Alcoran*, it ſhall be profitable to him that ſhall have the fear of God before his eyes: ſuch as ſhall deſpiſe it, ſhall be miſerable, they ſhall be precipitated into the fire of hell, where they ſhall not be able, either to live, or die; and he that ſhall embrace the Law of God, and ſhall be mindful of his name, ſhall be bleſſed. Pray to God at the time appointed. Certainly the righteous ſhall be heirs of the good things of the earth, and thoſe of heaven that are exceeding great, and eternal; this is written in the ancient books of *Abraham* and *Moſes*.

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

The Chapter of the Covering, containing twenty ſix verſes, written at Mecca.

Geladin *intituleth this, The Chapter of Judgment, becauſe that day the damned ſhall be covered with fire and fear.* See *Exteri*.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. Haſt thou heard mention of the covering? That day ſhall the countenance of the wicked be covered with affliction, they ſhall enter into fire that is extreamly hot; they ſhall drink of boyling water, they ſhall eat nothing but bryers and thorns; they ſhall be extreamly lean, and famine ſhall not deliver them from an infinite number of other miſeries. That day ſhall the good be filled with content, they ſhall be recompenced or their labours; in Paradiſe they ſhall hear nothing ſpoken that may diſpleaſe them; they ſhall ſee fountains flow, lying upon high beds, they ſhall drink in fair glaſſes, fixed on diamonds, upon pillows well diſpoſed, and upon pallets well adorned; will

not

not the wicked conſider the Miracle of the ſhe-Camel? How it was created? How Heaven was elevated? How the Mountains were diſpoſed, how the Earth was extended? Preach to the wicked the pains of Hell, thou art ſent to preach to them, and not to conſtrain them. God will chaſtiſe with his great chaſtiſement him that ſhall abandon his Law, and traduce the *Alcoran*; all men ſhall be one day aſſembled before his Divine Majeſty, to give account of their actions.

CHAP. LXXXIX.

The Chapter of the Morning, containing Thirty Verſes, written at Mecca.

See *Kitâb el tenoir.* Ye ſhall there ſee the expoſition of this paſſage.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. I ſwear by the Morning, by the tenth Night of the Month, by even and odd, and by the coming of Night, That the wicked ſhall be chaſtiſed. Is there any thing in conſideration of this Oath, that can move men to fly uncleanneſs? Conſidereſt thou not how God entreated *Aad* the Son of *Arem*, that dwelt in Pavillions ſupported by Columns ſo big, that there were none like to them in his Countrey? Knoweſt thou not how he uſed *Temod*, who hewed Stones and Rocks to inhabit the Valley? Knoweſt thou not how he entreated *Pharaoh*, who pierced with Pins the feet and hands of ſuch as he gave up to puniſhment? Knoweſt thou not how he entreateth them that heretofore erred from the right way in their own Countreys, and that increaſed their pollution? He poured upon them divers torments; he obſerveth all that men do; he giveth ſtore of goods to them that he doth not try, and taketh them away from ſuch as he proveth. The wicked will not give Honour to Orphans, they will not abſtain from eating the Bread of the Poor; they ſhall give an account, they too much affect riches; when the Earth ſhall tremble, and ſhall over-throw all the buildings; when the Angels ſhall deſcend in order, by the command of thy Lord, then ſhall Hell be open to the wicked, they ſhall call to mind what was preached to them in the World, and ſay, Why did not I obſerve the Commandments of God during my life? They ſhall be puniſhed more than ever any hath been, and ſhall be more ſtraitly bound than ever any hath been bound. It ſhall be ſaid to the bleſſed, O thou Soul! that haſt obſerved with courage, and without fear the Commandments of God, return to thy Lord with content, enter into the Society of the bleſſed, enter into Paradiſe.

CHAP. XC.

The Chapter of the City, containing Twenty Verſes, written at Mecca.

Many have entituled this, The Chapter of Night.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. *Mecca.*
I ſwear by that City which is permitted thee to conquer; I ſwear by the Father and the Child, that we created man in miſery; thinketh he that there is none ſtronger than he? He ſaith, That he hath expended great wealth; doth he think that none hath ſeen what he hath done? Have we not given him two eyes, a tongue, two lips? Have we not given him to ſee the way of good and of evil? He ſhall be ſeverely chaſtiſed, but I will not tell thee with what kind of chaſtiſement. Wherefore doth he not deliver Slaves? Wherefore doth he not give to eat to them that are hungry, to Orphans, and his Kindred that are in neceſſity, and to the poor? Patience and Charity are recommended among True believers, they ſhall be ſeated at the right hand; and ſuch as impugn the Myſteries of our Law, ſhall be at the left hand, they ſhall be ſhut up in the Fire of Hell.

He declaims againſt *Corets.* See *Gelaladin.*

CHAP. XCI.

The Chapter of the Sun, containging Fifteen Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. I ſwear by the Sun and his light, by the Moon and her ſplendour, by the Fire and its elevation, by the Night and its obſcurity, by Heaven and the Stars thereof, by the Earth, and its plains, by the creation of the Soul, by the knowledg of Virtue and Vice, That he that ſhall be purified from his ſins, ſhall be moſt happy, and that he who defileth himſelf with Vice, ſhall be moſt miſerable. The People of *Temod* traduced their Prophet, becauſe of their obſtinacy; but certainly they were chaſtiſed. The Apoſtle and Prophet of God ſaid unto them, Behold the Camel of God, ſuffer it to drink; they derided him, and ſlew that Camel. God ſeverely puniſhed them, he ſpared not his chaſtiſement againſt them.

CHAP. XCII.

The Chapter of Night, containing Twenty Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. I ſwear by the obſcurity of Night, by the brightneſs of Day, by the creation of man and woman, That your actions are very different. He that ſhall yield to God the obedience that is due to him, and believeth in his Unity, ſhall go into Paradiſe; and whoſoever ſhall not praiſe his Divine Majeſty,

Majeſty, and will not be converted, ſhall go into hell, his riches ſhall not ſave him, and he ſhall be caſt headlong into eternal flames. It is we that guide the people, we diſpoſe the beginning and end of every thing; I preach to you the torments of hell, none ſhall enter there, but the wretches that have blaſphemed, and departed far from the way of ſalvation; he that hath the fear of God before his eyes, and giveth alms, ſhall be delivered from the fire of hell, every one ſhall be recompenced for what he hath done for the love of God; he ſhall be ſatisfied and contented.

CHAP. XCIII.

The Chapter of the Sun riſing, containing ten Verſes, written at Mecca.

Mahomet complains to the Angel Gabriel, becauſe he ſo long had refrained to viſit him.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. I ſwear by the brightneſs of the riſing of the Sun, and by the darkneſs of Night, That thy Lord hath not forſaken thee. He doth not hate thee, his delay ſhall be to thee advantage, and in the end thou ſhalt be content; Did he not well lodge thee, when thou wert an Orphan? Did he not well guide thee, when thou wert ſeduced? Did not he enrich thee, when thou wert poor? Do no injury to Orphans, devour not the poor, and recount the graces that God hath conferred on thee.

CHAP. XCIV.

The Chapter of Joy, containing Eight Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the name of God, graeious and merciful. Have not I rejoyced thine heart? have not we delivered thee from the burden that was heavy on thy ſhoulders? we have raiſed thy name and reputation, affliction is followed of content; when thou ſhalt have finiſhed thy prayers, labour, and love thy Lord.

CHAP. XCV.

The Chapter of the Fig, containing eight Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. I ſwear by the Figs and Olives, by Mount *Sinai*, and by the ſafety and freedom that is in this City [of *Mecca*] that we created man with proportion, afterwards we rendred him contemptible, except the true believers that do good works; they ſhall receive an infinite reward. After this, (O wicked man) what maketh thee to blaſpheme againſt the Faith? is not God the Judg of Judges?

CHAP. XCVI.

The Chapter of Blood congealed, containing ſeventeen Verſes, written at Mecca.

Bedaoi *and* Gelaldin *call this, The Chapter of Reading.*

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. Read the *Alcoran*, and begin through the name of God, who created all, who made man of a little congealed blood. Read the *Alcoran*, and exalt the glory of thy Lord, who hath inſtructed man in the Scriptures, who taught him what he knew not; nevertheleſs, he is in a great error, he will not conſider that he ſhall return before God. Haſt thou conſidered him that would have hindred one of the ſervants of God to make his prayers? haſt thou underſtood if he were in the way of ſalvation? haſt thou ſeen if he blaſphemed? if he hath abandoned the faith? knoweth he not that God forſaketh him? If he deſiſt not, he ſhall be dragged by the hair into the fire of hell, with the wicked; he ſhall quit the place where they aſſemble, to diſpute againſt the faith, and the devils ſhall caſt caſt them headlong into flames eternal. Diſobey not the commandments of God, perſevere in thy prayers, worſhip God always; obedience to his commaindments ſhall draw thee near to his divine Majeſty.

CHAP. XCVII.

The Chapter of Glory or Power, containing five Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the name of God gracious and merciful. We ſent the *Alcoran* in the night of Glory and Power. I have not taught thee the graces of this night of glory and vertue; The prayers and good works that are done that night, have more of merit and efficacy, than thoſe that have been performed in a thouſand months. The Angels deſcended that night to the earth, thorough the permiſſion of their Lord, and ſalute the true believers until the dawning of the day.

CHAP. XCVIII.

The Chapter of Inſtruction, containing eight Verſes, written at Medina.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. They that underſtand the Scripture, and believe in many gods, will not relinquiſh their idolatry, until they have heard the inſtruction of the Prophet of God; he ſhall read unto them a book clean and pure, wherein are written the precepts of the right way. They that know the Scripture, are not divided, until they have learned this inſtruction. It commandeth to worſhip one only God, to make their prayers at the time appointed, and to pay tithes; this is the right way.

The unbelievers that know the Scriptures, and adore many Gods, ſhall remain eternally in the fire of hell, and ſhall be moſt miſerable. They that believe in one God, and perform good works, ſhall be moſt happy, they ſhall be recompenced of their Lord in the garden of *Eden*, wherein flow many rivers, where they ſhall dwell eternally. God ſhall be ſatisfied with their obedience, and ſhall give them his bleſſing, prepared for them that fear him.

CHAP. XCIX.

The Chapter of the Earthquake, containing eight Verſes, written at Medina.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. when the earth ſhall tremble, and ſhall caſt bodies out of their ſepulchres, man ſhall demand what it will do; they ſhall tell him news, to wit, that God hath commanded it to do ſo. That day ſhall men come out of ſepulchres from divers places, and ſhall ſee the good and the evil that they have done; he that hath committed evil, of the weight of an atome, ſhall be chaſtiſed; and he that ſhall have done good, of the weight of an atome, ſhall be rewarded.

CHAP. C.

The Chapter of Horſes, containing eleven Verſes, written at Mecca *and* Medina.

Some Arabians *have called this, The Chapter of Return, or of them that return.*

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. I ſwear by the Horſes; and the noiſe that they make with their feet, when they return to war, and by the fire which they make to ariſe, when they ſtrike their feet againſt ſtones, that run lightly through jealouſie, and raiſe the duſt in the midſt of enemies, That man is ingrateful for the graces of his Lord, he himſelf is witneſs of his ingratitude, and too much affecteth the riches of the Earth; knoweth he not that God will make all the world to revive? that he will bring to light whatſoever is moſt ſecret in the hearts of men, and that he knoweth all that they have done?

CHAP. CI.

The Chapter of Affliction, containing eleven Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God gracious and merciful. When the extreme affliction ſhall appear, I will not tell thee in what time this ſhall be then ſhall all men be aſſembled, ſtretched out like Quilts, and the mountains ſhall be like carded wool. Such whoſe ballance ſhall be weighty with good works, ſhall go into Paradiſe; and they whoſe ballance ſhall be light of good works, ſhall go into hell, they ſhall go into a fire ſo hot, that I am not able to expreſs the heat.

CHAP. CII.

The Chapter of Abundance, containing eight Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Certainly all your care, even to the grave, is in the abundance of your wealth; but ye ſhall hereafter learn, ye ſhall hereafter learn the truth; If ye had knowledge, ye would meditate on the torments of hell; you ſhall ſee one day, that they are indubitable, then ſhall ye ask where is Paradiſe?

CHAP. CIII.

The Chapter of the Evening.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. I ſwear by the hour of the Evening, That men are inclined to their deſtruction, except ſuch as believe in God, that do good works, and have in eſteem truth and perſeverance.

It is an hour appointed to the *Mahometans* to pray.

CHAP. CIV.

The Chapter of Perſecution, containing ſeven Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Miſery is upon him that perſecuteth his Neighbour; Perſecution hath its Counter-Perſecution. He that heapeth up treaſures, and is buſied to count them, thinketh they will make him immortal, but they ſhall precipitate him into his miſery; I will not tell thee into what miſery, but the fire of hell is always kindled to burn the heart of the wicked; they ſhall be overwhelmed in flames, and bound to great pillars.

CHAP.

CHAP. CV.

The Chapter of Elephants, containing five Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the name of God, gracious and merciful. Conſidereſt thou not how thy Lord entreated them that came mounted upon Elephants, to ruin the Temple of *Mecca*? Was not their Conſpiracy their own deſtruction? God ſent againſt them flying Troops, that threw upon them Stones, whereon were imprinted their names; he made them like to Corn ſown in Fields, devoured by Beaſts.

CHAP. CVI.

The Chapter of Coreis, *containing four Verſes, written at* Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. *Coreis* had no humanity for them; the People come every Winter, and every Summer, to worſhip the God of the Temple of *Mecca*, which nouriſheth and delivereth them from famine and fear.

CHAP. CVII.

The Chapter of the Law, containing ſeven Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Saweſt thou him that blaſphemed againſt the Law? He it is that devoureth the ſubſtance of Orphans, and the bread of the Poor: Miſery is upon them that are not attentive to their Prayers, that are Hypocrites, and hinder men to do well.

CHAP. CVIII.

The Chapter of Affluence, containing three Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. We have given thee a great Affluence of our Graces. Pray to thy Lord, lift up thine hands; he that hateth thee, ſhall be accurſed.

CHAP. CIX.

The Chapter of Infidels, containing ſix Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Oh Infidels, Idolaters! I worſhip not what ye worſhip, and ye worſhip not what I worſhip; I will not worſhip that which ye worſhip, and ye will not worſhip that which I worſhip; you obſerve your Law, and I mine.

CHAP. CX.

The Chapter of Protection, containing four Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. A great number of People embrace the Law of God, when he protecteth the true Believers, and giveth them victory. Exalt his Glory, and implore pardon of him, he is moſt merciful.

CHAP. CXI.

The Chapter of the Cord of Palm, containing eleven Verſes, written at Mecca.

Galaldin *entituleth this, The Chapter of Loſs.*

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. *Ablheb* loſt his hand; God chaſtiſed him, his Riches ſhall not ſave him, he ſhall burn in eternal Flames, with his Wife that carrieth Wood upon her Neck, bound with a Cord of Palm.

The Wife of *Ablheb* did caſt ſtones in *Mahomets* way, in contempt. See *Bedaoi.*

CHAP. CXII.

The Chapter of Salvation, containing four Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Say unto unbelievers, God is eternal, he neither begetteth, nor is begotten, and hath no companion.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXIII.

The Chapter of Separation, containing five Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Say unto them, God, who hath ſeparated light from darkneſs, ſhall defend me from all the evils that he hath created, from danger, darkneſs, from them that blow againſt the knot of the ſtring, from Sorcerers, and the Envious.

CHAP. CXIV.

The Chapter of the People, containing ſix Verſes, written at Mecca.

IN the Name of God, gracious and merciful. Say unto them, I will beware of the temptations of the Devil, and the malice of the people, through the aſſiſtance of the Lord, and King of the people.

FINIS.

00031077

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 16 June, 2016